"One size fits all"?

Linguistic standards in the media of pluricentric language areas

edited by
Reglindis De Ridder

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Preface

Sociolinguists are studying language use in all kinds of spoken, written, and audiovisual media. Similarly, language attitude towards language use, and also the impact of media on language change is investigated. Some of these media are scripted and professionally produced, such as news broadcasts, dubbed films, and podcasts, while other media, like video blogs or posts on social media, are not necessarily. Media creators often, but not always, adhere to linguistic guidelines or language policies. They may also, sometimes without knowing it, follow certain established linguistic practices, or deliberately challenge these. In pluricentric language areas, when language is used in the media, decisions are often made in terms of which language variety to use. Such decisions usually take into consideration the main target audience. Sometimes an attempt is made to use a so-called "neutral variety", unmarked for any specific part of the language area, to cater to the larger language area as a whole. This one-size-fits-all approach, however, is challenged by *glocalisation* tendencies and calls for more linguistic diversity. Moreover, the Age of Streaming opened up new possibilities with several language versions that can be offered on demand (including media accessibility). Dutch-language audiobooks, for instance, can sometimes be streamed in a Belgian and a Netherlandic Dutch version. Likewise, some audiovisual fiction for children is available in a Belgian and Netherlandic Dutch dubbed version on streaming platforms.

Having conducted research into language policy and practice in Dutch-language audiovisual translation, as well as language attitudes towards the varieties used in Dutch-language audiovisual media, I grew curious about other pluricentric language areas. That is why one year ago, I distributed a call for abstracts for this open-access volume hoping to receive as many contributions from a wide range of different language areas. The aim was to gain a better understanding of policies and practices in terms of the linguistic standard used in printed, audio, and audiovisual media in pluricentric language areas. Not only in local media, but also in translated media, as speakers of smaller language areas are particularly exposed to translated content. The present volume contains eleven contributions about ten different language areas, large and small. Since all chapters are written in English, the authors were asked to make the languages they write about more visible by not simply including English translations without the original source text. Whenever a language other than English is used, back translations are provided in English.

In the first chapter, Kristin Reinke, Luc Ostiguy, Antoine Drouin and Suzie Beaulieu look at audiovisual translation in particular. They study language attitudes towards Canadian French, *québécois*, dubbing. Then, Tobias Weber zooms in on the interesting case of South Estonian, and the role that media policy plays for this linguistic minority. Olga Goritskaya also looks at the role of media with regard to the development of Belarusian Russian in the third chapter. Subsequently, Gabriel Eduardo Alvarado Pavez studies language ideologies relating to Chilean Spanish in digital media. In the fifth chapter, Àlvaro Calero-Pons looks into Catalan media with a particular interest in translated content. The following two chapters deal with the Finnish variety of Swedish, *finlandssvenska*. First, Minna Levälahti, Sofie Henricson, Martina Huhtamäki and Jan Lindström look into podcasts distributed by public service broadcasting in Finland. Then, Jenny Stenberg-Sirén looks at journalists' views on the role the media plays for Swedish in Finland. In the eighth chapter, Rita Calabrese analyses language shifts in Indian English in a corpus comprising different media. Subsequently, Laura Baranzini and Claudia Ricci analyse television news broadcasts in Italian-speaking Switzerland. In the tenth chapter, Lukas Fiedler and Benjamin Meisnitzer study the impact of the Brazilian media conglomerate, Grupo Globo, on the Brazilian variety of Portuguese. In the final chapter, Anneliese Rieger reflects on Austrian German's struggle for recognition and the role language policy can play in this.

It goes without saying that I would not have been able to publish this volume without the help of others. First of all, I would like to thank the authors, not in the least, for doing their utmost to follow the tight deadlines. I am, of course, also grateful to the thirty anonymous reviewers. The reviews they provided were entirely done on a voluntary basis and I do not take this for granted. Finally, I would also like to thank Dawn Marley for her help in the proofreading process and Noah Nugel for assisting me with the editorial work.

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"Sounds odd to hear American actors speaking like us!" Attitudes towards Quebec French in the context of foreign film dubbing

Abstract

Quebec French (QF) is often cited as a language variety that has "freed itself" from the exogenous French standard. However, when foreign media is dubbed in Quebec, the variety used is almost always so-called international French (IF). The dubbing industry asserts that this choice is a response to public expectations, but little is actually known about the linguistic attitudes of the Québécois in this regard. Our study, therefore, seeks to establish a portrait of Quebecers' attitudes towards foreign films dubbed in IF, standard QF (SQF), and colloquial QF (CQF). Using a matched guise technique, we designed an attitude test in which we presented Québécois respondents (n=210) with 36 randomly ordered stimuli: twelve foreign-film excerpts, dubbed in each of the three varieties, by the same voice actors. Respondents were asked to score the dubbed voices on a number of personal attributes, traditionally related to either in-group solidarity or socioeconomic status. Inferential analyses by language variety, test format (audiovisual or audio-only), film genre, character gender, and respondent demographics (age, gender, education, film viewing habits) revealed that CQF voices receive the least positive evaluations. Instead, respondents preferred voices in IF, and in specific conditions, SQF, regardless of test format. We argue that linguistic insecurity or long-term listening habits might account for IF being the expected variety for film dubbing in Quebec.

1. Quebecers' attitudes about their spoken language

Quebec French (QF) is frequently given as an example of a minoritised language variety that has "freed itself" from the norm of the dominant variety—which, in the francophone world, means the variety known as the one spoken by cultivated Parisians. And indeed, beginning in the 1970s, the exogenous standard has gradually diminished in prestige in Quebec, in favour of a local

standard known as "standard QF" (SQF). Although SQF is commonly described as "the way television newsreaders speak", the variety is actually used throughout Quebec society when some degree of formality is called for (Bigot/Papen 2013; Chalier 2018, 2019; Martel et al. 2010; Reinke 2005). Another variety of QF exists alongside SQF, known as colloquial QF (CQF). CQF is used in most aspects of daily life, and is regularly heard in entertainment media (films and TV series) produced in Quebec (Martel et al. 2010; Reinke 2005; Reinke/Ostiguy 2016).

As in any speech community, linguistic variation in QF does not only occur across different communication situations. There is also variation among community members, by geographic region, age group, educational level, and gender, to name only a few factors. However, the majority of the speech community still shares a common set of linguistic norms (Labov 1976, p. 228). These shared norms inform, and can thus be observed through evaluative behaviours, collectively referred to as *language attitudes*: beliefs, opinions or value judgments about language (Reinke/Ostiguy 2016; Violette 2009). Said judgments can be more or less harsh, depending on the social group(s) the community member(s) in question belong to. For example, William Labov (1976, p. 196-200) observed that middle-class men and women are, as a group, the most critical of linguistic traits that their speech community views negatively. Similarly, he found that women as a group are generally more sensitive than men to linguistic traits that diverge from the socially valued norm (Labov 1976, p. 331-332).

A number of studies have examined Quebecers' language attitudes towards their own variety of French relative to the French standard. The earliest (d'Anglejan/Tucker 1973; Laberge/Chaisson-Lavoie 1971; Méar-Crine/Leclerc 1976; Preston 1963; among others) demonstrated the Québécois population's discomfort—or even outright *linguistic insecurity*— with their own language variety. Linguistic insecurity of the sort QF speakers experience arises from the often unconscious comparison between a community's own language variety, which is less socially valued (in this case, QF), and some other variety perceived as more prestigious (in this case, the French standard; Calvet 2017, p. 47).

Later studies have since shown that the attitudes of Quebecers towards QF have improved over time, both towards the variety as a whole (Chalier 2018, 2019; Evans 2002; Kircher 2012; Laur 2001; Remysen 2004; Šebkovà et al. 2020)

and with regard to specific features of the local accent, such as the laxing of the high vowels /i/, /y/, and /u/ in closed syllables with a non-lengthening final consonant (e.g., *liste* [lɪst], *juste* [ʒʏst], or *écoute* [ekʊt]). These pronunciations are now perceived as the normal, socially acceptable way of speaking, or, in other words, as an endogenous standard. By contrast, some local pronunciations remain less valued due to their strong association with CQF, which is used only in private exchanges and highly informal situations. This is the case for the pronunciation [we] of the grapheme *oi* (standard [wa]) in words like *moi* [mwa] or *(il) boit* [bwa], which can instead be pronounced [mwe] and [bwe], respectively (Lappin 1982; Reinke 2000; Tremblay 1990).

Early attitude studies relied on a method that is still largely used today, namely the *matched guise technique* (Lambert et al. 1960). Respondents hear recordings of what they believe to be different peoples' voices and evaluate them in terms of a number of personal attributes based on how each speaker sounds. The attributes evaluated generally relate to either the dimension of in-group solidarity (e.g., "likeability") or socioeconomic status (e.g., "leadership"). In reality, however, respondents are actually hearing the same speaker multiple times, using a different guise each time, i.e., a different language or language variety. As postulated by Lambert and his colleagues (1960), keeping the speaker constant means that, when respondents evaluate two guises differently, they are actually indicating differences not in the characteristics of the speaker but in their own attitudes towards the varieties being used, or towards the social groups that use them.

The matched guise technique is thus a means of accessing respondents' language attitudes *indirectly*, rather than directly asking respondents what they think of a particular language or variety. An indirect approach is advantageous in language attitude research, because it better captures respondents' spontaneous reactions rather than their conscious reflections, thereby minimizing the influence of social desirability bias on the results (Garrett 2003; Kircher 2012, 2016; Laur 2008).

Using the matched guise methodology, studies have shown that, in general, voices speaking in standard varieties are evaluated as belonging to speakers from socially dominant groups, and are evaluated more positively for traits on the status dimension (Fuertes et al. 2012). By contrast, voices speaking in non-standard varieties inspire more favourable judgments along the solidarity dimension (Kircher 2012; Lafontaine 1997; Ryan 1979). These

favourable judgments, which are a function of the identity and group membership of the respondent, in turn explain why an otherwise low-prestige variety would nonetheless continue to be spoken in the community.

In the case of QF, this opposition between status and solidarity has been framed in the Labovian (1976) terms of overt prestige (overt norms) and covert prestige (covert or hidden norms). Thus, positive evaluations of both solidarity-oriented personality traits and specific linguistic features characteristic of QF have traditionally been explained by the covert prestige of QF and the own-community loyalty it symbolizes (Pöll 2005; Reinke 2000). More recently, Marc Chalier (2018) and Adéla Šebková et al. (2020) have proposed that some of these characteristic features now also have overt prestige, a sign of growing linguistic security around QF.

While it is true that Quebecers' linguistic insecurity has diminished over the last few decades (Maurais 2008), it has certainly not disappeared. Insecurity is still manifest in some contexts (Kircher 2012), including in the film- and TV-dubbing industry (Reinke/Ostiguy 2012).

2. The language of Quebec-made film and TV dubs

In recent years, entertainment media company Netflix has been dubbing Spanish-language films into English using region- and group-specific language varieties whithin the same production, that parallel those used in the original Spanish version (Hayes 2021). This allows English-speaking audiences to watch a dubbed film that is nonetheless anchored in their own culture and its sociolinguistic cues. Netflix's approach is relatively unusual, however, in that the dominant practice in the industry has been to use a standardised, neutral language variety when dubbing. This tradition echoes common practice among translators and translation scholars more generally (Reinart 2004) and is still the de facto industry standard in many countries (although exceptions are sometimes made, notably for humorous effect; Hayes 2021, p. 3).

The practice is intended to avoid "relocalizing" the original film, by using a language variety that is readily understood, yet still feels unfamiliar and "foreign" in many respects—in much the same way that the characters and settings of the film would still have felt unfamiliar to audiences in the original language. Furthermore, given that dubbing necessarily leads to incongruities between the audio (the language[s] heard) and visual components (actors,

filming locations, lip movements) of a film, dubbing into a standardised, neutral variety is thought to reduce the disruptive effect of these discrepancies on the viewing experience, and so ultimately, in that way, to facilitate the suspension of disbelief (see Romero-Fresco 2020).

Studies by Kristin Reinke and Luc Ostiguy (2012, 2015, 2019, 2020) have shown that the Quebec dubbing industry has adopted this perspective: dubs produced in Quebec are predominantly in what has been termed "international French" (IF), with the pronunciation and prosody of the translated dialogues modelled along those of dubs produced in France. In other words, Québécois dubbing artists use an accent very similar to that of their French colleagues. In Quebec, IF is often used as a euphemism to refer to the French standard that is generally associated with the French spoken by educated Parisians in formal situations. In people's imagination, it evokes the idea of a variety shared by all French speakers, whereas in reality, it is always possible to locate a speaker socially or geographically by the way they speak. This rather vague term emerged in the context of the emancipation movements of the Quiet Revolution in the 1960s as a way of masking linguistic dependence on France (Oaks and Warren 2007). Additionally, the translated scripts they work from draw heavily on the morphosyntax of written (i.e., standardised, formal) French, even when the original-language version was written in an everyday, informal speech style.

The language of foreign audiovisual media dubbed in Quebec is thus fairly homogeneous, regardless of the particular character being portrayed or the situation in which that character is speaking. This translation practice is all the more surprising given that the entire body of original programming created and produced in Quebec readily showcases both QF and language variation. The Quebec dubbing industry's stated rationale for its language choices is that, while dubs made in France sound "too French" for Québécois audiences, dubs made in Quebec, using IF, are sufficiently local sounding as to be relatable to Québécois moviegoers, without going so far as to relocalise the production or limit its audience.

In practice, however, Reinke and Ostiguy's Québécois study respondents had difficulty distinguishing between dubs produced in Quebec (in IF) and France. At the same time, Reinke and Ostiguy's overall body of observations of dubbing practices in Quebec upholds the consensus within the field of translation studies that the words of a translated text generally do not convey

the same social values as their source-language equivalents (Caron 2003; Montgomery 2017; Plourde 2000, 2003; von Flotow 2009, 2010, 2015). It would seem, then, that the industry's argument—namely, that IF is a "neutral", non-localised variety of French that is perceptibly different from the French standard and, therefore, more relatable to Québécois audiences—is not in line with the audience's actual experiences.

Indeed, Reinke and Ostiguy (2019) have noted a number of other factors which more realistically explain the dubbing industry's continued preference for IF:

1. Approach to translation: As a rule, the industry's goal is to make the viewer forget that they are watching a translation, as evidenced by the following excerpt from the official website of Québécois dubbing artists:

> "Au Québec, nous utilisons un français correct, apparenté au français international, qui permet au spectateur de se concentrer uniquement sur le film en oubliant sa traduction." (Doublage Québec 2022)
>
> "In Quebec, we use a proper form of French, related to International French, which allows the viewer to focus on the film and forget that it has been translated" [Authors' translation]

When QF is used in dubs, it is specifically in its colloquial form (CQF)[1] and it appears only in a handful of animated series, notably Les Pierrafeu (The Flinstones) and Les Simpsons (The Simpsons), and in a few comedy films, most of which revolve around the sport of hockey, such as Lancé frappé 1 (Slap Shot 1), Lancé frappé 2 (Slap Shot 2) and Goon: Dur à cuire (Goon). Hockey is so ingrained in popular culture in Quebec that it would be difficult to justify the use of IF in that context.

2. Entrenchment of the practice: As early as 1950, the French standard was already fixed as the standard in the dubbing industry in Quebec. This came about partly as a result of linguistic purism, and partly because many voice actors in the early days of the industry were themselves of French origin.

3. Commercial interests: Dubbing other-language films into French is done with the intention of creating an end product that will be accessible to the wider francophone market, even though, in practice, few Quebec-dubbed films meet commercial success in theatres in foreign markets (Reinke 2018).

[1] In the industry, the term *joual* is often used to designate CQF. However, in popular discourse, *joual* designates that variety which, in speakers' mental representations, has the greatest number of socially stigmatised linguistic traits (Bouchard 2002; Reinke/Ostiguy 2016).

4. Expectations of Québécois audiences: As previously mentioned, Quebec-made dubs have traditionally used a standardised, non-local language variety since the industry began in the 1950s. Québécois audiences thus are used to characters in dubbed films sounding different from their own everyday speech—and translation researchers have often pointed to the influence of audience habits on the choice of translation strategies (for example, to explain the preference for one mode of audiovisual translation over another in a given community (Romero-Fresco 2020)). There are at least some indications that Québécois audiences actually prefer to hear a neutral, delocalised French in dubbed media: the notoriously poor reception of some QF-dubbed products, e.g., the TV series Ally McBeal, and a number of comments posted by Québécois moviegoers on blogs and entertainment news websites arguing that QF does not belong in dubbed media (Ostiguy/Reinke 2015). In fact, we collected comments from moviegoers who confided to us that it "sounds odd to hear American actors speaking like us" hence the quote we used for the title of this chapter. However, these commenters are not representative of the general population, and their opinions may not be indicative of whether or to what extent the general population in Quebec is similarly ill at ease with QF dubs.

In point of fact, no study has thus far actually investigated the attitudes and preferences of the Québécois population in this regard. Yet the question of language choice in the dubbing industry is not inconsequential, considering that it can feed into, or even amplify, persistent linguistic insecurity in Quebec (Reinke/Ostiguy 2012). That is, the fact that QF is excluded from the majority of dubbed media can be interpreted as a sign that QF is not a legitimate variety (Bourdieu 1982) and should not be heard coming from the mouths of non-Québécois actors.

By contrast, theorisation in the field of translation studies supports the idea that different language varieties do have a place in dubbed media. Within the functionalist theory of Skopos (Reiß/Vermeer 1984), target texts—in this case, dubbed media—are the result of translatory action, which is necessarily undertaken with some goal or purpose that informs the translators' decisions. This goal is determined as a function of the client and the target audience: their sociocultural context, their sensibilities, and their expectations. In this view, the translation of a text (or of a film or television programme) should be adapted to the target culture such that the text functions seamlessly within it, hence the importance of investigating (rather than assuming) the attitudes of

the target audience with regard to their spoken language.

3. Objectives

The overall objective of the present study is to provide an up-to-date portrait of the attitudes of the Québécois population regarding foreign films dubbed in each of the three varieties of interest in this context: IF, SQF, and CQF. The inclusion of both varieties of QF will allow us to observe if there is any difference between the respondents' attitudes towards a local variety that is symbolically more "correct" (SQF), versus a local variety that is less formal and closer to their own everyday speech. In other words, this should allow us to determine whether the previously documented negative attitudes towards those rare dubs produced in CQF also pertain to dubs in SQF. Our results will no doubt be valuable to the dubbing industry in Quebec as a basis for translation choices in the future.

4. Methodology

To achieve our research objectives, we designed an attitude test modelled on the matched guise technique, as follows: our respondents (n=210) evaluated a series of 36 excerpts (12 excerpts in three versions each) from commercially available entertainment media, dubbed in either IF, SQF, or CQF and presented in random order.

4.1 Test stimuli

We selected 12 excerpts from five foreign productions which had been commercially dubbed in IF for the Quebec market, and whose linguistic features are representative of the type of language generally used in Quebec-made dubs (Reinke et al. 2019; Reinke/Ostiguy 2019). Three of the five productions are comedies—*Lendemain de veille III* (Hangover III), *Grossesse surprise* (Knocked Up), and *L'orange lui va si bien* (Orange is the New Black)—and two are thrillers, namely *Le touriste* (The Tourist) and *L'interprète* (The Interpreter). Six of the 12 excerpts were taken from the comedies and six from the thrillers.

We then created three versions of each excerpt to use in our test, one in IF, one in SQF, and one in CQF (from which we suppressed the most heavily stigmatised CQF pronunciations as potentially confounding respondents'

evaluations of the variety itself). Each of these versions was performed by the same voice actors who had recorded the original, commercial dub. Furthermore, all three versions used in our study were recorded in a professional studio in Montreal that specialises in film dubbing, so that the recordings were all of professional quality. In other words, the three versions of any given excerpt were all spoken by the same person, on the same day, in the same conditions, thus controlling for the speaker's voice as a variable.

Each excerpt was around 10 seconds long. This relatively short duration is a result of the number of conditions that each excerpted segment had to meet in order to keep all stimuli as homogeneous as possible: segments must be free of overlapping voices; their content must be neutral, so as not to provoke emotional reactions in listeners; background music and sound effects must be minimal during the scene; voice actors must have a similar voice quality throughout; and the characters on screen must be comparable in appearance to those of the other excerpts. Finally, the scene must depict an informal interaction, in order for the CQF version to seem natural to listeners. In our selected media productions, these conditions were never met simultaneously for more than about 10 seconds at a time. However, this average duration is similar to that of stimuli used in a number of other studies (Kircher 2016, p. 199).

With all of the above factors controlled for, the three versions of each excerpt thus differed only by (1) how the text is pronounced, as pronunciation has been determined to be the most important factor in the perception of different language varieties (Chalier 2018), and (2) certain prosodic elements which came about naturally in context. As an example, Table 1 below shows a phonetic comparison of each of the three versions for one excerpt. The full list of phonetic variables selected to distinguish the excerpts in each of their three versions is presented in Appendix 1.

Lines from *Le touriste* (32:46-32:58)
Source text lines uttered by the character Frank Tupelo: "You know that where I come from, the biggest compliment you can give someone is to tell them they're down to earth, rational. I hate that, it drives me crazy."

Lines voiced in French by Gilbert Lachance: "Vous savez qu'là d'où j'viens, le plus grand compliment que l'on puisse faire à une personne, c'est d'lui dire qu'il est terre à terre, rationnel. J'déteste ça, ça m'rend fou".		
IF	**SFQ**	**CQF**
[vu save kla du ʒvjɛ̃ / lə ply gʁɑ̃ kɔ̃plimɑ̃ kə lɔ̃ pɥis fɛʁ a yn pɛʁsɔn / se dlɥi diʁ kil e tɛʁ a tɛʁ / ʁasjɔnɛl / ʒdetɛstə sa / sa mʁɑ̃ fu]	[vu save klɑ du ʒvjẽ / lə ply gʁɑ̃ kɔ̃plimɑ̃ kə lɔ̃ pɥɪs fɜʁ a ʏn pɛʁsɔn / se dlɥi dzɪiʁ kil e tɜʁ a tɜːʁ / ʁasjɔnɛl / ʒdetɛstə sɑ / sa mʁɑ̃ fu]	[vu save klɔ du ʒvjẽ / lə ply gʁã kɔ̃plimã kɔ̃ pɥɪs faɛʁ a ʏn pɛʁsɔn / se dlɥi dzɪiʁ kje tɜʁ a taᵋʁ / ʁasjɔnɛl /ʒdetɛs sɔ / sa mʁã fu]

Table 1. Example of a line of dialogue in three different varieties

4.2 Additional test variables

In order to assess whether respondents' attitudes might be influenced by the knowledge that they were evaluating dubbed foreign media, the test was administered in two different formats: one audiovisual (i.e., a video clip with a dubbed audio track), and one audio-only. Similarly, using excerpts from two distinct media genres, comedy and suspense, allowed us to test whether humour had any effect on respondents' attitudes.

Finally, while Lambert and colleagues' initial matched guise studies, and the studies that followed in their footsteps (e.g., d'Anglejan/Tucker 1973; Genesee/Holobow 1989; Kircher 2012), used only male voices, other matched guise work has also included female voices, and results show that respondents' evaluations do differ as a function of speaker gender (Beaulieu et al., 2022; Laur 2008; Preston 1963). We therefore expressly included both male and female voices in our stimuli, in order to evaluate whether the same might be true of our respondents.

In summary, then, our test comprised 36 stimuli: 12 excerpts presented in three language varieties each (IF, SQF, and CQF). These excerpts were evenly divided by media genre (six from comedies, six from thrillers) and speaker voice (six male, six female). Around half of our respondents were given the audio-only version of the test, while the other half were shown the combined audiovisual format.

4.3 Attributes selected for evaluation

As previously mentioned, matched guise studies ask respondents to evaluate the speakers they hear according to a number of attributes which correspond to the dimensions of either solidarity or status. However, the specific attributes used vary from one study to another (e.g., Genesee/Holobow 1989; Kircher 2012; Kircher/Fox 2019; Lambert et al. 1960; Laur 2008). A further complication is that individual respondents may have different understandings of the same attribute (Beaulieu et al. 2022; Garrett 2010).

In order to address these difficulties, we first identified the most commonly used attributes in the aforementioned studies, and then conducted a pre-test with a separate pool of 14 respondents (both men and women) to verify how these attributes were interpreted. We retained the six attributes which obtained a consensus in the pre-test: likeability, sociability, and warmheartedness for the solidarity dimension, and education, leadership, and self-confidence along the status dimension.

4.4 Respondents

We recruited only respondents whose first language *and* language of schooling was QF. Given that respondents' personal characteristics can have an effect on their language attitudes (Laur 2001, p. 94), we collected further sociodemographic information on respondents at the time of testing, and used this information to group their evaluations post-hoc.

In total, 210 respondents took part in our test, either in the audiovisual or audio-only format. 65% of these were women and 32% were men. The remaining 3% indicated "nonbinary" or "prefer not to say." Their responses were subsequently removed from the sample in order to keep our results comparable with those of Labov and other language attitudes researchers who used the categories of "women" and "men" exclusively.

Following the work of Jeffrey Jensen Arnett (2014) and Pierrette Thibault (1997), we divided our respondents into three age groups: 18-29 (39.7%), 30-49 (30.6%) and 50+ (29.7%). Respondents came from a wide variety of professional backgrounds; the majority were highly educated (71% held university degrees); 12% lived in a rural area, 14% in Montreal and 73% in an urban area outside of greater Montreal. 20% of them reported never watching, and 42% rarely watching, dubbed films or television. Thus, fewer than 40% of respondents in

our sample reported frequent exposure to dubs of foreign media.

4.5 Procedure

After first conducting a second pre-test with an additional 15 respondents to validate our instruments, the test was administered in May and June of 2021 using the online platform *LimeSurvey*. As is customary in matched guise studies (Kircher 2016, p. 203), in order to maintain the test as an *indirect* measure of language attitudes, the precise nature of the research objectives was not revealed to participants until after the test.

Respondents first filled out a sociodemographic questionnaire, after which the LimeSurvey software randomly directed them to the audio-only or audiovisual format of the test. After a brief training period, respondents evaluated each of the 36 stimuli, presented one by one in random order, ranking the voices they heard on a scale of one to six for each of the six personality attributes mentioned previously. For example, a person judged to be very sociable would receive a score of 6, whereas a person judged not to be at all sociable would receive a score of 1.

5. Results

In this section, we present the results of our attitude test, organised according to the following research question: Which version of the dubbed excerpts, that is to say, which of the three language varieties used (IF, SQF, or CQF), is the most highly rated in terms of solidarity and status, according to (1) the test format used (audiovisual or audio-only), (2) the speaker's gender (male or female), (3) the genre of media (comedy or thriller), and (4) the personal characteristics of the respondent (gender, age group, educational level, region of residence, profession, and frequency of exposure to dubbed media)?

Across our 36 stimuli, the evaluation scores for the six personality traits show that these traits do group together in two distinct clusters: *likeability*, *sociability*, and *warmheartedness*, on the one hand, corresponding to the "solidarity" dimension identified in the literature; and *education*, *leadership*, and *self-confidence* on the other, corresponding to the "status" dimension identified in the literature. This grouping is indicative of the internal consistency of our test measures, as also indicated by a Cronbach's alpha coefficient greater than 0.70 (Nunnally 1978) between both groups of traits as

well as between each of the three sets of excerpts (i.e., each of the three language varieties).

A principal component analysis further confirmed both the number of dimensions and the attributes included in each. Attributes which attained a loading greater than 0.50 for a given dimension were assigned to that dimension. A score for each dimension was then calculated, using the average of the three attributes assigned to it. Considering the components with Eigenvalues greater than one, and a minimum of 75% of cumulative variability explained, a two-dimension model of our attribute variables was therefore retained.

Next, we used two linear mixed models to analyse our data: the first allowed us to study the effect of test format, media genre, speaker gender, and language variety on the evaluation scores of each dimension, as well as all interactions between these variables. These mixed models enable us to add a random effect for respondents, which takes into account the cluster effect or the dependency between observations of an individual. The second linear mixed model was created to study the effects of any interactions between excerpt version (language variety used for the dub) and personal characteristics of respondents (gender, age group, educational attainment, region of residence, profession, and frequency of exposure to dubbed media). Multiple comparisons were adjusted using the Bonferroni method.

Having established the validity of grouping our six attribute variables along two dimensions, as outlined previously, we present the remainder of our statistical analyses using two variables (dimensions) rather than six (individual attributes). As such, the remainder of our results section is also organised in two parts, one regarding the results for the status dimension (section 5.1), and the other, the solidarity dimension (section 5.2).

5.1 Language attitudes: The status dimension

Looking at Table 2 below, we see that the mean evaluation scores for the status dimension are neither strongly positive nor strongly negative, never going above 4.45 nor below 3.14 on a scale of one (not at all) to six (very), for any of the three language varieties.

Further statistical analysis, using our first linear mixed model, shows that there is a triple interaction between the factors of speaker gender, media

genre, and language variety ($F = 16.35$, $DF = 2.2288$, $p < 0.0001$). The test format (audiovisual or audio-only) had no effect: the ranking of language varieties from most positively to most negatively evaluated is identical in both cases.

Table 2 thus breaks down the three-way interaction irrespective of test format, showing which language variety was the most highly evaluated for each configuration of speaker gender and media genre factors. The table shows that the difference in scores between language varieties is significant regardless of media genre or speaker gender. A Bonferonni adjustment for multiple comparisons makes it possible to identify the differences in scores between the three versions.

Configuration of influential factors (speaker gender / media genre)	**F (2.2288)**	**p value**	**Least squares means ± standard error†**		
			IF	**CQF**	**SQF**
Female speaker / comedy	20.14	<.0001*	3.91 ± 0.052[a]	3.60 ± 0.054[b]	3.82 ± 0.052[a]
Female speaker / thriller	31.13	<.0001*	3.74 ± 0.059[a]	3.36 ± 0.056[b]	3.61 ± 0.062[c]
Male speaker / comedy	12.23	<.0001*	3.33 ± 0.049[a]	3.14 ± 0.049[b]	3.29 ± 0.047[a]
Male speaker / thriller	66.96	<.0001*	4.45 ± 0.052[a]	3.77 ± 0.056[b]	4.09 ± 0.054[c]

Table 2. Statistical significance of differences between dub versions (language varieties) for the status dimension

* : Indicates at least one statistically significant difference among the scores of the three versions/varieties, at a threshold of 5% before Bonferonni adjustment.

† : For each configuration of the identified factors (i.e., each row), versions/varieties marked with the same letter index are not significantly different from each other. That is, only versions with *different* indices across a given row have significantly different status scores, at a threshold of 5% after Bonferonni adjustment.

Table 2 reveals that, for each of the possible combinations of speaker gender and media genre, respondents' evaluations on the status dimension were significantly higher for speakers using IF than for those using CQF. The same is true for speakers using SQF, relative to CQF. In other words, across all possible variable combinations in the first linear mixed analysis model, respondents consistently attributed the lowest status scores to the CQF-speaking voices they heard.

Table 2 also shows that, for excerpts in the thriller genre, respondents evaluated both female and male speakers more positively on the status dimension in the IF versions than in the SQF versions. No such significant

difference in status scores between IF and SQF was found for excerpts in the comedy genre. In other words, these results show that when the media genre is more "serious", voices using IF evoke more favourable attitudes regarding the speaker's social status.

We have previously mentioned that the test format (audiovisual or audio-only) had no effect on the overall scores or factor interactions. Thus, we can conclude that having visual cues suggesting that the media has been dubbed does not introduce any measurable bias to respondents' evaluations for the status dimension. The only stimuli-based factors, that seem to have an effect on evaluation scores are the speakers' voices and, indirectly, the language variety of the dub.

As for the respondents' own personal characteristics, analyses using our second linear mixed model indicate that none of the sociodemographic variables we tracked had a statistically significant effect on the ranking order of the three dub versions (language varieties), in terms of most to least positively evaluated, along the status dimension.

5.2 Language attitudes: The solidarity dimension

Respondents' evaluations of the attributes related to solidarity are somewhat less clear-cut than their evaluations along the status dimension. Table 3 displays the mean evaluation scores for excerpts in each of the three language varieties by test format, speaker gender, and media genre. Comparing these means, we see that they are relatively closely clustered, all falling between 3.17 at the most negative and 3.98 at the most positive, on a scale of one to six. This is a rather smaller range of scores than the one obtained for the status dimension; however, just as for the status dimension, individual scores for the solidarity dimension were all closely concentrated around these means. Evaluations were thus neither strongly positive nor strongly negative, regardless of the language variety used.

Statistical analysis via our first linear mixed model shows a quadruple interaction between test format, speaker gender, media genre, and language variety ($F = 8.13$, $DF = 2.2288$, $p = 0.0003$). Since scores are influenced by three factors in combination, it is impossible to readily identify a single "best scoring" language variety for each configuration of factors. Instead, Table 3 breaks down the four-way interaction by means of multiple post-hoc comparisons, adjusted using the Bonferroni method.

Configuration of influential factors (test format / speaker genre / media genre)	F (2.2288)	p	Least squares means ± standard error†		
			IF	CQF	SQF
Audio-only / female speaker / comedy	2.59	0.0754	3.52 ± 0.088[a]	3.37 ± 0.076[a]	3.36 ± 0.078[a]
Audio-only / female speaker / thriller	3.13	0.0441*[2]	3.52 ± 0.082[a]	3.48 ± 0.084[a]	3.38 ± 0.084[a]
Audio-only / male speaker / comedy	8.47	0.0002*	3.80 ± 0.082[a]	3.76 ± 0.082[a]	3.98 ± 0.076[b]
Audio-only / male speaker / thriller	4.80	0.0083*	3.30 ± 0.084[ab]	3.34 ± 0.079[b]	3.17 ± 0.079[a]
Audiovisual / female speaker / comedy	0.58	0.5621	3.61 ± 0.084[a]	3.51 ± 0.073[a]	3.56 ± 0.074[a]
Audiovisual / female speaker / thriller	11.14	<.0001*	3.96 ± 0.078[b]	3.72 ± 0.079[a]	3.64 ± 0.080[a]
Audiovisual / male speaker / comedy	2.35	0.0955	3.96 ± 0.078[a]	3.79 ± 0.078[a]	3.90 ± 0.072[a]
Audiovisual / male speaker / thriller	3.90	0.0205*	3.69 ± 0.080[ab]	3.50 ± 0.075[a]	3.66 ± 0.075[b]

Table 3. Statistical significance of differences between dub versions (language varieties) for the solidarity dimension

* : Indicates at least one statistically significant difference among the scores of the three versions/varieties, at a threshold of 5% before Bonferonni adjustment.

† : For each configuration of the identified factors (i.e., each row), versions/varieties marked with the same letter index are not significantly different from each other. That is, only versions with *different* indices across a given row have significantly different status scores, at a threshold of 5% after Bonferonni adjustment.

The analysis shows that each language variety is evaluated significantly more positively than the other two at least once, but under different circumstances in each case:

– IF-speaking voices are more positively evaluated than SQF- and CQF-speaking voices (that is, IF[b] vs. SQF[a] and CQF[a]) in just one context: when the speaker is female, the excerpt is from a thriller, and the test format includes video as well as audio.

[2] The global test appears to show a significant difference, albeit one just barely past the 5% significance threshold. However, once the Bonferroni correction is applied, this significance disappears. This situation, which is not uncommon in cases of multiple comparison, indicates an apparent effect, but a weak one.

- SQF-speaking voices are more positively evaluated than IF- and CQF-speaking voices (that is, SQF^{b} vs. IF^{a} and CQF^{a}) only for male speakers in comedies in the audio-only format.
- Male SQF-speaking voices are evaluated more highly in thrillers in the audiovisual test format, but only in relation to CQF (that is, SQF^{b} vs. CQF^{a}); no significant difference was found between SQF and IF as well as between CQF and IF for this configuration of factors.
- Male CQF-speaking voices are also evaluated more positively in thrillers in the audio-only format, but only relative to SQF (that is, CQF^{b} vs. SQF^{a}); no significant difference was found between SQF and IF as well as between CQF and IF for this configuration.

Even so, two general trends are apparent in this data. The first is that male speakers were sometimes evaluated more positively for solidarity when using SQF and CQF, unlike what was observed for the status dimension. Test format had no overall impact on this trend, since the audiovisual format favoured CQF used in thrillers while the audio-only format favoured SQF used in comedies. In other words, some male speakers seemed more solidary to respondents whenever they expressed themselves in (some variety of) FQ or as solidary as those using FI, with or without an accompanying video track. Second, female voices were generally perceived as more solidary, at least in thrillers, when they used FI and could be clearly associated with female-presenting actresses via an audiovisual test format.

Regarding the respondents' personal characteristics and their influence on scores along the solidarity dimension, the second linear mixed model indicated effects only for the respondents' age ($F = 2.91$, $DF = 4.2224$, $p = 0.0204$) and how frequently they watch dubbed media ($F_{8.2224} = 2.20$, $p = 0.0251$). Those participants who watch dubbed media most frequently evaluated IF-speaking voices more positively ($F = 4.03$, $DF = 2.2224$, $p = 0.0179$). The effect of age, however, is so weak that it no longer reaches significance when the scores of each age group are compared separately.

6. Discussion

6.1 Distribution of evaluation scores

The first observation that is evident from our results is that the individual evaluation scores are all concentrated relatively closely around the mean scores. What might this centralising tendency mean?

It must be acknowledged that the task of assigning a numerical value to someone's personality traits, based solely on a recording of their speech, is a difficult one. Even though respondents were given a training phase at the beginning of the test, the challenging nature of the task may have led respondents to err on the side of caution and evaluate the speakers more neutrally overall.

It is also reasonable to wonder whether the excerpts used in the procedure were long enough, that is, whether respondents had enough time to "catch" the relevant linguistic phenomena and then to form an opinion about them. However, the fact that significant differences in evaluation scores *did* emerge between the different language varieties would seem to indicate that (1) the respondents did eventually adapt to the difficulties of the task, and (2), that their scoring was indeed an expression of their language attitudes, even if no stark contrasts emerged. Moreover, the high scores given to IF, and to a lesser degree to SQF, are in line with findings from other studies on spontaneous language. Taken together, there is reason to believe that the evaluations which respondents provided are indeed a reliable indicator of their sociolinguistic representations.

6.2 Grouping of attributes into two dimensions

The principal components analysis we conducted, as part of the exploration of the internal consistency of our test, confirmed what previous matched guise studies in Quebec context have also found: that some of the personality traits used in the test are linked closely enough so that their evaluation scores are not significantly different from each other. Our data also provide further support for the practice, in matched guise studies, of grouping related traits into a number of dimensions—two in our case, labelled "in-group solidarity" and "status." These two dimensions, in particular, can help to explain speakers' sometimes contradictory judgments with respect to a given language or

language variety.[3]

6.3 IF as an indicator of status

When it comes to attributes along the status dimension, the most positive attitudes in our study were towards IF-speaking voices, both in thrillers and in comedies, whether those voices were male or female. SQF-speaking voices received a similarly positive evaluation, but in comedies only. Conversely, respondents gave the lowest status scores to CQF-speaking voices across the board. In other words, speakers with both masculine- and feminine-sounding voices were perceived by our respondents as more highly educated, and having greater leadership and self-confidence when they expressed themselves in IF in thrillers, and in IF or SQF in comedies. Whether participants viewed the excerpt as a video clip or only heard the audio track (i.e., whether the test format was audiovisual or audio-only) was found to have no effect on these rankings, suggesting it was indeed the speaker's voice—and by extension, indirectly, the language variety used by that speaker—that participants were responding to in their evaluations.

Our finding of statistically significant differences in status scores in favour of IF (and to a lesser extent, SQF) are in line with the conclusions of other matched guise studies. Previous work by Fred Genesee and Naomi Holobow (1989) and Ruth Kircher (2012) found more favourable attitudes among their respondents for "European French"[4] than for QF in terms of status, while more recent studies suggest that SQF now enjoys a certain prestige in Quebec, albeit not to the point of unseating the exogenous standard. Thus, for example, Chalier (2018) found, in a perceptual test with 101 male and female participants from the major urban regions of Quebec City and Montreal, that "newsreader" varieties of Parisian French, Romandy (Swiss) French, and Quebec French (without any highly marked variants) were all evaluated equally positively. He argues that these results point to "an evolution in pronunciation norms, in which weakly marked Quebec French now benefits, in

[3] The explanatory power of these two dimensions might not be seen with other populations living in sociodemographic contexts characterised by greater ethnolinguistic diversity (Kircher and Fox 2019, Beaulieu et al. 2022), as their representation systems are different from those likely to exist among our respondents, who constitute a relatively homogeneous population.

[4] Recall that the so-called international variety of French used in the dubbing industry in Quebec is largely equivalent to the exogenous standard, which other researchers have referred to variously as "European French", "Parisian French", or "standard French".

Quebec, from a similar degree of overt prestige to Parisian French" (Chalier 2018, p. 30, free translation).

Similarly, Šebková et al. (2020) found, in a *verbal guise*[5] study with 24 university-student participants, that QF-speaking voices were the most positively rated for status overall. However, no significant difference in evaluation scores was found between Québécois- and French-sounding voices in this study for the trait of *education*, which is a key attribute along the status dimension. The authors interpret this exception as a relic of the prestige the "Parisian French norm" once enjoyed more universally in Quebec.

In our study, the continued preference for IF among our respondents can be explained as follows. In many of its linguistic traits, IF closely resembles the French standard it is modelled on (Reinke/Ostiguy 2019; Reinke et al. 2019). At the same time, the latter, and therefore by extension IF, is associated with education, economic success, and upward social mobility (Kircher 2016, p. 201). Hence, while our results do support Chalier's (2018) contention that the perceived status of SQF has improved in the recent past, they also align with Sebkova et al.'s (2020) findings in showing that the social and cultural prestige of the French standard has not diminished as much as some would prefer (Reinke/Ostiguy 2016, p. 106, free translation).

6.4 QF varieties, comedies, and male voices

As mentioned earlier, our results show that SQF can also score highly for status-related attributes, provided that the excerpt in question comes from a comedy, or put another way, so long as the content and themes expressed are not "too serious". This tendency appears in the data as non-significative differences in scores between IF and SQF for comedy excerpts (regardless of speaker gender). In other words, respondents did not evaluate IF-speaking voices any *more* positively than SQF-speaking voices when it came to comedy excerpts, suggesting that they are equally comfortable with either variety in a light-hearted context.

Our results also show that respondents associate QF varieties with qualities related to in-group solidarity, a trend that we observe for several different variable configurations involving male voices. This trend was

[5] A *verbal guise* is an experimental protocol similar to a matched guise, in which respondents evaluate the voices of a number of speakers (francophones, in this case) from a variety of sociocultural backgrounds, each voice reading the same prepared text.

manifested quantitatively in our data by means of a higher score for solidarity-related attributes in excerpts where the speaker used a QF variety (either SQF or CQF), or by the absence of significant differences between the QF and IF versions. In other words, respondents perceived some speakers with masculine voices as more solidary—meaning more likeable, more sociable, and more warm-hearted—when they expressed themselves in either standard or colloquial QF.

Our study thus partially confirms the findings of other recent studies using the matched guise technique. Early studies of Quebecers language attitudes conclusively showed that QF was devalued in Quebec, not only in terms of status but along the solidarity dimension as well (d'Anglejean/Tucker 1973; Preston 1963). More recent work, on the other hand, would seem to indicate that QF has since equalled (Genesee/Holobow 1989) or even surpassed (Kircher 2012) the "Parisian standard" on the solidarity dimension, coming into its own as a local variety and a key locus of Québécois identity. However, in our study, strongly positive evaluations of solidarity were given to QF varieties only in some cases when the speaker was male; relationships between female voices and QF varieties arise only rarely in our data. Rather, when statistically significant differences *do* emerge for female voices, it is always IF that is preferred, although not always in the same conditions or for the same reasons (female speakers using IF were positively evaluated for status in thrillers, regardless of test format; and for solidarity, also in thrillers, but only in the audiovisual test format).

What might be the reason for our respondents' differential treatment of male versus female voices? Existing research has previously brought out the fact that the vernacular is often associated with men and is indexical of virility (Moïse 2003; Trudgill 1974). Conversely, the "legitimate" spoken language is typically associated with women, at least in contexts where the sociolinguistic situation is relatively stable (Eckert 2011; Labov 1991). Even though reality is always more complex than general tendencies like these—gender, for example, interacts with numerous other social factors (Armstrong et al. 2011)—our results do further corroborate the trend: usages which diverge from the exogenous standard (i.e., SQF and CQF) are more readily associated with male speakers, and usages which converge with it (i.e., IF), with female speakers. The fact that such a gendered contrast between preferred varieties and their social meanings exists speaks to the ongoing competition in Quebec between

endogenous and exogenous standard.

6.5 Effects of respondents' personal characteristics

Our results indicate that the respondents' personal characteristics had few significative effects on the evaluation scores given to the different voices in our procedure. Nonetheless, these characteristics always play at least some role in a person's opinions about language. It may be that the use of scripted and acted, that is, non-spontaneous, language in our stimuli has muddied the waters—perhaps an individual's personal characteristics play a smaller role in their attitude judgments when the language they are evaluating is staged, and is experienced within a context of artistic creativity, rather than being true-to-life. If this is the case, then in the final analysis, the respondents' evaluation scores may simply reflect personal preferences for one dub version or the other in the context of the test, rather than capturing the shared language attitudes of various social groups in real-world communication settings. Other highly personal, highly individual factors, such as the respondent's attitudes towards the actors, the themes portrayed, or the respondent's emotional reactions, may also have been at play.

Only one personal characteristic measured in our study had a statistically significant effect: the frequency of previous exposure to dubbed media. The more frequently a respondent reported having watched dubbed media, the higher scores they gave to the excerpts dubbed in IF, at least for attributes on the solidarity dimension. The effect of audiences' media consumption habits on the public reception of translated media is a recurring theme in studies of audiovisual translation. This observation, elegantly explained by Hayes (2021, p. 5) below, is reinforced by our results as well:

> "What audiences supposedly accept transpires to be that to which they are accustomed and, therefore, it takes a bold move—though not without some market research—and a transitional period, for new practices to become established and accepted."

7. Conclusion

In the final analysis, and taking into consideration the complex dynamics we have discussed throughout, the results of our matched guise study have shown that respondents evaluate dubs which use IF most favourably, followed by (to a lesser extent) dubs in SQF. In other words, respondents evaluate characters more positively when they use a spoken language variety that is socially valued. The reverse side of the coin is that respondents are not comfortable hearing their spontaneous, everyday spoken language in dubbed media (Ostiguy/Reinke 2015; Reinke/Ostiguy 2012). This finding is all the more surprising given that the same audiences regularly hear CQF used in films and television series originally produced in Quebec, and are generally not put off by it. Do these seemingly contradictory opinions stem from linguistic insecurity (as we have previously argued elsewhere; Reinke/Ostiguy 2012), or from the weight of decades of habit in Quebec's dubbing industry and among consumers, such that IF is simply the "expected" variety for audiovisual translation? Undoubtedly, the answer is: a bit of both.

In the face of the tensions still felt in Quebec between status and solidarity, and between endogenous and exogenous standard, our study and its results suggest a way forward for Quebec's dubbing industry. QF dubs may not have been well received in the past, but in the present study, our respondents' attitudes towards excerpts in SQF were not generally negative, and were in fact occasionally quite comparable to their attitudes towards IF. In some cases, respondents evaluated SQF even *more* positively than IF (notably when it comes to the perceived solidarity of male speakers). Dubs in SQF may therefore be well received by Québécois audiences today, particularly if the themes of the piece are such that audiences can easily relate to and identify with the characters on screen—more so if the piece is also light-hearted or comical. Furthermore, our study clearly shows that the speech of female characters should be translated somewhat differently than that of males, such so their dialogue more closely resembles the expected standard for dubbed media (in this case, IF), but without simply reproducing the exogenous standard once again.

In any case, the dubbing industry in Quebec will need to update its strategies and practices in order to reflect the evolving attitudes and habits of its consumer base. As Hayes (2021) points out, to do so will require the industry to make bold moves that may break with tradition as well as to accept a potentially rocky transition period while new practices gain ground,

transforming into habits, expectations, and eventually industry standards in their own right.

But what other reasons, besides viewers being accustomed to hearing IF in dubbed media, could be behind respondents' reactions to the three varieties of French in our test? In future work, we will relate the results seen here to results obtained from a more direct method of enquiry, namely an online questionnaire that the 210 respondents were invited to fill out immediately after completing the matched guise protocol described here. Among other things, the questionnaire asked respondents to elaborate on their feelings towards their own spoken language variety, to express their opinions on the language choices in a Quebec-made versus a French television series, and to comment on an English-language Canadian television series that has been dubbed into a relatively colloquial variety of QF.

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Appendix 1: Phonetic variables and their variants in the three language varieties / dub versions

Phonetic variable	Variants and examples		
	IF	SQF	CQF
Affrication of /d/ and /t/ before /i/, /j/, /y/, and /ɥ/	No affrication	Affrication	Affrication
	dit [di]	[dᶻi]	[dᶻi]
	con**d**uis [kɔ̃dɥi]	[kɔ̃dᶻɥi]	[kɔ̃dᶻɥi]
	pe**t**it [pəti]	[pətˢi]	[pətˢi]
	tu [ty]	[tˢy]	[tˢy]
Laxing of /i/, /y/ and /u/ in closed syllables with a non-lengthening final consonant	No laxing	Laxing	Laxing
	f**i**lm [film]	[fɪlm]	[fɪlm]
	pl**u**s [plys]	[plʏs]	[plʏs]
	éc**ou**te [ekut]	[ekʊt]	[ekʊt]
Lengthening or diphthongisation of /i/, /y/, /u/, /ɔ/, /ɛ/ and /œ/ in closed syllables with a lengthening final consonant	No lengthening	Lengthening	Diphthong-isation
	al**o**rs [alɔʁ]	[alɔːʁ]	[alaᵊʁ]
	m**è**re [mɛʁ]	[mɛːʁ]	[maᵋʁ]
	err**eu**r [ɛʁœʁ]	[ɛʁœːʁ]	[ɛʁaœʁ]
	util**i**se [ytiliz]	[ytˢiliːz]	[ytˢilɪⁱz]
	touj**ou**rs [tuʒuʁ]	[tuʒuːʁ]	[tuʒʊᵘʁ]

Phonetic variable (cont.)	Variants and examples (cont.)		
	IF	**SQF**	**CQF**
Realisation of word-final /a/	[a]	[ɑ]	[ɔ]
	rep**a**s [ʁəpa]	[ʁəpɑ]	[ʁəpɔ]
	assassin**a**t [asasina]	[asasinɑ]	[asasinɔ]
Lengthening or diphthongisation of long vowels /ɑ:/, /ɛ:/ et /o:/	No lengthening	Lengthening	Diphthong-isation
	âge [aʒ]	[ɑ:ʒ]	[aᵊʒ]
	peut-**ê**tre [pœtɛtʁ]	[pœtɛ:tʁ]	[ptaᵋt]
	ch**o**se [ʃoz]	[ʃo:z]	[ʃɔᵒz]
Realisation of the nasal vowel /ɑ̃/	[ɑ̃]	[ã]	[ã]
	c**en**t [sɑ̃]	[sã]	[sã]
	dev**an**t [dəv ɑ̃]	[dəvã]	[dəvã]
Realisation of the nasal vowel /ɛ̃/	[ɛ̃]	[ẽ]	[ẽ]
	vi**en**s [vjɛ̃]	[vjẽ]	[vjẽ]
	pl**ein** [plɛ̃]	[plẽ]	[plẽ]
Reduction of word-final consonant clusters	No reduction	No reduction	Reduction
	conta**ct** [kɔ̃takt]	[kɔ̃takt]	[kɔ̃tak]
	ar**br**e [aʁbʁ]	[aʁbʁ]	[aʁb]
	re**st**e [ʁɛst]	[ʁɛst]	[ʁɛs]

Phonetic variable (cont.)	Variants and examples (cont.)		
	IF	**SQF**	**CQF**
Realisation of subject pronouns *il* (“he”) and *elle* (“she”)	**Il** [il]	[il]	[i]
	Elle [ɛl]	[ɛl]	[a] ~ [al]
Expression of future time	Simple	Simple	Periphrastic
	Ça **fera** bientôt dix ans (“soon it will be 10 years [since…]”)	Ça **fera** bientôt dix ans	Ça **va faire** bientôt dix ans
Realisation of negation morpheme *ne*	Pronounced	Pronounced	Not pronounced
	Ne te cache pas derrière (“Don’t hide behind [that]”)	**Ne** te cache pas derrière	Cache-toi pas derrière

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Media policy as language policy
The case of South Estonian

Abstract

The Republic of Estonia is home to several linguistic communities, including minorities who associate their linguistic identity with languages other than Standard Estonian. Apart from the large Russian minority, the situation of the second largest minority, the South Estonians, is less widely known. While all South Estonians speak Standard Estonian fluently, language policy measures for their languages are frequently subsumed under planning for the standard variety. This denies the communities their South Estonian identity and regularly undermines their claims for support of language revitalisation. This also affects media in Estonian varieties, as many media functions for the South Estonians are replaced by Standard Estonian media. This chapter has a tripartite focus in the analysis of the Estonian media landscape: First, it presents the sociolinguistic situation in Estonia and relevant language policy measures. Second, it discusses media from the perspective of linguistic minorities. Third, following from this discussion, the chapter concludes with a general discussion about the relationship between a minority language's conceptualisation as a dialect and its representation in the media. The conflation of identity, language, and media policy in the Estonian contexts, proves harmful to the Estonian varieties other than the Literary Standard.

1. Introduction

Multilingual regions and countries around the globe have to make decisions about the institutional, financial, or political support afforded to each language present in the area. These processes of negotiating participation and access to support involve different stakeholders from various parts of social life – politicians, activists, artists, and, not least, the language users – which also leads to attention from researchers in the interdisciplinary field of language policy research. Although most stakeholders have moved away from framing "language as a problem" (Ruiz 1984) and following monolingual ideals of the nation state, questions of identity construction, linguistic rights, and equal participation in social life for all members of a society remain highly topical. Since these topics affect society at large, we may ask with Thomas Ricento's words (2000, p. 208):

> "Why do individuals opt to use (or cease to use) particular languages and varieties for specified functions in different domains, and how do those choices influence – and how are they influenced by – institutional language policy decision-making (local to national and supranational)?"

The latter interaction between language policy and the use of minority languages will be the focus of this chapter, illustrated by the example of South Estonian. The Republic of Estonia is home to various linguistic communities; the presence of a relatively large Russian community is well-known, whereas South Estonian is less visible in the international discourse. For this chapter, the term "South Estonian" shall refer to a number of closely related varieties that stem from or arose under the influence of the historical South Estonian *language*, although the term has also been used in the literature to designate dialects of Estonian or particular South Estonian varieties (Iva/Pajusalu 2004). The case of South Estonian and its struggle for recognition and official support can be observed in policies relating to language and media, which will be the main focus for this chapter. The subsequent sections will provide some background on methodology and the sociolinguistic situation of South Estonian, followed by a description of the Estonian media landscape and the place of South Estonian media within it.

2. Theoretical background

Language policy research builds upon different disciplines, ranging from linguistics and philology, via sociology and political science, to economics and psychology. Within linguistics, it falls under a broader scope of Applied Linguistics dealing with the reflection, action, and evaluation of language-related phenomena (Gibbons 2001). Within this typology, the present chapter aims at providing an evaluation of the current media and language policy, focusing on the top-down directionality, i.e. officially mandated regulations and rules issued by an authority. At the same time, these policy measures do not exist in a vacuum, but are related to social action, discussed by stakeholders at all levels, ascribed a symbolic value or *de facto* overruled by grass roots initiatives (Fischer/Forester 1993; Levinson et al. 2009). What people do with language policy, i.e. how they interpret language, linguistic objects and acts, and the (symbolic) meaning thereof, is equally important to consider, especially when contrasting intended outcomes and actual implementation of policies. Consequently, this chapter follows Dvora Yanow's concept of Interpretive Policy Analysis (2000, 2015), a

framework for the investigation of individual and collective meaning making from documents and actions (Moore/Wiley 2015). As the investigator's positionality is an important element within this framework, I wish to clarify that I am not speaking on behalf of the South Estonian community nor any relevant stakeholders. Yet, I do support minority language rights in Estonia and South Estonian language activism.

Overall, language as a marker of identity and a means of participation in social life is closely tied to concepts of (collective) identity and citizenship. Any policy that governs language use or language-related activities in the social sphere contains insights to the position of its issuer, whether those are overt policies or "implicit", "hidden" agendas, in the words of Harold Schiffman (1996) and Elana Shohamy (2006). There may also be an implicit agenda or ideal within an overtly stated goal, which emphasises the need for an interpretive analysis going beyond the surface of the policy documents. For the Republic of Estonia, a state occupied twice in its relatively short history, the protection of its nationhood, its language, and culture is embodied in many legal acts and documents – at the same time, it raises questions about the definition of citizenship and the status of minorities on its territory. While scholars in the field (e.g. Kymlicka/Patten 2003; Skutnabb-Kangas 2000; Skutnabb-Kangas/Phillipson 1995) and myself would argue for the need to establish linguistic justice, there is more to the Estonian identity construction than meets the bare eye. It is based upon different historical and contemporary exchanges with other nations, languages, and cultural practices, as a means of negotiating power relations internally and externally – in the words of Stuart Hall (1992, p. 297):

> "Instead of thinking of national cultures as unified, we should think of them as constituting a discursive device which represents difference as unity or identity. [...] One way of unifying them has been to represent them as the expression of the underlying culture of 'one people'."

3. The sociolinguistic situation of South Estonian

As stated initially, the Republic of Estonia is home to various linguistic minorities besides the titular nation, as a result of historical events (e.g. the Soviet occupation) or current trends like labour migration from its European neighbours. As of the 2021 census, there were 895,493 respondents with Estonian as their mother tongue among the 1.332 million inhabitants of Estonia (Statistics Estonia, RL21431). The second largest linguistic community is Russian-speaking

with 379,210 respondents. In addition, Russian is used as a means of communication across linguistic communities including Ukrainians, Belarusians, Tatars, Chuvashs, or Mari (all above 100 native speakers each), spoken as a foreign language by over 500,000 respondents (RL21444). The Ukrainians constituted the third largest linguistic community in the statistics by mother tongue with 12,431 speakers, however, this ranking does not take into consideration the share of *dialect* speakers. The methodology of gathering data on dialect speakers has drawn criticism by language activists, as the 2011 census differentiated between native Estonian speakers who do or do not speak any language form classified as a dialect thereby precluding native speakers of other languages from registering their knowledge of Estonian varieties.

The 2021 census has thus allowed for speakers of other languages to mark knowledge of dialects – resulting in 9,000 additional responses (RL214462) – and multiple mentions of dialect knowledge. Yet, the distinction between native languages and dialects subsumed under the Estonian *Dachsprache still exists*, while Ancient Egyptian continues to appear as mother tongue for several respondents, with extinct Elamite and Official Aramaic removed as options from the census since 2011. Notwithstanding, among the 160,800 dialect speakers resides the third largest linguistic community in Estonia, the South Estonians, with roughly 133,000 speakers (RL214462); Võro (99,560) is the largest, with Seto (26,220), Mulgi (14,380) and Tarto (19,740) following with some distance, but still in a magnitude above most other linguistic communities. In comparison with the 2011 census, it is notable that all Estonian dialects recorded an increase in the number of people self-identifying as speaking or understanding the varieties. One contributing factor was likely the changed methodology making it easier to report dialect knowledge. The Tarto variety saw its numbers quadruple between the 2011 and 2021 census (RL0445), likely facilitated by South Estonians adding the variety as their second or third dialect, or as a sign of local patriotism of residents of formerly Tarto-speaking regions in the absence of large-scale revitalisation movements. Irrespective of the reasons, the increase in identification with the Estonian regional varieties between the 2011 and 2021 census can be seen as a positive sign for societal awareness and valorisation of these language forms; the numbers in the 2021 census suggest that the Estonian public ascribes value to dialect knowledge.

Despite these figures, South Estonian constitutes a microlanguage "in the conceptually murky no-man's zone between a language and a dialect" in Catherine

Gibson's view (2017, p. 168). This effect is amplified by the speakers' imperfect concentration (Kymlicka/Patten 2003), i.e. dispersed communities without core areas where the language is spoken by a majority of residents, with only two majority dialect-speaking counties in Estonia: Võru and Põlva in the Southeast of Estonia (Statistics Estonia, RL214462). The present-day situation is a result of language policies in the 20th century which reinforced a process of convergence of the Estonian languages at the expense of South Estonian that can be observed since the 19th century (Laanekask/Erelt 2007; Laakso 2022). Before the eventual standardisation of a single Estonian national language, there had been a South Estonian-based literary language at a time when present-day Estonia was administratively divided into a northern and a southern part between the Northern Wars in the late 16th century and the 1917 Russian Revolution. Inhabitants of these regions were certainly communicating across the linguistic and administrative divides, but full bilingualism among the South Estonians was only reached during the Soviet occupation. It can be assumed that all South Estonian native speakers in Estonia are functionally fluent in Standard Estonian, whereas the use of South Estonian is limited to certain regions, domains, or functions, e.g. cultural practice, communication among family members (Eichenbaum/Koreinik 2008). Consequently, South Estonian varieties are at times seen as dialects of Estonian, suggesting a different relationship between the Standard and its related language forms. As Kadri Koreinik (2013) points out, these conceptions of languagehood are a part of the revitalisation discourse where the dichotomy between language and dialect spawns different approaches for the protection of South Estonian and the Estonian dialects. These diverging concepts have also been referenced in parliamentary debates on assigning South Estonian the status of a minority or regional language.

4. Language policy in Estonia

In terms of national language policy, Estonia's main document is the Language Act passed in 2011 (KeeleS 2020). In its current version, the following sections regulate the promotion and protection of Estonian:

> § 3. Eesti keele staatus
> (1) Eesti riigikeel on eesti keel.
> (2) Eesti viipekeel on iseseisev keel ning viibeldud eesti keel on eesti keele esinemiskuju.
> (3) Riik toetab eesti keele piirkondlike erikujude (edaspidi murdekeel) kaitset,

kasutamist ja arendamist.

§ 3. Status of the Estonian language
(1) The official language of Estonia is Estonian
(2) The Estonian sign language is an independent language and the signed Estonian language is a mode of the Estonian language.
(3) The state shall promote the protection, use and development of the regional varieties of the Estonian language (hereinafter dialects). [Author's translation]

Paragraph 1 states that Estonia is a monolingual state, in line with the goals of protecting Estonian language and culture. This idea is linked to foreign occupation and periods where Estonian was secondary to the administrative languages of German, Swedish, or Russian – it prevents other languages from receiving official status. This is reinforced by section 5, designating all languages other than Estonian and sign language as "foreign languages". Multimodality is thus recognised on an equal level to the standard language (also in paragraph 2), whereas the regional varieties including South Estonian are relegated to the status of dialects subordinate to the standard. Yet, paragraph 3 explicitly spells out the goal of protecting and promoting active use and transmission of these varieties, with the ceiling of becoming a recognised official language, as per paragraph 1. As the following sections will be focusing on language use in media, two paragraphs of section 4 on the official use of the Literary Standard are also relevant. Clause 3 of the first paragraph states that "[i]n the area of use of a regional variety the text of equal meaning in the respective dialect may be added to the text that is in compliance with the Literary Standard". This allows for parallel texts and simultaneous publications in the varieties, albeit paragraph 3 concludes that:

> "[m]uudes avalikkusele suunatud tekstides, millele ei kohaldata ametliku keelekasutuse nõuet, sealhulgas eesti keele kasutamisel meedias, järgitakse keelekasutuse head tava."
>
> "[i]n other texts directed to the public that do not apply the requirement for official use of language, including the use of the Estonian language in the media, the good practice of the use of language is followed." [Author's translation]

The last part of this is noteworthy, as "good practice" is not legally defined, but exists as a convention or norm between the users of the language. While it does not prohibit the use of any variety, even in the media, the burden of establishing

a basis for using varieties is shifted onto the speakers. Many speakers will make use of their freedom to use South Estonian among family, friends, or colleagues, but need to create this convention in any interaction they enter. This is where the unification of language and nation can be seen as "the exercise of different forms of cultural power" (Hall 1992, p. 297) – the constant negotiation of identities is a consequence of language policy as it enters the social interaction between speakers. The dynamics of this issue have been modelled by José Ramón Uriarte and Stefan Sperlich (2016), who conclude that bilinguals need to recognise each other and society needs to create opportunities for signalling the willingness or desire to use a minority language (or dialect).

In between the legal foundation in the form of the Language Act and the actual implementation of language policy measures is a number of agendas and programmes by official and non-governmental institutions. One of these papers is published regularly by the Ministry of Education and Research under the title "Estonian Language Strategy". The current plan spans the years 2021-2035, following an initial strategy paper from 2011 that stated the objective that:

> "regional varieties of Estonian will act as a cultural treasure and part of everyday life, a source for the development of Standard Estonian, and a bearer of local Estonian identity"

The current version emphasises the need to preserve and protect Estonian and "Estonianness" ("eestlus") reiterating the aforementioned goal as:

> "[s]oodustatakse eesti keele piirkondlike erikujude kasutamist igapäevaelus, meedias ja avalikus ruumis, toetatakse nende õpetamist lasteaias ja koolis ning säilimist ema- ja kodukeelena ning elava kultuuriloome keelena."
>
> "[e]ncouraging the use of specific regional dialects of Estonian in everyday life, the media and the public sphere, supporting their teaching in kindergartens and schools and their preservation as a mother tongue, home language and living language of cultural heritage." [Author's translation]

While the emotional level of referring to varieties as "cultural treasure" has been removed from the texts, the goals of developing educational programmes, tools, digital platforms, and media are more tangible and can be used to evaluate the outcomes in 2035. The following section will look at the role of media within language planning and revitalisation.

5. The role of media

Media traditionally serve social functions of relaying information and providing a forum for public discourse while "socio-cultural goals, such as serving social integration and cohesion, cultural bonding and bridging" are increasing in importance, according to Johannes Bardoel and Leen d'Haenens (2008, p. 343). In addition, the medium itself may bear symbolic meaning and importance – Marshall McLuhan's (1964) dictum: "the medium is the message" – which provides the basis for the interpretive policy analysis based on the objects and actions performed with them. Thus, having one's language represented in public media on a national stage assigns a certain prestige to the language by virtue of association with the medium and its audience. Questions of media policy are not exclusively concerned with disseminating information and fulfilling political functions (Bardoel/d'Haenens 2008), but relate to identity construction and the negotiation of social power. In times when political nationalism is rising and affecting the situation of minorities (Kymlicka 2001; May 2012), media become a central locus of language policy (Kelly-Holmes 2012; Moring 2007). Yet, this does not necessarily imply a negative view of media and their relationship with minorities because media offer opportunities for linguistic minorities with a good level of literacy and access to the necessary technology (Grenoble/Whaley 2005). Since the South Estonians fulfil these requirements, media can be used for purposes of preserving and promoting their language (Weber 2020). In the next section, the Estonian media landscape will be investigated under the criteria of opportunities and capacity for South Estonian media, a framework presented by François Grin (2016) and adapted for various sociolinguistic research projects.

This analysis will, thus, not focus on how media is actually used, as proposed by Michael Cormack (2007) – the discussion stays on the abstract level of comparing the media products on offer as measured against their intended use. While the actual use may differ between individuals based on their desire to engage with minority language media, it is possible to identify the upper limit of this interaction. Since this limit is overtly or indirectly set by legislation and funding, the opportunities afforded to minority languages is linked to language policy and its underlying ideologies. From the viewpoint of the linguist, any meaningful exposure to the minority language is beneficial and the consumed media, ideally, cater for the same needs as its alternatives. This is where the concept of substitution becomes relevant – to what extent are media in the minority language replaced with media in a language of wider communication?

Tom Moring (2007) outlines three criteria for analysing minority language media: genre, functional, and institutional completeness. While genre completeness simply refers to having all genres of media covered in a language, the other criteria are more complex. Functional completeness is given, if any substitution is voluntary and everyday needs are covered by the available media in the minority language. Moring's concept of institutional completeness covers the range of services and providers under the condition that users of the product have access to "at least one distinguishable full-service alternative in the minority language of a quality that is at the level of the services available in the majority language" (2007, p. 19). This prerequisite is introduced because it affects the actual engagement with the medium. There are cases when television or radio stations argued against expanding their minority language programme based on lack of demand while keeping relevant shows in inconvenient time slots (e.g. at night, during working hours). Dissemination via the internet has helped in this respect, but cannot replace the actual quality of the medium offered. Consequently, institutional and genre completeness are requirements for achieving functional completeness.

6. The Estonian media landscape

This section will apply the completeness criteria to the Estonian media landscape, including media for linguistic minorities and dialect speakers. These media come in different forms, radio and television broadcasts, print publications, and an increasing supply of media distributed online. For the Estonian Literary Standard, there is genre and institutional completeness under the condition that imported and subtitled films and TV shows are counted towards Estonian language media. While there are productions from Estonia, the television programme consists of a mixture of public and private channels with some imported shows – radio and print are complete with Estonian productions. Thus, it is possible to consume all genres and types of media in Estonian, approximating functional completeness. All media in Estonia are subject to Estonian law, but only the public outlets are directly fulfilling and linked to political functions. The public broadcasting services and state-funded media shall, thus, be in the focus of this section. The defining legal text for Estonian media is the Public Broadcasting Act passed in 2007 (ERHS 2022). This Act lists different objectives of public broadcasting in line with other legal acts and constitutional requirements. Among those listed in section 4 are the goals that:

1) toetavad eesti keele ja kultuuri arengut;
2) väärtustavad Eesti riigi ja eesti rahvuse kestmise tagatisi ning osutavad asjaoludele, mis võivad ohustada Eesti riigi ja eesti rahvuse püsimist;
3) aitavad kaasa Eesti ühiskonna sotsiaalse sidususe kasvule; [...]
9) tagavad igaühele vabaks eneseteostuseks vajaliku informatsiooni saamise.

1) support the development of the Estonian language and culture;
2) enhance the guarantees of the permanence of the Estonian state and nation and draw attention to the circumstances which may pose a threat to the permanence of the Estonian state and nation;
3) assist in the increase of the social cohesion of the Estonian society; [...]
9) guarantee the availability of the information needed by each person for his or her self-realisation. [Author's translation]

Interestingly, the first item on the list relates to language and its preservation, even before the protection of the state and its society are mentioned. This underlines the importance of language for the construction of national identity and its protection in all aspects of social life. Maarja Siiner (2006) links this focus on language to the Soviet occupation, when Russian language and culture were very present and imposed by the political leaders. Several scholars confirm that language competence in Estonian proved to be a symbolic boundary in the absence of a political border between Estonia and Russia (Laitin 1998; Vihalemm/Masso 2007). Siiner adds that the conflation of linguistic ideology and political activity in "its essence is linguistic discrimination" (2006, p. 173) which can still be observed in Estonian policies after the Restoration of Independence. Despite this orientation, section 4 paragraph 9 mandates that public broadcasting allows for individual media consumption which requires that topics are presented "in a balanced manner" (§6 [2]) so that different opinions and beliefs are covered (§6 [3]). Thereby, the public broadcasting shall function as a public forum for exchange between different social groups and communities. Although primacy is given to the Estonian language and culture, these sections provide the basis for broadcasts in languages other than the Literary Standard.

The Russian community in Estonia is also served by public service in radio and television. Before 2015, Russian speakers consumed mostly imported programmes from abroad, while productions from Estonia were relegated to peripheral hours (Jõesaar 2017). This mirrors the situation Moring describes for

many immigrant communities, which is "likely to affect the processes of identity formation within the immigrant community, keeping it culturally distinct" (2007, p. 22). In response, and at a time of an increasing expansionism from the Russian Federation, the Estonian authorities created and continue to fund a public Russian-language channel ETV+ with several million euros to create original content in Russian (Jõesaar 2017). The resulting television programme is intended as an alternative for imported media, making it necessarily complete in terms of genres and functions. In addition, there are radio channels exclusively in Russian and newspapers printing Russian-language news. While a survey of actual engagement with these media would go beyond the scope of the present chapter, it becomes evident that presenting Russian-speaking Estonians with an alternative to imported media is an important endeavour for policy makers. Considering continued military interventions by the Russian Federation in Ukraine in 2022, it can be expected that this focus will remain for the foreseeable future.

As regards South Estonian and other varieties, the 2011 Development plan of the Estonian language concludes that the public broadcasting "has no action plan and own resources for the preparation of dialect programmes". A decade later, the annual development plans published by the public broadcasting provider ERR emphasise that they care about multilingual Estonia in respect to minority languages and dialects.

> "Arvestame kultuuriliselt ja keeleliselt mitmekesise taustaga Eesti elanikega. ERR pakub Eesti kohta käivat kvaliteetset ja usaldusväärset infot nii vene kui ka inglise keeles" (ERR Arengukava 2022-2025)
>
> "We take the Estonian residents with a culturally and linguistically diverse background into consideration. ERR offers trustworthy information of high quality about Estonia, also in Russian and English." (ERR Arengukava 2022-2025) [Author's translation]
>
> "Kanname hoolt kauni ja eeskujuliku eesti keele kasutamise eest ERR-i programmides ja väärtustame eri piirkondade murdekeelt" (ERR arengukava 2023-2026)
>
> "We care for the use of beautiful and exemplary Estonian in ERR programmes and show appreciation for the dialects of various regions." (ERR arengukava 2023-2026) [Author's translation]

In practice, the situation of the dialectal media, including South Estonian media, has not seen any drastic changes; there is a limited supply of all kinds of media. Võro, the largest South Estonian community, has the most frequently published media: A newspaper *Uma Leht* is published in print and online on a bi-weekly basis, books in the language appear on a consistent basis, there have been several TV productions over the years, but none that would air regularly. A weekly five-minute news show is the only regular service in Võro, offered by the ERR via its radio channel Vikerraadio and available online, with similar five-minute news broadcasts for the South Estonian Mulgi and Seto varieties, and some Insular dialects (Hiiu, Muhu, Kihnu). Books in Mulgi and Seto are published by their respective culture institutes, often on topics relating to local history and culture; the Seto Instituut published a series of (popular) scientific books including folklore text collections, a famous national epic Peko, a translation of the New Testament, the Estonian constitution, or translated world literature like The Little Prince, which can all be obtained from their shop Seto Kaubamaja. Võro literature appears more diversified, including a scientific journal published by the Võro Instituut, multiple children's books, folklore collections, poetry, and a series of texts written by children for the annual writing contest Mino Võromaa. These publications can be bought from their shop Uma Puut and are displayed at bookstores in Southeastern Estonia. Publications in Tarto are almost exclusively historical, going back to the 1622 Agenda Parva and a short-lived newspaper in 1806 (Tarto maa rahva Näddali-Leht), with very limited language activism to date. Some local authors like Mats Traat have used Tarto for some characters in their writings, yet those instances are token references to the historical language, e.g. a recorded lecture on the historical use of the Tarto language at the University of Tartu by professor Karl Pajusalu in 2022. Seto and Mulgi have featured on television programmes, but to a limited extent. Their respective newspapers, *Üitsainus Mulgimaa* and *Setomaa*, are published online and in print in a monthly cycle.

The latest television production in South Estonian was a humorous soap opera called Tagamõtsa with nine episodes between 2011 and 2017. This was preceded by several shows focusing on personal narratives and local life – Üks tegu (2008-2012, 32 episodes), Iloline inemine (2011, 10 episodes), Olõ õi (2009, 8 episodes), Elolinõ (2005-2007, 16 episodes), Tsirk, tsirk, tsirgukene (2006, 6

episodes), Mõtõlus (2004-2005, 23 episodes), Kihoq (2002, 6 episodes) – all available in the ERR media archives and suggested by language activists (umakiil.eu). South Estonian varieties are irregularly featured on other shows, whenever the topic or the individuals require the link to local language use. This also affects theatre productions which are in some instances released on home media, including Obinitsa (2016), Peko (2011), or Taarka (2008). These recordings are published on DVD with Estonian subtitles for the spoken Seto. Some media are also produced for children, especially books (alphabet and school books, children stories) and music CDs, with some dubbed television shows (e.g. Jäno-Juss, about 200 episodes, and some episodes of Peppa Pig) and special issues of children magazines (e.g. Täheke roughly once a year). Books and multimedia are marketed by the culture institutes and, occasionally, published on public and private archives including Youtube or the culture institutes' homepages. These media are produced and published by or in collaboration with non-government organisations, nonprofit institutions, or language activists. These bottom-up efforts, especially disseminated online, enhance and diversify the range of South Estonian media but require individual effort of speakers to locate and acquire media among various channels and platforms. Examples include blogs, a Võro wikipedia project approaching 6,500 pages, the podcast library *Helüait*, and social media channels. The latter include Facebook groups (Võro kiil with over 14,000 members and daily posts) and YouTube videos where members share their own creations or translations, e.g., bands sharing their songs in South Estonian varieties, or users adding subtitles to international music. There are regular competitions or action weeks encouraging people to become active contributors, either through an annual Wikipedia translation event or as part of activities during the Võro Language Week (Võro keele nätäl) each November. Therefore, most media genres have been covered in the past, although the supply is sparse and too irregular to cater for everyday needs; South Estonian media are neither institutionally, nor functionally complete. Older publications may still be used for pedagogical purposes in classrooms (Weber 2020), yet they do not offer the public forum for current discourses in line with the objectives outlined in the Public Broadcasting Act.

In other words, the strong top-down media and language policy so far fails to protect and promote the South Estonian varieties mandated by the legal acts. At the same time, foreign languages, as designated by the Language Act, receive more complete media than the diverse aspects of Estonian language and culture promised preservation by authorities. Given the increase in self-association with

dialects in the latest census and the overall desire to consume media in the regional varieties, any increase in dialect media publication to approximate genre and functional completeness would likely be met with a positive response. Külli Eichenbaum and Kadri Koreinik interviewed speakers of Võro, Mulgi and the Insular dialect in representative interviews between 1998 and 2002 (2008, p.86), and more than half of the respondents advocated an increased visibility of their language in fiction and non-fiction publications, including radio and television programmes. This is mirrored in language activism and development plans by all activist groups and culture institutes (e.g. Seto Instituut 2022).

7. Discussion

The previous sections have illustrated how media policy sets objectives related to language on the one hand and language policy relates to media on the other hand in the (South) Estonian case. This overlap itself is not problematic, but, in the present example, it leads to divergent goals tied to the preservation, in the sense of promotion of a standard, of a normative linguistic and cultural identity. The policy makers' aims to protect their nation and its diverse heritage is understandable due to Estonia's history with foreign rule and forced assimilation. At the same time, the essentialist and reductionist view of what shall be protected leads to a situation whereby parts of the cultural heritage of Estonian citizens falls outside of the narrow scope set by the policy makers. The South Estonian varieties, deriving from a formerly independent language, and other language forms dubbed "dialects" in legal texts are *de jure* protected and promoted, although the outcomes of the relevant policy measures fail to meet these goals. Arguably, language and media policy do not purposefully harm the preservation of South Estonian, yet the definitions in the Language Act are very precise about the form of language that shall be promoted. The South Estonian speakers, by virtue of being bilingual, also benefit from the promotion of Standard Estonian and the ensured media services in the language. Yet, language policy also differentiates between desirable language forms to be used based on social conventions and "good practice", and those language forms which serve merely symbolic functions – they are part of "Estonian history and culture" (Public Broadcasting Act §4[1]) that is to be recorded and preserved, but not actively lived.

The South Estonians belong to the politically dominant group of *the* Estonians, although they are only a minority within this major population. The concept of the Estonian identity is created on an ethnolinguistic notion contrasted

with other influential cultures and languages present on the territory of the Republic of Estonia or in its direct vicinity, namely Russian and, to lesser extent, the languages of its European neighbours. Implemented strategies and policy measures tend to focus on these two areas by strengthening the position of Standard Estonian vis-à-vis the position of the Russian minority in Estonia and international languages such as English (e.g. for trade, in academia, in imported media). On this scale, it helps the Estonian case if its reference point includes all users of the Estonian Literary Standard, even bilingual speakers. The Russian-Estonian bilinguals would also qualify for this reason, yet the axis of Estonian and Russian is painted as polar opposites in the Estonian context because the language and culture of the Russian-speaking inhabitants of Estonia, many holding Estonian citizenship, is a "foreign" element as regards official status and protection. To this end, the foreign language is afforded more services by public broadcasting than the third largest and autochthonous linguistic community, i.e. the Võro South Estonians. Understandably, the threat of secession and civil unrest is greater for the Russian community, as examples in Ukraine have shown in the past years, while I am unaware of credible secession or independence movements among the South Estonians (also confirmed by Koreinik 2013). While Estonian and Russian are pitched against each other, some parts of the promoted Estonian side receive less attention than promised by the letter of the law.

In this setting, different levels of language policy are played off against one another: The constellation of Estonian and Russian works on a supranational level, since Standard Estonian and the Russian literary language are officially recognised on national and international stages. The individual language use of each Estonian or Russian speaker on the individual level is not subject to this legislation, yet, collectively, as local language use within a family, a school, or an administrative region they fall under the scope of these policies. The Estonian dialects and varieties of the South Estonian language are, thus, tied to the national or regional level and cannot achieve the same status as the Estonian literary language, as they are considered ancillary to the standardised language form. Yet, language activists have been working for almost four decades to put the South Estonian varieties on equal footing in terms of infrastructure (e.g. dictionaries, pedagogical materials, media) and institutional support (i.e. standardisation and political advocacy). Many of these activities have been supported and funded by the state, while other initiatives remain entirely bottom-up movements. As far as media are concerned, Estonia enables all residents to consume media and produces them in a variety of languages through its state-funded public

broadcasting services. On the level of the major languages spoken by the largest communities in Estonia, there is no linguistic discrimination – Russian-speaking and Estonian-speaking communities receive functionally complete media produced in Estonia. Conversely, the largest minority groups, i.e. Russian and South Estonian, are very unequal in terms of media despite South Estonian's seemingly superior status as regional varieties of the official language.

Considering that the attention of the policy maker lies on positioning Standard Estonian among other national languages, one may be tempted to call their inactivity in the area of supporting its dialects and related languages "benign neglect". However, these language forms receive attention when they can be instrumentalised for their symbolic function and to signal certain virtues, yet hindered from achieving any different status due to an ideologically laden definition in the policy texts. Kara D. Brown (2017) observed similar interactions of language policy and language education, where the policy makers are also more concerned about supporting the national language rather than intentionally harming South Estonian. She concludes that these policies were effectively "damaging and far from benign" (2017, p. 187). In recent years, also in coordination with the UN International Decade of Indigenous Languages, activists have increased their efforts to make the sociolinguistic situation of Estonia's autochthonous minorities more visible. While the policy makers' initial response is positive, e.g. setting measurable goals with tangible outcomes in their strategy papers, it remains to be seen how serious these efforts are. The link of language and identity will likely continue to be an obstacle in this process, as long as South Estonian and Estonian varieties are subsumed under a unified Estonian language. At the same time, the legal framework for supporting these communities and creating media outlets for their languages are already in place.

As this debate touches public policy and economics, an investigation of actual capacities and desire to use the varieties in media would appear necessary. This empirical survey would prevent the over- or underestimation of the size of the target groups and the effect of policy measures. Considering that the target group of "dialect" speakers stands at roughly 10% of the Estonian population (2011 census), they form a visible minority in any statistics. Even if the Russian minority is three times the size of the Estonian varieties combined, the former has access to functional complete media while the latter lives on five-minute news broadcasts every week and bottom-up efforts. Public policy has some leeway and does not need to achieve perfectly proportional outcomes; some discrimination

between services can be made, e.g. when considering the alternative options to receive information through media. At the same time, from a welfare-economics viewpoint, some distributions that benefit minorities may be optimising welfare and collective utility (Wickström 2016). Since all Estonian residents pay taxes and have, thus, access to the public good of public media, distribution towards minority language media may be justified. An inclusive media landscape can support all linguistic minorities in Estonia.

Bibliographical note

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The role of the media in the development of Belarusian Russian

Abstract

This chapter aims to explore the role of the media in the development of Belarusian Russian. The focus is on the lexical features of the variety and metalinguistic awareness of its speakers. The chapter demonstrates that the norms of Belarusian Russian are implicit since they are elaborated in model texts, in which more specifically digital media come to the forefront, and are not codified in dictionaries and grammar books. The study reveals that new media (e.g. blogs) and more traditional media (e.g. newspapers) are similar in terms of reflecting the lexical characteristics of the variety: 96% of lexical variants found in the new media are used also in the traditional ones. The chapter also highlights the role of the media in the further development of Belarusian Russian in the current socio-political context. Due to the polarisation of society and the introduction of censorship in the media, variety is developing in divided communicative communities. Intense migration and the banning of the major independent media impacted the Belarusian variety of the Russian language also evolving beyond Belarus – in communicative communities of people who maintain close ties with their country of origin.

1. Introduction

According to Ulrich Ammon (2015, p. 58-59), mass media, rather than fiction or more traditional drama, play a priority role in the process of language standardisation. The national varieties of pluricentric languages are shaped by their use in the media, and this determines the need to investigate the role of the media in the development of the Belarusian variety of the Russian language (taking into account other areas where the variety is standardised). Lexical features of Russian-language media from Belarus have already been the subject of scholarly consideration (see, for example, Volynec/Ratnikova 1996; Konjuškevič 2016), but not in the framework of pluricentric theory, which determines the need for the current study.

When analysing Belarusian Russian, it is necessary to understand the political context in which this variety is developing. Belarus gained its independence after the collapse of the Soviet Union. In the early 1990s,

Belarusian was briefly the only state language in the country. In 1994, Aliaksandar Lukashenka (Alexander Lukashenko) came to power. In 1995, he held a referendum, one of the results of which was the establishment of two state languages, Belarusian and Russian.

The Belarusian and Russian languages are genetically and structurally close, and their varieties form a continuum (Goritskaya 2019). While discussing the sociolinguistic situation in Belarus, it is important to take into account not only Belarusian and Russian languages but also Belarusian-Russian mixed speech (Hentschel 2017). The Belarusian language is represented by two main standards: the official (*Narkamaŭka*) and *Taraškievica* Belarusian Classical Orthography (*Taraškievica*); in fact, there is a continuum of more or less common variants (Goritskaya 2019).

Belarusian and Russian are equal only in law, in terms of the scope of communication they differ considerably. See, for instance, new studies aggregating the information about the disproportionate use of the Belarusian and Russian languages (Arnejski/Rudkoŭski 2022; Belaruski PÈN 2022). According to the 2019 census, 71% of ethnic Belarusians speak Russian and 28.5% speak Belarusian (Nacional'nyj statističeskij komitet 2020). In addition, 61% of Belarusians consider Belarusian as their native language, and 38% as Russian. However, the census data distorts reality, in particular, because it does not reflect the number of people who use Belarusian-Russian mixed speech in everyday communication.

Belarusian Russian is a non-dominant variety (Del Gaudio 2013; Woolhiser 2012, etc.) that has specific characteristics on all levels of linguistic structure (Mixnevič 1985; Goritskaya/Norman 2020). This chapter focuses on the lexical characteristics of Belarusian Russian. The choice of material is based on the following factors. First, there are more specific lexical variants than phonetic and grammatical ones. Second, the attitude towards the units representing different levels of linguistic structure differs. My research on metalinguistic commentaries concerning Belarusian Russian shows that lexical units are more likely to be evaluated positively, as local features, rather than as mistakes (Goritskaya 2018).

The distinctive lexical features of Belarusian Russian are not only qualitative but also quantitative. The qualitative lexical differences between the national varieties of Russian are manifested in the fact that some variants are unique to the variety. We observe quantitative lexical differences when certain

lexemes shared by different national varieties of Russian have functional specificity in Belarusian Russian, e.g., they demonstrate a significant increase or decrease in their observed frequency compared to their expected frequency (see Goritskaya 2021).

In previous studies (e.g., Goritskaya 2021), I have singled out 560 lexical variants that are characteristic of Belarusian Russian. To that end, a primary database was used including lexical items found in various spheres of communication including metalinguistic commentaries from native speakers. Subsequently, a search was carried out in the General Internet Corpus of the Russian language. The LiveJournal subcorpus representing blogs was used comprising 8.72 billion tokens, and 162 million tokens from Belarus. The units represented in this subcorpus constituted the main sample and lexical items that were not found in the corpus were excluded.

In the current study, to cover not only the new media (blogs) but also the traditional ones, I have used additional data sources – the Integrum database and the Belarusian media websites. I have also studied how lexical variants characteristic of Belarusian Russian, both qualitative and quantitative, are represented in other types of texts relevant to the standardisation of language varieties – dictionaries and fiction. In addition, metalinguistic commentaries have been taken into account, since they demonstrate the awareness of speakers.

The material analysed covers mainly the 21st century, but sources from the 1990s have also been used on occasion. The main part of the material for this chapter was collected between 2019 and 2022. During this time, there have been major changes in the media landscape in Belarus. The 2020 presidential elections in Belarus, held with numerous violations of the Electoral Code, led to the expression of citizen dissent of unprecedented scale and duration. In 2020, many independent media outlets gave extensive coverage of the massive protests taking place in the country. As a result, a significant number of media outlets had their websites blocked, and some were labelled as "extremist organizations/ formations" while their articles and other products were considered "extremist materials". In Belarus at the moment, there is administrative responsibility for distributing and storing materials from such media, e.g., for subscribing to a Telegram channel or reposting news on social networks. In some cases, interviews for such media outlets may lead to criminal responsibility for "promoting extremist activity". For this reason, I have limitations on what examples can be quoted. The list of "extremist" resources is constantly growing,

which complicates the research of the Belarusian media.

2. Descriptive and prescriptive norms of Belarusian Russian

2.1 Theoretical background

The functioning of variants characteristic of national varieties of pluricentric languages is style- and genre-specific. For example, Sonja Schweiger et al. (2019) show that in Austrian German, there are significantly more nationally specific diminutives in computer-mediated communication on Twitter than in the traditional media. As for Belarusian Russian, it is obvious that texts belonging to different discourses are filled with lexical variants that are cultural-specific to varying degrees (Goritskaya/Norman 2020, p. 63-64).

This chapter is based on the idea that languages and their varieties are codified to varying degrees (Ammon 1989, p. 89-90). The standardisation of a language implies not only the existence of normative descriptions of its vocabulary, grammar, orthography, punctuation, and orthoepy but also the existence of so-called model (exemplary) written texts, texts that are considered exemplary by the language users. If linguistic variants are regularly used in the speech of language professionals, such as writers, journalists, and newsreaders, these units can be considered "standard" (Ammon 2015, p. 58). Furthermore, information about the linguistic means and the rules of their use can be fixed in normative publications, while it is clear that no variety can be fully codified because the speakers are not aware of all the rules that guide language use, which applies especially to grammar.

Georges Lüdi (2015, p. 63) contrasts descriptive norms with prescriptive norms of two types: explicit (codified) and implicit. Descriptive norms are studied by linguists who identify sufficiently frequent variants that are used in a particular community and those can be considered norms. Explicit prescriptive norms are established by codifiers and disseminated in education. Most interesting for sociolinguistic research are implicit prescriptive norms, which determine the way of speaking in a particular community. These norms are spontaneously established by "trendsetters", who set the speech fashion and standards of communicative behaviour. For pluricentric speech practices, according to Lüdi (idem), it is the implicit prescriptive norms that are crucial for varieties, since they reflect a continuum of more and less formalised ways of using language in a particular country. In addition, implicit norms are related to

identity because they allow speakers to contrast “us” with “them”.

2.2. Explicit prescriptive norms of Belarusian Russian

Currently, no lexicographic sources or grammar books are adequately reflecting the features of the Belarusian variety of the Russian language. My current study based on (Ožegov/Švedova 2006; Kuznecov 1998) shows that in the dictionaries of the Russian language published in Russia, lexical features of Belarusian Russian, as well as variants typical of Ukraine, are only recorded in rare cases. There are examples in which one of the meanings of the word denotes culture-specific concepts present in Belarus, Ukraine, and some other countries or their parts as illustrated below:

> *Xata:*
> – ‘na Ukraine, v Belorussii, na juge Rossii: krest’janskij dom’ (Ožegov/Švedova 2006);
>
> – in Ukraine, Belarus, and southern Russia: the peasant house [Author’s translation];
>
> – ‘krest’janskij dom v ukrainskoj, belorusskoj i južnorusskoj derevne’ (Kuznecov 1998)
>
> – a peasant house in a Ukrainian, Belarusian, and South Russian village [Author’s translation]
>
> *Pan:*
> – ‘v staroj Pol’še, Litve, a takže v Belorussii[1] i na Ukraine do revoljucii: pomeščik, barin (sejčas upotr. kak obraščenie k vzroslomu mužčine v Čexoslovakii i Pol’še)’ (Ožegov/Švedova 2006)
>
> – 1) in old Poland, Lithuania, Ukraine, and Belarus: landlord, nobleman, 2) in Ukraine and Belarus before 1917: master, lord in relation to servants, to subordinates [Author’s translation];
>
> – ‘1) v staroj Pol’še, Litve, na Ukraine i v Belorussii: pomeščik, dvorjanin’, ‘2) na Ukraine i v Belorussii do 1917 g.: xozjain, gospodin po otnošeniju k prisluge, k podčinënnym’ (Kuznecov 1998)

[1] The original quotations use the variant *Belorussia*, which is currently uncharacteristic of the Belarusian variety of Russian (Goritskaya 2021, p. 159-167). In all my translations, it has been replaced by the variant *Belarus.*

– in old Poland, Lithuania, as well as in Belarus and Ukraine before the revolution: landlord, nobleman (now used as an address form to a grown man in Czechoslovakia and Poland) [Author's translation]

Mestečko:
– 'na Ukraine, v Belorussii do revoljucii: poselok polugorodskogo tipa' (Ožegov/Švedova 2006)

– in Ukraine, Belarus before the revolution: a semi-urban settlement [Author's translation];

– 'na Ukraine, v Belorussii i v južnyx oblastjax Rossii: bol'šoe selenie gorodskogo tipa' (Kuznecov 1998)

– in Ukraine, Belarus, and southern Russia: a large settlement of an urban type [Author's translation]

Such an approach to the representation of country-specific lexical variants in the dictionaries does not reflect the use of this type of words in Russian speech. As Vladimir Belikov (2004, p. 181) observes, "žitel' Rostova ili Belgoroda nazovet xatoj i podmoskovnoe, i arxangel'skoe sel'skoe žilišče" [Author's translation: a resident of Rostov or Belgorod would also use *xata* to refer to a rural dwelling near Moscow and in Arkhangelsk].

In the above-mentioned dictionaries of the Russian language, there are also examples of country-specific lexical variants denoting more abstract concepts relevant to some countries. An example of this is a pejorative word *moskal'* 'prozvišče russkogo čeloveka (u ukraincev i belorusov)' [Author's translation: a nickname of a Russian (among Ukrainians and Belarusians)[2]] (Kuznecov 1998).

It is also necessary to examine a group of words that are widely used in Belarus and are lexical markers of the Belarusian variety of the Russian

2 The Etymological dictionary of the Russian language by Max Vasmer (1986), reflecting the Russian vocabulary at the time of the 1950s, notes that the Russian word *moskal* 'vyxodec iz Moskvy, russkij (soldat)' [a native of Moscow, Russian (soldier)] comes from the Polish *moskal*, which, in turn, was formed from *Moskva* (*Moskwa* in Polish). Vasmer notes that the lexeme *moskal* is typical for the South Russian dialects and the Ukrainian language, the Belarusian language is not mentioned in the dictionary entry.
The Etymological dictionary of the Belarusian language (Lučyc-Fedarèc 1990) mentions various meanings of the word *maskal*, characteristic of the varieties of the Belarusian language, e.g., 'mjanuška saldata carskaj armii na byloj tèrytoryi Rèčy Paspalitaj' [nickname of a soldier of the tsarist army in the former territory of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth], 'ruski' [Russian], 'ruski staraabradzec' [Russian Old Believer]. This dictionary gives the etymology with a reference to Vasmer.

language[3], but the dictionaries explicitly note that these words belong to other varieties. Examples from Kuznecov (1998) like the following illustrate this: *rušnik* 'na Ukraine i v južnyx oblastjax Rossii: rasšitoe polotence' [Author's translation: in Ukraine and the southern regions of Russia: an embroidered towel]; *shlyakhta*, '*istor*. v Pol'še, Litve i nekotoryx drugix stranax: dvorjanskoe soslovie' [Author's translation: *historical* in Poland, Lithuania, and some other countries: a noble class].

Belarusian scientists are not engaged in standardisation of the Russian language – their efforts are focused on the codification of the Belarusian language. However, dictionaries of the Russian language are published in Belarus, and as a rule, they are oriented toward schoolchildren, so they can hardly be compared to the comprehensive dictionaries (Ožegov/Švedova 2006; Kuznecov 1998). In particular, Bulyko 2005 and Grabčikova 2019 do not provide any indication of the lexical features of Belarusian Russian. This is due to the fact that they are based on dictionaries published in Russia, see, for example, the list of references in (Grabčikova, p. 423).

Thus, the lexical features of Belarusian Russian are rarely and inconsistently recorded in dictionaries (if they are recorded at all). At the same time, in Belarus, there is a public demand for dictionaries and other publications demonstrating the features of Belarusian Russian. This became apparent for instance in the following comment to a publication of the Russian-speaking writer from Belarus Andrey Zhvalevsky:

> *– Interesno, sostavljaet li kto-to uže slovar' belorusskogo russkogo jazyka? Dlja menja kogda-to byla otkroveniem "šufljadka". Redaktor iz Moskvy sprosila "Čto èto?", a ja dumal, čto prikalyvaetsja. Potom uznal pro "ssobojku" i "bus'ku" (est' tol'ko v belorusskom russkom). Zatem test-čitateli objasnili, čto "po plešku" – èto isključitel'no belorusskij variant russkogo. A teper' vot "sest' na konja". Čto èto takoe (v metaforičeskom smysle) znajut tol'ko ljudi s belorusskimi kornjami... Gde že on, "Belorusskij slovar' russkogo jazyka"?*
> *– Andrej, tak raz net takogo slovarja, možet zajmetes'? Obem raboty nebol'šoj, a professional'nye lingvisty, dumaju, ètim zanimat'sja ne budut* (Andrey Zhvalevsky's Facebook, 10.07.2019).
>
> – I wonder if anyone is already compiling a dictionary of Belarusian Russian.

[3] As stated in the Introduction to this chapter, I consider these variants characteristic of the Belarusian variety of the Russian language, because based on corpus data their frequency in Belarusian Russian is higher than expected in comparison with the Russian variety (Goritskaya 2020).

Šufljadka 'drawer' was once a revelation to me. The editor in Moscow asked "What is it?" and I thought she was joking. Then I found out about *ssobojka* 'packed lunch' and *bus'ka* 'kiss; someone cute' (only found in Belarusian Russian). Then the test readers explained that *po plešku* 'to the brim' is an exclusively Belarusian Russian feature. And now here's *sest' na konja* 'get angry'. Only people with Belarusian roots know what it is (in the metaphorical sense)... Where is "The Belarusian dictionary of the Russian language"?
– Andrey, so, as there is no such a dictionary, why don't you do it? The amount of work is small, and professional linguists, I think, won't deal with it... [Author's translation]

The episodic fixation of country-specific lexical variants in Russian dictionaries distinguishes Russian lexicography from the dictionary traditions of symmetric pluricentric languages like Swedish and Dutch (Clyne 1992, p. 463; De Ridder 2019, p. 3-8; Muhr 2016, p. 26). The codification of the Russian language is an example of asymmetric pluricentricity and has much in common with the standardisation of French (Lüdi 1992, 2014; Weinstein 1989).

2.3. Implicit prescriptive norms of Belarusian Russian

As far as the aforementioned exemplary texts written in Belarusian Russian are concerned, these texts are quite diverse. First of all, fiction is involved in the creation of a corpus of texts which are considered exemplary for the variety. The texts of Russian-speaking writers from Belarus include lexical variants characteristic of Belarusian Russian. Such lexical variants are not removed by the editors, because it is assumed that their use is aesthetically justified. Anatoliy Girutskiy (1990, p. 64) points out that the use of borrowings from the Belarusian language in fiction in the Russian language is the first step towards the inclusion of these lexical variants in the Belarusian variety of the Russian language.

What follows are lexical variants characteristic of Belarusian Russian used in specific contexts in the book *Chernobyl Prayer* (1997) by Nobel laureate Svetlana Aleksievich:

– *Poxoronil muž ženu, a xlopčik malen'kij u nego ostalsja* [Author's emphasis]

– The husband buried his wife and and stayed alone with a little boy [Author's translation and emphasis]

– *Prikazali perestirat' pododejal'niki, prostyni, zanaveski... Tak oni ž v xate! V škafax i sundukax. A kakaja v xate radiacija? Za steklom? Za dverjami?* [Author's emphasis]

– They told me to rewash the duvet covers, the sheets, the curtains... But they're in the house! In wardrobes and chests. And is there the radiation in the house? Behind the glass? Behind the doors? [Author's translation and emphasis]

– *Potom ego poxoronili pered domom. I zemlja ne pux, a tjaželaja glina. Iz-pod grjadok dlja burakov.* [Author's emphasis]

– Then he was buried in front of the house. And the ground was not fluff, but heavy clay. From the beetroot beds. [Author's translation and emphasis]

Occasionally, lexical variants typical of Belarusian Russian are given in the text alongside universal variants, and in some cases, they are accompanied by metalinguistic commentaries:

– *Vek žili na svoej kartoške, na bul'bočke, a tut skazali – nel'zja!* [Author's emphasis]

– We've been living on our potatoes, on *bulbochka* 'little potatoes', for centuries, and now they say you can't! [Author's translation and emphasis]

– *Utrom gljanula v sad – kabany poryli. Diki* [Author's emphasis]

– In the morning, I looked out into the garden – the boars had dug it. *Diki* 'the boars' [Author's translation and emphasis]

– *Kak stanet bandit lezt', on že golovu vsunet v okno, a ja ee toporikom proč'. Po-našemu, sekerkoj...* [Author's emphasis]

– When a bandit gets in, he'll stick his head through the window, and I'll use a little axe to push it away. As we say, with *sekerka* 'a little axe' [Author's translation and emphasis]

It is important to note that the features of Belarusian Russian are a part and parcel of the artistic voice of the author and contribute to characterisations of the personalities. It involves more than just drawing a stereotypical portrait of a "layman" from Belarus, as shown in the illustrations from Aleksievich above. The inclusion of the markers of the variety in the text becomes one of the means

of expressing the author's identity and an indication of their connection to Belarus. A fragment from the novel *Cremulator* (2022) by Sasha Filipenko, a Russian-speaking author with Belarusian roots, could be given as an example. The action takes place in various countries of the world, yet not in Belarus, unlike the above-mentioned book by Svetlana Alexievich, which is set in the Belarusian part of the Chornobyl exclusion zone. However, in *Cremulator*, the word *šufljadka* 'a drawer', one of the most salient lexical markers of the Belarusian variety of the Russian language, is used. (Moreover, this lexeme is also found in other texts by the same author.):

> *– ...Genrix Jagoda nekotoroe vremja deržal èti puli v jaščike pis'mennogo stola, odnako, kogda ego samogo rasstreljali, pamjatnye artefakty perekočevali v šufljadku k tovarišču Ežovu, kotorogo tože, kak vy znaete, končili...*
> *– Čto takoe šufljadka?*
> *– Kogda ja služil v Baranovičax, tak nazyvali vydvižnoj jaščik stola...* [Author's emphasis]
>
> – ...Genrikh Yagoda kept these bullets in his desk drawer for a while, but when he himself was shot, the commemorative artifacts went into the *šufljadka* of Comrade Yezhov, who, as you know, was also finished off...
> – What is *šufljadka*?
> – When I served in Baranavichy, they used to call it a drawer of a table... [Author's translation and emphasis]

How do such lexical variants characteristic of Belarusian Russian function in the media? Some lexical features of the variety are used unconsciously in the media as a natural component of an author's voice. The deliberate inclusion of lexical variants characteristic of Belarusian Russian allows journalists, bloggers, and other media actors to speak the same language as their readers. Lexical characteristics of Belarusian Russian also help create a speech portrait of the hero, reproduce the peculiarities of his speech and thus ensure the credibility and authenticity of the narrative. One example:

> *I tak nikoli žizni xorošej ne bylo, a teper' starost' prišla, glybokaja. I ne umiraetsja, i ne živetsja. Vo takoe u menja, detočki, – grustno ulybaetsja babuška* (Doroščënok 2019)
>
> "I've never had a good life, and now I'm getting very old. I can't die, and I can't live. That's the way it is with me, kids," the old woman smiled sadly. [Author's

translation]

More common lexical features of Belarusian Russian are also represented in the media, not being examples of conscious code-switching with certain aesthetic aims:

– *Odna devočka naklonilas' k morde to li obnjat', to li bus'ku dat' – v ètot moment sobaka sxvatila ee za lico* [Author's emphasis] (Komsomol'skaja pravda – Belarus' 2019)[4]

– One girl leaned over to give her face a hug or a kiss – at that moment the dog clawed at her face. [Author's translation and emphasis]

– *Ves' fil'm na dryžikax i v popytke sderžat' rev...* [Author's emphasis] (Komsomol'skaja pravda – Belarus' 2019)

– The whole film gave me goosebumps and I tried to hold back a roar... [Author's translation and emphasis]

– *Džo Koker snjal pidžak, zakasal rukava i èffektno zaveršil očerednuju pesnju èlegantnym pryžkom* [Author's emphasis] (Komsomol'skaja pravda – Belarus' 2010)

– Joe Cocker took off his jacket, rolled up his sleeves and spectacularly ended another song with an elegant leap. [Author's translation and emphasis]

– *Okazyvaetsja, recepty zakatok belorusy stali iskat' na 10 % reže, čem v prošlom godu* [Author's emphasis] (Komsomol'skaja pravda – Belarus')

– It turns out that Belarusians are searching for the recipes of canned vegetables and other products for the winter 10 percent less often than last year [Author's translation and emphasis]

– [...] *pridu, vyražu solidarnost' s temi, kto pogib, postavlju svečku v kaplice* (Belorusskaja gazeta / BelGazeta 2011) [Author's emphasis]

– [...] I will come, express solidarity with those who died, put a candle in a chapel [Author's translation and emphasis]

– *Bol'šinstvo rabot Lizy xranjatsja v kolledže, tem ne menee koe-čto ona pokazala i nam: unikal'nuju detskuju knižku-transformer so skazočnymi personažami iz*

[4] The examples in this list were found in the Integrum database and therefore their bibliographic descriptions are not given in the references.

belorusskix narodnyx kolyxanok [Author's emphasis] (Narodnaja gazeta 2010)

– Most of Lisa's work is kept at the college, but she also showed us some: a unique children's book-transformer with fairy-tale characters from Belarusian folk lullabies [Author's translation and emphasis]

Thus, lexical variants characteristic of Belarusian Russian are used in exemplary texts, primarily in fiction and media. This creates a basis for the formation of implicit prescriptive norms of the variety. Based on the presence of exemplary texts (media and fiction) and the absence of dictionaries and grammar books that reflect the specifics of the variety, Belarusian Russian is considered a predominantly exonormative variety, while full exonormativity presupposes that the codex and the models (exemplary texts) come from outside (Ammon 1989).

2.4. Reflection of the characteristics of Belarusian Russian: new vs. traditional media

This section aims to establish, whether lexical variants found in the blogs subcorpus of the General Internet Corpus of Russian (560 lexical units) are represented in traditional media, primarily in newspapers. The following are some examples (the round brackets indicate correspondences from the Russian variety of Russian, if any): *potixu (potixon'ku, tixon'ko)* [quietly]; *s bol'šego (bol'šej čast'ju; v osnovnyx čertax; priblizitel'no')* [for the most part; in the main features; roughly, etc.]; *bat'ka/bac'ka (otec, glava)* [father, head]; *veža (bašnja)* [tower]; *ssobojka* (there are regional variants such as *tormozok)* [packed lunch]; *troxi (nemnogo)* [a little bit]; *xolodnik* (no equivalent) [cold Belarusian soup]; *mova ((belorusskij) jazyk)* [(Belarusian) language]; *otžalet' (dat', žaleja)* [to give it away regretfully]; *prisnit' (uvidet' vo sne)* [to dream, to see in a dream].

To implement this task, I searched for lexical variants characteristic of the Belarusian variety of the Russian language in the Belarusian segment of the Integrum database. As an additional source of data, Belarusian media sites were used (they were accessed with the help of search engines).

The study shows that the vast majority of words (539 items, 96% of the sample), previously selected from blogs, are found in more traditional media as well. The missing lexical variants are non-standard, for instance, obscene ones, or have low frequency in communication in general (e.g. code-switches that have

not become established borrowings, regional variants, etc.). Out of the 539 variants present in the media, 31 units (6%) are used only in proper names, quotations, and metalinguistic commentaries about the specificity of the Belarusian language. These units are on the periphery of the lexical markers of Belarusian Russian.

The results demonstrate the closeness of new and traditional media in reflecting the specifics of Belarusian Russian. The extensive representation of lexical variants from my sample in the traditional media reflects a wide sphere of functioning of the units under discussion. The findings also suggest linguistic freedom in using these variants and the lexical diversity reflected in the Russian-speaking media in Belarus, including their use of country-specific words.

3. Belarusian Russian in the context of the 2022 Russian invasion of Ukraine: the role of media

3.1 Sociolinguistic context

The current war in Ukraine shook the position of the Russian language, provoking a public discussion in Belarus about the abandonment of the Russian language in favour of the Belarusian language. After 24/02/2022, when Russia attacked Ukraine, Belarusians on social media massively claimed to switch from the Belarusian language to Russian. A typical example follows:

> [in Russian] *Ja nikogda ne otnosilas' k russkomu jazyku ploxo. Ja na nem vsju žizn' razgovarivala, čitala i voobšče on očen' uproščal žizn' (ego ponimali kak minimum v Ukraine, Rossii i Belarusi). Mne trudno razgovarivat' na belaruskom [...], da i čestno govorja osobo ne s kem. Kak-to za vsju žizn' v Belarusi belaruskogovorjaščix ljudej ja vstretila men'šem čem posle pereezda [...].*
> [in Belarusian] *Paslja zdymkaŭ Bučy i Irpenja mjane navedala dumka, što čas nadyšoŭ. Ja vyrašyla pačac' razmaŭljac' na move (akej, xutčèj za ŭsë hèta budze staraja dobraja trasjanka... Ale što ësc', to ësc'. Use z čahosci pačynali)* (Chernoemoloko 2022).
>
> I have never had a negative attitude towards the Russian language. I have been speaking and reading it all my life and it has generally made life easier (it was understood at least in Ukraine, Russia and Belarus). It is difficult for me to speak Belarusian [...], and frankly, there is no one to speak it with. Somehow, in all my life in Belarus I have met fewer Belarusian-speaking people than after I left the country [...].

> After the photos of Bucha and Irpen,[5] the idea struck me that the time had come. I decided to start speaking Belarusian (OK, it's probably going to be good old trasianka... But it is what it is. Everyone has started somewhere). [Author's translation]

The analysis of metalinguistic commentaries shows that the Russian aggression in Ukraine has had a negative impact on attitudes towards the Russian language in Belarus. The quote from an interview in Belarusian with Alexey Leonchik (Alyaxey Lyavonchyk), Belarusian social activist, illustrates this point:

> *Ne, jabac'ki ne byvajuc' belaruskamoŭnymi. Tamu dlja nas belaruskaja mova – hèta marker "svoj-čuży". Ja zaŭvažyŭ, što mnohija ljudzi, napryklad, u maëj FB-stužcy, pryčym ljudzi, jakija zvjazanyja z movaj druhasna, raptam stali belaruskamoŭnymi, overnight. I hèta klëva. Toe ž samae cjaper adbyvaecca va ŭkrainskaj ploskasci, kali, napryklad, èksperty, što byli rasejskamoŭnymi, zrabilisja ŭmomant ukrainamoŭnymi. Hèta marker... Kali vy xočace sjabe adasobic' ad vajny, užyvajce nešta inšae, ne rasejskuju movu* (Ljavončyk 2022)
>
> No, Belarusian-speaking supporters of Lukashenka do not exist. For us, the Belarusian language is a "friend-or-foe" marker. I noticed that many people, for example, on my FB feed, including people who were connected to the Belarusian language in a minor way, eventually had become Belarusian speakers, overnight. And this is cool. The same thing is now happening in Ukraine, as, for example, experts who were Russian-speaking, have soon become Ukrainian. This is a marker... If you want to set yourself apart from the war, you have to use something else, not the Russian language. [Author's translation]

Some Belarusian media, which previously were entirely or predominantly Russian-speaking, switched to the Belarusian language. For example, the portal Zerkalo.io[6] added a Belarusian version of many publications in the autumn of 2022 (previously this possibility was used very rarely). Since November 2022, some media began to maintain Twitter pages in the Belarusian language, such as The Village Belarus and KYKY.ORG (urban, lifestyle magazines), Dev.by (media about the IT industry in Belarus and the world).

The trend towards a more active use of the Belarusian language in public

[5] Ukrainian towns where numerous bodies of civilians were found after the Russian army had retreated in the beginning of April, 2022. Russian authorities consider these photos to be fake.

[6] Zerkalo.io is a project of part of the former TUT.BY team. In May 2021, the site of TUT.BY, one of the most popular Belarusian media, was blocked, and some managers and journalists were imprisoned. The Belarusian authorities have now included the publications of TUT.BY and Zerkalo.io in the list of "extremist materials".

communication does not cover the whole of Belarusian society (it is not even characteristic of all representatives of the pro-democratic movement). The Belarusian variety of the Russian language continues to be the main means of communication in Belarus. Thus, the idea that the development of the Russian language is carried out not only in Russia continues to be articulated in the Belarusian media. This also comes across in the following statement by the aforementioned writer Andrei Zhvalevsky:

> *...I už konečno, Moskve ne prinadležit monopolija ili "kontrol'nyj paket" na russkij jazyk. Esli Rossija xočet byt' čast'ju "slavjanskogo bratstva", ej pridetsja projavit' uvaženie. Xotja by k sosedjam. Xotja by, izvinite, naučit'sja govorit' "v Ukraine" i "Belarus'". A samoe glavnoe – nikakoe bratstvo nevozmožno krepit', obstrelivaja brat'ev* (Kommersant, 11.03.2022)
>
> ...And certainly, Moscow does not hold a monopoly or "controlling interest" in the Russian language. If Russia wants to be part of the "Slavic brotherhood", it will have to show respect. At least towards its neighbours. At least, excuse me, learn to say *v Ukraine* 'in Ukraine'[7] and *Belarus'* 'Belarus'. And most importantly – no brotherhood can be strengthened by shooting brothers. [Author's translation]

However, at this point, the war seems to have had a greater impact on the symbolic role of the Russian language than on its usage in daily communication. If previously Russian was perceived as part of Russia's soft power (see, for example, the title of the book *The soft power of the Russian language* by Mustajoki et al. 2018), now the very notion of soft power as applied to this country is losing its relevance. The increase in the share of the use of the Belarusian language in Belarus is manifested primarily in public communication. It is no coincidence that the transition of an individual to the Belarusian language often begins with social networks.

3.2. Tendencies: socio-political and communicative factors shaping the development of Belarusian Russian

Recently in Belarus, there has been a trend toward more active use of new media, in particular Telegram, YouTube, and other social media, for the transmission of socially significant information. According to some studies, before the events of

[7] The variant *v Ukraine* is more acceptable for representatives of Ukraine compared to *na Ukraine*; whereas in Russia the variant *na Ukraine* is still widely used. A similar situation is observed with the competition of variants *Belarus'/Belorussija*, as it was shown in section 2.2.

August 2020, the share of respondents who mentioned television as a source of information was 76.9%, and in 2021, the importance of television in Belarus dropped to 11% (Colab Medios Project 2022). Social networks (61% of respondents in 2021) and news websites (65%) are more popular sources of news for Belarusians than TV. According to the authors of the study, this is due to aggressive actions taken by the authorities to control television content. Even if the results have not been as dramatic in reality, there is no denying that media consumption habits in Belarus are changing.

The potential of new media has become obvious to the government, so the websites of the largest non-state media are labelled extremist, and repost of their texts on social media and other sources, as well as subscribing to their Telegram channels and other social media platforms meet with repression. According to Zerkalo.io, Belarus has been in the sphere of Russian information influence for a long time, but thanks to their site and other independent media, Belarusians started being interested in their own political agenda. Now, Belarusians more and more often prefer not to express their opinions in public, and this has serious consequences: if people with pro-democratic political views do not shape the public sphere of Belarus, they are gradually losing the country as well. The quote is not provided for legal reasons.

With the banning of major Belarusian media opposed to the state, the role of Russian content is increasing. And this has serious implications for the country's informational sovereignty. Discussing the reasons why some Belarusians support Russian aggression in Ukraine, Henadz Korshunau (Gennady Korshunov), former director of the Institute of Sociology of the Belarusian Academy of Sciences, points to the role of the Russian media in shaping this attitude:

> *Likvidacija negosudarstvennyx SMI privela k potere informacionnogo suvereniteta, kogda suščestvennaja čast' belorusskoj auditorii stala uxodit' v rossijskoe informacionnoe pole. A gosudarstvennoe televidenie – i ranee nesamostojatel'noe – posle oseni 2020 goda praktičeski perešlo pod kontrol' rossijskogo narrativa.* (RFI 2022)
>
> The liquidation of non-state mass media resulted in the loss of information sovereignty when a significant part of the Belarusian audience started to move to the Russian information field. And state television – and previously non-independent – after the fall of 2020 has practically fallen under the control of the Russian narrative. [Author's translation]

However, according to other data, the influence of Russian propaganda on the Belarusian one should not be overestimated. Chatham House's[8] public opinion poll conducted between 6 and 17 June 2022 has shown that "Russia's military actions are not supported by the majority of Belarusians; people still expect negative consequences from the war both for Belarus as a whole and for themselves personally" (Chatham House 2022; see the presentation in English).

It should be taken into account that bans related to media and other information services are also being imposed by opponents of Aliaksandar Lukashenka and Vladimir Putin. As Noam Chomsky has recently said, "by now, censorship in the United States has reached such a level beyond anything in my lifetime" (Baroud 2022). Due to European sanctions against Belarus and Russia[9] as well as social media management solutions, access to Belarusian state media content is being restricted. In September 2022, for example, the Telegram channels of some Belarusian propagandists were blocked at the request of Apple. In the following quote, Ivan Eismant (Ivan Eismont), Chairman of the National State TV and Radio Company of the Republic of Belarus, elaborates on the idea of a "sovereign Internet", which implies independence from international media corporations.

> *– Uvjadzenne sankcyj suprac' medyjaxoldynhaŭ – adzin z vidaŭ zbroi, pry dapamoze jakoj zaraz vjadzecca infarmacyjnaja vajna. Što trèba rabic', kab atrymac' peramohu? Ci mahčyma hèta ŭvohule?*
> *– Jak hètamu suprac'stajac'? Pa-peršae, šljaxam uvjadzennja adkaznasci za naŭmysnae raspaŭsjudžvanne fèjkaŭ. Pa-druhoe, trèba stvarac' suverènny intèrnèt. Doraha, skladana, ale neabxodna. Nel'ha vyjhrac' infarmacyjnuju vajnu, znaxodzjačysja na platforme praciŭnika... Perafrazujučy slovy Uladzimira Pucina: "Navošta taki svet, kali ŭ im njama Rasii?", mahu skazac' adno: navošta nam taki YouTube, kali tam njama Belarusi?* (Tumas-Ciškevič 2022).
>
> – The imposition of sanctions on media holdings is one of the tools now being used in the information war. What does it take to win? Is it even possible?

8 Chatham House (The Royal Institute of International Affairs) is an independent policy institute. Research on Belarusian issues was conducted as part of the Belarus Initiative project carried out by Chatham House in partnership with the Center for New Ideas.

9 To illustrate the point, the following examples are provided. Press release of the Council of the EU from 02/03/2022 states that "the EU will urgently suspend the broadcasting activities of Sputnik' and RT/Russia Today (RT English, RT UK, RT Germany, RT France, and RT Spanish) in the EU, or directed at the EU, until the aggression to Ukraine is put to an end, and until the Russian Federation and its associated outlets cease to conduct disinformation and information manipulation actions against the EU and its member states" (European Council 2022). In September 2022, the Lithuanian Parliament (Seimas) adopted amendments to the law that would temporarily ban Russian and Belarusian television and radio programmes in the country (Baltnews 2022). In addition, the Belarusian authorities themselves have closed access to a number of Belarusian government websites for security reasons (Human Constanta 2022).

> – How can this be resisted? First, by introducing responsibility for deliberately spreading fakes. Second, we need to create a sovereign Internet. It is expensive, difficult, but necessary. You cannot win an information war by being on the platform of the enemy… To paraphrase Vladimir Putin: "Why do we need the world if Russia is not in it?", I can say one thing: why do we need YouTube if Belarus is not represented there? [Author's translation]

What consequences do these socio-political processes have on the development of Belarusian Russian? A necessary condition for the existence of a national variety of a pluricentric language is the presence of a collective of speakers associated with a certain nation (Clyne 1992, etc.). It is clear that all societies are heterogeneous, but at a time of political crisis following the 2020 presidential elections, the political divide between the Belarusians is currently quite deep. According to the latest Chatham House poll on Belarusians' views on the political crisis (the "hardcore protesters", staunch opponents of Lukashenka, comprised 30% of the sample, the "Lukashenka's base" (his supporters) 27%, and people of intermediate or vague political views, the "neutrals", 43%. The first two social groups are highly polarised: "Lukashenka's base and the hardcore protesters express strong hostility towards each other more often than towards many other social groups" (Chatham house 2021, presentation in English). Accordingly, in the Belarusian public space, and first of all in the media, there are two separate discourses: official (pro-government) and unofficial (pro-democratic).

As a result of the political crisis of 2020 and the outbreak of war in Ukraine, the number of people leaving for other countries has increased dramatically. According to different sources, tens to several hundreds of thousands of people left Belarus for Poland (Alampiev/Bikanov 2022). Emigration is related not only to political persecution in the country and fear of mobilization in connection with the war between Russia and Ukraine but also to business interests in the context of sanctions pressure on Belarus. In particular, many Belarusian IT companies have moved their teams or parts of them to other countries. For example, EPAM and Wargaming, companies of Belarusian origin, were ranked among the top 3 largest IT businesses in Lithuania in the autumn of 2022 (Delfi 2022).

According to the research of non-governmental research organizations Center for New Ideas and Narodny Opros (National Poll), Belarusians abroad retain close ties with their homeland (Koršunaŭ 2022). It is manifested in the fact that emigrants continue being interested in what is happening in Belarus: 90%

of respondents read news about events in the country at least once a day (75% of those interviewed do it several times a day). At the same time, the data on Belarusians staying in Belarus are approximately the same. The following quote from the Instagram account of Anastasiya Kasciuhova (Anastasiya Kostyugova), Strategic Communication Manager at the Sviatlana Tsikhanouskaya (Svetlana Tikhanovskaya) office, shows that recent emigrants perceive their emigration as temporary:

> *Mne kažetsja, my stali reže èto govorit', možet byt' èto uže ne tak očevidno, no ja xoču domoj. Za poslednie dva goda vynuždennoj èmigracii i raboty, v kotoruju ja vlezla, ja videla bol'še stran, čem za vsju predyduščuju žizn'. I znaete čto? Ja xoču domoj... Da, ja videla strany, gde čto-to ili daže mnogo čego lučše, čem u nas. I moja mysl' každyj raz byla "kruto bylo by sdelat' tak v Belarusi", no nikogda – "kruto bylo by ostat'sja tut žit'* (Lessprit 2022)
>
> I think we now say it less often, maybe it's not so obvious anymore, but I want to go home. I've seen more countries in the last two years of forced emigration and the work I've gotten myself into than I have in my whole life. And you know what? I want to go home... Yes, I've seen countries where something or even many things are better than ours. And my thought every time was "it would be cool to do so in Belarus", but never "it would be cool to stay here". [Author's translation]

Analysis of the Belarusian media after 2020 demonstrates that in modern societies, the boundaries of communicative communities associated with a particular national variety of pluricentric language may not coincide with the physical boundaries of states. It turns out that people divided by state borders sometimes exist in a single communicative space. This is true for the pro-democratic Belarusians inside and outside the country. In contrast, people inside one country are sometimes divided communicatively and belong to different communicative communities. People living in Belarus and drawing news from pro-government and opposition (pro-democracy) media perceive social reality differently. This is also reflected in the functioning of elements of Belarusian Russian: opposing sides use the same words, but often with a different meaning (Goritskaya/Chudar 2022). For example, the word *jabat'ka/jabac'ka* 'Lukashenka supporter', one of the most famous Belarusian Russian neologisms of 2020, is used both by those who oppose and by those who support Lukashenka but with different connotations.

This duality or perhaps even plurality of Belarusian Russian demonstrating the influence of social and political factors on language development is generally a typical Belarusian story. Consider, for example, the two main standards of the Belarusian language noted in the introduction. All this complicates the processes of standardisation of the Belarusian variety of the Russian language.

4. Conclusion

Since the norms of Belarusian Russian are not consistently recorded in Russian reference works such as dictionaries and grammar books, it is difficult to distinguish explicit prescriptive norms of the variety. Implicit prescriptive norms of the Belarusian variety of the Russian language are elaborated in various types of texts, primarily in the media. The study showed that lexical features of Belarusian Russian are represented in both new and traditional media (96% of the units are recorded in both types of sources).

In times of acute political crises and wars, the media take on a specific role in the development of varieties of pluricentric languages. Information wars involve the imposition of censorship and the banning of opposing viewpoints, which leads to a fragmentation of the communication space. Belarusian society today is divided, which is reflected in the functioning of the national variety of the Russian language. When it comes to official (pro-government) media, there is a tendency for Belarusian official discourse to converge with Russian official discourse as part of the development of integration ideas. This is an obstacle to the development of Belarusian Russian as an independent variety and is consistent with more global socio-political processes. In unofficial (pro-democratic) media, the Belarusian variant of Russian continues to be widely used, but we should take into account the increasing symbolic role of the Belarusian language in the part of the Belarusian society gravitating towards pro-democratic and anti-military values.

The development of the Belarusian variety within several communicative communities is a consequence of the expansion of communicative technologies, in particular, the possibility to create information bubbles in social networks. In addition, we should take into account the development of the Belarusian variety of the Russian language outside the borders of Belarus, primarily among forced emigrants who want to return home rather than integrate into other cultures. The need to consider such heterogeneity and multiplicity of societies using

national varieties of pluricentric languages (primarily non-dominant ones) is a challenge posed by contemporary media and social processes to pluricentric theory.

Bibliographical note

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Language ideologies of Chile's Spanish on digital media Rethinking the value of standard language in contemporary circulations

Abstract

This chapter addresses some representations of Spanish in Chile found on digital *ideospaces* between 2017 and 2022, including Internet channels from traditional media and social media content managed from Chile. Its theoretical framework lies within the methodological and disciplinary field of language ideologies. The analysis confirmed the prevalence of a negative view of Chile's Spanish in the corpus. This variety also persists as a mark of national identity, mainly through stereotypical humour. Paradoxically, the corpus suggests that standard Spanish, the dialects associated with it, and Chile's upper-class variety are not widely valued as positive either. This informs of a sociolinguistic system where models of correctness are either not culturally relevant or not necessarily located in the expected places (i.e., local elites and transnational models). An invisibilisation of Spanish language normativity aligns with its anonymity in the Chilean context, which entails hegemony, transparency, and delocalisation. Critically, however, "hablar mal" [speaking poorly] is immediately associated with lower status, poverty, criminality, youth culture, and even racist tropes. Also, it is a weapon commonly used against language reform, particularly proposed grammar and spelling regulation changes, motivated by a political desire for gender inclusivity or equality. These tensions and contradictions open new debates on the notion of "dominant variety" among experts.

1. Chilean Spanish: 'Not the worst variety'

Probably one of the most pervasive language ideologies about Chile's Spanish is that it is of poor or inferior quality, compared to other dialects. Such negative notions about Chilean Spanish are common among speakers from other countries, but also among Chileans themselves. On the 2nd of December 2021, Gloria Toledo, a teacher of Spanish as a Foreign Language at the Pontifical Catholic University of Chile, explained in an interview on Emol.com: "estudiantes extranjeros (...) me dicen que no sabían si venir a Chile porque casi que hablábamos un idioma diferente al español (...) Es una mala imagen súper injusta que nos hemos ganado porque siempre decimos que hablamos mal y eso

no es cierto." [Author's translation: 'foreign students tell me that they were unsure whether to come to Chile [or not] because we [Chileans] speak almost a different language, [that is not] Spanish. It is a very unfair image that we [Chileans] have earned because we always say that we speak poorly and that is not true'] (Ramírez, 2021). In a tragicomic twist, the editor of the interview on Emol.com titled their text with: "Tras artículo de diario madrileño: Lingüistas nacionales afirman que el español que se habla en Chile "no es la peor variante"" ["After an article on a Madrid newspaper: National linguists claim that the Spanish spoken in Chile 'is not the worst variety'"]. This statement implies that while Chilean Spanish is not the worst variety, it is still probably rather poor. The interview was published as a reaction to the article "El español de Chile: la gran olla a presión del idioma" ['Chilean Spanish: the Great Pressure Cooker of the Language'] on ElMundo.es, a major Spanish newspaper (Alemany, 2021). Notably, this blatant display of assumptions about Chile's national language perpetuates several ideologies deeply embedded in Spanish-speaking cultures. According to them, there is, first, a single scale (i.e., a standard) that can be used to measure the "quality" of Spanish geographical varieties. Second, the title is a constant reminder of a rather remote, but ever-present point of reference ("Madrid"), which helps to measure with this single scale. And third, there is a vision that iconises some varieties as inferior or superior to others. These three points have been described by the theory as constituting a "standard language ideology", that is, an ideological frame that assumes the existence of one or several centralised language varieties (a standard) used for assessing correctness, neutrality, or beauty. As a result, any distancing from the standard, accounts for 'incorrect' language use, deviation, or incompetence (Milroy, 2001).

Interestingly, this ideology may even prevail in circumstances when there is no formal standardised variety at all. In Chile, for example, this occurs in the context of Indigenous language revitalisation, particularly in the case of Mapuzugun. This is the language of the Mapuche people, who are the largest Indigenous community in the country, accounting for nearly 10% of the total population. Mapuzugun activists and educators often assume the existence of standards for their own language, even though these have not been codified yet, which is probably due to an expectation of intrinsic formal normativity akin to English or Spanish. Analysts suggest this is a result of the influence of Chile's deeply westernised educational culture (Espinoza, 2019).

In this chapter, I discuss how representations of Chilean Spanish are displayed in Chile's contemporary media, from the methodological and theoretical framework of language ideologies (Woolard/Schieffelin, 1994; Woolard, 1998; Gal/Irvine, 2000; Kroskrity, 2000; Arnoux/Del Valle, 2010; Del Valle/Meirinho, 2016). The corpus, which was collected from online sources between 2009 and 2022, includes diverse content displayed on Internet channels from traditional media (newspapers, TV, and radio broadcasters) and social media *ideospaces* (Phyak, 2015). Ideospaces consist of Facebook pages and groups, Instagram profiles and reels, and YouTube videos, as well as their comment sections, all of them published and managed from Chile and/or by Chileans. As of November 2022, the corpus includes 8,832 images obtained from social media, mostly displaying comments that reveal language ideologies, and 198 digital documents, mainly news reports and articles about Chile's linguistic issues. From a few informative samples, I will briefly argue here how language ideologies proposed by critical sociolinguistics' theoretical approaches can inform the discourse on Chilean Spanish and help describe these contemporary ideological configurations.

The analysis addresses how online debates demonstrate a key contradiction between the predominant idea that "Chile's Spanish is poor" and the fact that it is the dominant linguistic variety within the country's borders. Critically, it also demonstrates that "speaking Spanish poorly" is an attribute that is projected mainly toward certain people and often used as a weapon. This leads to our questioning, first, of which attributes have been instrumentalised to mark Chilean Spanish as inferior; and second, who perpetuates this ideological representation and with what purposes. The tensions and contradictions derived from these issues open new debates on notions like "dominant variety" from the perspective of critical sociolinguistics.

2. Digital media and the research of language ideologies

The theoretical framework of this study is situated within critical sociolinguistics, specifically, the disciplinary field of language ideologies (Woolard/Schieffelin, 1994; Woolard, 1998; Gal/Irvine, 2000; Kroskrity, 2000; Arnoux/Del Valle, 2010; Del Valle/Meirinho, 2016). Critical sociolinguistics is a realm of knowledge production that focuses on issues that emerge in the intersection of language and society from a critical perspective. This means

contemplating the power dynamics established in the framework of society in general and in the disciplines and specialists who study them. We engage in a *complex* perspective (Blommaert, 2014) that pays attention to mobility, systemic instability, temporal discontinuity, multipolarity and relocation of both discursive production and sociolinguistic systems.

When conceiving the objects of sociolinguistic analysis as complex, digital social media constitute highly informative records of how socially relevant representations emerge, circulate, and are subject to debate and negotiation. This is consistent with the establishment of the Internet as the ultimate *glocal* space where transformations in the political, ideological, and social spheres are managed and promoted in the 21st century (Phyak, 2015; Deumert, 2014). In Chile, as in many other contemporary societies across the world, social networks such as Facebook and Instagram are utilised daily by a massive proportion of the population. They have revolutionised modes of association and cultural production for both communities and individuals. As more public debates emerge around politics and identity, ideospaces can help collect evidence regarding what interests concur in a certain social sphere, displaying in detail implicit and explicit ideologies about language, as well as their extra-linguistic correlates (Phyak, 2015).

The concept of *language ideologies* presented here corresponds to "marcos cognitivos que ligan coherentemente el lenguaje con un orden extralingüístico, naturalizándolo y normalizándolo" [Author's translation: "cognitive frameworks that coherently link language with an extralinguistic order, naturalising it and normalising it"] (Del Valle/Meirinho, 2016, p.29). Among other things, these frameworks can refer to identity, gender, nation, State, aesthetics, morality, and epistemology (Woolard/Schieffelin, 1994). Language ideologies are phenomena of a procedural nature, that is, they affect processes insofar as they are intervened by multiple agencies (States, social organisations, communities, families, etc.), which can lead to both political initiatives aiming at radical reforms, as well as the perpetuation of the status quo (Gal, 2005; Piller, 2015; Del Valle and Meirinho, 2016; Niño Murcia et al., 2020). Language ideologies have constituted an object, an instrument, and a field of disciplinary development that, in the 21st century, has gained value in Latin American studies, as it has helped to discuss intimate aspects of the social discourse about language(s) and to reveal how sociolinguistic regimes can affect people's lives in very concrete ways (Alvarado, 2022; De los Heros, 2012; Lagos, 2014; Niño Murcia

et al., 2020; Olate et al., 2017; Rojas et al., 2016; Zavala/Ramírez, 2021).

Researchers have described crucially relevant language ideologies about the Spanish language worldwide. Indeed, Katherine Woolard (2007) suggests the global prevalence of two Western-origin language ideologies, *anonymity,* and *authenticity*, that represent epistemological and moral notions; both apply to Spanish on different scales. *Anonymity* refers to a conception of the language as public, de-personalised, de-localised, and readily accessible to everyone. This vision is commonly attributed to transnational, hegemonic languages and is helpful to describe the configuration of unmarked Spanish within most stances of Chile's public life: as a hegemonic language that is invisible and apolitical. Woolard (2007) also suggests that recognising a language as "anonymous" requires the acceptance of authority by the people, a process called *méconnaissance* by Pierre Bourdieu (1991), which occurs mostly at school, but also in other spaces like the church and the armed forces. In this process, the dominant language variety is purged of its specific social origin and starts being imagined as a natural attribute of authority, which is transparent and guaranteed in social communication, thus constituting the key elements of a standard language. Standardisation, nevertheless, also involves complex and dynamic power struggles between often divergent and competing language ideologies held by various interest groups (Inoue, 1996). The ideological development of the concept of a standard language is closely linked to that of the nation-state. According to Inoue (1996, p.121), in 18th-century Europe, authors such as Herder claimed that the source of sovereignty was not the king nor the State, but "the people" or "the nation" with their own culture, history, and language. The Herderian ideology was fundamental in forging modern notions of national identity, as it established an equivalence between people and language that endures to this day. However, during the establishment of nation-states, due to the modernisation processes in areas such as education, administration, the army, and the media, language standardisation was explicitly associated with instrumentalist ideas of efficiency, progress, and rationality. These mechanisms led to the creation of linguistic markets based on a monoglossic culture, which helps to explain the firm association between monoglossia and standardisation.

3. Language ideologies about Chilean Spanish and its contemporary configurations in digital media

In the case of Spanish-speaking American nations, most of which became independent by the early 19th century, that is, at the height of the expansion of Herderianism in the Western world, the elites of each country had to deal with the contradiction that their national language was, in fact, not only foreign but also originated in Spain, the former metropolis. In Chile, the debate took two positions diverging on the question of linguistic autonomy: *separatist* and *unionist* (Quesada Pacheco, 2002; Rojas, 2015). The separatist position proposed absolute linguistic independence from Spain and instituting a language authority circumscribed to the nation. This position, with significant variations, was advocated by Argentine intellectuals who lived in Chile, Juan Bautista Alberdi (1810-1884) and Domingo Faustino Sarmiento (1811-1888), among others (Arnoux, 2008). The unionist position, on the other hand, assumed the precept of linguistic unity, which meant that the Chilean language standard should be dependent on Spain to a certain extent. After years of debate, and in the context of Chile's conservative governments of the mid-nineteenth century, unionist ideas triumphed largely due to the influence of Andrés Bello (1781-1865) (Arnoux, 2008; Rojas, 2015, 2013; Rojas and Aviles, 2014; Torrejon, 1989).

Unionism and its firm symbolic connection to Hispanic culture came as no surprise since, during this period, the Chilean elite needed to identify themselves (and their nationalist project) with European ideals of *civilisation*. In particular, they considered Spain not only the most important model of such ideals but the only origin of the essence of their nation (Arnoux, 2008). This was ultimately a racist and Eurocentric stance that actively erased the significance of the Indigenous cultures in Chile's overwhelmingly mestizo background, an erasure that still is one of the key issues that explains today's political and socioeconomic inequities. Emphasising the *civilised* character of the Chilean national project, intended to be indistinguishable from European ideals of civilisation, was key in the process of nation-building. This occurred under both the Conservatives' Catholic authoritarianism and the Liberals' secular rationalism. As a consequence, Chile's language standardisation process relegated the centralised management of the language to authorities outside the boundaries of the nation. The most salient of such authorities was, and still is, the *Real Academia Española* [*Royal Spanish Academy*]. In the 19th century, this institution could be present in Chile by means of its regulatory instruments, such as grammars and dictionaries,

and an educational system which actively imposed them (Arnoux, 2008; Del Valle, 2014; Rojas, 2015, 2013; Rojas/Avilés, 2014; Rojas et al., 2020; Torrejón, 1989). Such centralised management of Spanish is still vigorous today and its impact has vastly modified the Chilean variety, as Chile's early 19th-century Spanish was ostensibly different from today's.

In the 21st century, as a result of the previously described standardisation process, contemporary varieties of Spanish across the world are largely mutually intelligible and follow the same homogenised spelling rules. Pronunciation and vocabulary are also subject to these centralising forces. While there is an undeniable tendency toward the formation of multiple centres of language norms and prestige in Latin America, the multipolar aspect of today's language models, as expressed by the existence of an Argentinean-Uruguayan Standard and a Mexican Standard, etc., still cannot overcome the political, cultural, and historical clout of the *Real Academia Española* (RAE). This persists thanks to a coordinated alliance with the *Academias de la Lengua Española* [*Academies of the Spanish Language*], which constitute the *Asociación de Academias de la Lengua Española* (ASALE) [*Association of Academies of the Spanish Language*]. The ASALE was founded in 1951 and is led and partially financed by the RAE. The ASALE and the RAE, both based in Madrid, focus on the worldwide standardisation and promotion of the Spanish language, with a firm historical purpose of maintaining its formal unity. They are undoubtedly successful: their publications have been establishing the language norms for decades and their authority is contested by relatively few agents, which are rarely supported by governments or international institutions (Del Valle, 2007). The Academias, especially the RAE, are also deeply embedded in the public's consciousness. In the corpus analysed here, participants of virtually all debates mentioned, evoked or even appealed to the RAE's authority whenever there was controversy.

In Spanish-speaking countries, the process of establishing a standard language regime has historically proceeded by forming a duality between marked and unmarked varieties. In the 19th century, this was evident in the creation of the *-ismos* (*chilenismos, argentinismos, bolivianismos,* etc.) [*Chileanisms*, *Argenitinisms*, *Bolivianisms*] that emphasised the difference between the local, and thus, deviant, lexical items that contrasted the European norms. This is mostly a process of *marking*. Local words were identifiable in dictionaries and other literature by means of restriction labels, called *marcas* ('marks') by contemporary lexicographers. Consequently, certain elements of language were

marked as Chilean through notions such as *vices* and subsequently as *chilenismos* [*Chileanisms*], in a process documented by the lexicography of that time (Chávez, 2010, 2009; Rojas and Avilés, 2014).

Notably, marked language items can often be related to an ideology of *authenticity*, as described by Woolard (2007). Authenticity presents a language, or any of its constituting elements, as the genuine and essential expression of a community and an individual. A variety considered authentic is personalised and localised: it is linked to an iconic type of individual and a particular place. In this regard, when trying to define a cultural profile of genuine *chilenidad* [*Chileanness*], the markedness of Chilean Spanish is immediately mobilised. In the corpus studied here, there are many cases where humour is connected to a sense of cultural authenticity, which is mainly accessible through language. For example, the comment sections of the Youtube channel and Facebook page *Gringo Mode On* by Chris Fetterman, an American comedian and resident in Chile, provide an abundance of examples of the rapid connection between comedy and the expression of Chilean authenticity. The humorous effect of the videos posted on *Gringo Mode On* usually relies on the contrast between Fetterman's performance of *gringo* cultural traits, perceived as stereotypical by the local audience, and his witty and knowledgeable use of *chilenismos*.

The idea that Chilean Spanish is 'poor', 'deviant', or 'deficient' is, however, the most prevalent language ideology found in the corpus. Recent studies on ideologies, attitudes, and perceptions (Alvarado, 2020, 2022; Rojas, 2012; Rojas/Avilés, 2014; Sliashynskaya, 2019) have analysed this phenomenon. Among their findings were that power dynamics involved in the configuration of this ideological construction vary according to scales. While in transnational spheres, assuming that "Chilean Spanish is poor" reproduces symbolic asymmetries, where certain Spanish varieties are considered superior ("central" or "closer to standard"), on the national scale it is connected to local power dynamics that reproduce social class inequalities. The language ideologies that establish these asymmetries become explicit when speakers are questioned about the valuable features of the varieties closer to the standard. As Rojas (2012) cites, speakers' arguments to evaluate correctness mostly refer to pronunciation and lexicon. For example, people from Peru and Colombia, both typically imagined as countries with "better Spanish", are said to "pronounce every letter", "not drop the S", and "not use as many *modismos* [local slang]". The negative attributes encoded in language ideologies about Chilean Spanish

oppose these statements, that is, Chileans "do not pronounce all letters", "drop the S", and "use too many local words". Interestingly, such features are far from being uniquely Chilean. Lipski (2011, p.73) describes, for example, how "dropping the S", that is, the aspiration, deletion, and general weakening of coda /s/ is "by far the most common modification of Spanish coda consonants". This explains the common pronunciation of expressions like *¿Cómo estás?* [How are you?] and *Buenos días* [good morning] as /ˈkomo ehˈtah/ and /ˈbwenoh ˈðiah/ in many dialects. The phenomenon can be found, with varying degrees of social acceptance and spontaneity in its use, in Andalusia and the Canary Islands; vast areas of the Caribbean both insular and continental, including parts of Colombia; the whole Southern Cone; and even in conservative Peru, where it is associated with Lima's coastal dialect, which carries the highest prestige value "in contrast to the consonant-strong highland dialects" (Lipski, 2011, p.75). On the other hand, Chileans' language ideologies regarding the Spanish language from Spain often incorporate historical reasons that justify its positive value, such as "de ahí viene nuestro lenguaje" ["that's where our language comes from"]. In addition, the fact that the RAE is based in Madrid is a recurring argument, because this institution "difunde y codifica la lengua" ["spreads and codifies the language"] and "ellos dictan las leyes de cómo hablar ["they dictate the laws of how to speak"] (Rojas, 2012, p.50).

A language ideology assuming that "Chilean Spanish is poor" is, however, fluid and comprises rich layers of other language ideologies that are ultimately contradictory, as soon as it is crossed by multiple geopolitical and historical dimensions, including gender, geography, ethnicity, and social class. This is particularly noticeable after an exploration of the influence that normative Spanish has on Chile's upper classes. Recent research (Alvarado, 2020) has found that the members of Chile's ruling class do not seem to necessarily identify the transnational standard of Spanish with their own linguistic variety, as they actively neglect purist regulation emanating from the language authority (i.e., the RAE) regarding the influence of English vocabulary. A firm allegiance to transnational normativity is thus possibly less useful for marking social class in Chile than in Peru (De los Heros, 2012) or Colombia (Chaves-O'Flynn, 2017).

Significantly, although the main linguistic varieties from Peru and Colombia are often imagined in Chile as "superior", they are not necessarily viewed as a linguistic model by the Chilean population. In his series of studies conducted through questionnaires, Rojas (2012, p. 57; 2014, p. 183-184) revealed

that informants from Santiago often reported the Chilean variety as "pleasant", albeit a large number of them also perceived it as "the most incorrect one", closely followed by the Argentinean dialect. Simultaneously, varieties from Spain, Peru, and Colombia (in that order) were considered the most "correct". But, given the significant presence of Peruvian working-class immigrants in Chile, there was a common association between their speech and lower social status, which also made it less appreciated. Paradoxically, a number of subjects, mostly members of the upper class, considered Chilean Spanish the most correct variety, something that the author attributes to a sense of belonging or ownership over said variety (Rojas, 2012).

Contradictory ideological configurations regarding Chilean Spanish's prestige among Chileans are consistent with other studies that detected that the Chilean *voseo,* i.e., the use of *vos* instead of *tú* as the second-person singular pronoun, is widespread among the upper classes (Haska, 2021). Chilean voseo is particularly frequent when coded in the paradigms of verbal conjugations. It prevails among the young, while it tends to be less frequent in other groups, e.g., middle-class women (Haska, 2021). Although, until recently, it was rarely written, the *voseo* is a common, even prevalent feature of colloquial speech of all social classes in Chile. Remarkably, unlike Rioplatense *voseo* (standardised in Argentinean and Uruguayan varieties), it lacks an official spelling, i.e., endorsed by linguistic authorities. The *Diccionario Panhispánico de Dudas* [*Panhispanic Dictionary of Doubts*] (DPD) by the RAE and the ASALE (2005) proposes a spelling that does not solve the orthographic problem, contrary to the supposedly normative function of those organisations. The spelling variability occurs because Chileans rarely pronounce the coda /s/ as a sibilant, since, as previously mentioned, it is systematically weakened, thus often elided, or aspirated. The DPD solves the problem by merely adding parenthesis to the /s/: [(vos/tú) cantái(s), comí(s), viví(s)] ["you (singular) sing"; "you (singular) eat"; "you (singular) live"] which contrasts with the standard [(tú) cantas, comes, vives] and the Rioplatense form [(vos) cantás, comés, vivís].

A number of studies have addressed Chilean *voseo* and registered its expansion, particularly among younger generations (Cautín-Epifani/Rivadeneira, 2018; Rivadeneira/Clua, 2011; Rivadeneira, 2016) and its strong association with contemporary Chilean culture (Camus, 2021). While all studies suggest that Chilean *voseo* is related to spontaneous speech and informality, some have also demonstrated that in the 21st century, it is

increasingly utilised in advertisements and on TV and radio broadcasts (Rivadeneira/Clua, 2011). The sizable expansion of *voseo* in Chile suggests a cultural turning point in which reluctance to follow transnational normativity becomes incrementally relevant.

Argentinean Spanish has always had an enormous impact on Chilean Spanish, which may affect Chileans' attitude toward their own version of *voseo*. The influence of Argentinean Spanish is particularly notable in the realm of the lexicon (Salamanca, 2010; Salamanca and Ramírez, 2014), despite being widely perceived by Chileans as deviant from the norm (Rojas, 2012). These paradoxical findings reveal that when explicitly asked about it, as by Rojas (2012), Chileans often claim that varieties similar to the commonly perceived standard constitute their model of correction. However, when Chileans choose the linguistic models for their everyday speech, an arguably more unconscious process, they openly demonstrate other influences. Rojas, as well as Haska (2021), describe this phenomenon with Labov's (1966) notion of *covert prestige*. Nevertheless, I put forward that this term fails to address the complexity of the phenomenon, as it erases the diverse array of ideological configurations that may motivate speakers' attitudes and behaviours. Chileans who adopt elements from Argentinean Spanish, i.e., its phonology, vocabulary, and morphology, have multi-dimensional reasons to do so. They are thus likely to be expressing a complex and often contradictory set of experiences, feelings, ideas, and emotions toward their largest neighbouring country, all of which are not accurately defined by the notion of prestige.

In contrast to negative visions towards Chilean Spanish, there is also an ideological construct that articulates it as peculiarly expressive and innovative, as well as uniquely aligned with contemporary political and cultural tensions. The newspaper article mentioned in the previous section "El español de Chile: la gran olla a presión del idioma" ['Chilean Spanish: The Great Pressure Cooker of the Language] (Alemany, 2021) triggered countless reactions in both the Chilean media and the public, mostly sceptic replies to the article's description of Chilean Spanish as creative, effervescent, and even politically conscious. In coherence with this tendency, the corpus studied here presents other ideological articulations regarding the alleged singularity of Chilean Spanish. For instance, a Santiago newspaper's online website (LaTercera.cl) published on the 19th of September, 2014, an article titled "El no tan nuevo lenguaje chileno" ["The not-so-new Chilean language"] (Opazo and Jaque, 2014). In this document, Marcelo

Ortiz, creator of a Twitter account that celebrates *chilenismos*, comments: "Los chilenos somos inventivos por naturaleza, vivarachos y cuando una frase se viraliza, pasa a ser parte de nuestro lenguaje cotidiano" ["We Chileans are inventive by nature, vivacious, and when a phrase goes viral, it becomes part of our daily language"]. Such a celebratory stance towards Chile's Spanish often relies on humour. The article exemplified this with the case of Víctor Díaz, a charismatic boy affected by the 2010 earthquake, who in a televised interview coined the term *zafrada* by mispronouncing the word *frazada* [blanket], which quickly became popular due to its comic connotations of childlike innocence in the context of a tragedy. Another case mentioned in the same article refers to Ximena Ossandón, a government employee designated by Sebastián Piñera's right-wing administration in 2010, who complained on social media that her salary was *reguleque* [mediocre] even though it was many times the national average. As a consequence, *reguleque*, a term somewhat outdated by then, revived overnight in the national vocabulary, perhaps because it matched a humorous perception of the ruling class as whiny, antiquated, and terribly disconnected from the reality of the common people.

In the corpus, however, the language ideology that frames Chile's Spanish as 'poor' reappears constantly. The recurrence closely relates to its use as a weapon that perpetuates a configuration where "hablar mal" [speaking poorly] is associated with poverty, criminality, youth culture, and racist tropes. Some examples can be found in the comment section of the Facebook page *Es de cuica* [*It's a cuica thing*], a community dedicated to a light-hearted comedic approach to the *cuica* identity. The *cuica* is a prototypical figure of an upper-class woman, who positions herself as the guardian of the cultural elements of her class and gender, and even though she tends to be politically conservative, she is also greatly influenced by globalisation and consumerism.

In *Es de cuica*, linguistic singularities stand out as markers of the *cuica* identity and are often the subject of jokes, mostly by women who define themselves as *cuicas*. In one post (31st of May, 2016) participants discussed a meme that claimed "prohibido decirle 'mami' a la mamá" ["It's forbidden to call your mom 'mami'"]. The comments show that the majority of participants consider the term *mami* [*mummy*] vulgar or laughable, in spite of its common use among Chileans as an endearing version of *mamá* [*mum*], especially by young children. One reason presented in the document is the pervasiveness of the term *mami* among *reggaetoneros*, that is, people (especially men) who enjoy (or sing)

reggaetón, an urban music genre that, in the 21st century, has become widely popular in Chile, Latin America, the United States, and Spain. *Reggaetón* is fashionable among youngsters from all social strata, although it is often imagined as distinctive of the lower classes. It is typically sung with a thick Caribbean Spanish accent, usually Puerto Rican. As the post suggests, the Chilean elite has unilaterally marked the word *mami* as "hablar mal" ["speaking poorly"] thus revealing that this language ideology can be applied according to their own criteria whenever it is necessary to mark others' social class and censor their participation in public debates. Interestingly, the word *mami* is far from being considered incorrect by the transnational standard, which demonstrates, once again, the frequent divorce between the local elite and the transnational language authority.

Additionally, the prohibition of *mami* proves a recurring tendency among the upper classes to stigmatise cultural elements located outside their Westernised sense of taste. Rojas (2012) observes that in Santiago, language ideologies that denounce Puerto Rican Spanish are commonplace, due to its peripheral position within the pan-Hispanic order of linguistic correctness, in which there is a fractal repetition of a pattern where certain varieties of Spanish are imagined as either "superior" or "inferior". Among the comments posted on *Es de cuica,* some participants added that the Chilean youth now speak "even worse" due to the negative influence of the Caribbean Spanish found in reggaetón songs. Plus, the racialised connotation of this language variety within Chile, intimately linked to Afro-Caribbean voices and bodies, adds another layer of complexity to such discriminatory discourses (Alvarado, 2020).

In addition, the alleged poor quality of Chilean Spanish is a recurrent weapon against proposals of grammar and spelling reform motivated by a political desire for gender inclusivity or equality. A relevant case is found in the debates on *lenguaje inclusivo* [inclusive language] that is, any of the numerous proposals addressing gender equality or justice via language reform. On the 20th of September, 2021, the University of Chile's Facebook account published an image titled "La humanidad somos todes" ["Humanity is every one of us"], including the faces of people of different ages and ethnic backgrounds (Figure 1). The use of "e" in "todes", instead of the standard *todos* [*everyone*] is a recent but increasingly frequent strategic innovation by certain political groups across the Spanish-speaking world. Its most common variant consists of the use of a grammatically neutral form (-e) instead of the masculine generic (-o) in the

endings of nouns and adjectives. The policy aims to end the perpetuation of a grammatical system that allegedly reflects an erasure of women and LGBTQ+ people in everyday life. However, some claim that this strategy is specifically an affirmation and visibilisation of non-binary gender identities, as it actively subverts a masculine versus feminine dichotomy. It is only one of the various initiatives labelled as "lenguaje inclusivo" ["inclusive language"] and is also probably the most controversial.

Figure 1. Facebook post HUMANITY IS ALL OF US: 30 of September, Day Against Racism. No more impunity in Chile #NoMoreRacism

The image posted on Facebook discussed here was intended to emphasise the value of human rights, especially when it comes to traditionally marginalised communities and the fact that universities today are aware of the need for social justice and equality. The post had hundreds of negative responses, as well as positive ones. It triggered an intense and lengthy debate on a variety of topics, including, among other things, language normativity, its agents, and how it should be transformed; the relationship between language and social justice; the alleged absurdity of the premise of social inclusivity via grammatical or spelling

reform; and a perceived prevalence of the so-called *política progre* [‘*woke politics*’] that permeates contemporary debates both online and offline. Some commenters said that this post was evidence of the declining quality of this specific university, or Chilean higher education in general. Puns and other humorous approaches were abundant: a comment reads “por eso se llama Universidad de Chile, no de Chilo o Chila” [“that’s why it’s called University of Chile, not Chilo or Chila”]. In the thread, a man named Reinaldo explains in detail his understanding of the use of “e” in “todes” and other instances of “lenguaje inclusivo”; other commenters mock him by calling him “RAEnaldo” (Figure 2).

Reinaldo:
“Todos: Reference to a group of men
Todas: Reference to a group of women
Todes: Reference to a mixed group of men and women”

Melissa:
“According to whom??”

Francisco:
“According to RAEnaldo”

[Author’s translation]

Figure 2. Reactions to the Facebook post in Figure 1 with back translations

As mentioned previously, many participants were outraged. One suggests that Chile’s most important academic institution should not be part of “esta estupidez” [“this stupidity”], another one suggests that “una vez que la RAE empiece a usar esta forma y la autorice, podrás usarla tú también” [“once the RAE starts using this form and authorises it, you will be able to use it too”]. The argument of how the “lenguaje inclusivo” worsened the quality of the Spanish language was common, as well as frequent invocations to the RAE, and an impossibility of accepting linguistic regulation from other sources. In a context in which language authority is being contested about a highly controversial issue, it is significant that signalling other people’s so-called “poor” Spanish became one of the most ostensible weapons wielded by those against linguistic innovation. However, one of the most salient features of these discourses is the persistence of the RAE as the main source of linguistic normativity, and how embedded it is in the contemporary public consciousness. Other discourses found on social media regarding the questioning of language regulation also

reflect a moment when the Chilean public has been particularly sensitive to linguistic issues, in which ideologies about the local language variety and contemporary political problems merge.

4. Conclusion: Language ideologies about Chile's Spanish in contemporary circulations

The language ideologies concerning Chile's Spanish as displayed in the digital media cases from the corpus discussed above show constant tensions, as well as numerous gaps and contradictions between them. This study is focused on emphasizing the complexity of the system, even on the smallest scales of social interaction. Discourses on language by people who spontaneously discuss their explicit ideas via social media constitute a rich source of records of socially relevant language ideologies. This provided evidence of a sociolinguistic system in which the standard language and the Chilean variety are not ideologically distinguished as diverse forms of a single language. Instead, it constitutes a naturalised polarity that opposes an unmarked Spanish, imagined as transnational and anonymous, and another Spanish that is marked as distinctively Chilean. Between these two poles, there is a vast grey area where the difference is ideologically articulated in a multi-layered, complex axis of linguistic correction/incorrection. This grey, ambiguous area, consolidated in Chile's language regime, explains the key contradiction between the frequent ideological construction claiming that "Chile's Spanish is poor" and the fact that it is the dominant linguistic variety within the country's borders. The grey area exists since Chileans tend to see the dominant variety of their everyday lives as an anonymous, de-personalised, and transparent language that is usually apolitical and uncontroversial, which are features usually attributed to standard varieties (Woolard, 2007).

Critically, however, "hablar mal" [speaking poorly] is frequently associated with lower status, poverty, criminality, youth culture, and even racist tropes. In one online debate studied here, the trope of "poor language" emerged when there was an explicit need to establish the boundaries of social class and nation. When conservative women (who define themselves as *cuicas*) explicitly mark certain forms of the language as "poor Spanish" (particularly the term *mami*), they are reproducing an ultimately racist, xenophobic vision where Caribbean Spanish, and its dark-skinned speakers, are being pushed to the bottom of a symbolic transnational hierarchy. Notably, this occurs in a historic

context when hundreds of thousands of speakers of Caribbean Spanish varieties, mostly from Venezuela and Colombia, are migrating to Chile, adding a substantial foreign element to the local working class. Simultaneously, the most popular music, ranking first in the Chilean charts, is also made by Spanish-speaking artists from that area of the world. This articulates a vision where the Chilean language is "worsened" by foreign elements, which leads to a new situation where the *cuica* becomes a gatekeeper of the Chilean variety, her class, and gender.

Additionally, a language ideology that considers Chilean Spanish as poor is used as a weapon against language reform, particularly certain initiatives aiming to increase gender inclusivity or equality. A Facebook post by the University of Chile utilising "lenguaje inclusivo" [inclusive language] triggered an intense debate about language normativity and its agents; the relationship between language and social justice; the alleged absurdity of the premise of social inclusivity via forced linguistic changes; and a perceived prevalence of the so-called *política progre* [*woke politics*] in many contemporary debates. Most notably, however, is that signalling others' "poor" Spanish was one the most frequently used weapons by those against linguistic innovation.

These findings help us rethink the value of sociolinguistic theoretical instruments when analysing contemporary phenomena, such as "standard language", and "(non)dominant varieties". For instance, it becomes necessary to start re-thinking the notion of "dominance" in a context where the hegemonic and the most marginalised varieties are envisioned as the same sociolinguistic system (e.g., Chilean Spanish), and where the linguistic authority is (sometimes) considered irrelevant by the very people who underline its importance, as demonstrated by countless commenters who invoke the RAE while willingly ignore its rules. I do not suggest that the notion of dominance is undermined by these findings, but that it should be re-analysed for sociolinguistic systems whose varieties do not exactly fit a binary of dominance versus non-dominance.

This re-analysis could help to explain how, in an oxymoronic ideological construction, the standard variety is located outside the imaginary boundaries of the nation and is simultaneously considered the national language. Additionally, it can explain how the dislocated standard is considered the pole of correctness, but it is not really emulated. There is a frequent saying attributed to the authorities across the Americas during the Spanish Colonial period that was supposedly uttered whenever norms were sent from Madrid: "Se acata pero

no se cumple". It can be loosely, and with difficulty, translated as "to be complied but not fulfilled", which meant that, while the figure of the authorities who commanded the norm was respected, such a norm could not and would not be observed. In theory, many of those regulations provided more rights to Indigenous and enslaved populations, as they constituted the *Derecho Indiano* (i.e., the administrative statutes of territory and peoples in the Americas) but tended to overcomplicate things for local rulers. The grey area that emerged between the gaps of normativity and fact, obedience and rebellion, and a metropolis and its colonies can help us rethink language authority and the concepts we use to study it. This may ultimately help us analyse the complexity of other sociolinguistic systems, their vacuums, uncertainties, and contradictions.

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Pluricentricity, linguistic practices and language conflict
An outlook on the Catalan case

Abstract

This chapter offers an outlook on the pluricentric mechanisms in Catalan and analyses how they are implemented by various political powers. Some examples from literary and audiovisual mass products, such as *Harry Potter*, are discussed to illustrate these mechanisms and how they are differently perceived. Translation is highlighted as a language planning tool applied to texts that are seen as foreign to the language community, as any geographical variation cannot be justified because of the original author's foreign background. Translation can be used both to promote a plural and cohesive view of the language, by integrating the geographical variation from different norm centres in the language standard, or favouring the speaker's fragmentary perceptions, either focusing on one only codification centre or creating parallel multiversions of these products, depending on the purpose behind the language planning. Following a comparative standardology perspective, this chapter points out the achievements, as well as the weak points to overcome if a completed standardisation process is targeted, i.e. the total implementation of the language would assure its continuity in the future, contributing to the linguistic diversity in a plural world.

1. Introduction

Catalan is a European medium-sized, cross-border language. It is spoken in four states, first of all in Andorra, where it is the only official language. Secondly, in Spain, where it is, next to Spanish, an official language in the three autonomous regions Catalonia, the Valencian Country, and the Balearic Islands. Thirdly, it is also spoken in Italy, in the city of Alghero, where it has been recognized since 2018 by the Sardinian Regional Council without having an official status. Finally, in France, in Northern Catalonia, where it has no official status either, but in 2019 the Departamental Council of Pyrénées-Orientales created the Public Board of the Catalan Language for the promotion of Catalan.

These differences regarding status are influenced by another common feature: in all of these countries, Catalan shares its communicational space with other dominant languages: Spanish, Italian, and French, all of which have more

economic, symbolic, and political power. Thus, Catalan tends to adopt a minoritised position vis-a-vis these languages, although in variable degrees according to several factors, such as the sociodemographic changes that the economic model introduced in the 60s, which increased the number of monolingual Spanish speakers, especially in the urban areas (Xarxa CRUSCAT 2015; Junyent 2019). Language contact situations are typically unstable and have traditionally been associated with language shift processes, in which the subordinate language is more likely to become assimilated, as their speakers are required to be bilingual, speaking the dominant language as well, whereas the dominant language speakers can be monolingual and ignore the minoritised language (Bibiloni 1997).

The situation of languages in contact has, therefore, affected the implementation of Catalan as a common language (Mas Castells 2020). Although the codification is completed, the role of koiné is disputed with the presence of a dominant language—also in very variable degrees according to the context (Bibiloni 2002). Moreover, in this kind of language conflict, the geographical variation of a minoritised language tends to be presented as a factor that draws out the standardization process, as if this type of variation only appeared in minoritised languages, whereas in a dominant language it is seen as a positive feature. In Catalan, the geographical variation has been used politically to promote a token language division, either showing a fragmentary perception of the geographical variation or even adopting a secessionist discourse, e.g. claiming that Valencian and Catalan are different languages (Ninyoles 1985). In any case, the self-awareness of the speakers of this language entity is affected (Pradilla Cardona 2015).

These current controversies are explained by the social and political destructuring that the modern codification of Catalan had to face. Describing the social history of the Catalan language would be beyond the scope of this chapter, but Brauli Montoya (2018) has done so. Suffice it to say that Catalan enjoyed the status of the language of a state during the Middle Ages in the Crown of Catalonia-Aragon. In the Modern Age, it was progressively deprived of this status, while the modern states emerged, as did the one-language-one-state ideology. The change of the political entity brought a loss of language awareness, more pronounced in non-educated spheres. Seen as a threat to the political unity of Spain, Catalan was intermittently persecuted and forbidden by the law to varying degrees.

This interrupted the standardisation process, which was given a new boost in the 20th century with Pompeu Fabra. However, the majority of the speakers did not fully undergo the language shift in favour of Spanish. As Catalan had kept its prestige for a considerable number of model speakers, its official status was demanded at the end of Franco's dictatorship, in 1975. Nowadays, Catalan counts on limited tools to face new challenges. The pluricentric mechanisms were seen as a strategy to overcome the social destructuring (Argenter 2001). In this chapter, the current phase of its standardisation process is examined from a synchronic perspective. The challenges to overcome and the future perspectives are elucidated with the help of an analysis of mass media products.

2. How and why does pluricentricity emerge in Catalan?

Josep Àngel Mas Castells (2012) and Gerhard Edelmann (2015) have studied the pluricentricity of Catalan both from a diachronic and synchronic perspective, considering the language conflict situation (Muhr 2020). Following Ulrich Ammon's criteria (1995, p. 80) reflected in his graphic about the exonorm and endonorm, Catalan would show an asymmetric pluricentricity (Clyne 1995, p. 21-22), with Barcelona as its dominant centre. Valencia would be considered a regional centre, vis-a-vis Barcelona, as both are not separated by state borders (Ammon 1995, p. 95-97). Beyond asymmetry between centres, this imbalance would be increased by the pressure of the dominant languages, due to the disintegration dynamics that they entail (Bibiloni 1997, p. 143). As a result, Catalan is deprived of the state language status. The minoritised position implies that none of its codification centres would be considered a completed one, following Ammon's terminology, as in some contexts Catalan would not fully function as a language of social cohesion or koiné (Xarxa CRUSCAT 2015, p. 9 ff.).

In the current Valencian Statute of Autonomy (2019), but also in the previous one (2006), the Acadèmia Valenciana de la Llengua [Valencian Academy of the Language] (AVL) is set as the institution that fixes the norm for the Catalan language—officially named Valencian. Its authority is circumscribed to the autonomous region. For the whole Catalan language, this role is assumed by the Institut d'Estudis Catalans [Institute for Catalan Studies] (IEC), founded by Enric Prat de la Riba in 1907. Although the Statutes of Autonomy of neither Catalonia nor the Balearic Islands explicitly mentions this institution, IEC's authority was recognised in 1976 at a state level, in the Spanish Royal Decree 3118/1976, and at an autonomous level, in 1991, in the Catalan Law 8/1991 and the subsequent

laws. In addition, article 35 of the Balearic Statute of Autonomy sets the University of the Balearic Islands (UIB) as the official advisory institution on linguistic matters in this territory.

IEC's symbolic capital differs from the one accumulated by AVL, given the historical circumstances. IEC dates back to the early 20th century, whereas AVL was founded at the end of that century, in 1998. Moreover, it was not until 2001, after the two main parties in the Valencian Parliament reached an arrangement on its twenty-one component members, that it began to develop its functions. While some of them were already members of the IEC, others were Valencian language secessionists seeking the establishment of Valencian as a language in its own right, which was presented as a conciliatory solution to pour oil on troubled waters (Pradilla Cardona 2011, p. 37-40).

Yet, the founding of AVL was not without controversy. Considering the double function of an "Ausbau language standard" (Kloss 1967), i.e. internally homogenising the norm, on the one hand, and differentiating it from the neighbour standard languages, on the other hand, AVL was not believed to prolong convergence with the common norm and even with the rest of the western Catalan dialect, of which Valencian is a part, as it prioritised quite local and informal options (Pradilla Cardona 2008b, p. 139). Although it is too soon to establish its effects, the norm regionalisation is one of the factors that may come with a destandardisation process, as the boundaries between formal and informal registers are renegotiated (Robillard 1993, p. 154). What is more, Xavier Lamuela (1994) pointed out that an overwhelming perception of geographical variation is a trait of minoritised languages, which often leads to a shift in favour of the dominant language.

For the time being, the situation has been balanced thanks to a certain rapprochement between IEC and AVL. In 2016, IEC's grammar replaced Fabra's grammar, which had been considered the prescriptive grammar since 1918, and included options that were advocated by AVL and on which IEC had not made any decision until then. In return, in 2018 AVL accepted the spelling reform that reduced the number of diacritical written accents, which had already been approved by IEC. The very few divergences are shown in their respective dictionaries and concern some double options regarding acute written accents, as well as a list of words, which are only included in AVL's dictionary. These words are normally *hispanicisms*, even though some local Valencian expressions are also found, due to geographical or cultural reasons. After some reluctance

and despite some political pressure, AVL's (2016, n.p.) dictionary also rejected the language secessionism by defining Valencian as both the Catalan language as a whole (2nd definition) and the southern-western Catalan dialect, "the variety of this language spoken in the Valencian Community [our translation]" (3rd definition).

This kind of tacit agreement was favoured by the new body of renowned academics in AVL, in the first partial ordinary renewal, i.e. without the intervention of the Valencian Parliament. In 2020, together with UIB, IEC and AVL signed a collaboration protocol for a common and united norm that should appease the debate, at least institutionally—the Aragonese Academy has not expressed any position so far. Thus, Catalan becomes a language with two officially recognised academies: the more general one, IEC, and another one that is limited to the Valencian Country, AVL, but with one single polymorphic norm modulated by registers.

3. What kind of standard for Catalan?

In the introduction of IEC's dictionary, the then President of the Philological Section, Joan Martí i Castell (2007, p. 18-19), defined the Catalan language standard norm as compositional, positing that it is a very cohesive diasystem that does not show strong geographical variation. According to Gabriel Bibiloni (1997, p. 40-43), following Lluís Polanco i Roig (1984, p. 116-117), who is in turn inspired by William Stewart (1968) and Heinz Kloss (1972), this compositional norm establishes one common standard variety for the language community. Nevertheless, it differs from the unitary norm, which is based on one single geographical variety (monocentricity). The third and last kind are the autonomous standards; these are found in language communities with a large territorial coverage, which are normally organised in different states, inducing diverse socialisation dynamics, as the community does not always interact as a whole.

Consequently, pluricentricity does not necessarily lead to autonomous standards, but can also shape a compositional standard, according to the political, geographical, and social determinants. Transdialectalisation is one of the main characteristics of compositionality, as the selected options from the various geographical varieties are spread in a multidirectional way across the whole language community. This was Fabra's idea when he undertook the modern codification for Catalan at the beginning of the 20th century: although

the norm came from "the three main regions" (more than one centre), the target was to establish "one single literary language" (standard variety) (Fabra 1918 [1932], p. 78-79 [our translation]). Inspired by the Prague school, Fabra used the term 'literary language' to refer to the concept that is currently known as standard variety (Lamuela/Murgades 1984, p. 35, 40 ff.). The prestigious linguistic options that are considered less general would form substandard or parastandard varieties in their endonorm regions.

Even if compositional standards tend to be perceived as more ambitious at the beginning of the implementation phase, due to their transdialectalisation, since they do not consist of any speaker's vernacular variety, this kind of standard raises a greater interterritorial involvement in the standardisation process (Bibiloni 1997, p. 41). Yet, a unitary standard cannot be a mimetic representation of the chosen variety either, as there is a previous codification with the selection that comes with it.

Furthermore, the kind of standard should be differentiated from norm polymorphism (Costa-Carreras 2016, p. 125). The first term refers to the form that adopts the variety planned as a koiné, whereas the second term expresses the existence of several equivalent options sanctioned by an academy or, in its absence, the language competent authority. For instance, Italian was codified from one single centre, Tuscany (Bibiloni 1997, p. 40), but it presents a more flexible norm than French, with an incipient pluricentricity (Cabré/Güell 2020).

On the one hand, some linguists advocate for each Catalan dialect to have its autonomous standard norm (Lacreu 2017, p. 22, 26). On the other, following Bibiloni (1997, p. 143-145), Catalan would not present the geographical and social characteristics so that the autonomous standards can be implemented, as the language community would form a cohesive framework for social interaction, given the economic, political, and human contact (Gifreu 2009). If there was the necessary social and geographical separation, in politically divided spaces, to require the autonomous standards, the social functioning would demand this kind of standard in all koinés. Nevertheless, when using the Spanish standard in the Catalan-speaking territory, the autonomous kind is not even considered (Bibiloni 2002, p. 22).

In this regard, the Valencian and Andalusian cases show many similarities. Even if European Spanish began its standardisation process following a monocentric pattern based on North Castile, a minimum degree of pluricentricity is seen, inasmuch as the Andalusian geographical variation

affects the formal registers in educated speech, though, without reaching the codification in this case. The prestigious Sevilian variety influences western Andalusian, whereas eastern Andalusian tends to converge with the Castilian standard, forming a halfway variety or regionalised Andalusian: "basically a regional spoken standard arises as an alternative model for educated speakers to complement the central-peninsular standard" (Méndez-García de Paredes / Amorós-Negre 2019, p. 193). Thus, this minimum degree of pluricentricity could not be put on the same level as the American varieties, for instance, because they do not share the political, geographical, and social factors. In the words of Elena Méndez García de Paredes and Carla Amorós-Negre (2019, p. 181):

> "Unlike Spanish-speaking American countries, Andalusia is not an independent nation; it forms part of a national whole —the Spanish state— on whose economic budgets it depends, whose audiovisual and printed mass media it consumes, and whose publishing industries and cultural practices it shares. Furthermore, despite its uniqueness and its 1981 Statute of Autonomy —which defines it as a community with its own political powers— Andalusia is historically, socially and culturally a part of Spain."

These are the determinants that lead to discarding an autonomous implementation for the Andalusian substandard. Yet, the main difference between this case and the Catalan case is the language contact situation, which places Catalan in a minoritised position.

As the Catalan standardisation process is not fully established yet, recurring controversies arise about the standard norm. Mass media are one of the most affected areas, as they play a crucial role when legitimising and spreading out the standard variety. In Catalan, the visions of the language standards opposed one another. Named by the opposing side, they are known as 'light Catalan', referring to a norm with more interference from Spanish, resulting in an abundance of lexical and morphosyntactic calques, inspired by the more urban regions; and 'heavy Catalan', which refers to a norm aiming to promote the differentiating function with resources coming from the whole language community, beyond the urban centres (Casals 2001, p. 134).

4. Debates on the codification centres and geographical varieties

Following Ammon (1995, p. 95-97), a distinction is made between codification centre and language academies. The latter is an institution that fixes the norm, whereas the former refers to a prestigious geographical variety, whether it is dominant or peripheral, whose formal registers contribute to the standardisation process. Thus, a language can be pluricentric and have one only academy to establish the norm—or have no academy whatsoever, as is the case with English.

As far as the codification centres in Catalan are concerned, the only classification so far is the one made by Mas Castells, applying Ammon's (1989, p. 89-91) terminology. According to Mas Castells (2021, p. 20), Catalan would have a full centre (Barcelona), a nearly full centre (Valencia), two semi-centres (Lleida, in Catalonia, and Majorca, in the Balearic Islands), and two rudimentary centres (Alghero, in Italy, and Perpignan, in France, also regulated by IEC). Yet, the Catalan language minoritised status vis-à-vis Spanish is a determining factor, affecting the whole classification, since a codification centre aims to form a koiné and the hegemony of all Catalan varieties is disputed by a dominant majority language (Spanish in Spain). As pointed out above, Valencia would be the only centre having another academy, not because of dialect distance, but because of political reasons. Lleida and Valencia belong to different autonomous regions, but they share the western dialect, with very slight variation between them. Indeed, AVL was seen at the beginning as a double-edged sword, i.e. it was supposed to put an end to some political arguments about the norm codification, but it was, at least in part, promoted by language planning agents that sought the use of Spanish, rather than Catalan, as a koiné, generally adopting the language secessionism approach.

As mentioned above, when Fabra referred to "the three main regions" (Fabra 1918 [1932], p. 78-79) as the Catalan codification centres, he meant Catalonia, the Valencian Country, and the Balearic Islands. The main dialectal division (eastern-western) is found within Catalonia, as the Valencian Country belongs to the western dialect and the Balearic Islands to the eastern dialect. Moreover, both the Valencian and the Balearic varieties are considered to be conservative regarding the dominant centre: Barcelona (central-eastern)—in the Balearic case this is also affected by the island factor.

As for setting the standard norm, the areas of Valencia (south-western), the Balearic Islands (eastern-insular), and Lleida (north-western, including

Andorra) (Turull 2019) have contributed to the general standard codified by IEC in different degrees. The formal registers of educated speakers differ because of geographical reasons. In Alghero (Italy) and Northern Catalonia (France), the language shift processes are quite advanced (Bover i Font 2002, p. 115-116; Puig 2008, p. 113) and the promotion of Catalan is still weak despite recent initiatives, the effects of which remain to be seen. The imbalance of prestige could even break the cohesion of the standard norms in the Pyrenees (Hawkey/Mooney 2019, p. 3-5, 13). Advanced language shift processes are not compatible with the concept of a codification centre: a low prestige would not enable any local norm to emerge and contribute to the general standard while counteracting the dominant language standard. Yet, IEC has made efforts to integrate the Roussillonese and Alguerese varieties in the codification to overcome the historical destructuring.

In the oral language, a higher convergence towards the dominant centre (Barcelona) has been found in some centres. In Lleida, adopting some eastern traits may even happen in situ. As for Majorca, the most populated of the Balearic Islands, it is explained by the longer contact with the audiovisual mass media from Catalonia, at least for educated speakers in formal registers (Dols 2022, p. 9). The demographical factor, which is low in both cases, should be considered. Nicolau Dols (2022, p. 11) explains what he calls the Balearic Catalan paradox:

> "while the language authority is more open to social multiindexicality and loosens requirements on unity, trends in formal speech are those of centripetal options disregarding the original dialect. There is enough evidence to hold that Balearic speakers tend towards a more unified variety, due to the perceived dynamism of Barcelona's dialect just when the language authority responds to evolution in society with closer attention to dialects. If this diagnosis is right, Catalan shows green shoots of internal dynamism in the development of a standard language based on implicit social consensus and not on direct prescription."

Indeed, speakers can choose a language model that suits them for a particular situation of communication, which might not correspond to the codified standard norm, according to the communication accommodation theory (CAT) (Giles et al. 1987). Despite what is codified, this might also affect the standard variety that is eventually used as a koiné. As for the prescriptive texts, Joan Costa-Carreras (2021, p. 190) explains that "there is no discussion whether a pluri-areal or pluricentric strategy must be chosen"; yet, regarding their stance

as compositional (IEC) and convergent pluricentric (AVL) he posits:

> "Both the IEC's and the AVL's texts are explicitly based on the 'One Standard Axiom': the former applies the 'One Standard Catalan Axiom', the latter the 'One Standard Valencian Axiom'."

The pluri-areality notion was suggested in German dialectology since European state borders dividing a dialect area "ha[ve] had little impact on pre-existing dialect continua" (Dollinger 2019, p. 37). Yet, Stefan Dollinger (2019) adopts a very critical view on this notion, which functions as a counterproposal to pluricentricity. Indeed, linguistic policies are developed within administrative frameworks, and political powers still have a huge impact when moulding the speakers' perceptions around borders. In the Catalan case, the Spanish linguistic policies result in inner borders acquiring huge symbolism, as "a greater distance from standard Catalan [has been found] for speakers in Aragon as opposed to those in Catalonia and Andorra" (Wieling et al. 2018, p. 93), even if Andorra is another state. Yet, partly due to its low demographic weight, Andorra is highly integrated in the sociolinguistic dynamics in Catalonia (Molla 2003, p. 88-89), which places Catalan in a minoritised position there too, even if it is the only official language. This shows that the status of the language of a state is not guaranteed by mere official declarations, but it requires well-oriented policies that are locally applied. As for Aragon, the Aragonese Academy of the Language (AAL), a public institution to advise on linguistic matters founded in 2013 that includes an Institute for Catalan and another one for Aragonese, has had little or no impact, given that Catalan is not official in the Aragonese municipalities bordering Catalonia.

Although in turn, western Catalan can also be divided into smaller geographical varieties, these isoglosses do not fit within the autonomous regions' borders. For instance, despite sharing the very same variety, the southern municipalities of Catalonia tend to adopt a Barcelona-centred norm, whereas the neighbouring municipalities in the north of the Valencian Country prioritise rather Valencia-centred options (Pradilla Cardona 2008a, p. 132). This is why Miquel Àngel Pradilla Cardona (2008b p. 132-134) alerts that these dynamics might break up the linguistic-geographical continuum of the Catalan diasystem in the administrative border, considered one of the most obvious pieces of evidence for the language unity. Likewise, he suggests contrasting the political and linguistic boundaries to counteract the individuating effects.

5. What about linguistic practices regarding official texts, textbooks, translations, and mass media

In the following, official texts, language textbooks, translations, and mass media will be discussed. In legal documents, each government follows its own linguistic criteria, according to the language norm in place. As the common framework, the Spanish state does not use Catalan for general communication, so it is not possible to know the language standard that would be used. However, some state websites are partially translated into Catalan. They usually offer separate Catalan and Valencian versions. Despite the very slight modifications, the symbolism is relevant, as it contributes to increasing fragmentary perceptions. On rare occasions, the unofficial term Balearic has also been used, although it has no social tradition when referring to the language—instead, the islands' demonyms, like Majorcan or Minorcan, are popularly used in rather informal registers.

As for language textbooks, the versions are usually adapted to the geographical variety of Catalonia, the Valencian Country, and the Balearic Islands, taking that the official curriculum requirements may differ in each autonomous region, because of extralinguistic reasons. One of the most notorious was the decision made by the Valencian Government that consisted of excluding from the textbooks the Catalan writers that were not born in the Valencian Country (Cuenca 2003, p. 111-112), because of the isolationism that it meant to achieve (Pradilla Cardona 2008b, p. 76 ff.). However, the textbooks written in Spanish do not change the language norm depending on the autonomous region. In contrast to these textbooks, parallel multiversions are very rare in fiction translations, as they do not normally have to fulfil governmental requirements. In the press, the newspaper *VilaWeb* and the journal *El Temps* use a more flexible standard style, seeking to target the whole language community, with both local and general editions.

Nevertheless, some cases, such as *Harry Potter*, have been especially controversial and should be mentioned in this regard. The two first volumes of this saga translated into Catalan were first published in Barcelona in 1997. Given the different number of sales in the Valencian Country, the editors assumed that it was caused by the language variety, and that its target audience may consider it 'too Barcelonian'—it needs to be said that this happened at a particularly tense time, as AVL had just been founded. Consequently, in 2001 the Valencian adaptation of the first volume was published and the second one in 2002. The

Valencian norm in these adaptations improved some aspects because of the additional proofreading. Yet, as the Barcelonian version, it was focused on one territory (Calero-Pons 2021). No further data about the number of sales could be obtained, but it seems this publishing practice was not worth the effort, as no more Valencian adaptations were published while the rest of the volumes only have one Barcelonian version. The language norm did not quite seem to be the cause after all. The Catalan publishing market coexists with the Spanish one and the unbalanced policies affect the number of readers. According to the Foundation for Books and Reading (FULL 2019, p. 13), 3% of young Valencians prefer reading in Catalan, whereas 99.7% do it usually in Spanish. Remarkably, 44.3% sometimes read in Catalan, which is a considerable target audience. Pluricentricity also plays an important role when there are no multiversions in children's and young people's literature; e.g., 25% of it is translated into Valencian Catalan (Garcia de Toro / Marco 2010, p. 169). There might be much fewer translations into Majorcan Catalan and other local or regional norms, due to demographic reasons and the lower weight in the publishing industry.

Regarding audiovisual mass media, none covers the whole language area nowadays since the broadcasting stations in the Valencian Country were closed down in 2007, restricting the Catalan public television (TV3) area. In addition, after the former Valencian public television (Canal 9) was discontinued in 2013 and before the new one (À Punt) was founded in 2018, there was no Catalan-speaking broadcasting company in the Valencian Country. Each autonomous region has its public television, but they collaborate occasionally on some projects. TV3 can broadcast in the Balearic Islands, and vice-versa, but there is no such reciprocity agreement with the Valencian Country nowadays. All the foreign films that are dubbed into Catalan, such as *Harry Potter*, use Barcelona-centred phonetics, due to higher public investment. The same version is normally shown on TV3 and IB3. However, they are usually redubbed by À Punt using Valencian-centred phonetics (Marzà / Prats Rodríguez 2018). As for cinema, Catalan original films are very difficult to access outside of Catalonia, especially in the Valencian Country, where the Spanish dubbed version is usually the only one broadcast. The Catalan dubbed versions of foreign films are difficult to find at cinemas, even within Catalonia (Vila i Moreno et al. 2007). The new Spanish Audiovisual Law stipulates that at least 6% of the content on streaming platforms has to be produced in Catalan, Basque, or Galician. However, this law only affects the companies set in Spain, such as Movistar and Filmin, and does not apply to the companies set elsewhere, such as Netflix, HBO, and Disney.

Nevertheless, the Catalan Government later reached an agreement with Netflix so that the company would dub or subtitle in these three languages up to 70 films each year, especially children's and family content—before that, Netflix only offered 30 films in Catalan, most of which already existed outside the platform (CAC 2022, p. 22).

The Spanish linguistic policies also promote the Catalan-Valencian differentiating practices, e.g. on ministerial webpages. As there is no state television in Catalan, the official advertisements on TV3 and IB3 are voiced with a Barcelonian accent, but on À Punt with a Valencian accent. The Spanish railway network company (Renfe) even uses different recordings when crossing the border between Catalonia and the Valencian Country—Renfe's website also differentiates between "Benvingut (C)" (Catalan) and "Benvingut (V)" (Valencian). Even if the message's words are not geographically marked, these kinds of planned localisation practices contribute to promoting a fragmentary perception of the language. To prevent this, some researchers advocate for dubbed versions with speakers from all the main varieties, like the so-called "hybrid versions" in the Dutch language area (De Ridder 2022, p. 108). This should help to strengthen the Catalan linguistic market and would favour cohesive perceptions by creating common and inclusive mass media products (Vila i Moreno et al. 2007, p. 400).

6. Conclusion

Halfway between regional and national language, after reaching a co-official status in Spain, Catalan still struggles to function as a common language in its territory. Although the standard norm is already codified, its implementation is at present not very well established yet, i.e. it shares its communicational space with other dominant languages, which tend to act as the koiné. The Catalan centres, either dominant or peripheral, are therefore incomplete, due to the imbalanced situation of languages in contact.

In this framework, the Catalan pluricentric mechanisms can be used to both bring cohesion and re-structure the language community or divide the speaker's perception by symbolically increasing hypersensitivity towards the geographical variation. Translation is a powerful tool to legitimise these practices in language planning (De Ridder / O'Connell 2018). In the meantime, the Catalan speakers struggle to fully live in their native language. To guarantee their linguistic rights, it seems that Catalan should acquire the status of the

language of a state under the same conditions as all standardised languages, e.g. not necessarily in an independent Catalonia, but also if Spain made it official at the same level as Spanish. Both scenarios seem very difficult to attain in the near future.

Bibliographical note

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Exploring language norms in podcasts distributed by a public service broadcaster in the Finland-Swedish mediascape

Abstract

Swedish has been described as a pluricentric language with a dominant variety in Sweden and a non-dominant variety in Finland, *finlandssvenska* [Finland Swedish], where it enjoys official status, but is only spoken by a relatively small minority of the population. Both national varieties of Swedish have their own national spoken standards, which are used, for instance, by the public service broadcaster *Svenska Yle* in Finland in its TV and radio news. Podcasts are a fairly recent addition to the mediascape. The questions we address in this chapter include whether podcasts, nowadays also part of public service broadcasting, are changing the conceptions of the Finland-Swedish spoken standard, and how podcasters position themselves in relation to standards in Sweden and Finland, but also to more regional and local varieties. Our analysis considers the opinions of both media producers and consumers collected through interviews and a web survey. The results suggest there is more openness towards linguistic diversity in audio media, while at the same time the spoken standard of the non-dominant variety, Finland Swedish, continues to be relevant and is generally highly esteemed.

1. Introduction

Swedish is the main language in Sweden, where it is spoken by approximately 85% of the population (Language Act 2009:600; Parkvall 2015). It is also one of two official, national languages in Finland, although only spoken by a small minority of about 5% of the population (OSF 2021). Swedish, thus, has two national standard varieties, Sweden Swedish and Finland Swedish, where Sweden Swedish is perceived as the main norm-setting variety (af Hällström-Reijonen 2019). Based on these features, Swedish has been described as an asymmetric pluricentric – or bicentric – language, with a dominant variety in Sweden and a non-dominant variety in Finland (Clyne 1992; Reuter 1992).

The highest level of standard language for the Swedish language area is set in Sweden. This is reflected in the context of Finland-Swedish language planning, in which the official stance is that Finland Swedish should follow the same (written) norm as Sweden Swedish (Reuter 2014:36–38; af Hällström-Reijonen 2019). The general Swedish norm regards spelling, lexicon, and syntax (Reuter 2014:20–23). Regarding pronunciation, Finland Swedish largely has its own norm (Reuter 2014:39ff.), which historically stems from the usage among the cultural-economic elite in Turku and later in the capital Helsinki (Engman 2016; af Hällström-Reijonen 2019). The motivation for having a general norm for Swedish is that Finland Swedish should be prevented from branching off and establishing itself as a language of its own, which would then be used by only 300,000 people in Finland (Reuter 2014:36–38, OSF 2021).

However, there are different regional varieties of Swedish and, as a result, various standards that language users adhere to. Ann-Marie Ivars (2015:22) describes the Swedish language in Finland as comprising three levels: 1) local dialect, 2) local urban dialect or regional dialect, and 3) regional standard language, that is, Finland Swedish in its most generic sense (Sw. *finlandssvenska*). As a spoken regional variety, Finland Swedish is often ranked at the same level as other major regional varieties of Swedish, such as Western, Southern and Northern Swedish. In some areas there are no local dialects (Ivars 2015:22), whereas in the north-western Vaasa region, Viveca Rabb (2014) has found as many as five different levels between dialect and the Finland-Swedish standard: rural dialect, rural dialect light, dialect close to standard, Vaasa-influenced standard, and Finland Swedish, all with their own phonetic and morphological features. [Authors' translation]

According to Jan-Ola Östman and Leila Mattfolk (2011:77), there are four local centres setting the standard in each dialect area of Finland where Swedish is spoken: 1) the Swedish of Vaasa/Vasa influencing the standard in the north-west (Ostrobothnia), 2) Turku/Åbo influencing the standard in the south-west (Turunmaa/Åboland), 3) Helsinki/Helsingfors influencing the standard in the south (Uusimaa/Nyland), and 4) Mariehamn influencing the standard on the Åland islands, located in the west between Sweden and Finland (see also the map in Figure 1). The Swedish variety spoken in the capital Helsinki is thus not considered the single standard for Finland Swedish by the speakers of Swedish in the whole country (Östman/Mattfolk 2011:77–78), although it has been influential concerning cultivated speech in the media. In a study on perceptions

about language varieties, Saara Haapamäki and Sarah Wikner (2014) found that the Swedish-speaking informants in Turku tended to have negative attitudes towards the Swedish of Helsinki (or at least some stereotyped mundane features of it), while the informants in Helsinki found Turku Swedish more neutral and harder to position geographically. Finally, Therese Leinonen (2015) points out in a study on language variation and change in four cities (Helsinki, Turku, Mariehamn and Vaasa) that the Swedish spoken by highly educated older persons from Helsinki and Turku can no longer be seen as the obvious norm for spoken standard Finland Swedish.

The focus on standard varieties at a national level is common among researchers of pluricentric languages (see e.g. Muhr/Marley 2015). This is no different in the Swedish context (Norrby et al. 2020). There are, however, researchers, particularly those interested in variation within German-speaking areas (e.g. Elspaß/Niehaus 2014; Auer 2021), who have questioned the expediency of approaching linguistic variation from the pluricentric perspective of national languages and a clear-cut dichotomy between dominant and non-dominant varieties. Instead, they endorse a more dynamic pluriareal approach, where the linguistic centres do not necessarily correspond to national borders but radiate their influence in geographically and culturally adjacent areas (see Ammon 1989; Auer 2021; Wide et al. 2021). The four local centres for Finland-Swedish dialect areas, which were mentioned above (Östman & Mattfolk 2011), could perhaps be potential "radiating" centres at a certain level, at least with differing levels of contact to Sweden, as illustrated in Figure 1.

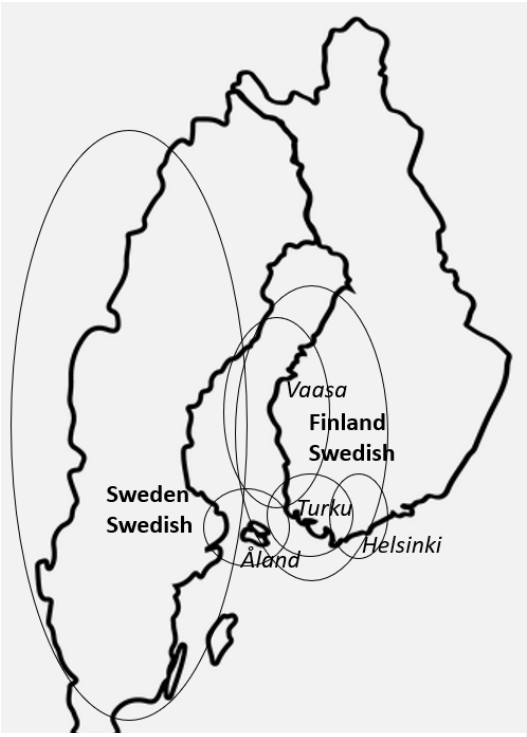

Figure 1. An approximate illustration of the four Finland-Swedish dialectal centres with the areas of their influence.

In practice, the norms of Finland Swedish are not fixed, but instead vary according to the situation. Informal spoken language is the least regulated, thus allowing for more mundane Finland-Swedish and dialectal features, whereas the mass media and teachers in schools are assumed to be "language models" that

represent the official norms (Reuter 2014:30–34). As podcasts are located somewhere in-between on the continuum of formal–informal use, it is our aim to explore how podcasters and their audience orient themselves to official language norms and other possible norms in this context. In this chapter, we therefore explore media professionals' and consumers' conceptions of the language in Finland-Swedish podcasts distributed by a public service broadcaster. We aim to establish how the podcasters position themselves in relation to the Swedish standards in Sweden and Finland, on the one hand, and more regional and local varieties on the other. Our analysis focuses on two questions: Are podcasts similar to or different from other audio media genres, and which language features are preferred or non-preferred in podcasts? We consider the opinions of both media producers and consumers through a policy and content analysis of interviews and web surveys.

In the following section, we provide background information about the Finland-Swedish mediascape including language planning, and then proceed with the presentation of the data and method of our study in section 3. In section 4, we lay out our analysis, focusing on the podcasters' (4.1) as well as the podcast listeners' (4.2) views of the language used in Finland-Swedish podcasts. In the light of our interview and survey data, we offer a conclusion in section 5, and also take up how the dimension of pluricentricity or pluriareality emerges in the participants' conceptions of the spoken norm in certain media registers, not least the podcasts.

2. The Finland-Swedish mediascape, podcasts and media language planning

Owing to its official status as a national language in Finland, Swedish has had a longstanding and fairly flourishing history in the Finnish mediascape, encompassing newspapers with a national as well as a regional scope alongside Swedish-language radio channels and television programmes aired through the public service broadcaster Yle. As in other minority/minoritised language situations, the role of Swedish-language media is important for language maintenance and vitality (Moring/Godenhjelm 2010), although the mere existence of such media does not in itself guarantee the actual use of these media or the use of a given language (see Cormack 2007). However, the advent of the Internet and the diverse media platforms associated with it have raised concerns about the status of legacy media and language loyalty towards content in their

own language among media users (Moring 2019). Digital media have already transformed media consumption by attracting users to international, often English-language content, which may disadvantage especially minority/minoritised language media and weaken their cultural influence. Such developments can also be recognized among Finland-Swedish media consumers, and especially among the young, whose digital media consumption in English is reportedly increasing and even dominant in areas like music and video content (Stenberg-Sirén 2020).

Podcasts entered this scene in the 2000s as another form of disruptive media, which originated as a grassroots phenomenon, produced at low cost, distributed free of charge and without gate-keeping protocols over the Internet. Podcasting thus started in the form of independent, amateur productions, but as their popularity grew, many traditional media companies adopted the concept and launched their own podcasts. Yle launched their first podcasts in Finnish in 2005. The first Finland-Swedish podcast started in the same year and was both broadcast on radio by Svenska Yle and distributed online.

In a world abounding with podcasts, where listeners have many more choices than they can ever consume, podcast producers at Svenska Yle try to find a Finland-Swedish niche. They attempt to create a demand for Finland-Swedish podcasts on specific, appealing topics and to do something nobody else can do – and that "something" is usually connected to a certain region in the Swedish-speaking parts of the country. In podcasts produced by media professionals, informal and self-disclosing conversations characteristic of the media form (Funk 2017) meet traditional radio speech, which has followed a strong standard language norm (Stenberg-Sirén 2018). Moreover, as a minority language institution, Svenska Yle stresses the importance of what they call "good spoken language" in all its productions, as "correct" use of language regarding grammar, pronunciation and style is associated with the credibility of the media (Rundradions svenska språknämnd, 2014). Since the 1980s, a media language advisor has been employed by Yle giving recommendations on language use, for example, on pronunciation and vocabulary in accordance with the norms of Finland-Swedish language planning. On the lexical level, although Swedish in Finland follows the general Swedish norm, official Finland-Swedish language planning makes some exceptions for words and phrases for Finnish phenomena, such as administrative terms, as well as for other cases of lexical gaps when there is no general Swedish word (Reuter 2014:20–23). However, the pronunciation in

public speech should be kept clear and well-articulated but also close to the written language in terms of, for example, the common elision of word endings in speech (Reuter 2014:57).

Today, the employees at Svenska Yle are told that they have a responsibility for the Swedish language and are considered "linguistic role models" whenever they use Swedish in all professional contexts. The style guide for media professionals at Svenska Yle (Rundradions svenska språknämnd, 2014) gives guidelines like the following:

> "Du talar och skriver begripligt och korrekt. Du visar gott omdöme i val av ord och uttryck. Du uttrycker dig levande, kreativt och engagerat. Du anpassar språket till sammanhang, publik, sändningstid och syfte. Du skiljer på talspråk och skriftspråk."
>
> "You should speak and write intelligibly and correctly. You should have sound judgement in the choice of words and expressions. You should express yourself in an animated, creative and engaged way. You should adjust the language according to context, audience, time, and purpose. You should distinguish between spoken and written language." [Authors' translation]

While there is no formal style or language guide exclusively for podcasts, the network of podcasters employed by Svenska Yle has discussed language issues in relation to what kind of style should be used for the target group. Among Finland-Swedish speakers, the majority of podcast listeners are aged 18–25 (Backström & Lindell 2021). Svenska Yle has taken this age group into consideration in the development and publication of podcasts, and consequently, most podcasts are targeted at a younger audience.

3. Data and method

The data consist of interviews with podcast makers and a web survey on podcast consumers' opinions. Several organizations and individuals produce podcasts in Swedish in Finland; yet, the main producer is the public service company Yle, and this media company is held in high esteem by the Finland-Swedish audience (Backström & Lindell 2021). For this reason, podcasters who produce podcasts distributed by Svenska Yle were specifically interviewed. The criteria of selection were the following: the podcast consisted of discussions between two or more people and was in production in 2022; podcasts consisting mainly of monologues were excluded; the topics in the podcasts included in this study covered relationships, parenting, economics, language, and culture.

Twelve semi-structured interviews with podcasters (hosts and recurring guests) were conducted in May and June 2022. In addition, the project manager for podcasts at Svenska Yle and the language advisor at Svenska Yle were interviewed. Some of the interviews were done online, recorded with audio and video, and some were recorded face-to-face. The podcasters' own perspectives on language use and policy were gathered in the interviews, as well as some background data concerning the interviewees' language background, place of residence, and connection to Svenska Yle. Swedish is the first language of all twelve interviewed podcasters, and only one of them also spoke Finnish as a first language in their childhood. Five respondents grew up in the Ostrobothnian region in north-west Finland, four in the capital region of Helsinki in the south, two in the southern Uusimaa region (outside of the Helsinki region), and one in the Stockholm region in Sweden. At present, eight podcasters live in the Helsinki region, two in Ostrobothnia, one in Uusimaa and one in the Stockholm region in Sweden.

The web survey was distributed on social media in June 2022. The survey consisted of eighteen open and closed questions, of which ten focused on how the respondents perceive Finland-Swedish podcasts and the language used in them, while eight concerned the respondents' backgrounds, e.g., as regards age, education and language. We received 60 responses to the survey; the majority of respondents had a university degree (52/60, i.e. 87 %) and most were women (46/60, i.e. 77%). Almost all respondents (58/60, i.e. 97%) declared that Swedish is their first language or one of their first languages. The survey was answered by people from the age span 18–29 to over 70. Most answers were collected from the age groups 40–49 (23/60, i.e. 38%), 50–59 (13/60, i.e. 22%) and 30–39 (11/60, i.e. 18%). Unfortunately, only six respondents aged 18–29, belonging to the main target group of podcasts, answered the web survey. We received answers from people who were born in or currently live in the main Swedish-speaking areas of Finland; however, most respondents live in the capital region of Helsinki (32/60, i.e. 53%) or in Ostrobothnia (17/60, i.e. 28%). All the fifteen Finland-Swedish podcasts listed in the survey had some listeners among the participants of the survey, but some answered that they do not listen to Finland-Swedish podcasts at all (7/60, i.e. 12%) and more than a half (37/60, i.e. 60%) reported that they also listen to Sweden-Swedish podcasts.

4. Analysis

Podcasting is a media form of its own, even though comparisons to radio broadcasting first come to mind when defining it. Comparing podcast language to radio language is natural for several reasons: all podcasts in this study are published by Svenska Yle, most of the podcasts are also broadcast on radio and almost all podcasters have experience in radio broadcasting. Whether the language of podcasts is reported by the informants to be similar to or different from the language in other broadcasting genres is a central question throughout the analysis, as are reflections on the linguistic features expected to be included or excluded in Finland-Swedish podcasts. We start by discussing the views of the podcasters (4.1) and then move on to the opinions of their listeners (4.2).

4.1. Interviews with Finland-Swedish podcasters

4.1.1. Radio language vs. podcast language

The instructions given to podcasters at Svenska Yle tell them to use an inviting and relaxed conversational tone to give the listener a feeling of being a part of an interesting conversation among good friends. One of the podcasters who is not employed by Svenska Yle explains this stance as follows:

> "Vi låter som att man skulle sitta runt ett kaffebord med sina kompisar och prata att det är som avslappnad ton. Det är inte som att vi försöker göra oss till på nåt sätt, men sen så hoppas man ju att man ska vara intellektuell och komma med smarta saker och nya tankar till dom som lyssnar."
>
> "We talk like we would do around the coffee table with our friends, in a casual way. It is not like we try to fake it in any way. At the same time, we hope to sound intellectual and come up with something smart and give new thoughts to the listeners." [Authors' translation]

Almost all podcasters describe podcasts as well-informed conversations between good friends. The podcasters want to be considered clever, spontaneous, well-informed, entertaining, funny, friendly, or tolerant, and this is manifested in language use in different ways. Some of the podcasters only have an agreement with Svenska Yle for a specific podcast. As a result, they are not part of the network of employed podcasters at Svenska Yle, nor do they receive e-mails with recommendations from the language adviser, yet only a few of them have no previous radio experience. Nine out of twelve interviewees have worked with radio broadcasting in one way or another before they started podcasting. Some of these media professionals say they know the style guide of Svenska Yle by

heart and want to use the same linguistic style in the podcast as well. One of them states: "If you know the rules, you can break them with style – and that is what interesting radio talk is about." The majority of the podcasts in this study were also broadcast by Yle on the radio and reached a larger audience there, which some podcasters considered to be a reason for not wanting to use a more casual style in the podcast. One podcaster with a lot of radio experience did not want to make the podcast language style different from the radio language style but had been advised to do so. A possible conflict was emphasized by another podcaster who saw podcasts as having a completely different audio content compared to radio. She dealt with this by being chattier in the podcast:

> "Jag är jättemedveten om min svenska när jag pratar i radion, och när jag poddar försöker jag faktiskt vara jätteavslappnad. [...] jag skulle vara mera koncis i radio, men jag är nog också noga i podden med att använda rätt ord."
>
> "I am extremely aware of my Swedish when I talk on radio, and when I podcast, I really try to be extremely relaxed. [...] I would be more concise on the radio, but I am still careful about using the right [Swedish] words in the podcast." [Authors' translation]

Radio programmes are always time-driven and usually manuscript-driven, whereas podcasts should sound more like a relaxed conversation among friends. This is also the case if some postproduction editing is done by the podcasters themselves or by the podcast producer at Svenska Yle. Usually, the consumer listens to the podcasts with earbuds, which possibly affects the listening experience, as some of the podcasters pointed out. Podcasts are also a more intimate medium as the listener chooses what to listen to and when, and often listens to them on their own, even in public places. In this private zone enhanced by the use of earbuds, the podcasters become the listener's company and friends, so to speak. This is apparent in the following comment:

> "det är det närmaste du som journalist eller mediepersonlighet kan komma din publik, och det gör sig bättre om du är en avskalad, råare version av dig själv än det här superfinslipade och vackert paketerade melodiska innehållet."
>
> "this is the closest you as a journalist or media personality can get to your audience, and it comes out better if you are a stripped down and rawer version of yourself, rather than having extremely polished and beautifully packaged pleasant-sounding content." [Authors' translation]

According to the informants, the differences between podcast language and radio language can be observed, for example, in the use of English or Finnish words, slang or dialectal expressions, as well as the number of discourse markers that are usually edited out or not included in planned and scripted radio talk. However, some podcasters make a point of editing out disturbing, frequent discourse markers and slips of the tongue. According to the project manager for podcasts at Svenska Yle, the young audience – i.e. the main target group – is more tolerant when it comes to 'nonsense' features, such as laughter, and language use that is not 100% correct.

4.1.2. Finland-Swedish standard and dialect

All podcasters, except for two, considered their language in the podcasts to be a kind of standard Finland Swedish that includes regional features. The two exceptions described their language as representative of Helsinki Swedish and Stockholm Swedish. Generally, then, the 'standard' seemed to allude to the Finland-Swedish standard. However, one podcaster mentioned the influence from Sweden Swedish in his childhood in Ostrobothnia when he started to create his own non-dialectal variant of Finland Swedish: "I was familiar with Sweden Swedish, I had it in me." Another podcaster, who grew up in the Helsinki region, said that media professionals and speakers of Finland Swedish in general, would be more likely to be influenced by the culture and language in Sweden. Several also said that they listened to Sweden-Swedish radio and podcasts and that they were influenced by them, not only as regards format and topics, but also in terms of how Swedes express themselves and explain things. Many podcasters listen to English-language podcasts as well, especially American, and a few mentioned Finnish podcasts as sources of inspiration for their own production.

Variation due to different language backgrounds is welcomed and considered a richness by Svenska Yle, but dialect should only be used in exceptional cases and after "mature consideration", because all content should be intelligible to the audience as a whole (Rundradions svenska språknämnd 2014). Some of the podcasters said they used expressions from either their own dialect or other Finland-Swedish dialects. They stated that their use of dialect is mostly a conscious shift in style, and some pointed out that regional or dialectal words should be explained to listeners from other regions in Finland, as well as from Sweden:

"nå förstås, vi talar inte dialekt i podden som vi annars skulle göra. Där är vi

> medvetna om mottagaren, men [...] jag upplever att jag kan vara vanlig och naturlig på en utjämnad högsvenska."
>
> "Of course, we do not speak dialect in the podcast as we would do otherwise. In that sense we are aware of the audience, but [...] I feel that I can act normally and naturally when I speak standardized Swedish." [Authors' translation]

> "man måste ju inse att man är en språklig förebild och gärna ska uttrycka sig väl och eftertänkt och vinnlägga sig om ett gott och samtidigt ett rikt språk. Jag tycker att i det rika språket kan ingå vissa regionala särdrag, så länge man gärna då öppnar och synliggör och visar så folk förstår vad det handlar om."
>
> "You have to realize that you are a linguistic role model, and it would be appreciated if you express yourself well and thoughtfully and strive for good rich language. I think that rich language can also have some regional features as long as you explain what you mean." [Authors' translation]

The notion of a linguistic role model was not mentioned directly by other podcasters, but when discussing audience feedback, one podcaster mentioned a comment from a listener who wanted to read more, pick up new words and learn how to express oneself in a way similar to how the podcaster expressed himself. Three other interviewees reported that their co-podcasters, all from the Helsinki region, were speakers whose creative and rich language motivated them to use better and more creative language themselves.

In order to use this kind of 'creative' language, one podcaster explained that she included dialectal expressions from other regions than her own, because she felt they were worth bringing out, and that in her opinion the concept of podcasting allowed one to do this. Another said that she used Ostrobothnian dialectal expressions to reveal her origins and to "flirt" with that part of the audience that came from that region. However, according to the podcasters, their listeners have a wide range of attitudes towards dialectal features in podcasts from very positive to very negative, as shown in these two extracts:

> "Vi får ganska ofta meddelanden från mänskor som vill att vi ska tala mera dialekt."
>
> "Quite often we get messages from people who want us to speak more dialect." [Authors' translation] (Podcaster whose first language is an Ostrobothnian dialect)

> "jag blir jättepåverkad, av att prata med andra som har en dialekt, jag slutar

> prata högsvenska [...] Jag får dialektala drag direkt, men jag tycker att det är lite roligt, för Borgådialekt [...] får aldrig så mycket praise. [...] Det har kommit en del [feedback] på svärande och på Borgådialekt, att det tycker dom inte om att vi pratar Borgådialekt."
>
> "I am so easily influenced by others who speak dialect that I stop speaking standard Swedish [...] I use some dialectal features immediately, but I think it's a bit fun, because the Borgå dialect [...] never gets much praise. [...] We have received some feedback on swearing and on the Borgå dialect; they don't like it when we speak dialect." [Authors' translation] (Podcaster who speaks an Eastern Nyland dialect)

The podcasters stated that their use of dialect is mostly a conscious style shift, and some pointed out that regional or dialectal words should be explained to listeners from other regions in Finland as well as listeners from Sweden. The contradicting opinions on dialects among listeners are discussed further in section 4.2.

4.1.3. English, Finnish and slang

The language advisor at Svenska Yle encouraged the podcasters to make an extra effort to find Swedish alternatives rather than using words from English or Finnish. One podcaster argued that there is a grey zone between the importance of trying to find a Swedish alternative and not creating a distance with the listener, for example, if the listener hardly ever used a certain Swedish expression or if it felt strange in the context. In some podcasts, the desired language style should match that of the main target group, i.e. the 18-25-year-olds. Even though the ambition must still be to use a "grammatically correct language" as a base, the language must not scare off or exclude young listeners by being too formal and by not reflecting their own speech:

> "Nu kan ju nån påstå att till exempel om jag använder engelsk slang att det är fel svenska, så klart, men det är rätt för målgruppen för det är kanske det mest rätta ordet målgruppen skulle använda just i den situationen. [...] Det är ändå i slutändan ett beslut som landar på magkänsla."
>
> "Somebody can claim that if I, for example, use English slang it is not correct Swedish, of course, but it is the correct use among the target group, because this word may be the most fitting word that the target group would use in the same situation. [...] In the end, the decision comes from a gut feeling." [Authors' translation]

The interpretation of how to follow the directions concerning podcast language when it comes to using English, Finnish and slang varies among those podcasters who also record radio content or speak in public in their profession. Some of them say they use a lot of slang words of Finnish origin. One podcaster justified the use of slang by stating that the podcasters represented different variants of Finland Swedish and she represents Helsinki Swedish:

> "Jag vill ge den här finlandssvenska flairen till det hela, men det är viktigt att det är tydligt och jag vet att vi har rikssvenska lyssnare, men jag tänker att nästan alltid kommer det fram från sammanhangen vad vi talar om. Jag tycker att det är liksom roligt att använda något sånt som säg ordet kämppä i stället för att säga lägenhet, men jag kan lika gärna säga lya, vilket ju ingen säger här egentligen."
>
> "I want to give this Finland-Swedish flair to it, but it is important that it is clear, and I know that we have Sweden-Swedish listeners, but I think that almost always the context shows what it is about. I think it is fun to use, for example, a word like 'kämppä' [colloquial Finnish and Finland-Swedish slang for 'apartment'] instead of 'lägenhet' [standard Swedish for 'apartment'], but I could equally well say 'lya' [Sweden-Swedish colloquial for 'apartment'] which no one here actually uses." [Authors' translation]

Other podcasters had no intention to use more slang. The following podcaster quoted below, for example, does not want to change his language style:

> "jag tycker inte att man ska åtminstone försämra sitt språk för att man på något vis vill skapa en mer intim stämning. Faktum är att jag talar med mina vänner ungefär lika som jag talar i radion och podden och jag ser ingen orsak att börja tala slarvigt eller ta in finska ord eller något sånt bara för att ... eller börja svära."
>
> "at least you should not make your language worse to create an intimate feeling. The fact is that I speak almost in the same way with my friends as I do on the radio and in the podcast. I see no reason to start using a more sloppy language or Finnish words or something just because..., or to start swearing." [Authors' translation]

Another podcaster said that "traditional radio listeners" tended to react negatively when they used English in a podcast. She has therefore adopted the practice of translating any English expressions that may crop up into Swedish.

4.1.4. Swearing

Insults and swear words should not be a part of radio and TV language, as stated in the Svenska Yle style guidelines. Since swear words are common in everyday language, and especially in intense and emotional discussions, they may also surface in podcasts to some degree. In practice, podcast producers usually edit them out and have to decide if swear words can stay or if racy content should be omitted:

> "Det finns en viss beställning på att vi är fräcka, att vi är podden som vågar kritisera. [...] Att liksom när nån blir upprörd och svär - som händer ganska ofta - är det nog ett avvägande för producenten [vad hen ska klippa bort]."
>
> "We are expected to be controversial and to be the podcast that dares to criticize. [...] If any of the podcasters gets upset and swears - which happens quite often - the producer must weigh up [what to edit out]." [Authors' translation]

One podcaster considered swearing to be part of podcast language style, reflecting the attempt to appeal to a younger audience, which is their target audience. In the following excerpt the podcaster gives the English expression "what the fuck" as an example of such usage:

> "Här kan jag säga helt korrekt att 'alltså vadå vad menar du?', men [...] om jag nu skulle prata med min bästa vän och säga att 'What the fuck, jag fattar inte vad du säger', och då gå enligt den stilen i stället [i podden]. [...] alltså det får utesluta så att säga fel målgrupp men inte rätt målgrupp."
>
> "I could say: 'What do you mean?', but if I would say to my best friend: 'What the fuck, I don't get what you say', I can also use this style in a podcast. This can exclude the 'wrong' target group, but not the 'right' target group." [Authors' translation]

Some podcasters make it very clear that they do not use swear words in their podcasts and consider them to be a sign of 'bad language'. Indeed, when the podcasts are broadcast on radio, some listeners complain to Svenska Yle every time they hear a swear word.

4.2. Web survey among listeners

In line with the interview data with podcast producers, the survey data collected from podcast listeners show that there are different opinions on whether podcasts should follow the same norms as other radio language, or whether the

language should be more relaxed and colloquial. The majority of respondents (34/60, i.e. 57%), however, stated that the language used in podcasts should be more or much more "relaxed" than the language used in news broadcasting, while less than a third (17/60, i.e. 28%) thought that similar kind of language should be used in both podcasts and news broadcasting. The replies from the youngest (18–28) and the oldest age groups (50–) were evenly distributed between those opting for a more standardized news language and those favouring a more relaxed language in podcasts (11 responses for both alternatives). For respondents between 30 and 49 years, there seemed to be a more consistent preference for a more relaxed language in podcasts than in news broadcasting (23 choosing a more relaxed language vs. 5 choosing news-like language). With only 60 respondents, we cannot draw any far-reaching conclusions about the response behaviour in different age groups, but it would be interesting to examine further the tendency suggested by these results in future studies.

In the answers to an open question on how the respondents would describe the language used in Finland-Swedish podcasts, some describe it as, for example, "relaxed" (*avslappnat*), "informal" (*ledigt*), or "colloquial" (*talspråk*), while fewer use expressions that can be situated on the other end of the scale, such as "standard language" (*standardspråk*) or "standard Swedish" (*standardsvenska*). Many also give a value judgement about the language used in Finland-Swedish podcasts, often opting for a positive description of the language as e.g. "good" or "very good" (*bra*, *god svenska*, *mycket gott*). Overall, those arguing for a strict orientation to standard language norms in all broadcasting genres, however, constitute a small minority of all respondents.

The general impression of the survey is hence that most respondents expect podcasts to belong to a genre with more flexible language norms than the most formal broadcasting genres, such as news, although there are different opinions about what a more relaxed language actually is and which linguistic features are preferred in it. In the survey, we had two parallel multiple-choice questions, one asking which specific features the respondents liked and another asking which features they disliked in podcasts, with a pre-set list of eight features, including colloquial pronunciation, dialectal and regional features, slang, Finnish inserts, English inserts, swear words, Finland Swedish, and Sweden Swedish. The answers to these questions are summarized in Figure 2 and Figure 3.

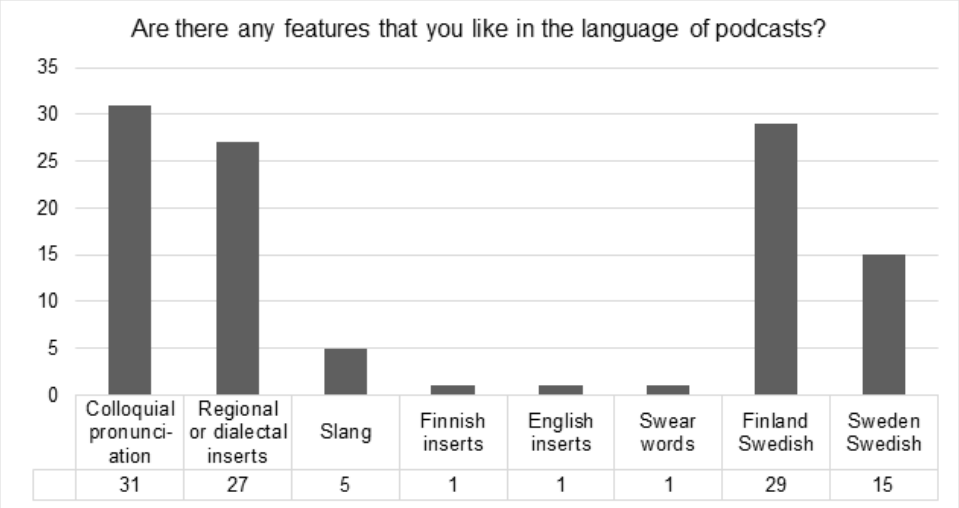

Figure 2. Preferred linguistic features in Finland-Swedish podcasts according to listeners (n=60).

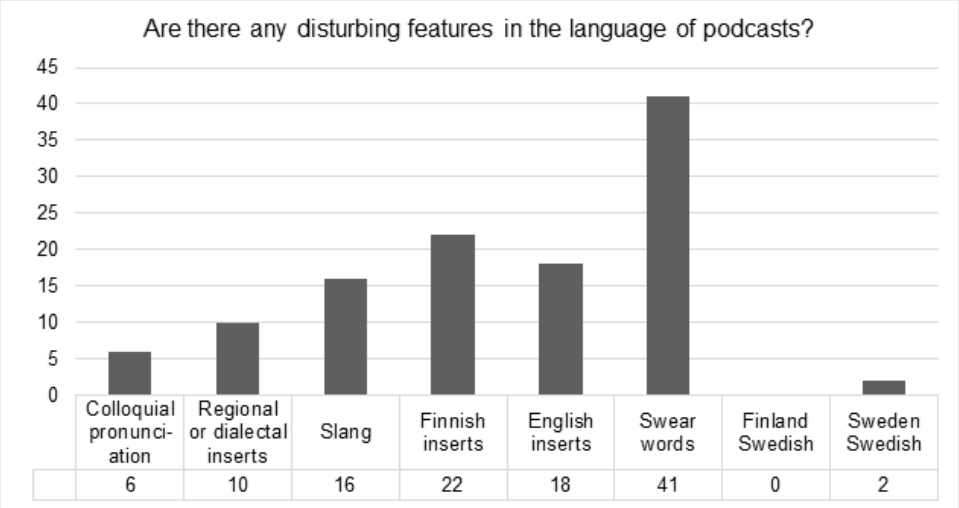

Figure 3. Disturbing linguistic features in Finland-Swedish podcasts according to listeners (n=60).

Based on the number of times respondents selected "preferred" vs. "disturbing" linguistic features, the subjects' own national variety, Finland Swedish, was considered a particularly positive trait among about half of the respondents (29/60), while none mentioned that Finland Swedish was disturbing. Exactly what is understood by Finland Swedish is not specified in the questionnaire nor is it clearly stated in the answers, but as shown in Figure 2 and 3, the respondents seemed to prefer a language that is near standard, that follows the general language norms and perhaps includes some regional flavour. The dominant national variety, Sweden Swedish, is mentioned as a positive feature by 25% of the respondents (15/60), while only two mention it as disturbing. Overall,

neither of the two national varieties appears to raise negative feelings among the respondents.

The stance taken on dialectal and regional features is a question that divided respondents. Almost half of the respondents (27/60) mentioned dialectal or regional features as something they enjoy in podcasts, as expressed e.g. in the following comment: "I hear very little dialect in my everyday life, so I find it refreshing and enriching to hear dialect spoken" [Authors' translation]. A smaller number of respondents (10/60) mention dialectal or regional features as something that disturbs them in podcasts. This approach is expressed, for example, in this concise comment: "Irritating with too much dialect" [Authors' translation].

The variety of Swedish spoken in Helsinki was mentioned by a couple of respondents as particularly annoying, e.g. in this comment: "Really strong Helsinki Swedish can sometimes be a bit irritating" [Authors' translation]. Another comment on Helsinki Swedish explicitly questioned the belief that the Helsinki variety would be standard Swedish and instead described it as a "slightly broken dialect" [Authors' translation] with too much influence from Finnish and English. Many respondents also expressed an ambivalent stance to dialectal features in podcasts, as illustrated in the following comments:

> "Dialekt är varmt välkommet, men det är klart att det finns vissa dialekter som blir svåra att förstå som då nog får utjämnas lite: poddar och program ska ju nå sina lyssnare och inte (åtminstone enbart) vara ett forum för poddmakarna själva."
>
> "Dialect is warmly welcome, but of course there are some dialects that are difficult to understand and should thus be levelled a bit: pods and programmes should reach their listeners and not (at least exclusively) be a forum for the pod makers themselves." [Authors' translation]
>
> "Jag förstår inte alla dialektala ord. Dialektala inslag stör mig inte alls, bara det inte är 100 % dialekt."
>
> "I don't understand all dialectal words. Dialectal inserts do not disturb me at all, as long as it isn't 100% dialect." [Authors' translation]
>
> "Jag tycker att en podd ska ha ett språk som alla lyssnare förstår. Vi finlandssvenskar är så pass få, att det blir märkligt att t.ex. podda på en österbottnisk dialekt, som en nylänning inte förstår."
>
> "I think a podcast should have a language that all listeners understand. We

> Finland Swedes are so few that it becomes strange to make a podcast, for example, in an Ostrobothnian dialect that someone from Uusimaa does not understand." [Authors' translation]
>
> "Det är trevligt med olika variationer av språket, men det ska alltid vara lätta att lyssna och förstå vad som sägs för alla."
>
> "It is nice with different varieties of the language, but it should always be easy for everyone to listen to and understand." [Authors' translation]

As highlighted in these comments, dialects are often perceived as a positive trait of podcasts per se, but only if they do not make the content difficult to understand for all listeners. In the survey responses, it appears that the listeners more concretely mean that regional varieties are an accepted and for some listeners an enriching feature of podcasts, while local varieties are considered to be potentially hard to understand and thus excluding. In general, most of the respondents who thought that the language of podcasts should be more relaxed than in news broadcasting were positive about the inclusion of dialectal, or rather regional, features, while those who did not make a difference between the language of these two broadcasting formats opted for less dialectal features. On a five-grade scale from "can speak dialect" (1) to "must speak standard language" (5) only two of the sixty respondents considered that podcasts should be in standard language (5), while 21 have selected the other end of the scale, i.e. "can speak dialect" (1).

For some respondents, the topic guides the preferred linguistic style more than the podcast format per se, as news podcasts, for example, are expected to follow a more formal register than podcasts on other matters. The connection between topic and language is illustrated by the following quotations:

> "Jag lyssnar alltså bara på nyheter och vetenskap, och det skulle kännas konstigt om just dessa innehåll skulle förmedlas på dialekt i radio (förutom förstås när någon intervjuas). Det finns ju förstås andra typer av poddar vars innehåll har en helt annan karaktär, och då menar jag att dialekt kan vara helt ok!"
>
> "I only listen to news and science, and it would feel awkward if, specifically, this content would be conveyed in dialect on radio (except of course when someone is being interviewed). Of course, there are other kinds of podcasts with content of a completely different nature, and in that case, I think that dialect can be quite OK!" [Authors' translation]

> “En [n]yhetspodd går ju gärna hållas på mer formellt språk.”
>
> “A news podcast is, of course, preferably given in more formal language.” [Authors’ translation]

> “Vilket språkbruk jag uppskattar varierar förstås efter programtyp.”
>
> “Which language I appreciate more varies according to the type of programme.” [Authors’ translation]

> “Graden av avslappnat språk beror på ämnet. Svordomar stör bara om de tar över.”
>
> “The level of relaxed language depends on the topic. Swearing is only disturbing if it takes over.” [Authors’ translation]

A podcast language that is exactly right as regards both topic and broadcasting format is also a question of credibility, according to some of the responses. As illustrated in Figures 2 and 3, Finnish, English and slang words are all features that disturb some of the listeners, while swear words are considered to be a linguistic feature that is clearly least appreciated. As many as 68% (41/60) selected the option that they disliked swear words, while only one respondent explicitly liked swear words in podcasts. The dislike of swear words seemed to hold for all age groups and for most of the respondents, regardless of whether they preferred podcasts with a formal or a more relaxed language. For 19 respondents, swearing was the only annoying feature, while 22 disliked both swear words and one or several other linguistic features, mostly Finnish, English and slang. The other features listed also disturbed at least some of the respondents, except for standard Finland-Swedish features, which no one found disturbing.

To summarize, Finland-Swedish podcasts distributed by the public service company Yle are according to the results of our survey expected to be given in a relaxed, but still standard-like (Finland) Swedish, which can be regionally flavoured, but should generally not be too influenced by Finnish or English, nor include slang or swearing. The respondents expected the language of podcasts to vary on the level of formality according to the topic and linked context-appropriate language to the credibility of the podcasters.

5. Results and discussion

In this study, we have investigated both media professionals' and consumers' expectations and experiences of the language used in Finland-Swedish podcasts. The podcasters, as well as their listeners, mainly described the language used in podcasts as a somewhat more colloquial variant of the spoken standard. By this the respondents seem to refer to a rather educated, not too regionally coloured Finland Swedish. There is, nonetheless, a fairly unanimous appreciation of a stylistically more relaxed and regionally flavoured language use, which is in contrast to what is expected of traditional radio language. The relaxed, informal conversational style in podcasts is not a unique Finland-Swedish phenomenon, but is instead a characteristic of podcasting in general, especially in American podcasts, which are described as "chatty, familiar, personal, fluid, intimate" (Spinelli & Dann 2019:9). However, more pronounced substandard features like swearing, calques and loans from Finnish and English or *slangy* language, associated with the mundane variant of Helsinki Swedish, are clearly detested by many of our informants. Furthermore, not only the media format, but also the topics chosen determine which linguistic features are deemed appropriate. As our respondents reported, more serious topics are expected to be reported on in a less colloquial way, while an informal style that mixes in regional features may have its "charm" in other contexts.

The emphasis on target group thinking at Svenska Yle has consequences for language use and style: intelligibility, authenticity and community are seen to be more important than "100% correct Swedish". However, intelligibility is the foundation of all content produced by Svenska Yle, and in podcast language it becomes an issue, for example, in the use of English, Finnish, slang and dialect. While some podcasters interpret authenticity and the freer format of podcasting to mean adopting the more informal communicative style that they would use with friends – which also includes using dialectal words, English, Finnish, slang and swear words – other podcasters, as well as many listeners, see these features as disturbing and distracting. Both podcasters and listeners are in principle more positive than negative about regional features, but the use of more local varieties appears to become a question of intelligibility: dialectal words need to be explained if used. Most podcasters seem to be aware of the listeners' conceptions, and some of them also adjust their language while they are recording the podcast or are post-editing the recording.

In the Finland-Swedish mediascape, podcasts offer a new type of minority-

language media outlet that contributes to the sociolinguistic vitality of the variety, a function which is also taken seriously by podcast makers, who see themselves as linguistic role models. This implies a balancing act between language that is relaxed and authentic, and language that is sufficiently correct, comprehensible and tailored to the topic. This balancing act may have some bearing on how Finland-Swedish standard language is conceived in the future. There seems to be a demand for a neutral, but at the same time informal and to some degree regionally and contextually sensitive language use in audio media, a development which the podcasts as a new agent in the field can accelerate.

Depending on the topic and the region of origin of the podcaster, linguistic features radiating from some of the major dialectal centres are allowed to surface. The regions in the south (Helsinki) and southwest (Turku), which have traditionally been linguistic centres of gravity for the language in the public sphere, may still have an important role, but the northwest (Vaasa) is becoming increasingly important, possibly also because the speakers of that region are affected by more substantial language contact with Sweden-Swedish media and thus with the Sweden-Swedish variety, which, in turn, is generally appreciated among speakers of Finland Swedish. In this sense, there are aspects of pluriareality, comprising multiple standards (cf. Auer 2021), in the Swedish language situation. Nonetheless, it has a strong bicentric dimension based on national dominant and non-dominant varieties. The speakers of the non-dominant variety consider that there is a common, national standard associated with the usage in Finland, not least in audio media, and it is not valued lower than the dominant variety of Sweden. Our results of informant conceptions also show that there is an openness to a continued media language informalization and stylistic pluralism within the Finland-Swedish area. Since the preferences for local features depend on where the podcasters and listeners come from, this may sow the seed for the emergence of multiple, regionally anchored standards for some registers in audio media. Although the results of the present study offer some suggestions about such a possible development, embracing this topic and the role of podcasts in it calls for more systematic and larger-scale future research.

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Linguistic standards and model speakers
Journalists' views on media's role for Swedish in Finland

Abstract

Finlandssvenska [Finland Swedish] is (1) a national language in Finland, (2) spoken by a minority of the population. It is also 3) a non-dominant variety of Swedish. These three facts affect the status of Finland Swedish. The only national arena where *spoken* Finland Swedish is displayed to a greater extent are the Swedish programs produced by *Svenska Yle*, the Swedish program department of the Finnish Public Service Broadcasting Company *Yle*. To get a deeper understanding of the role of media for Finland Swedish, a qualitative analysis was conducted focusing on how journalists working at *Svenska Yle* see *Yle's* mission for the Swedish language in Finland. The analysis shows three prominent views. First of all, we see a top-down-model where *Yle* should provide a language model for the speech community. Many journalists see themselves as so-called model speakers. Secondly, there is a bottom-up-model, where *Yle* should be a mirror of the linguistic variation in society. This is especially reflected in its use of dialects as part of a Finland-Swedish identity. Thirdly, *Yle* is seen to have a language policy mission in strengthening the vitality of Finland Swedish and enhancing its status in society. This is done by keeping the language vibrant and viable in all kinds of modern-day situations and giving it a visible platform, but also by Svenska *Yle*'s journalists acting as ambassadors for the Swedish language in Finland. All three roles affecting the status of Finland Swedish can be seen in the journalists' arguments. They focus mainly on Finland Swedish as a national variety in its own right, enhancing its uniqueness and the language group identity in relation to both the dominant variety Sweden Swedish and the national majority language Finnish.

1. Introduction

Swedish is considered a pluricentric language (Bijvoet / Laureys 2001; Norrby et al. 2012, 2020; Reuter 1992, Tandefelt 2015), meaning that it is a national language in more than one country with somewhat differing norms for the standard varieties (Clyne 1992, p. 1). The dominant variety, *sverigesvenska* [Sweden Swedish], is used in Sweden and spoken by 85 percent of the population. The variety of Swedish spoken in Finland is called *finlandssvenska* [Finland

Swedish] and can be seen as a non-dominant variety of Swedish (Norrby et al. 2012, 2020; Reuter 1992, Tandefelt 2015).[1] Finnish and Swedish are both national languages in Finland. Finnish is spoken by 86.5 percent of the population and Swedish is the mother tongue of about 288 000 individuals or 5.2 percent of the population (Statistics Finland 2022). Finnish is also one of the official minority languages in Sweden, spoken by about 200 000-250 000 people there (minoritet.se 2022). Officially, Swedish is not a minority language in Finland, but it is spoken by a minority and can be seen as a minoritised language to some extent (see section 2.2).

The Swedish language planning in Finland is built on a 'survival ideology', based on the assumption that Swedish in Finland would not survive as a separate language. Therefore, it cannot (be allowed to) deviate too much from Swedish in Sweden (Thylin-Klaus 2012). Hence, few differences can be found on a grammatical or an orthographical level and the main distinctive features are *finlandisms*, words and phrases specific for Finland Swedish, and differences in pronunciation (af Hällström-Reijonen 2012; Norrby et al. 2012; Reuter 1992, 2014).

An important part of the process of language standardization is the codification of the norms in grammars and dictionaries (Haugen 1966, p. 931). However, other types of texts might serve as unofficial forces establishing the norms of the standard variety. According to Ulrich Ammon (2004, p. 277), these constitute *model texts* and are found in for example books and magazines. Similarly, oral models for the standard may be found on the theatre stage or in broadcast media, particularly public service broadcasting (PSB). The producers of the oral model for the standard variety, for example news readers, can be called *model speakers* (Ammon 2004, p. 277). For a pluricentric language, the question is which standard variety – or which standard varieties – are being used by media.

In this study, I analyse how journalists at *Svenska Yle,* the Swedish department of the Finnish Public Service Broadcasting Company, see their own role and the role of media for the Swedish language in Finland. Do they see themselves as so-called *model speakers*, thereby accepting the role of language management actors (Muhr 2012)? How do they position their own and *Yle's* language mission in relation to the different roles of Finland Swedish?

[1] I use Finland Swedish as the English term for *finlandssvenska*, since it is established in linguistic literature, and similarly Sweden Swedish for *sverigesvenska*.

2. The three roles of Finland Swedish

The status of Finland Swedish has three dimensions. It is a national language, it is spoken by a minority of the population, and it can be seen as a non-dominant variety of a pluricentric language.

2.1. Swedish as a national language in Finland

Finland was part of Sweden for roughly 700 years, until the war between Sweden and Russia in 1808–1809. As a result, Finland became an autonomous part of Russia, which lasted until 1917 when the nation gained independence. Since the foundations for a modern society were laid during the Swedish reign, for centuries Swedish was the language of the elite, the courts, academia, and the church (Reuter 1992). Today, the majority language Finnish dominates in all of these areas, and English is also very present, especially in business and academia.

The legal position of Swedish is strong. The Constitution of Finland (11.6.1999) and the Language Act (6.6.2003/423) regulate the use of Finnish and Swedish in the courts, in the military and in government and municipal institutions, guaranteeing the right to official information in both languages. The constitution states that:

> "The public authorities shall provide for the cultural and societal needs of the Finnish-speaking and Swedish-speaking populations of the country on an equal basis." (The Constitution of Finland 1999, Sec. 17, Subsec. 2.)

There are also specifically Swedish-language institutions, for example a Swedish military brigade and a Swedish diocese in the Evangelical Lutheran Church, and perhaps most importantly, a separate Swedish-language school system from pre-school to universities.

The Swedish-speaking population is mainly located along the western and southern coastline and on the Åland islands. The region of Ostrobothnia in the west, the archipelago in the southwest and the regions west and east of the capital area are traditional Swedish dialect areas (for a research overview, see Sandström 2013). In some of these areas, the local majority language is Swedish, whereas in the capital Helsinki and other larger cities, Finnish holds a strong position and the majority of the Swedish-speakers are in fact bilingual (Saarela 2021, p. 43). In a sense, Swedish is a regional language in Finland, and in large parts of the country, Swedish is relatively invisible outside of school.

2.2. Swedish as a minority language in Finland

In Finland, the native languages of the citizens are registered in the Population Information System (Digital and Population Data Services Agency n.d.), giving us seemingly precise data about the language situation. Only 5.2 percent of the Finnish population have registered Swedish as their mother tongue (Statistics Finland 2022). However, since one can only include one language in the system, the number of people with proficiency in Swedish is probably much higher. About one third of the Swedish speakers have a Finnish-speaking partner, which means there are many bilingual families and children (Saarela 2021). Even so, the Swedish-speaking population in Finland is a numerical minority, even though Swedish in many respects is on par with Finnish in terms of legal rights.

Swedish is a compulsory subject in Finnish-language schools, as is Finnish in Swedish-language schools in Finland. However, since 2005 the final exams in Swedish (for Finnish-speakers) and Finnish (for Swedish-speakers) are no longer compulsory in the matriculation exam, and the number of students taking the exams have dropped significantly in both language groups (Johansson 2022; Studentexamensnämnden 2022). As a result, fewer people working as public servants have a deeper knowledge of Swedish. For most of the positions in public offices, the language requirements include excellent skills in Finnish and only satisfactory skills in Swedish, which in practice means that it is much easier for Finnish-speakers to get the positions. Consequently, Swedish-speaking citizens do not always get service in Swedish and the good intentions of the Language Act are often not met in reality, a fact that is also concluded in the National Language Strategy (Nationalspråksstrategi 2021).

For the Swedish-language media in Finland, the dominance of Finnish in public offices means that the official terminology is mostly in Finnish. Since news journalists cannot wait for the documents to be translated in ministries and government institutions, they often have to come up with the Swedish translations themselves. Therefore, they work closely with the media language advisers in order to find correct equivalents in Swedish for new terminology (Stenberg-Sirén 2021b).

In addition to challenges with getting service in their mother tongue, the Swedish-speaking Finns also have to cope with negative attitudes towards Swedish. Especially the Finns Party (a right-wing party strongly promoting "Finnishness") is challenging the status of Swedish in Finland. They are strongly opposed to Swedish being a mandatory subject in schools. In their

"Suomalaisuusohjelma" (strategy for "Finnishness"), they state that the Finnish language unites all people living in Finland, thereby disregarding the Swedish-speaking Finns as well as all people with other language backgrounds residing in Finland. In addition, they claim that having to learn Swedish disrupts the language identity of the Finnish-speakers and disturbs their self-image. (Finns Party 2022).

However, these negative attitudes towards Swedish are not clearly represented in the general public. In a panel study by Thomas Karv and Jenny Backström (2022, p. 15), about 60 % of the Finnish-speaking respondents thought that the Swedish language is an important part of Finnish society and 71 % claimed that they would like to have better skills in Swedish. However, about 60 % also thought that Swedish should not be mandatory in schools and that the importance of Swedish language skills is constantly decreasing.

Of the Swedish-speaking respondents in the same study, about 80 % believe that there is a future for the Swedish language in Finland and 96 % are proud to be *finlandssvensk* [Swedish-speaking Finn]. On the other hand, almost 60 % feel that the attitudes among Finnish-speakers towards Swedish in Finland have worsened during the last two years. Only 7 % totally agree with the statement that Finland is a well-functioning bilingual country (40 % partly agree). (Karv/Backström 2022, p. 11).

2.3. Finland Swedish as a non-dominant variety of a pluricentric language

Key concepts in the theory of pluricentric languages are language and identity, but also language and power. There is an asymmetrical power relationship between the dominant and the non-dominant varieties (Clyne 1992, p. 455). In order to qualify as a pluricentric language there needs to be a linguistic distance between the different varieties, which is related to identifiable national norms (idem 1992, p. 1–3; Muhr 2012; Norrby et al. 2020; Wide et al. 2021).

The national norms for Finland Swedish were created during the standardisation of the language (Engman 2016; af Hällström-Reijonen 2012; Laurén 1985; Stenberg-Sirén 2018; Thylin-Klaus 2012). The Finland-Swedish standard language was codified by Hugo Bergroth, first for the theatre and shortly after for schools and the general public (Bergroth 1917, 1918, 1924). He focused on the differences between Swedish in Finland and Swedish in Sweden,

concerning both written and spoken language, the main point being that Finland Swedish should not deviate from Sweden Swedish. His normative works can be compared to those of Erik Wellander (1965) in Sweden, and laid the foundation for the language norms we still use today.

Since then, one of the most comprehensive collections of normative language advice for Finland Swedish can be found in the Finland-Swedish lexicon by Hällström-Reijonen and Reuter (2000) and in Reuter (2014). The present-day language maintenance and cultivation is done mainly by *Institutet för de inhemska språken* [the Institute for the Languages of Finland]. The institute is an official language management organisation that works with language documentation, language cultivation and guidance. The language advisers have a hotline for language questions, which anyone can call, they arrange courses and give public statements. They also cooperate with the media language advisers, who work with the media organisations. Importantly, the language advisers at the language institute in Finland collaborate closely with their counterpart in Sweden, Språkrådet. (Stenberg-Sirén 2021b).

In the list of eight development levels of pluricentricity by Rudolf Muhr (2012, p. 32–34), Swedish is placed on level 5, "*Languages where the status of pluricentricity is acknowledged by the 'mother'-variety*" and 6, "*Languages where the pluricentricity is deliberately practised by model speakers of the respective NV*" [italics original]. These high levels show that the standard varieties have reached a certain degree of status and have completed the standardisation process as described by Einar Haugen (1966).

One of the main differences between Finland Swedish and Sweden Swedish are so called *finlandisms* (af Hällström-Reijonen 2012). Finlandisms are words, phrases, or structures that are used solely in Finland Swedish or used in a different way than in Sweden. Differences between the two varieties can also be found on a pragmatic level, showing differences in styles of communication in social situations (Norrby et al. 2020). However, just as with Belgian and Netherlandic Dutch (De Ridder 2020a, p. 67), the most notable difference between Finland Swedish and Sweden Swedish is pronunciation. The differences especially concern intonation, word reductions and certain quantity features (Ivars 2015; Kuronen / Leinonen 2011; Leinonen 2013, 2015; Reuter 1992, 2015; Stenberg-Sirén 2018).

A comparison of the lists of features of dominant (Clyne 1992, p. 459–460) and non-dominant varieties (Muhr 2012, p. 39–41) shows that Finland Swedish

does not meet all the criteria in the typology of non-dominant varieties. For example, the language community shows great loyalty towards Finland Swedish and there is a strong language planning apparatus in place. Ellen Bijvoet and Godelieve Laureys (2001, pp. 209–212) see many similarities between Belgian Dutch, the non-dominant national variety of Dutch, and Finland Swedish. They are both surrounded by vital dialects and they use – what the speakers of the dominant variety would consider – archaic words compared to the dominant variety, which is spoken in the neighbouring country. Both languages incorporate loan words from the local majority language (Finnish) or the other official language, in the case of Belgium, French (which historically has been considered more prestigious). Language issues are often discussed in both societies and even purist tendencies can be seen. (Bijvoet / Laureys 2001; De Ridder 2020a).

For many Swedish-speaking Finns, Sweden feels culturally close. Especially in the region of Ostrobothnia and on the Åland islands, many follow Swedish media and popular culture. As many as 70 percent of Finland Swedish teenagers use media content from Sweden regularly (Stenberg-Sirén 2021a). However, so far there have been no studies showing that consumption of media content from Sweden would have a noticeable impact on the Finland Swedish variety *per se*, like the accelerated language shift in Austrian Standard German towards the dominant form of German Standard German, which Muhr (2003) ascribes to language contact through media. Another interesting area in this regard is linguistic practices on social media. De Ridder (2020b, p. 132–133) discusses how popular YouTubers in Belgium and Austria avoid using regional varieties as a way to attract greater audiences from dominant language areas. It remains to be seen, if their language use can have a long-term effect on the language of their young followers.

2.4. Finland-Swedish under pressure

The status of Swedish in Finland is dependent on its three-fold role. The language is in a minority position and the proficiency of Swedish among the Finnish-speaking majority is diminishing. Still, while the language maintains its status as a national language, it has a high degree of protection. It is also strengthened by the fact that Swedish has a much higher number of speakers than Finnish on an international scale and that knowledge of Swedish is helpful in inter-Nordic communication. As an illustration of the triangular position influencing the

status of Finland Swedish and the two dominant languages in its proximity, they are combined in Figure 1.

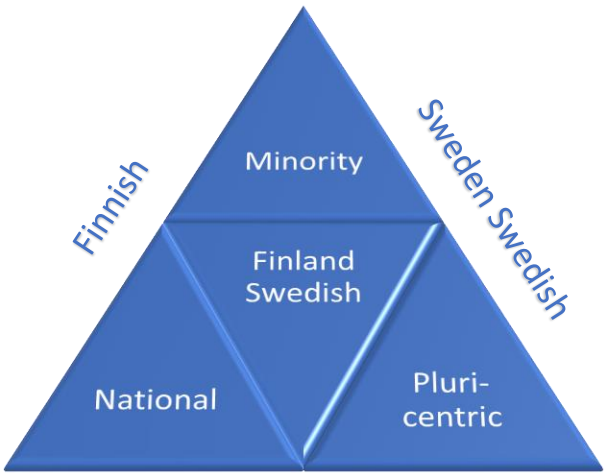

Figure 1. Finland Swedish as a national, minority language in a non-dominant position of a pluricentric language area

The Finland Swedish variety is also influenced by its surroundings. Naturally, the majority language Finnish has a great influence, as well as the growing use of English in the Finnish society. The dialects affect the standard variety, especially regionally. Changing language norms in Sweden are closely followed by the language planning organisations in Finland and, more often than not, the same norms are applied to Swedish in Finland as well. In other words, Finland-Swedish journalists work in multi-faceted linguistic surroundings.

3. The role of media in language management

In the traditional language standardisation model the final steps are continuous cultivation and modernisation of the standard variety (Haugen 1966; Ammon 2004). All language users participate in this process by speaking and writing the standard language in different contexts, but for some it is part of their professional roles to act as "language norm authorities" (Ammon 2004, p. 277). These are for example teachers, whose task it is to correct other people's language when it deviates from the standard. Others might be editors-in-chief, publishers or language advisers. Mostly, language management focuses on written language, but particularly in broadcast media it also concerns spoken language. Since media language has the potential to reach large parts of a speech

community, media language management can be an effective way to cultivate and develop also the spoken norm (Stenberg-Sirén 2021b). Therefore, it is important to study if and how journalists working as *model speakers* (Ammon 2004) see themselves in that capacity.

3.1. Journalistic practice and language support elsewhere

Several studies emphasize the role of media for non-dominant languages. Laura Baranzini and Maria Chiara Moskopf-Janner (2020) show that in the case of the Swiss variety of Italian, norm-authorities like teachers and language experts tend to turn to the standard in Italy. The media, however, uses some features typical of Italian in Switzerland, mostly culturally specific words and expressions with zero equivalence in the Italian standard. Since the variety is not explicitly codified, media can function as a codifying agent by using the non-dominant forms in a formal context and thereby normalise it (Baranzini / Moskopf-Janner 2020, p. 147).

Even though minority languages are not necessarily national varieties of pluricentric languages, they share many features in their positions as non-dominant languages/varieties. Studies about minority language media (MLM) often emphasize the ways in which media can empower minority languages (Cormack / Hourigan 2007; Jones / Uribe-Jongbloed 2013). MLM can help minority language speakers to take part in political and societal activities in their own language, be part of identity building for the minority group and create a sense of belonging. Media in marginalised languages might be a sign of vitality and a signal to the majority that the minority is part of contemporary society. Finally, yet importantly, MLM puts the minority language and by extension also other minoritised languages and language varieties out there in the public sphere, exposing language users to the language (Cormack 2007, p. 53-55). This linguistic normalisation is very important for both the minority and majority language speakers.

For MLM practitioners, language is often an emotional matter, and the foundation for their journalistic practice. This can be seen for example in interviews with Sámi media professionals conducted by Lia Markelin, Charles Husband and Tom Moring (2013, p. 108). The journalists express "a clear belief in the centrality of language to Sámi identity; and to the potential role of the media in contributing to the revitalisation and maintenance of the Sámi language."

In addition to feeling responsible for the language and culture, MLM journalists may take on the role of watchdogs for the language minority's rights. In their study of four minority language newspapers in Italy, Romania and Finland, László Vincze and Peter Holley (2013) conclude that the newspapers often advocate language rights and minority politics. Some of the newspaper journalists described how they felt obliged to protect the minority language and report critically if public administration failed in providing services in the minority language. Consequently, their ethnolinguistic identity affected the journalistic operations and practices. The same can be seen in Elizabeth Burrows' (2018) study of indigenous media producers, who sometimes chose the perspective of the indigenous community over general journalistic objectivity.

The combination of journalistic ideals and language support has also been studied on a broader scale. In their study of journalists from ten European minority language groups (Basque, Catalan, Galician, Corsican, Breton, Frisian, Irish, Welsh, Scottish-Gaelic, and Sámi), Iñaki Zabaleta et al. (2010) found that 66 percent considered themselves not only journalists, but also supporters or advocates of the language. They identified as professional journalists with an "additional journalistic role before the community in terms of nourishment and defence of their language" (Zabaleta et al. 2010, p. 198).

3.2. Broadcast news language and language ideologies at *Yle*

The Finnish Broadcasting Company *Yle* was founded in 1926 and is a public service-company, financed by a specific *Yle* tax. The Act on the Finnish Broadcasting Company regulates that the Finnish Broadcasting Company *Yle* (henceforth *Yle*) has to "treat in its broadcasting Finnish-speaking and Swedish-speaking citizens on equal grounds" (Act on the Finnish Broadcasting Company 1380/1993, Sec. 7, Subsec. 2, Para. 4). There is no definition of what "equal grounds" means, but based on that phrasing as well as the public service mission, Swedish-language programs have traditionally occupied a strong position within *Yle*. They are produced in a separate department called *Svenska Yle* and the content is presently distributed through a television channel, two radio channels and on the Internet.

In *Yle's* current strategy (Yle 2020) the company emphasises diversity and the need for an open dialogue with everyone in society, but language is not explicitly mentioned in this context. The only reference to language in the strategy is in connection to the *Yle* law. However, language guidelines can be

found in internal documents. The language guidelines for the Swedish programming at *Yle* state that all content must be made comprehensible for listeners and viewers who lack knowledge of languages other than Swedish (Yle 2006, p. 2). In practice, this means that all other languages must be translated with the help of subtitles or dubbing for children (e.g. on television) or voice-overs (e.g. in documentaries, but also on the radio). Nevertheless, the internal documents do not place any societal responsibility on *Yle* in terms of the Swedish language. Instead, this responsibility is assigned to the journalists. The initial sentence in an internal handbook (Yle 2014) states:

> "Du som jobbar på Svenska Yle har ett särskilt ansvar för det svenska språket och du är en språklig förebild i alla professionella sammanhang."
>
> "You, who work at *Svenska Yle*, have a particular responsibility for the Swedish language and you are a linguistic role model in all professional contexts." [Author's translation]

The journalists are guided in this task by professional media language advisers. They give recommendations on lexical issues, pronunciation, and linguistic norms, and work in close proximity to the journalists. They also collaborate closely with *Institutet för de inhemska språken* [the Institute for the Languages of Finland], as well as with their colleagues in Sweden (Gustafsson, 2017). Among the journalists there is a strong tradition of relying on language recommendations from the language advisers. This could be seen during the Covid-19 pandemic, when there was suddenly a great need for new terminology, for example related to quarantine and other protective measures like face masks, to the different phases of the pandemic, and to issues related to medical treatment and healthcare (Stenberg-Sirén 2021b).

The internal handbooks also include pronunciation guidelines, mainly for more formal program genres like the news. The guidelines especially focus on pronunciation features that distinguishes Finland Swedish from most of the spoken varieties in Sweden. They describe a pronunciation which reflects the spelling, including features that divert from everyday speech and dialects in Finland. Such features are for example the pronunciation of the final phoneme /t/ in definite nouns (e.g. *bordet* [the table]) and in non-finite verb forms (e.g. *hoppat* [(has) jumped]), which is almost always dropped in everyday speech and in dialects in Finland. Other features include the pronunciation of the full forms of function words like *inte* [not] and *till* [to], instead of the everyday forms *int* and

ti. The recommendations also include phonological quantity features. The Swedish rules of quantity require either V:C or VCC – for example /va:ra/ [to be] – but the short form /vara/ is a normal feature in many dialects and in everyday speech in Swedish spoken in Finland (Ivars 2015; Leinonen 2015; Stenberg-Sirén 2015; Wikner 2018). According to the recommendations the elisions should be avoided. (Yle 2014).

My phonological analysis of the pronunciation in the Finland Swedish television and radio news readings 1970-2009 reveals that the news journalists follow the pronunciation recommendations closely (Stenberg-Sirén 2014). In addition, the study shows a shift towards a more formal pronunciation in the 1990s and 2000s. Furthermore, changes in two socially marked quantity features characteristic of Finland Swedish can be seen (Stenberg-Sirén 2015). The short forms mentioned above, typical of dialects and traditionally less prestigious varieties, have increased slightly. The other socially distributed quantity feature is the combination of a long vowel and a long consonant, for example in the word *baka* [to bake], which in the Helsinki-region can be pronounced /ba:k:a/ (see also Leinonen 2013, 2015; Wikner 2018, 2019). The frequency of this (formerly) prestigious trait has decreased markedly in the news readings during the 1990s and 2000s.

My studies also show a strong standard language ideology among *Svenska Yle's* journalists (Stenberg-Sirén 2016, 2017). Based on other questions in the survey that is used in this study, I analysed their views on language norms as well as dialects and regional features in the media language. The analysis shows that on a general level the journalists have a positive attitude towards regional features in media language, but only in certain program genres. For instance, in talk shows and regional programs, regional features are acceptable in the language of the journalists, but not in the news. Additionally, the regional features should not be too prominent and they think that journalists should avoid using dialects, since they might be difficult to understand. (Stenberg-Sirén 2016).

In Stenberg-Sirén (2017), I analyse how the journalists at *Svenska Yle* relate to the pronunciation guidelines and the standard language norm the language recommendations describe. In general, they have quite a restrictive view and do not want to allow for deviances from the language recommendations. Up to 84 % think that it is important that all journalists at *Svenska Yle* follow the pronunciation guidelines. However, the analysis of other questions reveal more

nuanced opinions. In their descriptions of "good broadcast language", the word *korrekt* [correct] has the highest frequency, but also the word *ledigt* [relaxed] is mentioned in many answers.

The standard language ideology dominating the views expressed by the journalists (Stenberg-Sirén 2016, 2017) in combination with the observed changes in pronunciation (Stenberg-Sirén 2014, 2015) can be interpreted as a sociolinguistic neutralisation of the standard language and as a sign of a continuous standardisation process of the Finland Swedish standard language (Stenberg-Sirén 2018).

4. Study design

The present study builds on my previous studies about language and language attitudes in *Svenska Yle* (Stenberg-Sirén 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018). The aim is to analyse how *Svenska Yle's* journalists view their own and the media's language planning role. Do they see themselves as model speakers and how do they describe their role in relation to the different roles of Finland Swedish?

The data for this study was collected through an online questionnaire answered by Swedish-language journalists working at *Yle* in October 2014. The questionnaire consisted of 39 questions about views on broadcast language, broadcast language norms, and linguistic attitudes. While a majority of the questions were multiple-choice questions, in most cases the respondents were also allowed to add comments to their answers. Participation was voluntary and anonymous. Data from the same questionnaire are used in previous studies (Stenberg-Sirén 2016, 2017), but the particular questions in focus here have not been analysed before. Even though some years have passed since the data was gathered, there is no reason to believe that the views of the journalists would have changed significantly during this time.

A total of 25 % (93 persons) of the employees at *Svenska Yle* answered the questionnaire. The distribution was fairly representative in relation to different program departments, gender and regional background. However, there were fewer respondents in the youngest age groups, which could be an indication that they do not find studies about language important. Another reason might be that most of them were working for the youth radio channel, and many of them were freelance journalists or working on short term contracts, which might lower the interest in taking part in tasks not directly related to their jobs. Hence, one needs

to keep in mind that the views represented here are mostly from established journalists.

The present study focuses on the journalists' understanding of *Yle's* mission for the Swedish language in Finland as well as their own role for the language. The following two open-ended questions in the questionnaire specifically addressed this issue:

> 24. *Vilket uppdrag upplever du att Yle har för svenskan i Finland? Uppfylls det?*
>
> In your opinion, what mission does *Yle* have for the Swedish language in Finland? Is the mission fulfilled? [Author's translation]
>
> 25. *Vilket uppdrag upplever du att du som enskild redaktör har för svenskan i Finland?*
>
> In your opinion, what mission do you as an individual journalist have for the Swedish language in Finland?[2] [Author's translation]

The first question was answered by 79 respondents and the second by 75 respondents, in total 154 answers. Of the 93 respondents, 11 did not answer either question. In a few cases, the respondents referred in their answer to another question in the questionnaire. In these cases, I included those answers as well. Since this was a web-based questionnaire, it is quite natural that the answers were not particularly long. The longest answers were about 150–160 words, and the shortest ones 1–2 words.

Qualitative content analysis (see for example Schreier 2013) was used to analyse the data. In the first step, I read through the answers many times, to see emerging patterns. Some answers contained several different aspects, and therefore I colour-coded the separate content units (arguments or examples). That helped me with the categorisation, which I did in several stages, until all content units were placed under a category (presented in section 5). Since one answer can contain several content units that belong to different categories, the number of content units is greater than the number of answers. After the initial categorisation I analysed the content units thematically. First, I focused on how the journalists describe their own and *Yle*'s mission for the language. Secondly, I delved deeper into whether their arguments focus on Finland Swedish as a national language, on the language in a minority position in the Finnish society

[2] The word *redaktör* is generally translated as *editor*, but at *Svenska Yle* the word *redaktör* is also used as a synonym to journalist (*radioredaktör, tv-redaktör*).

or on the pluricentric position and the relation to Sweden Swedish.

As illustrations of the results, some of the journalists' answers and comments are included as quotes with an English translation in brackets. In some cases, I also refer to quantitative results, mainly as an illustration of how frequently certain arguments occur. However, since the number of answers is limited, it is not relevant to perform a detailed quantitative analysis.

5. Results

The analysis of the answers to the two questions shows an imbalance in the quantity and quality of the answers. Question number 24, about *Yle's* mission for the language, was answered by more respondents and their answers are longer and qualitatively richer than the answers to question number 25 about the mission of individual journalists. Several of the respondents refer to the answer to question 24 in their answer to question 25, meaning that they see their individual mission as the same as the company's. As one respondent puts it:

> "*Redaktörerna är ju Svenska Yle, så svaret är det samma som på föregående fråga.*"
>
> "The journalists make up Svenska *Yle*, so the answer is the same as to the previous question." [Author's translation]

Since question 25 was the last question in the questionnaire (followed by demographic questions), there might be some fatigue involved as well explaining the smaller number of answers. Another possibility is that it felt more meaningful to discuss the mission of the company as a social actor, rather than the limited influence of individual journalists.

The dominating view among the respondents is that *Yle* has an important mission for Swedish in Finland. The word *important* is mentioned 50 times in this context. Other recurring phrases are that *Yle* has "a big role" and that *Yle* is "a role model". In short, the respondents' descriptions of *Yle's* role correspond to the idea of broadcast media providing model texts and model speakers. However, some variation can be seen in the respondents' descriptions of the types of roles they ascribe to *Yle*. Their arguments can be placed into three categories: *model*, *mirror* and *policy*.

5.1. Media as linguistic role models

The category called *model* contains answers with the view that *Yle* should provide a model for "*gott språk*" ["good language"]. The main point in this category is a top-down-model, where media offer a model – or several models – for the language to the people. The respondents argue that the language should be correct, good, rich, reliable, nuanced, and of high quality. *Yle* should set a good example, as mentioned in Quote 1, which is representative of this category.

> Q1) "*Yle har ett uppdrag att bidra till ett gott språk – föregå med gott exempel*."
>
> "Yle's mission is to contribute to a good language – to set a good example." [Author's translation]

Many of the content units placed in this category only contain the qualitative assessments mentioned above and the rather vague expression 'good language'. They do not use linguistic terminology and were not asked for explicit definitions of the norm(s), but the more elaborate answers include examples of what this role entails. Some of these mention that the language should be free of Finnish and English influences, that finlandisms, dialect and slang should be avoided, and that it should be (presumably grammatically) correct, which are characteristic of the standard language norm. The content units in this category relate to the almost purist views that could be seen in their comments about the language recommendations analysed in Stenberg-Sirén (2017). The arguments in this category also point out that *Yle* should *spread* the norm, thereby implying a more active role than just providing a model for the audience to adhere to.

In their answers about their individual mission, the same arguments can be seen, but they are not as straight-forward. Many respondents mention that they *try* to set an example and they *strive* to use the language correctly, perhaps showing a sign of humbleness and insights about their own limitations. Another frequent word is *responsibility*, showing that they take this mission seriously. An example of this can be seen in Quote 2:

> Q2) "*Jag är en droppe i medieflödet, men varje droppe räknas. Jag tycker alltså att det känns viktigt att vara en språkmodell. Det är ett ansvarsfullt jobb.*"
>
> "I am a drop in the media ocean, but every drop counts. I think it feels important to be a linguistic role model. It is a job filled with responsibility." [Author's translation]

However, some feel that *Yle* is not successful in being a role model. Several respondents point out that especially younger journalists are not skilled enough to be linguistic role models. Their language is not good enough, they do not read enough and they use Finnish words and expressions in their language. Another respondent has nearly given up, stating that the Swedish language is already in such a bad shape, that they doubt *Yle* can do much to improve it.

5.2. Media as mirrors of language in society

Not all of the journalists agree that *Yle* should provide a linguistic model. A couple of them think that the idea of media being norm authorities is outdated and based on false premises:

> Q3) *"Däremot är det ett missförstånd att journalister har någon sorts ansvar för språket. Journalister på Svenska Yle har nästan ingen möjlighet alls att påverka den svenska som talas och skrivs i Finland. Vårt uppdrag är att använda det språk som medborgarna skapar*."
>
> "However, it is a misunderstanding that journalists have any kind of responsibility for the language. Journalists at *Svenska Yle* have almost no possibility at all to influence the spoken and written Swedish language in Finland. Our mission is to use the language the citizens create." [Author's translation]

The point of being in touch with the language in use in the speech community can be found in many answers. However, unlike the respondent in Q3, many still feel that they have a responsibility for the Swedish language as well. The content units about media displaying the linguistic diversity of society make up the second category – *mirror*. The basis for this category is a bottom-up-model, where the language varieties of the people are shown in the media, instead of media providing a model for the people. The content units in this category state that media language should be modern, innovative, relaxed and reflect the linguistic diversity of contemporary society. However, the categories are not exclusive, and *Yle* can be seen as having a dual mission, as the respondent in Quote 4 points out.

> Q4) "*Mycket viktigt tudelat uppdrag. Att stå för ett gemensamt standardsspråk för hela Svenskfinland, men samtidigt visa på mångfalden i språket som finns*."
>
> "Very important dual mission. To provide a common standard language for

Swedish-language Finland, but at the same time show the linguistic diversity that exists." [Author's translation]

Many examples in this category mention dialects and regional varieties, which some respondents think should be allowed on air to a greater extent. Regional variation is a reflection of the language of the audience and part of their language identity, and as one respondent writes: "*Yle måste representera verkligheten*" ["Yle has to represent reality"].

Content units in this category also mention other examples than dialects. The word *diversity* occurs several times, involving for example accents and giving space to new speakers of Swedish. One respondent writes that also Finnish words should be allowed, since "*Vi bor i Finland och det får också märkas*" ["We live in Finland and that should be allowed to show"]. There are mentions of "new words", to keep the language "up to date" and to follow the language development in Sweden. However, there is some reservation regarding recent linguistic developments from Sweden, as shown in Quote 5.

Q5) "*Vi skall följa med i tiden och var försiktigt moderna. Vara intresserade av hur svenskan utvecklas i Sverige och anamma de bästa bitarna*."

"We shall follow the trends and be carefully modern. Be interested in how the Swedish language evolves in Sweden and embrace the best parts." [Author's translation]

The phrases "carefully modern" and "embrace the best parts" in Q5 reveals a view that language can be managed and that it is possible to pick and choose from a linguistic smorgasbord. In general, a certain conservative view can be seen in their comments, even though the respondents point out that the media language should mirror the language development in society.

5.3. Media as language policy agents

The third category, *policy*, contains arguments relating to the status of Swedish in Finland. Many respondents use the word *levande*, which translates to *alive*, but also to *vital* in a linguistic context. They argue that *Yle's* mission is to maintain and uphold Swedish in Finland, but also to make sure that it evolves and stays functional. It is a question of survival of the language:

Q6) "*Yle måste visa att det går att tala och skriva svenska utan att ta till finska ord,*

uttryck och direktöversättningar. Att vara den enda officiella kanalen på svenska medför det ansvaret – en viktig del av hela svenska språkets överlevnad i vårt land."

"*Yle* must demonstrate that it is possible to speak and write Swedish without resorting to Finnish words, expressions or bad translations. Being the only official channel in Swedish contains that responsibility – an important part of the survival of the Swedish language in our country." [Author's translation]

One of the arguments in Quote 6 is that Swedish in Finland should be 'clean' of Finnish influences and that *Yle* is responsible for displaying that linguistic model. Another point, made by several respondents, is that *Yle* offers visibility to the Swedish language in Finland in general, and specifically to the members of the language minority:

Q7) *"Det handlar om att ge språket synlighet, att ge publiken möjligheter att höra sitt eget språk, och se tv-program på sitt eget språk*."

"It is all about making the language visible, to give the audience a chance to hear their own language and to watch television programs in their own language." [Author's translation]

The respondents in Q6 and Q7 refer to the fact that *Yle* is the only broadcasting company producing programs in Finland Swedish, with a marginal addition of the audio-visual content produced by the newspapers. *Yle* serves as the only national arena for spoken Finland Swedish. Some mention that for people living in environments dominated by Finnish, *Yle's* programs might be the only place they hear Swedish. Another argument is that since many Swedish-speakers live in dialectal areas, *Svenska Yle* connects them linguistically through the standard language and creates a common ground, which strengthens the identity of the language group. Finally, *Yle's* Swedish-language content is a way to make the minority group visible in the Finnish society:

Q8) *"Yles roll att lyfta fram tvåspråkigheten är oerhört viktig. För att upprätthålla en stark tvåspråkighet är det viktigt att Yle producerar radio, tv och webb på svenska*."

"*Yle's* role to highlight bilingualism is very important. To maintain a strong bilingualism it is important that *Yle* produces radio, tv and web content in Swedish." [Author's translation]

Another way to display the Swedish language is through interviews. The language policy for *Svenska Yle* states that television and radio programs must be available also for monolingual Swedish-speakers. Consequently, journalists often make a concerted effort to find people with skills in the minority language (see also Standaert, Bouko & Vandendaele 2020). By interviewing Finnish-speaking politicians in Swedish, *Svenska Yle's* journalists not only remind them of their need to be proficient in Swedish, but also offer them an opportunity to actually use the language. Requiring public figures to communicate in a minority language can be seen as a language-policy act. However, this is not necessarily something the journalists actively think about:

> Q9) *"Försöker envisas att våra politiker ska tala svenska i intervjuerna, på nåt plan är det väl ett slag för tvåspråkigheten, även om jag egentligen inte har tänkt i de banorna*."
>
> "I try to insist that our politicians should speak Swedish in interviews, in some way I guess that is a way to support bilingualism, even though I had not really thought about it that way." [Author's translation]

Considering the number of comments about the ways *Svenska Yle* and the journalists (should) strengthen Swedish in Finland, by upholding the standard language, by embracing variation, by actively developing the language, displaying it on the public arena and adding to its vitality, it is clear that the respondents feel responsible for the language. Some aspects they connect to the public service mission of *Yle*, but some aspects are closer to the role of language activists. As one respondent writes: *"Svenska Yles redaktörer har en viss ambassadörsroll vad gäller svenskan i Finland* ["*Svenska Yle's* journalists have a certain ambassador's role regarding Swedish in Finland"].

5.4. Reflections on the roles of Finland Swedish

The second part of the analysis focuses on the three status aspects of Finland Swedish. On some level, all three of them can be seen in the answers. Still, the dominating view relates to Finland Swedish as a language in its own right, with a standard variety as well as regional varieties and dialects that media should display.

There are many references to Finland Swedish as a language with its own language group identity, for example *"den finlandssvenska språkutvecklingen"*

["the Finland-Swedish language development"], *"finlandssvenskt uttal"* ["Finland-Swedish pronunciation"], and the strengthening of the Finland-Swedish identity. Those references can be seen as implicitly relating to the dominant variety Sweden Swedish, even though it is not explicitly stated. The role of Finland Swedish as a non-dominant variety of Swedish is touched upon in just a few of the comments. Naturally, all references to Swedish on a general level can be seen as a reflection on Swedish as a pluricentric language, but the few explicit mentions of Sweden Swedish are rather defensive, as in Quote 10:

> Q10) *"Att upprätthålla (den korrekta och lediga) finlandssvenskan, inte låta sig köras över av rikssvenskan*."
>
> "To uphold (the correct and relaxed) Finland Swedish, and not allow it to be over-run by Sweden Swedish." [Author's translation]

The attitudes towards Sweden Swedish vary among the respondents, which can be seen in their answers to other questions in the questionnaire analysed in Stenberg-Sirén (2017). While some feel it is important to follow the norms from Sweden, others want to allow for finlandisms and other specific features of Finland Swedish, and they are quite emotional in their defence of their own language and language identity. In that sense, all the comments about the uniqueness of Finland Swedish can be seen as a defence of Finland Swedish in its position as a non-dominant variety in relation to Sweden Swedish.

The role as a minority language in Finland is more clearly seen in their comments. Keeping Finnish influences out of Finland Swedish, providing words for current affairs in Swedish and avoiding "dåliga översättningar från finskan" ["bad translations from Finnish"] are examples of comments about elaborating and protecting Finland Swedish. Giving Swedish a platform in the Finnish society is related to its status as a national language as well as to its function as a minority language. Enhancing the status of Swedish in Finland can be seen in several comments, as well as in Quote 11:

> Q11) *"I ett nötskal märker jag att som Svenska Yle-reporter påminner man om svenskans existens i Finland*."
>
> "In a nutshell, I have noticed that I as a reporter at *Svenska Yle* remind people of the existence of Swedish in Finland." [Author's translation]

The conclusion of the analysis of how the different roles of Finland Swedish can be seen in the respondents' answers is that the journalists are highly aware of the non-dominant position of the language. It is non-dominant in relation to the dominant variety of Swedish in Sweden and it is non-dominant in relation to Finnish in the Finnish society. However, the respondents are not complying with this position and in many answers defence and pride of their own language Finland Swedish shines through.

6. Summary and discussion

The aim of this study was to analyse how journalists working in *Svenska Yle* see their own and *Yle's* mission for the Swedish language in Finland and how they connect that mission to the different roles of Finland Swedish. In short, the journalists apply three roles to the public service broadcaster *Svenska Yle*. First, they describe a top-down-model, where the media provide a language model for Finland Swedish to the audience. Secondly, they describe a bottom-up-model where *Svenska Yle* mirrors the linguistic diversity of contemporary society. Thirdly, they argue that *Svenska Yle* plays an important role for the status of Swedish in Finland. Finally, all three roles affecting the status of Finland Swedish are reflected in their answers. The uniqueness of Finland Swedish is enhanced, which can be interpreted as a defence against the dominance of Sweden Swedish as well as the national majority language Finnish.

The dominating view among the journalists is that *Yle* should provide a model for a "good language", with attributes typical of a standard language norm. Previous studies (Stenberg-Sirén 2016, 2017) confirm that most of them have a strong standard language ideology, being restrictive of allowing regional variation in the language of journalists in more "serious" program genres and believing in the importance of following language recommendations and guidelines. In other words, they see themselves as model speakers (Ammon 2004, p. 277). On a somewhat contradictory note, they enhance the importance of a correct (standard) language, but also want to allow for typical Finland-Swedish linguistic features strongly connected to the identity of the language group.

Similar views were found by Zabaleta et al. (2010) in their study of European minority language journalists, who often saw themselves as a combination of journalists and language activists. Likewise, Markelin et al. (2013) show that Sámi journalists harboured a strong belief that the Sámi language is central to their identity and that they had a responsibility for the language.

According to Cormack (2007, p. 54), a language minority needs a common identity in the struggle with other language groups. The idea that media can create a sense of a shared community can also be compared to the idea of an "imagined community", as proposed by Benedict Anderson (1991).

One of the key issues when discussing pluricentric languages is power (Clyne 1992, p. 455–456). The dominant variety has by default more power, at least in terms of the number of speakers, and in the case of Swedish also regarding the normative work done by language management agencies in Sweden. The language planning institutions in Finland closely follow the language recommendations and norms from Sweden, which means that the dominant variety has power over the development of the language. In general, minority language groups have less power than majority language groups, which can be seen also in Finland. The majority language Finnish dominates in most public contexts and the language rights of Swedish-speaking Finns are not always fulfilled (Nationalspråksstrategi 2021).

For Finland Swedish, being a non-dominant variety of a pluricentric language as well as a national minority language, it stands between two languages with more power. This fact is reflected in the views of journalists at *Svenska Yle.* In relation to the minority language position, they assign *Svenska Yle* the role of a language policy actor. Most of them assume responsibility for the language and believe that *Yle* has an important mission in upholding the vitality of Finland Swedish. The fact that the Swedish language is displayed in the Finnish society through media plays a symbolic role. According to Cormack (2004) media is significant as to how the community is represented both within itself and to outsiders. In short, media attention strengthens the minority's self-confidence, gives the language legitimacy and promotes the prestige of the minority language.

The complex relationship to Sweden Swedish is seen in their will to follow the common norms of the Swedish language, but also in their enhancement of the specific features of Finland Swedish. This correlates well with the views of Clyne (1992, p. 1): "Pluricentric languages are both unifiers and dividers of peoples. They unify people through the use of the language and separate them through the development of national norms and indices and linguistic variables with which the speakers identify." The journalists at Svenska *Yle* point out the value of their own language (variety) and want to shield it from too strong influences from both Finnish and Sweden Swedish.

Bibliographical note

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Analysing language shifts across time and genres Indian English between variability and stabilization

Abstract

The study of Indian English (IndE) as a 'special' post-colonial variety among the plethora of New Englishes dates back to the early 1960s when the local features of IndE contributing to 'The *Indianness* of Indian English' (Braj Kachru 1965, 1983) started to be described in great detail at different language levels. Nonetheless, the difficulty in establishing a fixed set of 'pan-Indian' norms emerges from recent studies of register variation in IndE (Chandrika Balasubramanian 2009) that, given its heterogeneous nature, disprove the idea of IndE as a single language variety. Starting from the assumption that comparisons between present-day British English and the parent variety cannot explain to what extent a new postcolonial variety of English has diverged across time from the historical input variety, the chapter focuses on the spread of Indian words across time and registers reinforcing the idea of *Indianness* that characterises the process of standardisation IndE is currently undergoing. The corpus used in the study combines data from a Diachronic Corpus of Indian English (henceforth DiCIE) specifically compiled for a diachronic investigation concerning the years 1909-2010, including written (press editorials, letters to the editor, blogs) and oral texts (broadcast news, legal cross-examinations) and parallel selected sections of the Indian component of the International Corpus of English (ICE-IND. Following a procedure adopted in recent studies on the automatic detection and extraction of semantically and grammatically annotated data, corpus-based evidence and linguistic diagnostics were matched to shed light on norms or shared language habits as well as trends towards the stabilisation and standardisation within the same 'non-native-British' variety in a certain time span.

1. Introduction

Literature on IndE has become particularly extensive in the last decades based on a large number of studies and related theories, which have established the general framework of reference to any ongoing research on the same subject. The pioneering work carried out by Braj Kachru (1965, 1983) contributed to systematise early individual studies on varieties of English and Indian English in particular, in a formal theoretical setting. Thereafter, further systematic studies

on register variation in Indian English contributed to narrow the spectrum of linguistic analyses including style and genre variability (Chandrika Balasubramanian 2009), lexicogrammar (Marco Schilk 2011), spoken syntax (Claudia Lange 2012) along with descriptive accounts of its most salient features (Pingali Sailaja 2009; Andreas Sedlatschek 2009) also providing historical perspectives of Indian diaspora (Marianne Hundt / Devyani Sharma 2014). Among these theories, two standpoints should deserve special attention: 1. The concept of 'language dependency' in multilingual contexts introduced by Braj Kachru (1978); 2. The essential configuration of multilingualism as an integral part of Indian ecology recently reshaped by "natural forces of networking and communication" (Tej K. Bhatia and William C. Ritchie 2016, p.155). Both concepts share the underlying principle of a gradual shift towards an Anglicisation of Indian languages, which is parallel to a process of nativisation IndE is still undergoing to this day (ib. 166). It is indeed to this multilingual dimension of the South Asian *Sprachraum* that S.N. Sridhar and Kamal K. Sridhar (2022, p. 227) refer when arguing that English in India must be viewed "from the multilingual communication matrix of India rather than [in comparison] with native varieties of English". Hence, two modes of use of English emerge: In the unilingual mode, English is used without overt reference to other languages, whereas in the multilingual mode, it overlaps with and sometimes complements with them in the same discourse contexts. The resulting mixed code, it is argued, as an effective synthetic mode carries distinctive social meanings and fulfils different communicative purposes.

Since this multilingual perspective may provide a more intuitive account of how communication works in India and why IndE displays certain characteristics, the present study addresses the issue of "Indianisation" of English by looking at the use of Indian words in two spoken and two written registers of the language drawn from a diachronic corpus compiled in the years 2009-2010 at the University of Salerno (Rita Calabrese 2011, 2012) and containing various text types including broadcast news and talks as well as blogs, legal cross-examinations from trials, press news, letters to editors and press editorials. In particular, the analysis is set within the research framework concerning code-mixing interpreted as a means which helps Indian bilinguals to construct and preserve their linguistic identities. At the same time, code-mixing is seen as a Pan-Indian phenomenon which characterises the speech community scattered over the subcontinental territory.

The chapter is organised as follows. Section 2 outlines some basic concepts pertaining to language dependency, linguistic acculturation, nativisation and standardisation processes, with some references to the main events in the history of India in which the sources of the data analysed in the study can be set. Sections 3 and 4 present, respectively, the methodology adopted and the results of a preliminary study on code-switching/mixing as an important indicator of 'Indianness' in the IndE lexicon obtained by sampling data from sources varied in time, genre, and register. The implications of the present findings for future research on the process of language nativisation and standardisation in IndE are discussed in section 5.

2. Setting the scene

2.1. The role of English in the ecology of South Indian languages

Although the incidence of English in India would seem to be statistically not strictly relevant (2,59,678 English speakers which cover 0.02% of the country's total population) as a real impact on Indian communities across the subcontinent (Census 2011, Language Atlas of India, MAP 71, p. 150), yet English has acquired domains such as higher education, government, science, and media gradually leading to the Anglicisation of Indian languages as well as the nativisation of English. Thanks to the economic forces of globalisation and the increasing need for new markets, old gaps between rural and urban varieties have been increasingly narrowing for the last years. A major role in this process has been especially played by mass media and the film industry, which have contributed to bridging the gap between the urban and rural (regional) divide also providing "a new distinct facet to multilingualism grounded in local vernaculars" (Bhatia/Ritchie 2016, p.167).

It is also worth noting that multilingualism in India has always been shaped by internal, endonormative forces rather than external and exonormative models based on planned government actions. In fact, the introduction of English into the educational system as a consequence of Lord Maculay's Minute in 1835 was not aimed at promoting bilingual education in India, but rather English monolingualism, which contradicted the traditional language ecology of the country and its innate tendency to multilingualism (Bathia/Ritchie 2016, p.164). Nonetheless, as pointed out by Randolph Quirk and Henry G. Widdowson (1985, p. 35):

> "The emergence of new forms of English is not subject to external control since it is the very nature of language to adapt itself to the varying sociocultural needs of its users. Different norms of usage will inevitably arise, therefore, as a function of normal social use."

As a matter of fact, India does not have a national language, but two main official languages, Hindi and English, which make communication possible throughout the country where they come into contact with twenty-two state languages ("scheduled languages") used to facilitate communication at regional level. Therefore, present-day India strengthens the model of legitimate multilingualism it has been traditionally representing for centuries through two main language agents, Hindi-Urdu and English, which provide a social and communicative link respectively to the Hindi-Hindustani-Urdu-Punjabi axis (including Bengali in the East, Gujarati and Marathi in the West, Telugu and Kannada in the South) in permanent contact with nativised forms of Indian English (Bhatia/Ritchie 2016, p.163-164).

Within this framework the term 'epicentre' originating in seismic geology with the meaning of "outbreaking point of earthquake shocks" provoking seismic disturbance' (Pam Peters, 2009, p. 108) seems to be particularly effective to explain the current role of Indian English in the area. Gerhard Leitner (1992, p. 225) is the first scholar to use the term epicentre in a linguistic sense to refer to first and second languages as 'norm-setting centres'. Leitner (1992, p. 202) also assigns to linguistic epicentres the following characteristics: (i) a relatively high degree of standardisation, also including the acceptance of localised features on the part of the speech community and (ii) their potential to influence other neighbouring varieties (Bernaisch et al. 2022, p.5). Given the dominant role IndE has been acquiring for the last decades in the area, there is substantial evidence also for claiming its epicentral status (Hoffmann et al. 2011, p.260). Since this assumption implies a hierarchical distribution of functional roles in specific communicative contexts, the concept of 'language dependency' defined by Braj B. Kachru (1978) may contribute to interpret particular distributional patterns in terms of social or historical factors (Leech et al. 2009, p.32).

2.2. The concept of 'language dependency' in multilingual contexts

Braj B. Kachru (1978, p.27) assumes that aspects of language dependency specifically emerge in linguistically pluralistic societies in which speakers assign areas of communicative functions to each language they cover to perform

specific roles in linguistically relevant situations ('code-switching') sometimes resulting in mixing codes ('code-mixing'). More precisely, code-switching is characterised by repeated alternations between two codes by the multilingual speaker in linguistic interactions, whereas code-mixing consists of transferring units from one language to another. Over time, many scholars have attempted to define code-switching and code-mixing from different theoretical perspectives. Shana Poplack (1980, p. 586) claims that code-switches tend to occur in discourse when the coexistence of L1 and L2 elements does not violate a syntactic rule of either language. According to this constraint, a switch is inhibited from occurring within a constituent generated by a rule from one language which is not shared by the other (Chetia Barnali 2017, p.112). Code-mixing is also called intra-sentential code switching or intra-sentential code alteration and this occurs when speakers use two or more languages below clause level within one social situation. In the same vein, Pieter Muysken (2000, p.189) maintains that

> "code-switching is the use of two languages in one clause or utterance. As such code-switching is different from lexical borrowing, which involves the incorporation of lexical elements from one language in the lexicon of another language. Code-switching can be conceived of as involving words with different language indices, [...] inserted into a phrase structure [...], while lexical borrowing can be conceived of as involving formatives inserted into an alien word structure."

The implications of code-mixing are sociolinguistically particularly relevant with consequent effects also on language change and codification/standardisation of new norms/codes. Kachru identified, then, three motivations for code-mixing: role identification of speakers, register identification and desire for elucidation and interpretation. In such a multilingual context, a hierarchy of languages emerges in which each language is assigned a functional role by the multilingual speaker. Kachru assumed that 'language dependency' resulted in two types of linguistic convergence. The former consists of internal clustering forces within the South Asian languages leading to their Aryanisation and Dravidisation. The latter is represented by outer, external languages leading to the Persianisation and Anglicisation (or nativisation) of the local languages.

Since language is not only used instrumentally as a means of communication, but also as an expression of social identity, especially in

multilingual societies, it gradually becomes a sign of group membership and belonging within a particular sociocultural environment developing specific norms of acceptability.

"English in South Asia is both adapting to the local grammar of culture and influencing it" as stated by Jean D'souza (1988, p.168) who related the South Asian 'grammar of culture' to the emergence of an indigenised variety of English. From this shifted perspective, multilingual speakers are no longer seen as passively mapping structures from their mother tongue onto the target language. Rather, they would tend to rely on their native language resources available to enhance exchanges between interacting linguistic systems. This process of creative restructuring of the target language according to cognitive principles and communicative needs typically characterises multilingual contact situations (Claudia Lange 2012, p. 238; Edgar W. Schneider 2022, p. 6). The problem with codification arises when the boundary between functional characteristics / innovations of a variety and formal deviations from native norms becomes blurred and even stigmatised because of this lack of contextualisation. The question of de-Anglicisation attested in many emerging varieties is also related to the functional deviation and raises significant issues on the relationship between language and culture and the extent to which a language is acculturated in a new context (Kachru 1985, p. 18f). First and foremost, the early manifestation of the linguistic acculturation of English in postcolonial India is the consequent nativisation of the English language resulting in a new variety used as a means of communication as well as of local identity-construction (Mukerjee/Bernaisch 2016, p. 413).

2.3. The 'comparative issue' in contact linguistics

So far, the comparative method between English as the input variety and its new varieties has long been based on comparisons of the standard variety and its parallel derived varieties from written records, which are not fully representative of the internally variable spoken vernaculars. According to the *Founder Principle* (Salikoko Mufwene 1996, p.84), structures of today's varieties were largely determined by what was spoken by the founder populations and what emerged from their interactions and mutual accommodations. English, in fact, came into contact with Indic and Dravidian languages as a consequence of the colonial expansion from the early seventeenth century on and the contact variety which emerged in this setting also served as lingua franca to ethnically

and linguistically diverse populations (Winford 2003, p.242).

It would be therefore of the utmost importance to know the specific features of the language spoken by the first early English colonisers in India and how they spread among the Indian community. This aspect raises two questions, the former concerning the characterization of Standard English at the time of exploration, trade and colonization that was slightly different from today's standard, the latter concerning possible deterministically internal developments occurring in both late Modern English and IndE (Rita Calabrese 2012, p.46; forthcoming). As a matter of fact, if you compare the number of innovations occurring in the phonology, morphology and lexico-grammar of the two varieties, the distance between them dramatically decreases, at least for some of those aspects which are generally considered as Indian English-specific. For instance, probably due to simplification or merged phenomena, the substitution of fricatives by plosives could be seen as a natural tendency of evolutionary phonology in IndE which counterpoints the effects of the early *Lautverschiebung* which significantly changed the consonant system of the Germanic languages. However, it is worth considering that

> "the interpretation of a simple tally of variables confirming or refuting the hypotheses, while useful to provide a broad overview, needs to be complemented by a reconstruction of the diachronic developments and forces in language change for each of the linguistics variables." (Fuchs 2020, p. 404)

Thus, over two centuries of contact with the British was obviously going to have an impact on the language situation of the country, which resulted in the development of local varieties of English (Kachru et al. 2008, p. 18) that across time have more or less preserved a common core of very peculiar linguistic traits. Recent studies have assumed that typical Indianisms are more frequent in spoken Indian English (Balasubramanian 2009, p.233; 2016, p.96), which indeed proves to be the area of language where major changes emerge and then stabilise through exposure to and imitation of firstly model speakers and secondly model written texts with the consequent emergence of new language standards (Deumert/Vandenbussche 2003, p.456). Contact between speech and written language would lead to the emergence of new spoken norms and new spoken standards, which combine structural and lexical elements of two different linguistic systems.

It is, however, important to consider possible sources of specific linguistic features characteristic of a given variety. These might include the following (Nihalani et al. 2005, p.6): 1. the occurrence of outdated usages or archaisms, which have now disappeared from standard British English, but may persist in other varieties of English and in Indian English in particular (Lambert 2014, p.116; Fuchs 2020, p.405), 2. the influence of different substrates and their impact on the creation of new structural patterns, 3. the geographical distance that enhances conservative tendencies with respect to the mainland.

Overall, it is commonly assumed that one of the ways in which nativisation occurs is through the adoption of lexical items from the native language (L1) into English (Balasubramanian 2016, p.90). Therefore, the analysis of the distribution of sociologically important words or 'cultural keywords' (Michael Stubbs 2002, p.145) is useful in determining the degree of acculturation and therefore of nativisation attained by IndE. In the present chapter, the expression 'cultural keywords' is to be intended in its broader meaning that is context-and culture-dependent just as Indian words' insertions can be. As a matter of fact, the meanings of cultural words give insight into the culture of the speakers of that language and therefore "the community-specific linguistic acculturation of the English language" (Mukerjee/Bernaisch 2016, p.437) along with the degree of structural nativisation of IndE.

3. The diachronic corpus analysis

The present study addresses the general issue of language variation and change in Indian English in an attempt to apply modern linguistic diagnostics to diachronic investigation to evaluate the degree of Indianness of IndE. To identify the most frequent cultural keywords, which might contribute to highlight the structural nativisation of IndE and consequently its progressive linguistic acculturation across time, a diachronic perspective was adopted in the present study. As any historical study, it will therefore address the question of linguistic change, and face the major limitations of the available data particularly evident when dealing with spoken data. In fact, the study of spoken languages at time periods predating the application of recording tools is a challenging issue in the field of historical linguistics. A case in point is that of New Englishes where the synchronic perspective of linguistic descriptions predominantly persists with respect to diachronic analyses of the emergence and evolution of new varieties. Indeed, comparisons between present day British English and the parent variety

may capture the synchronic distance between old and new varieties of English, but they cannot explain to what extent and a post-colonial variety of English has diverged across time from these the historical input variety (Mukherjee/Schilk 2012, p.189-199). However, the availability of language data presumably approaching to real speech such as trial proceedings recorded earlier in *The Statesman* (one of the oldest national newspapers in India) as well as more recent genres such as blogs gives the favourable opportunity to analyse everyday language data dating back to past stages in the evolution of IndE and evaluate the degree of endonormative variation in this emerging variety.

Moreover, as regards the text types covered in the study, the relevance of mass media as vectors of social identity and national identification across the country as remarked by Mukherjee/Bernaisch (2016, p.418f) relies on the fact that:

> "They address and potentially influence nation-wide audiences disseminating interpretation schemata and opinions among millions of speakers and on a larger scale, cultural connotations in the speech community."

For this reason, English-language newspapers are a particularly relevant standardising driver and vector of norms, representing acrolectal written English usage. Accordingly, the effects of endonormative stabilisation are likely to be observable in the press (Catherine Laliberté 2022, p.147).

3.1. Methodology and research question

The research is based on two interrelated procedures, namely corpus linguistics as well as natural language processing (NLP) diagnostics and related annotation methodologies along with the most accredited interpretive theories, which can shed a light on the evolution of Indian English as an endonormative variety. Therefore, the concepts outlined above, and the related methodologies of investigation have provided the rationale for this preliminary study aiming to analyse the distribution of sociologically salient words or 'cultural keywords' involving code-switching and code-mixing phenomena. The general assumption taken in the study is that a diachronic analysis will provide a better insight into the degree of linguistic acculturation and Indianness as well as of structural nativisation attained by IndE in that community across a century (from 1909 to 2010). Since code-mixing and code-switching are generally considered as typical

features of spoken language, legal cross examinations and more recent sub-genres such as blogs were included in the study as sub-registers that are seemingly closer to real speech even though relatively filtered through writing. Therefore, corpus-based evidence and linguistic diagnostics were matched to:

1. Verify generalisations concerning code-switching, code-mixing and 'cultural keywords' as specific features of Indianeness.
2. Track the developments of specific lexical features across time periods in view of their potential stabilisation in IndE.

In particular, the sections below report on the early results stemming from an empirical study on lexical features clearly conveying cultural meanings in the corpus. The analysis was carried out to test two main hypotheses:

1. Data dating back to different time periods show a number of shared traits of convergence toward a set of nativised /localised forms / norms or linguistic habits.
2. Data dating back to different time periods show clear signs/evidence of divergence with respect to a. the target norms (BE) and/or b. the set of localised forms/norms identified in previous literature.

Since the concept of IndE might be misleading or merely abstract when referring to a multilingual society distributed over a wide subcontinental territory, the datasets analysed in the study were selected from sources mainly pertaining to the north-western area of India. Therefore, the use of corpus linguistics methodology to study variation across genres/within a variety or dialect was motivated by the attempt to reconstruct the profile/matrix of a variety of English used in a certain place (a colonised territory far from the mainland) at different time periods.

The analysis of genre variation was not the primary concern of this preliminary study although some reference to relevant aspects of variation is made when the results of the analysis will prove quantitatively significant to (theoretical) generalisations.

3.2. Data selection

The datasets used in this study were extracted from a larger Diachronic Corpus of Indian English (henceforth DiCIE) specifically compiled for a diachronic investigation concerning the years 1909-2010. Since a key aspect of corpus

design for most studies on diachronic variation is including the range of linguistic variation that exists in a language in a given historical period and not the proportions of variation (Douglas Biber 1998, p.247), a stratified approach was adopted by sampling data from different genres and time periods. This procedure should contribute to shed light on norms or shared language behavior as well as trends towards the stabilisation and standardisation within the same 'non-native- British' variety in a certain time span. The DiCIE was designed on the model of available corpora like ICE-IND and the Corpus of Contemporary Indian English (CCIE), meaning that the final version of the entire corpus would in the same vein have a balanced configuration like the model corpora. One noteworthy difference is the inclusion of new genres, which were not included in the previously mentioned model corpora, namely movie scripts (tagged as <MS>) and blogs (<B>). The latter can be considered as genres at the boundary between the spoken/written registers. Legal cross-examinations (<LCE>) were exceptionally included in the domain of 'News' because the early records of the genre in the corpus date back to the 1909 issues of *The Statesman*. The 'Letters to the editor' (<LE>) and 'Editorials' (<E>) sub-sections comprise texts published over the years 1909-2010 and include for the latest decades also the online editions/issues of the newspaper. The final project will include other national newspapers from different regions in India. The printed editions of the newspaper dating back to the years 1909, 1930, 1940 and 1951 respectively were copied from microfilm versions of the issues, which are part of the British Library Newspaper Collection, and then processed by the OCR system.

Spoken data includes audio files of speeches (<S>) by prominent Indian politicians and Prime Ministers such as Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru and Manmohan Singh, as well as videos of broadcast news and interviews available online along with their transcriptions and sampled according to chronological criteria. Other variables like the geographical distribution and educational background of the speakers were not considered for the purpose of the present study. The spoken data from ICE-IND added to the above samples were available only in a transcribed and partially annotated version.

The design of the DiCIE and the data collected so far for each section are shown in Table 1. In bold those sub-registers, which have no equivalents in the IndE corpora collected for past studies are highlighted.

Domains	Registers	Sub-registers	Year	Tokens
News	SPOKEN	Broadcast News Broadcast Talks	2010	218,865 73,377
		Blogs* **Trials***	2010 1909	31,597 19,995
	WRITTEN	Press News	2010	433,882
		Letters to editors Press Editorials	1909-1951 1909-1951 2010	15,420 12,618 53,938
Politics	SPOKEN	Parliamentary Debates	2010	…
		Unscripted Speeches	1948, 2010	938; 1237;
		Interviews	1915	…
	WRITTEN	Scripted Speeches	1930-47,1969-71, 1948-49	15,414; 6,456 24,805
		Letters Essays		…
Academic	SPOKEN	Lectures	2010	…
	WRITTEN	Essays		…
Entertainment	SPOKEN	Interviews Movies	2010 2010	
		Movie Scripts*	2010	10,608
	WRITTEN	Novels, Stories		

Table 1. The Diachronic Corpus of Indian English

3.3. Specific corpus linguistics procedures applied

For the purpose of this preliminary study, parallel sections of ICE-IND (dating back to 1992) including spoken (legal cross-examinations) and written (letters to the editor, editorials) data were selected in order to be compared to similar samples from the DiCIE. More specifically, the sample data normalised to *n*=1000 tokens and analysed in the study were extracted from the domain of 'News' (see the greyed column in Table 1) as representative of the written/spoken registers.

The sections of the sub-corpus including letters to editors (<LE>), editorials (<E>) and legal cross-examinations (<LCE>) analysed in the study were created by converting to electronic format through the OCR system, the printed texts

published in *The Statesman* between the years 1909-1951. The collected data were then processed in a comparative analysis with parallel data from the Internet as well as the 'readymade' available data from the 1992 ICE-IND to achieve a wide coverage of IndE usage across different decades. The sub-corpus therefore includes printed and online letters to the editors from online editions of national newspapers and broadcast news and interviews. Although the selected genres and registers are generally not included in the same domain and therefore not immediately suitable for a comparative analysis, they share, anyway, some common features like 'expressing opinions' and 'points of view'. More recent newspaper data was obtained from online archives including texts from the years 2000-2010.

The selected sections of the sub-corpus were first extracted and then semantically and syntactically parsed by using the language analysis tools provided by WMatrix5, a web-based interface for automated text annotation, developed by UCREL at the University of Lancaster (Rayson 2009). More specifically, Wmatrix is a set of programs for the quantitative analysis of texts with the support of frequency lists, concordances and keyness indicators for lemmas (including multi-word items such as proper names, compound nouns and phrasal verbs), parts of speech and semantic domains. Two more components of WMatrix, USAS (UCREL Semantic Analysis System) and CLAWS (Constituent Likelihood Automatic Word-tagging System) taggers were also used in the analyses to compare results and draw possible conclusions. USAS assigns semantic domain tags, which are pre-defined in its underlying lexicon, to the types in a corpus. Currently, the semantic scheme includes 21 major discourse fields which, in turn, expand into 232 categories. The 232 category labels each represent a particular semantic subfield grouping together senses that are related by virtue of their being connected at some level of generality with the same mental concept (Archer et al. 2004, p.821). Letters (from A to Z) are used to denote the major semantic fields while numbers are used to indicate subdivisions of the fields. (Garside et al. 1997, p.821)

The system also provides comparisons of tag frequencies thus assigned to a large external reference corpus — subsets of the British National Corpus (100 million words) — to ascertain tag keyness via statistical significance. Significance is measured using log likelihood, with a threshold value of 6.63 for $p<0.01$. (Rayson et al. 2004).

The data was annotated by POS and semantic domains using CLAWS and

USAS taggers respectively, which are both incorporated in WMatrix system. Both taggers automatically assign tags to each word or multiword expression in the corpora under investigation along with additional statistically significant information. For the purpose of the present study concerning 'cultural keywords' and code-mixing/switching occurrences, a specific semantic tag, namely Z99, was queried from the obtained frequency lists corresponding to the 'Unmatched' category mainly referred to items not found in the British National Corpus (BNC), which was integrated as a reference corpus in the system. In its quantitative sense, 'keyness' is based on relative frequency and as such necessitates/requires a comparison with a normalised frequency of words across a sample of discourse/utterance. In corpus analysis, this is determined by a reference corpus, which is traditionally a larger dataset suitably matched to the type of discourse under examination, given that the default statistical significance for determining keyness in WMatrix is log-likelihood indeed defined as a 'measure of difference'. Log-likelihood is calculated through a contingency table, which considers the frequency of a given word in relation to the total number of words in the corpus and compares them to the corresponding values in a reference corpus. The higher the value the more significant the difference. Paul Baker, Costas Gabrielatos, Majid Khosravinik, Michał Krzyż Anowski, Tony McEnery and Ruth Wodak (2008, p.278) define 'keyness' as "the statistically significantly higher frequency of particular words or clusters in the corpus under analysis in comparison with another corpus". In this respect, 'keyness' in a text is mainly determined by recurrent themes, ideas, or concepts rather than recurrent words with some social, cultural, and political significance (Raymond Williams 1976/1983). The extraction of all Z99 occurrences provided in the frequency tables identifying keywords and key categories in each section. At the same time, low frequency categories were not overlooked in the analysis, but rather were considered particularly informative to identify neologisms and new compounds as distinctive traits of Indianness. Given the types of corpora to be compared, a set of four frequency lists (two written and two spoken) for each decade was accordingly created.

After the tagging process, each occurrence of the words within the top twenty categories could be observed in its original context. Among the words mapped onto the category 'Unmatched' and tagged as Z99 proper nouns and other foreign words were manually removed. This procedure helped identify *hapax legomena,* which represent one of the most interesting areas of language creativity characterizing specific genres and text types. The extraction of

nominal / adjectival cultural keywords including individual Indian and hybridised items from different semantic fields was made by applying WMatrix5 and looking at semantic categories and relative keyness values resulting from the Z99 wordlists.

Since nouns often occurring as pre-modifiers in the corpus may provide the most immediate insights into recurrent topics in the registers and periods covered, these word classes (annotated by CLAWS tags as general noun= NN and general adjective= JJ) were first considered in the analysis. Rather than looking at the topmost recurrent key semantic categories, which would provide too 'volatile' feedback given their topic-specific nature/character in the sampled texts, the main focus was again on the 'Unmatched' (Z99) category as indicative of the occurrence of Indian words in speakers' discourse.

4. Results

In order to establish the variety of semantic fields that are covered by cultural keywords shared by the four sub-sections across the years, the cultural keywords and lexical types tagged as Z99 in the corpus were, at a later stage, mapped onto the corresponding USAS tags and semantically categorised as follows:

Major discourse field	Semantic Sub-field	USAS Tag	Cultural keywords
Location/Transport	Places	M7	*baitakhana, gharry*
Government/Public domain	Politics; Law	G1; G2	*sircar, raj*
Individual	Clothes	B5	*dhoti, lungi*
Social states	Groups	S5	*bhadralog, dacoit*
Substances/Objects	Objects generally	O2	*benati, huka*

Table 2. Examples of cultural keywords in DiCIE and corresponding USAS tags

To accurately classify and estimate all the Indian occurrences tagged as Z99 in the annotated corpus, a specific syntactic setting was established in the queries and all examples of NN and JJ could be extracted. In addition, the variety of lexical constructions occurring in the corpus made it necessary to classify them into four categories following the taxonomy proposed by Sailaja (2009, p.76): 1. 'Simple' Indian words, 2. Neologisms (including hybrids and *hapax legomena)*, 3. Compounds, 4. Abbreviations. Fig. 1 shows the distribution in the corpus of these lexical types in terms of raw frequencies across time.

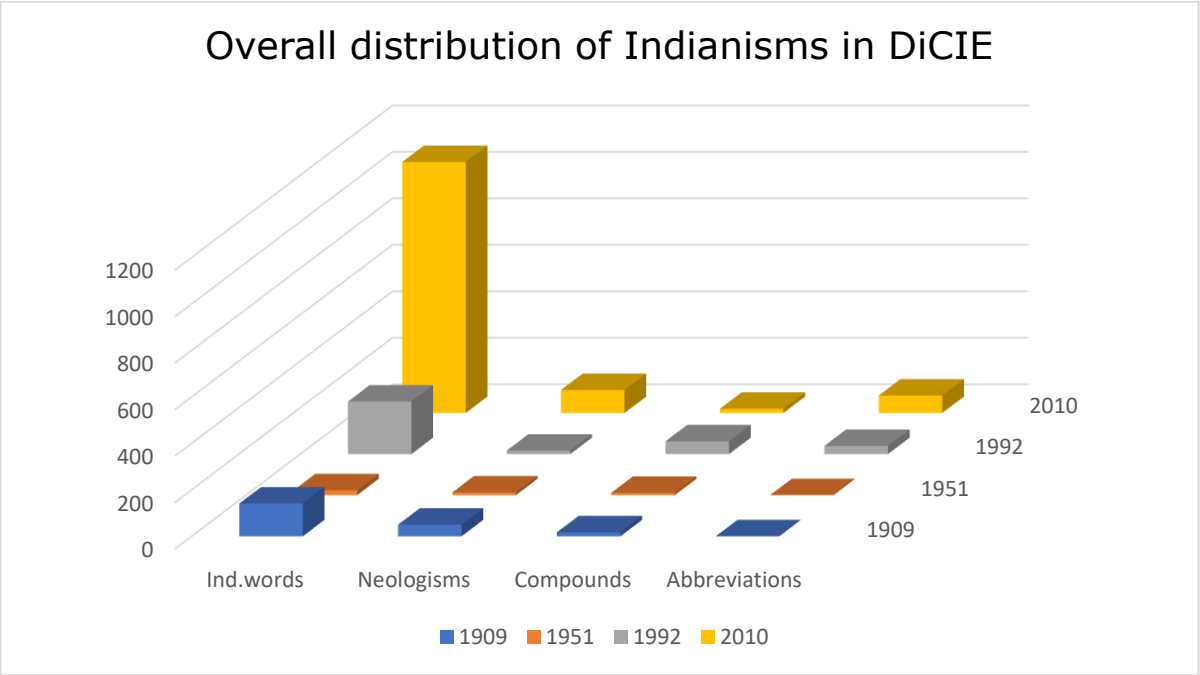

Figure 1. Distribution of Indianisms in the corpus across time

The graph shows that two decades in particular emerge with the higher number of Indianisms, namely 1992 and 2010. In order to test these results, and to give them statistical backing, data pertaining to Indianisms over the four decades under study (1909, 1951, 1992 and 2010) were normalised using the UCREL log-likelihood (LL) calculator applied to the exact corpus sizes to measure significant differences in frequency among corpora. Thus, three LL tests were done by taking the first decade (1909) as a reference variable and comparing it with the following three. All the three tests indicated an overuse of Indian words in the reference decade with high LL values for each decade, namely 103.39 (0.14+), 16.79 (0.44+) and 45.42 (0.37+).

To complement the statistical analyses, Table 3 shows some examples of individual occurrences distributed across the four decades. The wide range of Indian words occurring in the sections under investigation reveals a picture of a culturally vibrant society and its evolution from a past social order made of caste (dhoti) and well-defined social groups (dacoits) to a more globalised society open to suggestions deriving from the growing globalised market (Bolliwood, computer-ji). The speed of such changes often requires adaptations of old language resources to new lexical forms (e.g. chai-walla/tea-walla, humble bhangis).

	1909	1951	1992	2010
Indian Words	**Clothes**: *lunghis, dhotis, jersey, pugris, kurta*	*sary cipate*	*lungi*	*achcha hoga hi ko koi*
	Social group: *begari, bhadralok, chaprasi, gharrywalla, chotalok, dacoit, khalasi, manjis, peshkar, pundit, punkhas, shikari, talukdar, (teacher of) lathi, valkil, zemindar*	*satyagraha guru, puja, raj*	*rajan, baba pancha*	*raj*, *walla/h*
	Politics: *gulmal, panchayat, swedeshi*	*ka-nataka*	*thana ghya, hazar, jhala, pucca, crore*	*puchta satyagraha, sabha, nahi/l*
	Objects: *benati, ghats, huka, kalshis, lingata, pakhis, patamars (Portg.), pugris, rakhis, shaniana,*	*elayey, chadar, chanda*		
Archaisms	*cubrits*			
Neologisms Hybrids	*hardihood*, *milkless, thrice*	*Bhangi homes, humble bhangis*		*Bollywood, computer-ji tea-walla*
Hyphenated compounds	*Food-stuffs, ill-feeling, make-weights, flesh-eating, meat-eating, milk-drinking, piece-goods, eight-to-seven-wallah*	*craft-centred, dis-quiting over-hooded, ka-nataka*		*path-breaking, anti-minority, anti-scheduled, ship-to-mouth*
Hapax Legomena		*uncharya, lormer*		*to leap the frog, never-end-ending*

Table 3. Examples of Indian words in DiCIE across decades

One might argue that most of the items are likely to be established loanwords in IndE lexicon, even during the 20th century and perhaps a few might be instances of code-switching. Languages have always been influencing each other in contact situations and this interaction is generally reflected in language convergence, borrowing and replacement, which may also trigger the emergence of hybrid languages. Nonetheless, it is not easy to distinguish between borrowing and code-switching mainly because there is no exhaustive and comprehensive body of IndE dictionaries establishing a wide range of lexical items occurring in a variety of communicative contexts (Sailaja 2009, p. 75). As a

matter of fact, the few attempts that can be mentioned to bridge this gap are IndE-specific sections included in larger dictionaries of English (e.g. OED). In fact, the stability of terms over long time periods as recorded in grammars and dictionaries is considered an important factor in determining standardised forms of language (Lambert 2012, p.294).

The overall results of the present study would seem to show that many of the features claimed to be representative of IndE are "transitory, peripheral or nonce formations" (Lambert 2014, p. 120), since they do not occur steadily over time, except for a few examples (e.g. *satyagraha, walla).* The retention rate of specific lexical items over time is considered, in fact, an indicator of stability which would point to endonormative stabilisation of individual lexical items in IndE., but this is not the case for the present study. However, the same cannot be claimed for new word formation devices.

5. Discussion and conclusion

The assumption according to which "Indian society now seems to be on an unstoppable trajectory of change" (David Graddol 2010, p.18) can be confirmed by empirical data from different domains of research involving different theoretical perspectives. The role of English in India is consequently changing, triggered by a wider process of economic and social development, which is expanding the number of people who know and use English. The kind of society recorded by the last Census of India testifies an increasing use of both English and Hindi, along with a parallel decline of small or regional languages progressively losing their domains of use.

Consequently, language as a constantly changing phenomenon captures those shifts and transforms them into more or less stable linguistic changes. Barnali Chetia (2017, p.110) observes that in a multilingual country like India code-mixing and switching has become a norm rather than a deviation. Despite the significant / increasing levels of multilingualism due to the vastness of population and territory covered, IndE has at the same time attained an unexpected degree of homogeneity that sets structural nativisation as an on-going process, which "continues from the moment it begins" (Pingali Salaija 2022, p.159). Similarly, differentiation begins when structural nativisation does, and is an ongoing process. In order to thoroughly investigate the pervasive and ongoing effects of this process, more extensive research on genres and text types from a diachronic perspective is still needed. Far from providing an exhaustive

account of the linguistic complexity characterising the South Asian area, this preliminary study is to be considered the starting point of future investigations throughout the DiCIE.

Bibliographical note

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TV news in Italian-speaking Switzerland
Linguistic authorities and standard-setting

Abstract

In this contribution, we examine the Swiss and Italian varieties of Italian and the dissemination of their linguistic norms within the media domain, focussing on TV news. A qualitative analysis of a small corpus of news television programmes was carried out to that end. The aim was to conduct a contrastive study providing data on the presence of geographical variants in the two varieties of Italian under scrutiny. We therefore explored the use that regional TV news programmes make of non-standard linguistic phenomena taking the language of the national dominant variety as a control language. Our corpus consists of a selection of recent daily news programmes, aired respectively by the Swiss Italian TV channel RSI, an Italian national TV channel and an Italian regional TV channel. The data showed that there is a significant difference between the two varieties of Italian in terms of the presence of geographically marked traits in the media. We also identified criteria for determining which regional features are more prone to enter the non-dominant standard through exposure to these features in the media.

1. Introduction

When the diatopically marked traits of a non-dominant variety of a pluricentric language are perceived by the speakers as neither diaphasically nor diastratically marked, one can speak of a tendency towards the standardisation of the variety. In cases where there is an imbalance between the two varieties – in terms of numerical weight of its language users and linguistic prestige of the variety – the explicit coding of standardisation is often almost absent in the non-dominant variety. In this case, it is crucial to observe the channels of diffusion of the standard in other, less direct linguistic influence situations, such as through media exposure.

In this contribution, we deal with the variety of Italian used in Italian-speaking Switzerland by investigating the role of media language (more specifically, television) on the perception of the norm. After briefly revisiting the

main characteristics of this variety of Italian and its relationship to the dominant variety (section 2), we present the reasons that led us to consider the language of television as particularly significant in the standardisation process of Swiss Italian regional traits (section 3). In section 4, the small corpus collected and the type of annotation carried out is presented. The data are then analysed and discussed in section 5, in which the trends observed serve as a starting point for qualitative observations on the differences found between the Swiss and the Italian sub-corpora.

2. The Italian of Switzerland as a non-dominant variety of a pluricentric language

There are four national languages in Switzerland: German, French, Italian and Romansh. Speakers of these different languages inhabit areas of different sizes in the entire country. Italian is the third most spoken language after German and French, and national statistics show that 8 % of Swiss people claim Italian as their main language, or as one of their main languages (Pandolfi/Casoni/Bruno 2016; Janner/Casoni/Bruno 2019). However, only half of these speakers of Italian reside within the traditionally Italian-speaking territory of Switzerland ("Svizzera italiana"). This is can be ascribed to the long tradition of immigration from Italy, but also to internal mobility within Switzerland. The traditionally Italian-speaking territory includes i) the entire Canton of Ticino (one of the 23 Swiss cantons), located in the south of Switzerland bordering northern Italy and in particular Lombardy and Piedmont, and ii) four valleys in the Canton of Graubünden, located east of Ticino. Two of these valleys, Mesolcina and Calanca, are adjacent to each other and alongside the territory of Ticino, while the other two, Poschiavo and Bregaglia, are territorially separated from each other and from the rest of the Italian-speaking Switzerland, but they both border on Italy.

There are therefore many varieties of Italian in the Swiss national territory (in this respect see, e.g. Berruto 1980, 1984, 1987, Petralli 1990, Moretti 2005, Pandolfi 2006, 2009, 2011, Berruto 2012). In this contribution, we focus exclusively on the variety spoken by native speakers within the traditionally Italian-speaking territory, which is spoken by around a little under 300,000 speakers (Janner/Casoni/Bruno 2019). From a linguistic point of view, this region is part of the Lombard area of the Italian speaking territory. As in all other areas, the local

dialects[1] developed in parallel with the Tuscan dialect, which became the model for the Italian standard. As in Italy, the strong predominance of dialect that characterised spoken language up to 50-60 years ago gradually gave way to Italian, which became the language of first socialisation for the majority of Italian-speaking Swiss people.

Belonging to the Duchy of Milan until the mid-15th century, the territory corresponding to today's Ticino was then progressively annexed to Switzerland with the status of 'baliaggio' [subject territory]. Three centuries later, in 1803, the Napoleonic Act of Mediation gave Ticino the status of a fully-fledged Swiss canton (Bianconi 2001, Baranzini/Casoni 2020). Today, Italian in Switzerland is not only one of the official national languages, but also the only official language of Ticino and one of the three official languages of the Canton of Graubünden, together with German and Romansh.

The idea that the Italian of Italian-speaking Switzerland should be considered as a separate standard variety of Italian was first introduced in Pandolfi (2010) and was later addressed in Berruto (2011), Hajek (2012), Pandolfi (2017), Moretti/Pandolfi (2019) and Baranzini/Moskopf-Janner (2020). During these last twelve years, this language variety has thus gradually started to acquire the linguistic status of a national variety. As a result, Italian has acquired the status of a pluricentric language. Examining Michael Clyne's criteria for defining a pluricentric language (Clyne 1992), we can establish that these fundamental criteria are indeed also applicable to the case of Italian-speaking Switzerland: the two Italian-speaking areas in Europe, i.e. Italy and neighbouring Switzerland, are separated by a national border, and Italian is also an official language in Switzerland. Moreover, the Swiss variety can be associated with the identity of the language community concerned (see among others Bianconi 2016). These observations obviously presuppose a significant (internal) difference between the two varieties, on which the very recognition of the Swiss variety as such depends. The Italian of Italian-speaking Switzerland does indeed present numerous productive distinctive features, in constant and widespread use (Petralli 1990, Pandolfi 2009, Moretti 2011, Baranzini/Casoni 2020 among others). These differences occur at several linguistic levels (phonetic, morphosyntactic, pragmatic, etc.), but mainly at semantic-lexical level. The main influencing factors at the origin of most of this variety's linguistic peculiarities are the following:

[1] Here and throughout this paper, the term 'dialect' is used in the 'Romance' meaning, i.e. referring to languages with an evolutive tradition distinct from Italian; this is not to be confused with a simple diatopic variety of the language.

- the contact with the other two national languages, French and German, (examples for French are *crevettes* instead of Italian *gamberetti* [shrimps], or *classatore/classeur* instead of Italian *raccoglitore ad anelli* [ring binder]; examples for German are *schlafsack* instead of Italian *sacco a pelo* [sleeping bag], or *gipfel* instead of Italian *cornetto* [croissant]);
- the need to describe a political, administrative and social reality different from the Italian one;
- the dialectal substratum which, however, as we shall see, is less significant for standardisation processes, and
- the archaising tendency typical of peripheral varieties, which are, in this case, also politically separated.[2]

As far as linguistic features are concerned, the main traits distinguishing Swiss-Italian are phonetic traits - which, however, this variety shares to a considerable extent with all the languages of a larger area, i.e. the Lombard area - and lexical traits: the terms in use in Switzerland, influenced by the factors listed above, sometimes have no counterpart in standard Italian, sometimes systematically replace the term in use in Italy, and sometimes still coexist with the other form, alternating. At a morphosyntactic and more generally pragmatic-textual level, a few specific features can be noted. As an example, we can mention cases of gender differences: *la meteo* [the weather/the weather forecast] vs *il meteo* in peninsular Italian; there are also sporadic cases of differences in verb government: *avere bisogno* [to need] vs *avere bisogno di* in peninsular Italian. However, these are less productive phenomena and far less widespread than lexical differences.

Clyne (1992) had already observed how the relationship between the different national varieties is often asymmetrical, resulting in a relationship of dominance between one variety and the other. On the basis of his criteria and on Muhr (2012)'s later discussion, we can say that the description by authors like Berruto (2011), Hajek (2012) and Pandolfi (2017) characterises the Italian of the Italian part of Switzerland (ISIt) as a strongly non-dominant variety. First of all, the asymmetry between the number of speakers and the territory of diffusion of the two varieties is particularly important: a quick comparison between the population living in Italian-speaking Switzerland and that living in Italy shows a ratio of 1:164.

[2] Matteo Bartoli (for an overview of Bartoli's theories on the subject, see Renzi 1985), noted this phenomenon especially with reference to the Romance languages, regarding the spread of traits from the centre to the periphery and, consequently, the tendency of isolated areas to retain traits abandoned by the centre.

The political power linked to the language community is also limited; while Italian is recognised as an official language in Switzerland, in Graubünden and in Ticino (where it is the only official language), at the national level it is still a minority language, and local power at the cantonal level has no particular influence, in any case much less than the Italian variety in its home territory. The Italian-speaking part of Switzerland is thus, in Ammon (1989)'s terms, a ‘semi-centre’ - or even a ‘rudimentary centre’, cf. Pandolfi (2016) - having no influence on the Italian norm, and often identifying its own linguistic traits as 'deviant' or 'dialectal'; this attitude can be seen a fortiori in Swiss Italian speakers outside the community, e.g. within a group of speakers of the dominant variety.

Of all the characteristics associated with the non-dominant varieties of pluricentric languages, we would like to focus here on the scarcity of linguistic institutions, academies, and reference works - such as dictionaries or manuals - explicitly codifying the norm: only recently have some Italian L2 teaching manuals aimed at learners from other Swiss linguistic regions begun to mention some particularities of Swiss Italian. Nonetheless, there are social actors participating in the implicit codification of the norm of this variety of Italian in Switzerland; in the next section, we discuss precisely how they contribute to this process.

3. Media language as non-explicit linguistic authority

As already noted in Baranzini/Moskopf-Janner (2020), the ISIt variety differs from the other regional Italian varieties of Italy by its presence even in controlled and official contexts. In particular, one of the main lexical features of this variety consists of a rather important number of culture-specific terms linked to the social, political and administrative reality of Switzerland or of the Italian-speaking cantons. These terms are therefore systematically used instead of the corresponding terms used in peninsular Italian, in official texts and administrative communications. Consequently, these are also taken over when referring to these culture-specific topics in journalistic language and everyday language. Although they are often recognised by speakers as specific Swiss terms, therefore geographically marked, these terms and expressions are not perceived as marked on a register level. When they are, the perception of markedness is contrary to what is commonly expected for regional terms, as they are sometimes perceived as formal. In the absence of a codified norm, it is the use of such features in controlled contexts, such as media or administrative texts, by so-called linguistic authorities, that contributes to the standardisation of these Swiss Italian expressions. The

social forces that, according to Ammon (2017), contribute to determining the standard of a language are the language-norm authorities, the language codifiers, the language experts and the "model speakers" and "model authors". It is therefore not difficult to imagine how in the Swiss situation, where the non-dominant variety lacks explicit codification and where language experts remain largely confined to the academic sphere, the predominant role is played by such "model" speakers and "model" authors, like institutions, politicians, journalists and reporters working at public service broadcasters and broadsheets.

We have already mentioned how all the variety features linked to the different political-administrative reality and influenced by contact with other national languages are also typical of official texts and are thus regularly found within texts that are perceived as formal and adhering to a linguistic standard. In addition to literary texts - which, however, in the case of Swiss Italian authors, appear to look to an Italian standard, see Baranzini/Moskopf-Janner 2020 - and to institutional texts in Italian on a national or local level, the role played by the media, both written and broadcast, is therefore crucial. Media linguistic productions serve as an implicit linguistic model and therefore contribute to building a Swiss Italian linguistic norm. As far as written media are concerned, the Italian of Swiss Italian newspapers is the object of an extensive investigation in Ferrari (2009a) Ricci (2009), Mandelli (2009), Ferrari (2009b), Lala (2009), Cignetti (2009), Roggia (2009), De Cesare (2009), in which the authors focused on a corpus of written press from Ticino. The study revealed a series of features characterising the newspapers of this area of Italian-speaking Switzerland and differentiating them considerably from their counterparts from Italy, notably: a much more linear syntax, with globally shorter, less complex sentences; limited openness to the spoken language compared to what was observed for the peninsular Italian written press; a less 'daring', more controlled text architecture; conversely, the use of lexis is described as being broadly similar to that of the peninsular written press (Ferrari 2009a: 244-245). In this contribution, we decided to focus on broadcast media, and precisely on television news broadcasting, both at regional and national level, to gain a first insight into the above-mentioned traits in this type of media. We chose news programmes insofar as their language is a controlled and often partly written variety, which, however, is presented as spontaneous and comprehensible to all. Also, in the case of the interviewees, the context created is one of supervised and challenging communication, but direct and addressed to a wide audience. It is therefore expected that the linguistic habits peculiar to this variety will serve as a

model for a considerable number of speakers, and that any use of terms foreign to the peninsular Italian norm manifests a particularly incisive endorsement.

Our working hypothesis predicts that in Italian-speaking Switzerland the use of regional features in news is essentially the same at the national and local level, since the Swiss variety of Italian is both local and national. The reference corpus allowing us to test our hypothesis consists of the national and local news of two Italian channels. As far as Italy is concerned, the two levels could show a different handling of geographically non-standard features, with a more permeable attitude in the language of regional news and a more 'purist' one on a national level. It is also possible, however, that the greater codification of the linguistic norm in Italy also acts at the level of local broadcasting, favouring a non-regionally marked language. The aim of our study is not to conduct a quantitative analysis of the above-mentioned phenomena, but rather to point out possible trends and provide means of comparison between the varieties analysed.

4. Corpus building and data

Our corpus consists of a selection of four daily news programmes:

1. The national evening news programme aired on the public Swiss Italian TV channel RSI La Uno, covering national, local and international events;
2. The local news programme aired on the same channel, covering news concerning the Italian speaking area of Switzerland (Ticino and Italian Graubünden), as well as, for the same linguistic region, social and cultural topics with in-depth analyses, but also entertainment topics and events;
3. The national evening news programme aired on the public Italian national broadcasting service Rai Uno (Tg1), covering national and international events;
4. The local (regional) evening news programme aired on the regional TV channel TGS Giornale di Sicilia, a private broadcaster, covering news concerning the region of Sicily.

All newscasts were viewed through their respective streaming platforms (Play RSI n.d.; RAI News n.d.; Giornale di Sicilia n.d.). National newscasts were selected based on audience share: we selected the two most viewed national newscasts in Italy and Italian-speaking Switzerland respectively. As for the regional broadcasts, Il Quotidiano is the only such programme in Italian-speaking Switzerland, while the Giornale di Sicilia news programme was chosen primarily because it features a southern regional variety of Italian, distinctively different

from the Swiss-Italian one, and secondly because of the availability of a web portal with a news archive available, which not all regional channels offer. We chose to avoid the regional news being broadcast by the public national service in order to maximise the chances of encountering regional features, as we feared too much linguistic influence by the central service on the regional newsrooms.

Two time spans have been selected: May 15th to May 31st and July 6th to July 14th 2022, for a total of 30 airings per programme. We chose to divide the time period into two fairly distant chronological sections, in order to avoid lack of variation and an impoverishment of data due to the repetition of the same news topics gaining most attention in a given period. Also, a variety of different anchors alternate between days for all news programmes, thus allowing to rule out individual-related peculiarities[3].

In Table 1 below, the mean total of hours of airings per news programme is listed.

News programme	Mean duration time	Mean total hours
Rai Uno – telegiornale	37 min	1110 min
GRS – Giornale di Sicilia	20 min	600 min
RSI La Uno – telegiornale	30 min	900 min
RSI La Uno – Il Quotidiano	37 min	1100 min

Table 1. Mean total of hours of airings per news programme

All television programmes were viewed and the relevant linguistic features were collected and cross-analysed by two native speakers of Italian, one from peninsular Italy, the other one from Ticino. Both the audio and video of all programmes were taken into account, while advertising inserts (only present in the Italian regional news programme GRS) were excluded. Although we chose to give a rough count of occurrences of the relevant phenomena, our aim is not to provide numerical data or to conduct statistical analyses on the occurrences, but rather to give a first indication of the relative frequency of phenomena, so as to point out possible trends and provide means of comparison between the varieties analysed. This allows us to check the observations set out in the literature on the subject (Pandolfi 2009, Baranzini/Moskopf 2020), as well as our hypotheses. Also, an exact counting of some of the phenomena would have resulted in arbitrary

[3] We did not explore gender issues, either concerning anchors and journalists or interviewees, although this aspect is certainly worthy of interest.

choices. For example, carrying out a rigorous count of the phonetic and phonological peculiarities more typical of regional varieties (such as intervocalic [s], relative openness of vowels according to the regions, etc.) in peninsular Italian programmes would not have been possible in view of the absence of a completely defined standard for peninsular television Italian, which admits pronunciations from both Northern and Central Italian regional varieties. However, the general permeability with respect to more regionally marked pronunciations is a trend worth noting, since it is essentially the only feature found in our corpus that distances the Italian of the peninsular 'TGs' from what is considered a more stringent standard language. This, and the fact that the majority of the other phenomena retrieved was mainly lexical, is the reason why we chose to merge the different subtypes of features (lexical, phonetic, morphosyntactic) under macro-categories; individual morphosyntactic or phonetic phenomena are subsequently pointed out and described in the discussion of the results in section 5. The above-mentioned macro-categories of phenomena are listed below, with an example for each of them.[4]

1. Presence of regional and dialectal elements in vocabulary, syntactic constructions and pronunciation, e.g. the above-mentioned direct transitive – non prepositional – use of *avere bisogno*, [to need], in contrast with the peninsular standard Italian prepositional use *avere bisogno di*; some of these features are also to be found in dialects from specific areas of Lombardy; it is therefore interesting to verify if both Italian varieties (Swiss and peninsular) are permeable to their use within their news programmes, or not.
2. Presence of elements in vocabulary, syntactic constructions and pronunciation which are considered archaic in standard peninsular Italian, e.g. the term *vinattiere* rather than *commerciante di vini/vinaio* to refer to a wine merchant.
3. Presence of terms related to the country's national political and institutional domain. Given the particular linguistic status of Switzerland, in this country these terms are for the most part borrowings or calques from French and/or German. One example is the use of the term *Confederazione* to refer to the Swiss government (as in: *la Confederazione ha annunciato che…* [The Confederation announced that…]).

[4] The elements labelled as being 'archaic'/'ancient' as well as 'regional' are characterised as such in different dictionaries of standard Italian (see section 5.), as well as in the literature provided by Italian academic institutions such as the *Accademia della Crusca*.

4. Presence of lexical or syntactic borrowings or calques which are not part of the terminology related to the country's political or institutional life, for instance the use of *evidente* [evident] to mean 'easy, simple', calqued on French *évident* and unknown in peninsular Italian, where *evidente* means 'evident', 'visible'.

A rough indication of the frequency of the relevant phenomena, grouped by macro-category as mentioned above, is given in table 2 below. The most salient characteristics are discussed in the analysis.

News programmes	Regional and dialectal elements in vocabulary, syntactic constructions and pronunciation	Archaic/formal elements in vocabulary, syntactic constructions and pronunciation	Presence of terms related to the local political and institutional domain[5]	Presence of lexical or syntactic borrowings or calques which are independent of the specific political or institutional life of the country
Rai Uno – telegiornale	absent or one-off (with the exception of pronunciation)	absent or one-off	absent or one-off	1 to 5 occurrences (integral borrowings from English)
GRS – Giornale di Sicilia	absent or one-off (with the exception of pronunciation)	absent or one-off	absent or one-off	1 to 5 occurrences (integral borrowings from English)
RSI La Uno – telegiornale	1 to 5 occurrences	~ 10 occurrences	>15 occurrences	1 to 5 occurrences
RSI La Uno – Il Quotidiano	1 to 5 occurrences	~ 10 occurrences	>15 occurrences	1 to 5 occurrences

Table 2. Presence of non-standard features in national and local Swiss Italian and Peninsular Italian news broadcasts

[5] In the case of Switzerland, the expressions in Italian used in institutional settings, even when referring to national politics, are still local, i.e. used in only one Italian-speaking region.

5. Analysis of the results

The comparison between Italian and Swiss-Italian news programmes reveals a series of peculiarities, reflecting the difference between the two linguistic realities concerning the specificities of the norm and its permeability to non-standard phenomena. Below, a discussion of our results is presented for each of the four main macro-categories of features taken into account for this study.

5.1. Presence of non-standard features in national and regional Swiss and Italian news programmes

5.1.1 National and regional Italian news programmes

The systematic observation of Italian news programmes as regards the permeability of the dominant standard language variety with respect to diatopic non-standard phenomena, i.e. regionalisms and dialectalisms, shows a degree of permeability close to zero, in line with the recent history of peninsular Italian. As pointed out among others by De Mauro 1993, television programmes were an essential means of disseminating and teaching standard language to the Italian population, which was, for a vast majority, dialect-speaking. It is therefore not surprising that Italian news programmes still reflect a strict codification of the norm, excluding almost all manifestations of regional language.

The only linguistic level for which news broadcasts reveal greater openness towards non-standard phenomena is the phonetic level, as shown by the constant presence of distinctly regional phonetic and prosodic traits in the pronunciation of tv TV hosts, journalists and other speakers. However, even this is a fairly recent trend: until a few decades ago, pronunciation devoid of any dialectal inflection was a prerequisite for the profession of television announcer (see Rossi 2011). To give but one example of the permeability to phonetic regional traits, we can mention the presence – depending on the anchor – of both the voiced and non-voiced pronunciation of intervocalic [s] (a phonetic feature dividing northern from central-southern variants of peninsular Italian), in both Italian and foreign words (e.g. *caso* [case] pronounced both [kaso] and [kazo]).

As for all other linguistic levels (i.e. lexicon, morphology, syntax) the use of highly standardised Italian is the absolute norm in both news programmes. Regional linguistic phenomena are but extremely sporadic. They appear to be mainly lexical, but occasionally phonetic/morphological, and are allowed mainly in three cases: i. as regional features among the most commonly known and

disseminated through their presence in movies and/or TV shows, or easily understood (e.g. central-southern Italian apocope of the final syllable, as in *So' stata* instead of *sono stata* [I have been], by an interviewee); ii. as originally regional terms which subsequently entered the national standard as part of the cultural heritage of the country (e.g. *'ndrangheta*, Calabrian mafia organisation), or iii. out of necessity, i.e. as unambiguous labels to refer to an entity originally exclusively belonging to a local reality, and subsequently entering the standard language as a result. An example of such is *mandamento*, originally a legal term designing a district in legal language, which is now mostly known, through media diffusion, as indicating in Sicilian mafia jargon the area of influence of one or more families affiliated to *Cosa Nostra*.

It should be noted that all the above observations apply without distinction to both the national news programme (tg1) and the local news programme (GRS Sicily). The local programme shows no substantial differences in the permeability to diatopically marked phenomena. This is all the more noteworthy since the ads inserted within the programme, just after the opening credits, stand out distinctively as being regionally marked. Although we did not include ads within our analysis, they serve as an indication that the language used in regional news results from a specific editorial choice. This convergence between national and local programmes rules out a possible explanation in terms of adjustment to different audiences for the use of a standard variety in national news.

Both in national and in regional news programmes, the very rare cases of deviation from the standard consist essentially in the use of terms belonging to the less formal registers of the language. An example of this are the words of an Italian political leader reacting to the resignation of Italy's prime minister: "la responsabilità [...] impone a [...] Mario Draghi di continuare a *dare una mano... Con chi ci sta!*" [responsibility compels Mario Draghi to go on lending a hand... Together with whoever wants to be in!'].

In the following sections, we highlight the characteristics of the news programmes in Italian-speaking Switzerland, in a contrastive perspective with Italian broadcasts. The comparison is made with respect to all news programmes from Italy and all news programmes from Switzerland, i.e. without distinguishing between the national news programme (RAI) and the local news programme (GDS), since, as just mentioned, we did not find any substantial differences between the two.

5.1.2 National and regional Swiss-Italian news programmes

In contrast to peninsular Italian, the standard of Swiss Italian news shows a degree of permeability to the occasional penetration of non-standard forms. This permeability manifests itself in the following ways:

- presence of typically regional or dialectal vocabulary such as, for instance, *mantellina* [rain jacket];
- presence of typically regional or dialectal syntactic constructions: the direct transitive use of *avere bisogno* mentioned above, which occurs particularly in interviews and does not occur in Italian news programmes, although part of the regional Italian of Lombardy admits this construction; another example is the definite article before a person's first name (*l'Adri* [the Adri], *l'Angela* [the Angela]);
- presence of specific discourse markers such as the confirmation request marker *neh*? [isn't it?];
- insertion within the programme of whole speech sequences of up to 2-3 minutes which are entirely in a local dialect, without subtitles or translation. These typically occur in answers by interviewees. The viewers are expected to understand and there is no clarifying intervention on the part of the interviewer.

It is to be noted that the use of regional forms and constructions appears to be independent of the speaker's education level, based on their professional qualification as indicated in the programme. However, it is most frequently used by interviewees and more rarely by the anchor of the news programme. This is consistent with expectations related to the more or less spontaneous nature of the spoken intervention in each of these cases, as well as - presumably - in line with specific requirements of the broadcasting service's language policies, to which unfortunately we could not gain access. Although present in both news programmes, the above features are slightly more frequent in the regional programme *Il Quotidiano*. We cannot exclude that this difference is also due, at least in part, to the different nature of the news covered in the programmes.

5.1.2.1. Archaic and formal elements in vocabulary, syntactic constructions and pronunciation

In the news programmes of Italian-speaking Switzerland, both national and regional, there is an increased presence of forms which are felt as being archaic in standard peninsular Italian. This observation is in line with past descriptions of

this variety of Italian (see among others Berruto 2012). In other cases, we note the use of lexis that, although not necessarily archaic, is usually considered literary and/or relegated to a highly formal written or spoken language in peninsular Italian. As could be expected in view of the particular characteristics of standard Italian (see Berruto 1987), the above-mentioned features are often indissociable. This is shown by the fact that, in many cases, the characterisation of a term as archaic by Italian dictionaries or grammars is not homogeneous: the same term, labelled as archaic in one dictionary, is labelled as literary or formal in another. One of such cases is *vinattiere* for peninsular Italian *vinaio* [wine merchant], labelled as "ancient, literary" by the *Grande Dizionario Hoepli Italiano di Aldo Gabrielli* (online edition from Gabrielli 2018) and as *non comune* [uncommon, rare] by the *Vocabolario Treccani online.* We also noted several instances of the use of *essi* [they] for the third person plural pronoun, described by Italian grammars (see for instance Treccani 2012) as being nowadays infrequent in common language and limited to highly formal and administrative language. In some cases, anchors or interviewees used lexemes so strongly marked as archaic and/or literary that they are no longer even attested in some of the Italian dictionaries we consulted. This is for instance the case for *vie(p)più* [more and more], which appeared among the terms used by Swiss-Italian interviewees, while it is hardly ever used anymore even in formal language in Italy, and it is no longer attested for instance in Gabrielli (2018). Finally, a case of diaphasically (and concomitantly, diamesic) marked variant distinguishing Swiss Italian news broadcasts is the regular use of *recarsi*, a formal, written variant for the verb *andare* [to go], or *giungere*, a formal, written variant for the verb *arrivare* [to arrive].

In addition to lexical archaisms, a phonological example of a preference for an obsolete form is the use of the so-called *prosthetic i*, a case of epenthesis of [i] between a word-final consonant and a beginning [s] or [z] followed by a consonant sound (as in *In -i- Svizzera* [in Switzerland]), which is either lexicalised in both varieties (*per iscritto* [in writing]), or no longer used in Italy, as a result of the increased tendency in contemporary peninsular Italian to avoid contextually-derived formal variants (see Serianni 1997: 8).

It should be noted that, in some cases, terms which are perceived as archaisms or as having a different meaning in peninsular Italian are not necessarily a remnant of archaic Italian forms, but entered Swiss Italian as calques or borrowings through language contact. For example, the verb *postulare*, of Latin origin, is used in Swiss news reports with the meaning 'to apply' (e.g. for a job) or

'to propose an instance', presumably as a calque of the frequently used in today's French *postuler*, which has this exact meaning. In peninsular Italian, *postulare* in the sense of 'to apply' was used in legal contexts, and this use of the word is now obsolete.

Finally, we have noted the use in the spoken language of lexical elements which, in peninsular Italian, are not only considered formal/literary, but also belong more strictly to a limited number of domain-specific varieties. An interesting example is the sporadic use in non-specialised language of *altresì* [likewise], a form attested in Italian dictionaries as 'literary', and used exclusively in bureaucratic and legal language. These uses, which can sound surprising to an Italian speaker on the level of language register choice, show a tendency by Swiss Italian speakers to exaggerate formal traits in controlled contexts.

In sum, although strictly codified and not permeable to diatopically marked variants, the Italian of the peninsular news broadcasts seems to have gradually embraced the transformations that have progressively defined the 'neo-standard' as coined by Berruto (1987), with the abandonment of formal and literary elements and a wider acceptance of variants in pronunciation. More complex is the picture emerging for the Italian of the Swiss television news, more closely linked to a regional and dialectal substrate, while, at the same time, attached to a more literary and formal model of non-regional standard Italian, in line what is observed for written press (see Ferrari 2009a).

5.1.2.2. Presence of terms related to the Swiss political and institutional domain

The impact of the continuous contact between languages in Italian-speaking Switzerland is mostly visible in the presence of a 'pan-Helvetic' lexicon (see among others. Berruto 1984, 2012, Moretti 2011), which strongly characterises the Swiss Italian news programmes. Before addressing the specificities found in our corpus, a brief explanation is required.

Both the national and the regional news programmes from the Italian part of Switzerland contain expressions and constructions that definitely appear as deviating from the standard, either on a syntactic level, or on a lexical level, or both. The reason for this is that a non-negligible part of the texts produced within the Swiss national news programmes is itself a translation from German or French (e.g. interviews with non-Italian-speaking individuals, such as expert or political figures, or the translation of specific political and/or institutional labels). This can

result in literal translations or actual linguistic calques, and in many cases the boundary between an erroneous rendition of the original term and a specificity linked to the particular variety of Italian can become blurred. Such a phenomenon is an intrinsic part of the Swiss-Italian linguistic reality, and is also typical of advertisements and other areas of public life in Italian-speaking Switzerland. We did not, of course, take into account the cases most visibly resulting from translation errors. One example for all of these cases leaving the viewer with an impression of oddity is the rendition of the name of the "Swiss Tropical and Public-Health Institute" of Basel, translated into *Istituto Svizzero di Salute pubblica e tropicale* [Swiss Institute of Public and Tropical Health].

Apart from these few particular cases, the presence of this 'pan-Helvetic' lexicon is arguably the most immediately visible feature, and also the most frequently occurring in our corpus, as shown in table 2. above. This phenomenon is intrinsically correlated with that of the contact between the national languages, and manifests itself first and foremost in the political and institutional sector and all its related domains (government bodies, administrations, but also, for example, public education, justice, or the Ministry of Health). As was pointed out above, this characteristic results in lexis largely consisting of semantic calques of (Swiss) German or French words or constructions: the items in question are most often shared by both Swiss and peninsular Italian, but used with a different meaning in the two geographic varieties. Below are some examples.

Among the very numerous cases of 'federal' lexicon, we can mention the term *consigliere/consigliera* in its various declinations: *consigliere/a federale* [federal councillor], *granconsigliere/a* [member of the Great Council], etc.; another direct calque of German and French is the term *aiuto* [help, aid] used in many institutional contexts in which peninsular Italian would rather use *assistenza* [social support/welfare] or, in some cases, the plural *aiuti*: *aiuto sociale* [social aid/welfare], which directly translates *Sozialhilfe/Aide sociale*, but also more context-specific cases, such as *aiuto al trasloco* [assistance in moving homes]. *Aiuto sociale* and many other 'Helvetisms' of this kind are collocations whose meaning is specific to Swiss Italian, although the meaning of their components (e.g. *aiuto* and *sociale*) is shared by both varieties of Italian. A second example of this kind is *cassa malati* [health insurance]. Another very frequent case is the use of the term *imposte* [taxes], not totally absent in peninsular Italian, but less frequent and only used in specific contexts. In other cases, variation is observable both on a lexical and on a syntactic level: a lexical element common to standard Italian and Swiss Italian is not only

used with an additional meaning in all main Swiss languages (and therefore in Swiss Italian), but, related to that particular meaning, it can also have an additional syntactic construction not in use in peninsular Italian. This happens for instance with the term *rispettivamente* [respectively], which, in addition to a distributive use, has a 'conjunction' use in Swiss Italian, typically as a synonym for 'or else'/'in addition'/'on x's part'. When it has these uses, *rispettivamente* is placed between two lexical items and even between two sentences, as would be a conjunction; a construction totally unheard of in peninsular Italian.

5.1.2.3 Presence of lexical or syntactic borrowings or calques which are independent of the specific political or institutional life of the country

The boundary between strictly institutional and simply 'cultural' calques and borrowing in Swiss Italian is very fragile. It is undeniable that Swiss news programmes abound with calques and borrowings from French as well as from German, covering simple lexical items (in addition to the above-mentioned *evidente* in the sense of 'easy', we can mention *marcare* [to mark], from French *marquer, implicarsi* [to involve oneself], from French *s'impliquer*), but also entire expressions and idioms, for instance *la chiesa al centro del villaggio*, a translation of the French (*remettre) l'église au milieu du village* [to place the church back in the centre of the village], meaning to put things right.

One effect of linguistic contact that would deserve further study is a Swiss Italian tendency which appears to be in contrast to the wide acceptance of integral borrowings from French and German: it is the tendency towards linguistic conservativeness with respect to Anglicisms, in comparison to peninsular Italian, which largely prefers integral borrowings to calques. While Italian news programmes mention *i social network* or even simply *i social*, Swiss news programmes maintain the Italian translation *reti sociali*, hardly used in peninsular Italian, as does French with *réseaux sociaux*. Globally, Swiss Italian programmes seem to use fewer integral borrowings from English than peninsular Italian programmes.

5.1.2.4. Additional features

We would like to point out another feature most likely resulting from language contact. We have noted a discrepancy between Swiss-Italian and peninsular Italian news programmes in the pronunciation of foreign terms. This is particularly true for German and French lexical items, whose pronunciation consistently matches

the original native pronunciation in Swiss-Italian programmes, as opposed to peninsular Italian news. For instance, we observe in Swiss news broadcasts the correct pronunciation of the high front rounded vowel [y] as well as of nasal vowels, which do not belong to the vocalic system of standard Italian. This is to be expected in Italian-speaking Switzerland: here, speakers are in constant contact with French and German, which are also systematically part of school education. In some cases, the difference in pronunciation is not one of competence, but one of choice of the source language, such as in the case of the word *budget*, occasionally pronounced the French way by some Swiss interviewees, and systematically following the English pronunciation in Italian news programmes.

A linguistic difference highlighting a socio-cultural distinction concerns inclusive language, which is hardly used at all in the Italian news programmes, whereas this kind of language is absolutely *de rigueur* in both Swiss news broadcasting services. For instance, while the latter feature the label *la ministra* [the female minister], Italian news programmes use the label *l'assessore* [councillor] for both genders. It is likely that this characteristic is the result of the inclusive policies implemented by the Swiss Confederation as a whole, and is thus the outcome of a phenomenon that is both institutional and politico-cultural.

6. Conclusion

The observation of our corpora brings out substantial differences between Swiss Italian and peninsular Italian concerning the use of non-standard vs standard linguistic features both in national and in regional TV programmes. The two linguistic dimensions converge in both cases, but for opposite reasons: in the dominant variety, the national standard is used in both national and regional news, while in the case of the non-dominant variety, regional traits are present in both local and national news. As far as peninsular Italian news programmes are concerned, the national and the regional news programmes show no difference in the handling of geographically non-standard features. This is clearly indicated by the almost total absence of regional features, with only one notable exception, i.e. tolerance towards phonetic/prosodic markedness. Influences from foreign languages are exclusively integral borrowings which are part of the lexicon of the language.

Swiss Italian programmes are characterised by the factors already identified in the literature as determining the specificity of the Italian of Switzerland, therefore confirming the importance of these factors in establishing the standard:

the lexical characterisation of a specific Swiss political and social environment, manifesting itself, for instance, in the numerous borrowings and calques from French and German, as well as the general impact of the close contact with these two languages; the regional/dialectal substratum, to which Swiss Italian standard is more permeable than peninsular Italian, and lexis that is considered archaic/literary/formal in the dominant Italian variety and labelled as such in the dictionaries. As far as Swiss news programmes are concerned, the news items of international character (exclusively present in the national edition) do not generally allow for dialect-related features, but do allow for terms related to institutions and administrative, political and social language, and/or terms perceived as more archaic or formal. This shows how, excluding more strongly dialectal terms, which are in any case less present, archaisms, literary words or borrowings from French and German are perceived as standard in the Italian part of Switzerland. On the other hand, the presence of regionalisms is more pronounced in the local edition, which also gives more space to interviews with local inhabitants. The difference in the presence of regional features in the Italian-speaking area of Switzerland vs in Italy is, therefore, not to be ascribed to the fact that regional features are admitted in local news programmes, but to the fact that they are perceived as standard in Italian-speaking Switzerland. An indication of that is their presence in national news programmes.

The observations gathered here are based on a qualitative look at a limited number of items, which only allows the highlighting of relevant features. Areas for future research include therefore primarily a corpus-based quantitative analysis of the media investigated here, in which the relevant phenomena could be systematically retrieved and counted, their representation in different sections of the programmes statistically measured and their linguistic environment taken into account (in the form, for instance, of statistically significant associations between items). Within the same quantitative perspective, the issue of inclusive language - which is a reflection of the social reality in the two areas under consideration - is definitely another research path worth exploring.

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The Globo Media Group and the consolidation of a Brazilian Portuguese standard variety

Abstract

Brazilian and European Portuguese form the prototype of two dominant varieties of the pluricentric language Portuguese. The media conglomerate Globo, as a leading media giant, plays a central role for the consolidation of a Brazilian standard through the broadcast news programme *Jornal Nacional* and the dramaturgical genre *telenovela*. In Brazil we have a linguistic community, in which the standard of the written language (*norma-padrão*) still corresponds to a variety (European Portuguese) that is far removed from the linguistic reality of the speakers. Television, to which most of the population has access, is crucial to the consolidation of the emergent standard variety (Brazilian Portuguese). The aim of our chapter is to present the importance of those two programme formats for a standard of Brazilian Portuguese. For this we will look in more detail at the movement verbs *ir* and *chegar* with prepositions *a/para* and *em* to express change of place, as well as the construction of relative clauses. Furthermore, the impact of Globo productions for the whole Portuguese-speaking world will be discussed because of the strong impact of the soap operas (*telenovelas*) in Portugal and in the Portuguese-speaking countries of Africa (PALOP). We will conclude our contribution by emphasizing the importance of TV Globo as a reflection of language practices of Brazilian speakers and its importance as a reference model for consolidation and development of the "new" dominant variety: Brazilian Portuguese.

1. European and Brazilian Portuguese as prototypes of two dominant varieties of a pluricentric language

The term *pluricentricity* has experienced a boom in linguistics following Michael Clyne's well-known 1992 edited volume *Pluricentric Languages.* As a consequence, the general definition of pluricentric languages as languages with "several interacting centres, each providing a national variety with at least some of its own (codified) norms" (Clyne 1992, p. 4) has been extremely diluted. The boundaries between dialects and standard varieties are often almost blurred. Nowadays, the concept of pluricentricity often poses more difficulties and questions than it contributes to a workable categorisation. In the case of

Portuguese, there is wide acceptance that it is a pluricentric language, with the two main varieties of European Portuguese (EP) and Brazilian Portuguese (BP).

> "Portuguese is prototypically a pluricentric language in the sense that it has different national standard varieties, namely European Portuguese (EP), Brazilian Portuguese (BP) and other standards in development. In addition, Portuguese is one of the few languages that comes closest to the rare condition of *symmetric* pluricentricity." (Soares da Silva 2016, p. 18)

Portuguese was brought to Brazil through Portugal's colonial expansion in the 16th century and developed from a secondary dialect to a standard variety after Brazil's independence in 1822. The standard variety of BP has been developing in the field of tension between orality and writing, since the "new" BP standard variety is the result of constant language contact between the spoken language and a written prescriptive norm still closely oriented toward the exogenous former European Portuguese standard variety (cf. Preti 1994, p. 30).

Regarding the controversy surrounding the definition of pluricentricity, the criteria that make a language pluricentric vary greatly from researcher to researcher. According to Mechtild Bierbach (2000) the existence of codifying instruments and a national reference of the variety is decisive, Wulf Oesterreicher (2001) defines standard varieties of pluricentric languages according to bundles of linguistic features. Thomas Krefeld and Elissa Pustka (2010) define standard varieties according to speakers' attitudinal evaluation of the variety and their perception of it. Moreover, the fluid transition from dialect to standard variety complicates the pluricentricity discussion. It is therefore important to first highlight the central criteria for classifying a language as pluricentric. In order to be pluricentric, a language must have various normative centres, whose standard varieties serve as a reference for diasystematic marking. According to Mechthild Bierbach (2000, pp. 144-147), the following criteria must be fulfilled:

1. Existence of an urban centre that serves as a linguistic model and shows a willingness to act in terms of language policy, so that the corresponding standard variety emerges, consolidates and is spread;

2. Existence of a nation-state with linkage to the standard variety, which serves as a prestige variety and point of orientation for the discourse domains of

communicative distance, the media and the school system, is crucial;

3. Existence of codification tools: dictionaries, grammars and, if applicable, its own orthography.

From the speakers' point of view, the language attitude towards the variety and language awareness are decisive to define their own standard variety (cf. Muhr 2012, p. 29-30). The community of speakers must be aware of the independence of their own standard vis-a-vis other standard varieties of the historical language (cf. Coseriu 1988) (Portuguese in our case), as Bierbach (2000) already suggests (and as discussed in Arden/Meisnitzer 2013, p. 20). In contrast to Bierbach (idem), who tied the concept of pluricentricity to nation-states in which the standard variety is the national language, the concept must be considered as a multifaceted concept as proposed in Pöll (2012, p. 40), since standard varieties can occur on different levels (at the international, national and regional level), especially if one takes into account the role of the mass media in the dissemination and acceptance by the language community of linguistic innovations and the "prestige variety(ies)".

Wulf Oesterreicher (2001) decisively rejects the nation-state orientation of the concept as proposed by Bierbach (2000), attributing less importance to the criterion of (collective) speaker consciousness. This is nevertheless certainly problematic and partially contradicts the attribution of meaning to urban varieties of large metropolises such as Mexico City, Lima or Buenos Aires for Spanish, whose radius of influence, according to Oesterreicher (2001), extends far beyond nation-state borders. This is a consequence of speaker consciousness that cannot be contained by nation-state borders — especially in the Americas. The linguistic-descriptive perspective that Oesterreicher (idem) foregrounds is a result of the emancipation of speaker consciousness about one's own variety and about socio-economic factors that go hand in hand with the economic, political, and social importance associated with those metropolises.

A final key point in the definition of pluricentric languages, which has so far not been given due consideration by the mainstream (above quoted) research on pluricentricity, is the role of the mass media for the emergence of a (trans-) national norm (cf. Arden/Meisnitzer 2013):

4. A process of language change is rarely triggered by the audiovisual media. Nevertheless, they have a decisive contribution to its diffusion and acceptance by the language community on a large scale. Thus, the media play a central role

in the consolidation of norms because through the media, language change is spread more quickly, being accessible to large parts of the population due to of the internet and TV.

According to Maria Helena Mira Mateus and Esperança Cardeira, television is the vehicle for the diffusion of the standard — playing an even more important role than school. The role of television and Internet in the case of Portugal and Brazil for the development of the language and its varieties can be defined as follows according to the authors (Mateus/Cardeira 2007, p. 39):

> "A escola deixa de ser o único, ou o principal instrumento de educação. As novas gerações aprendem na televisão, na internet. A ortografia, a gramática, o vocabulário, fixaram uma norma que é, nos nossos dias, democraticamente difundida por um sistema escolar que chega a todos os recantos do país. Mas, mais que à escola, a responsabilidade pela difusão da norma cabe, agora, à televisão."

> "School is no longer the only, or the main, instrument of education. The new generations learn on television, on the Internet. Spelling, grammar, vocabulary, have established a norm that is, nowadays, democratically disseminated by a school system that reaches every corner of the country. But, more than the school, the responsibility for spreading the norm now lies with television." [Authors' translation]

Finally, it is necessary to emphasize that, in the case of pluricentric languages, there are at least two systems with relative autonomy in relation to each other and which have developed within the same historical language, still revealing a significant degree of similarity (unlike, for instance, Portuguese and Spanish, which shared Latin roots, but constitute own historical languages). Nevertheless, it must be noted that both "Brazilian and Portuguese writers, grammarians, linguists and other intellectuals have [...] revealed contrasting attitudes towards the unity/diversity of the Portuguese language and the convergence/divergence between EP and BP" (Soares da Silva 2016, p. 18). Some of them believe that "what is spoken in Brazil and what is spoken in Portugal are already different languages, whilst others consider them [...] different varieties of the same language" (idem).

Having defined the criteria that allow us to classify a language as pluricentric and given some of the identified features, there is no doubt that Portuguese is a pluricentric language with at least two varieties: BP and EP (cf.

Oesterreicher 2001; Pöll 2012). Thus, BP has a diaphasic, diastratic and diatopic system (= situational, sociolinguistic and dialectal variation) that is independent of the norm and the respective diatopic markings in EP, and there is virtually no influence of EP on BP today. The opposite process occurs due to the influence of Globo's *telenovelas*, which portray the upper middle class of Rio de Janeiro, exposing the Lusophone world to its spoken variety. The urban centre of proliferation of the linguistic norm is, in the case of Portugal, the Lisbon — Coimbra axis, and in the case of Brazil, the São Paulo-Rio de Janeiro axis. Their model character can be explained with the political-administrative power and the cultural economic role of the respective cities.

To decide about the status of both varieties within the pluricentricity discussion, it is important to note that there is almost no transfer of EP words to BP (Pöll 2012, p. 35) and, so far, no proven influence on any linguistic level nowadays, which provides important evidence that Brazil is developing a (new) dominant variety of Portuguese. On the other hand, there are several Brazilian lexemes (*brasileirismos*) being transferred into EP and there are several pieces of evidence for linguistic transfer from BP to EP. Nevertheless, empirical studies by Augusto Soares da Silva (2014 & 2016) have conceptually and sociolectometrically confirmed, on the basis of onomasiological profiles of alternative synonymous that terms and constructions have an increasing trend towards divergence between the two varieties.

> "The indicators analyzed [...] reveal that diachronic divergence apply as much to Brazilian Portuguese as to Brazilian Portuguese, which suggests a situation of *symmetric* pluricentricity between the two varieties." (Soares da Silva 2016, p. 27)

For instance, the educated speech (*fala culta*) has become a standard with an irradiating weight in Brazil (Pöll 2012, p. 35) and with major impact on other varieties of Portuguese. The increasing importance of BP is also confirmed by the teaching of Portuguese as a foreign language (cf. Meisnitzer 2019). Especially in the USA, but also in Europe, there is an increasing demand for language courses in BP.

In this emancipation of BP, the consumer products of the mass media and the media popular culture play a central role, since Brazil dominates in this regard, as evidenced, among other things, because of the great popularity of Brazilian *telenovelas* from the media giant TV Globo in Portugal, despite of an

increasing number of European Portuguese soap operas during prime-time. These soap operas are also broadcast in the Portuguese-speaking African countries (PALOP), as Globo is part of the standard TV packages in some PALOP (Arden/Meisnitzer 2013, p. 42).

2. The TV Globo Group's central formats: *telenovela* and *Jornal Nacional*

The TV Globo Group plays a central role in the consolidation of a standard variety for Brazilian Portuguese-speaking media and a standard of Brazilian Portuguese in general, due to its market leadership. The central formats of TV Globo are comprised of, on the one hand, the *telenovelas*, which earn 40% of the profits from advertising slots and, on the other hand, the *Jornal Nacional*, which is financed substantially by the available production budget (Braunschweig 1995, p. 67). Both formats feature daily in the station's programming and are broadcast in the prime-time slot from 18:00 to 22:30. Thus, from Monday to Sunday, viewers have access to three different *telenovelas* every day, which are only interrupted by the news programme *Jornal Nacional*. Thus, mainly in-house productions are broadcast during prime-time.

Jornal Nacional has been the news programme with the highest audiences in Brazil for several decades. It is an informative programme which focuses primarily on the current events of the day, but it also presents more general issues that go beyond events of the day (Arden 2015, p. 79-80). Different formats of up to 3 minutes in length are incorporated into the programme (Rezende 2000, p. 234-249; Paternostro 2006, pp. 19-21).

Nowadays, most of the Brazilian population has access to television. *Telenovelas* are among the most successful series formats in Brazil and other Latin American countries. A crucial aspect for the high popularity of the soap opera is the fact that television, in contrast to alternative cultural products, is widely accessible to the general population (Michael 2010, p. 193). An episode of a *telenovela* lasts about 45-60 minutes. The *telenovela* as a melodramatic genre allows the viewer an insight into the personal relationships of the characters through their interaction with their closest circles of family, friends or relatives (Arden 2015, p. 87). At the beginning there is always a recap of what has happened in the previous episode. Within the soap opera there are different narrative strands that become a mesh in which the characters interact with each other, but without necessarily participating at the same point of culmination

(Arden 2015, p. 86). Thus, there are constant changes between the main plot and the subplots, so that resolutions are sometimes delayed for a long time. This, together with many integrated cliff-hangers, creates a great deal of suspense for the audience following the *telenovelas* (Michael 2010, p. 250). The fact that soap operas portray mainly the interaction of people from a higher middle class with their social environment is a decisive factor for an analysis of language use in consideration of the language register, the dichotomy between spoken and written language, and the related conceptual variation of the speech.

3. Staged orality in the *telenovela* and elaborated orality in the *Jornal Nacional*

The immediacy-distance model by Koch/Oesterreicher (1985) can be used to examine the existing orality or literacy in the two formats. The model describes elements on various levels that represent arguments for immediacy or distance language, corresponding to an informal and a formal register respectively. In general terms, the medium of television is characterized by a large amount of spoken yet scripted language. Nevertheless, the scripted language used on TV differs from the spontaneous use of language in everyday life, in the sense that there are no abrupt sentence breaks or repetition, which are typical characteristics of spoken language. Instead, viewers expect the speakers on television to perform free of errors (Arden 2015, p. 92). The approach taken is, however, to present the audience with a seemingly spontaneous, immediacy-language conversational performance in the episodes. Thus, a narrower consideration of orality comes into focus.

It must be stated that every written text can be realized phonically. However, media output is a type of text with a physiognomy typical for a certain degree of communicative distance and it is written down with the intention of being phonically realised within the framework of a media product (Gutenberg 2000, p. 575). The transmission can take place either in the form of the recited, memorized texts or through a direct recitation by reading these texts out. Thus, the *Jornal Nacional* and the dramaturgical genre of the *telenovela* can be assigned secondary orality, since they are primarily written in nature (Burger 2005, p. 145). The decisive factor here is the conception of the texts for oral presentation on television.

For the *telenovela* as a fictional programme format, dialogues and conversations are conceived in advance and memorized by the actors. Without a

doubt, the spoken language in the format differs from the daily communication of the individuals by the degree of planning, which rather has distance-language character. This distance-language character is the result of the written text that serves as script for the phonically realized utterances of the characters.

For the news broadcasts of the *Jornal Nacional*, the speakers use a template by means of teleprompters or moderation slips to convert the written text into a spoken utterance, and sometimes they also recite texts or text passages. The language policy at broadcasting stations tends to be very strict for news readers in terms of standard language use, particularly regarding pronunciation. The communication is characterized by the monologue as prevailing text form and the significant spatial separation from the spectators that are addressed in the programme. Furthermore, live broadcasting reflects an enormous degree of publicity, as millions of people watch the broadcast directly (Arden 2015, p. 91).

The speakers of the news broadcasts are routine experts who perform in a very confident manner on a linguistic level. As a set of rules for journalistic texts, Brazil has the *manuais de redação*, which prescribe recommendations and instructions. These contain guidelines for the use and avoidance of specific structures in order to achieve optimal comprehensibility. Here, grammatical correctness in expression, which is normatively defined, is indispensable.

In informative formats, Mathias Arden (2015, p. 310) concludes that there is a higher standard of adequate language use than in fictional productions. This is also where the prototypical role model function of language use in TV comes into play (Mateus/Cardeira 2007, p. 39), leading also to the selection of certain diastratic and diatopic varieties that have a neutral value, which favours them as normative reference for emerging (non-) dominant varieties.

The reporters and correspondents simultaneously assume the function of author and performer since they participate in both the creation of the scripts and the subsequent presentation. Their conceptual approach corresponds to elaborated orality (Arden 2015, p. 94ff.). Here, the viewer is a spectator of a monologue and thus a silent recipient.

In the *telenovela* the viewer is the observer of a production that is filled with numerous conversations in form of dialogues. Staged orality characterizes speech contexts in television communication that convey the appearance of spontaneity despite being based on writing. In the spoken dialogues of fictional programme formats such as *telenovelas*, it is precisely this staged, primarily

spontaneous communication that is present. The dialogues between the characters have a high degree of immediacy language as high as possible. This is shown by the familiarity of the interlocutors, the affectivity, the face-to-face interactions and the dialogicity (Arden 2015, p. 91). The immediacy aspect of language is on the one hand given by the wording of the scripts and on the other hand by the acting combined with the paraverbal elements during the enactment of the scenes.

In the prime-time soap opera (*novela das oito*), set mostly in an urban context, there is a particular demand for authenticity as its goal is to recreate Brazilian reality as accurately as possible (Michael 2010, pp. 236f.). Due to the relationships between the characters, the performed dialogues show a strong degree of affectivity, and they are memorized by the actors in advance.

Nevertheless, universal discourse markers for immediacy language are deliberately avoided, except in situations intended to convey a sense of uncertainty in the character (Arden 2015, p. 94). The roles often represent stereotypes and enact them by serving clear gender roles or by portraying certain social classes. This effect is particularly evident in the lexis used to portray the character (ibidem, pp. 102- 103) (e.g., Italianisms in the soap opera *Terra Nostra* (1999)) to characterize the Italian migrants, vulgarisms like *quenga* 'whore' in *Tieta do Agreste*, by the character Perpétua, a middle-class widow from the rural milieu with an explosive temper and a manner tending towards the vulgar.

4. The role of TV Globo in the process of developing an emerging dominant variety

In a huge country like Brazil with high levels of illiteracy, the role of the mass media — accessible to most of the population — in the establishment and consolidation of a standard variety should not be underestimated. The influence of the media on the development of a standard variety goes far beyond pronunciation and other phonetical aspects (cf. Frota/de Moraes 2016; Magalhães 2016; Massini-Cagliari/Cagliari & Redenbarger 2016, but also Cyrino/Matos 2016, Duarte/Silva 2016, and Kato/Martins 2016, for examples beyond prosodical and phonetical aspects). Even on the morphosyntactic level the mass media serve as a reference for speakers of all ages and social classes. In his corpus study, Arden (2015) examines the role of the *Jornal Nacional* and the *telenovela* in establishing a Brazilian standard variety. This is very suitable for a

sociolinguistic variational consideration, because in the *Jornal Nacional* there are newscasters and reporters who both use an elaborated register, although the planification on behalf of the newscasters is much higher, since live reporters are required to show a higher level of spontaneity. On the other hand, the interviewed people represent different social groups and diastratic levels.

In the *telenovela*, the characters mainly use a spoken but quite elevated elaborated register and if not, they are introduced as characters belonging to certain social groups, performing central linguistic features of the respective group's register. The language employed in the soap opera is rather of oral nature although highly enacted.

Arden's study (2015) is based on a regretfully unpublished corpus comprising the following linguistic material:

Programme	Date of broadcast	Number of programmes/ episodes	Number of words
Jornal Nacional	July 2007	5	252.000
	June, July and October 2008	14	
	January 2009	12	
	January 2010	16	
Telenovela "Paraíso Tropical"	March – September 2007	172	1.270.000

Table 1. Corpus of TV Globo programmes (Arden 2015, p. 108, adapted and translated by LF & BM).

In his study, Arden (2015) focuses on the occurrences and distribution of the following variables: (1) pronominal marking of the direct object; (2) use of prepositions with verbs of change of place; (3) relative clause constructions; and (4) verbal and nominal congruence.

4.1. The use of prepositions with verbs of movement to express change of place

A first salient feature of BP is the use of the preposition *em* 'in' with verbs of movement for change of place (*chegar* 'to arrive' and *ir* 'to go (somewhere)') (EP – *chegar a* and *ir para*). Here in the linguistic system, the constructions for *ir* 'to go somewhere' + preposition + NP_{loc} *ir a*, *ir para* and *ir em* are available (V+P respectively). In the more formal speech of *Jornal Nacional* (JN) the construction

ir a dominates with 80% of the occurrences (92 occurrences) (see example 1), followed by *ir para* (19 occurrences) (16.5%) (Arden 2015, p. 197). *Ir em*, on the other hand, accounts for only 3.5% of the cases (4 occurrences), out of a total of 115 occurrences in the corpus, and it only occurs in the speech of interview partners, not in the speech of newscasters or reporters (Arden 2015, p. 197).

(1) *Vamos agora ao vivo a Santo André*, onde está o repórter César Galvão, que informa como estão as negociações neste momento.
(Arden 2015, p. 198; JN) [EP = *Vamos agora ao vivo para* (...)]

["We now go live to Santo André, where reporter César Galvão is reporting on the negotiations at this moment."]

The distribution in the corpus can be explained by the fact that *ir em* is considered strongly colloquial and lower register whereas *ir para* is evaluated as neutral and *ir a* as elegant and of elevated language use in speaker judgement, since it is an archaic form (Bagno 2001, p. 253 & p. 264). The language change process behind this generalization, is motivated by semantic and pragmatic factors, which explains this same generalization in emerging African varieties of Portuguese like in Angola and Mozambique (Gonçalves 2013, pp. 168-169; Meisnitzer 2022, p. 190).

ir a	315 (21.1%)		*chegar a*	50 (28.6%)
ir para	869 (58.2%)		*chegar em*	125 (71.4%)
ir em	311 (20.7 %)			
Total	1495		Total	175

Table 2. The use of prepositions with verbs of movement to express change of place in the *telenovela* (Arden 2015, p. 211; translated and adapted by LF & BM).

In the *telenovela* (TN = *Paraíso Tropical*), the form evaluated as neutral (*ir para*) dominates with 869 out of 1495 occurrences (2) followed by *ir a* (21.2%) and *ir em* (20.7%) (3), which, however, as Arden's research shows, are specifically used for figural characterization of lower-class and educated-elite characters (Arden 2015, p. 211-224).

(2) Camila – Que sufoco! É, agora preciso *ir pra casa*. Eu tenho que estudar.
(Arden 2015, p. 213; TN chap. 044)

["Camila - What a choking moment! Yeah, now I have to go home. I have

to study."]

(3) Umberto – Olha só, enquanto você descansa então, eu *vou em casa* botar o calção, tá? (Arden 2015, p. 213; chap. 029) [=EP *para casa*]

["Umberto: Look, while you rest then, I'll go home and put on my shorts, okay?"]

For *chegar* + preposition, the preference is *a* with 88.7% of the evidence in the *Jornal Nacional*, while the form *chegar em* is almost excluded by newscasters (2%) in the corpus and also clearly avoided by reporters, so much so that it is only used in 10% of cases (4) (Arden 2015, p. 205-206). In the soap opera, on the other hand, it accounts for 71.4% of 175 occurrences (Arden 2015, p. 211).

(4) *A gente tá chegando aqui numa casa* que foi totalmente destruída pelo terremoto. (Arden 2015, p. 208; JN 14.01.2010)

["We are arriving here in a house that was totally destroyed by the earthquake."]

Here we can see peculiarities of the Brazilian system, as in EP *ir a* is only used for contexts where the speaker changes location to a place for a short time stay (unlike *ir para*). *Chegar em* cannot be used in this context in European Portuguese.

	Newscasters	Reporter	Interview partner	Total in JN
ir a	47	39	6	92
ir para	4	13	2	19
ir em			3	4
Total	51	52	12	115

Table 3. The use of prepositions with verbs of movement to express change of place in *Jornal Nacional*, divided for different speakers (Arden 2015, p. 197; translated and adapted by LF & BM).

The distribution of occurrences in the corpus (=media speech) reflects the use of Brazilian speakers in everyday life, as Arden (2015) shows, and above all it reflects the distribution according to communicative contexts and situations and sociolinguistic factors of the speakers. Television is indispensable for the widespread establishment of the form in its variation, and the fact that

comedians use certain forms exaggeratedly to depict certain social classes with the goal of generating laughter, underlines the relevance of the morphosyntactic level for the linguistic awareness of the speaker community of a diastratically polarized variety space, as Arden (2015, p. 321) notes.

4.2. Relative clauses and variation

Another distinctive feature of BP is of syntactic nature and relates to the relative clause construction. Relative clauses are subordinate clauses at the interface of anaphora and subordination, which in their prototypical form serve to specify an antecedent occurring in the matrix clause. In relative clauses, where the relative pronoun replaces an indirect object, a prepositional object, an adverbial, or a participle, the relative pronoun (*que*) is governed by a preposition. The fronting of the prepositional phrase (PP) in the relative clause is also called *pied-piping* and is motivated by the prescriptive norm in the cases mentioned, a construction type that is uncommon in near-linguistic registers of BP. Here, instead, we find two types of constructions: 1) the relative clause contains a non-fronting PP consisting of the preposition and an anaphoric pronoun, the resumptive – the coreference between antecedent and anaphora is represented by the subscript *I* (identical) (5) and 2) the relativization strategy (*relativa cortadora*), which is formally distinguished from the relative clause with resumptive by the absence of the PP (6) (cf. Arden 2015, p. 230-231).

(5) A amiga$_i$ que eu escrevi uma carta para ela$_i$ ainda não respondeu.
(Arden 2015, p. 230)

["The friend I wrote a letter to her has not answered yet"]

(6) A amiga$_i$ que eu escrevi uma carta Ø$_i$ ainda não respondeu.
(Arden 2015, p. 231)

["The friend I wrote a letter to Ø has not answered yet"]

The *Jornal Nacional* corpus reveals a dominance of the normative pied-pipping strategy, while the relative clause without resumptive (*relativa cortadora*) prevails with 72% among the interview partners.

	Newscasters	Reporter	Interview partner	Total in JN
Pied-piping	28	52	14	94
Relative clause without resumptive (*relativa cortadora*)	0	3	39	42
Relative clause with resumptive	0	0	1	1
Total	28	55	54	137

Table 4. Relativization Strategies in *Jornal Nacional*, divided for different speakers (Arden 2015, p. 246; translated and adapted by LF & BM).

The TN corpus confirms the assumption that in spoken language *relativa cortadora* is the dominant relativization strategy. Here, Arden (2015) finds 46 pied-piped relative clauses at 163 occurrences, 117 *relativas cortadoras*, and only 28 conforming to the prescriptive standard (Arden 2015, p. 257) in the corpus. Looking at the contexts in which the *relativa cortadora* is used in the corpus, it can be said that it is used in contexts of communicative proximity, often to establish emotional closeness with the addressee, while the standard form is used with the diametrically opposite function (Arden 2015, p. 271).

The data listed suggest that sociopragmatic and morphosyntactic features of BP are established through the media formats of TV Globo and through uses that follow a fixed pattern by means of the mass media norm. And this new norm serves as a reference for people in daily life language use.

In this section, based on the data from the empirical study carried out by Arden (2015), we have shown that the television plays a crucial role in the development and enforcement of the features of an endogenous BP standard, since the language used in the media represents authentic uses of the language in the country different from the standard (*norma-padrão*) presupposed in the "vestibular" (language examination to access the higher educational system in Brazil). By reflecting authentic language use (otherwise it would be rejected by the audiences), it reflects the language use of the audience (especially of younger viewers).

5. The role of TV Globo in the interplay of media and the emergence of a dominant variety of PB

TV Globo, as an important channel for the entire Lusophone world, is of great importance for the "dissemination" of the emerging standard variety. An important criterion for this is the recognition of a Brazilian standard variety as such by the speaker community of the Portuguese language, and here perceptive variety linguistics is of great importance. Through the spread of *telenovelas* in particular, speakers of the entire Portuguese-speaking world become familiar with a variety that they identify as BP. At the same time, television, to which almost all Brazilians have access, plays a very decisive role in the establishment of endogenous forms, which are still oppressed by the norm used as reference in schools in the infamous "vestibular" exam, but which have long been established among speakers of all classes and in all communicative contexts. The mass media as a whole play an important role here, as dubbing in Brazil also does not grant concessions to the exogenous European norm, nor would EP dubbing be conceivable in Brazil (Pöll 2012, p. 37), where EP speakers are subtitled in the news. Fictional and non-fictional texts for the Brazilian market are also separately translated into BP for the Brazilian market, although fictional literature from Portugal is not adapted to the Brazilian standard. In Portugal, Brazilian literature is "translated" into or "adapted" to European Portuguese and only the European version is distributed on the national market (apart from specialized bookstores).

EP thus has no significance for the linguistic competence, speaker attitudes or concrete spoken performance of Brazilian speakers (Oesterreicher 2000, p. 300). Like Spanish, globalization favours the periphery in the case of Portuguese, with TV Globo playing a very decisive role through its global radius of influence, and thus the (new) Brazilian variety has a strengthened position vis-à-vis the European variety (Duarte/Gomes/Paiva 2016; Martins/Scheidt/Meisnitzer 2018; Pöll 2001 & 2012; Soares da Silva 2014).

6. Conclusion

TV Globo and, in more recent times, social media play a crucial role in the consolidation of an endogenous Brazilian standard variety. The discourse-traditional models practised in the press, in radio and on TV have replaced the stylistic ideals of literature in the sense of a role model for *bon usage* (Arden 2015, p. 319; cp. linguistic examples given in Raposo (2013a, 2013b & 2020) and in Cunha/Cintra (1999)). Language awareness is decisively influenced by the news (*Jornal Nacional*) as a distant linguistic model, but also by the *telenovelas*, which, in their effort to make characters appear authentic, incorporate different registers and diasystematic markings in a controlled manner, which in turn serve as a reference for speakers, especially those from classes with less access to education and lower-income families. The formal spoken language registers (*variedades cultas*) are carried into all strata of society through TV Globo's programmes, thereby establishing a new endogenous Brazilian standard that is still viewed critically by a very purist-oriented school system, but whose acceptance is long overdue in order to avoid a further distance between the standard and the linguistic reality of speakers in everyday life, which in the extreme case can ultimately lead to a diglossia situation (Massot/Rowlett 2013).

Thus, in the case of Brazil, television, and here especially the television formats discussed, based on Arden's (2015) empirical study, it is argued that it contributes significantly to the consolidation of a Brazilian standard variety, on the one side, and the diffusion of features integrating these among the population in general. At the same time TV Globo, through its great reception within the Portuguese-speaking world, decisively shapes the idea or mental construct that speakers of other varieties of Portuguese have of BP. This would be an interesting subject for further empirical studies focussing on speaker judgements. It is nevertheless important to highlight that it is difficult to design an evidence-based study that shows how language use in Brazil is affected by mass media and not by any other factors. It has to include a group with access to television and a control group without access to television in order to really isolate the factor being studied. It is nowadays impossible to find a group such as this. Brazil and TV Globo are therefore probably one of the best examples when examining the role of the mass media in the change of existing norms and in the establishment of an emerging standard variety, a role that has sometimes received far too little attention in research.

Through our contribution, we have attempted to illustrate the crucial role

played by the mass media in the consolidation and dissemination of standard varieties, based on the data from an empirical study on salient linguistic features of Brazilian Portuguese and their occurrences and distribution in the staged orality in Brazilian soap operas and TV news. In today's Brazil, the major daily newspapers, style manuals and language columns shape the idea of good language use far more than traditional grammars and television shapes language use far more than schools do. As far as the development of spoken varieties is concerned, the influence of radio and television can be assumed to be far-reaching, although the role of the mass media in the development of the traditionally dominant European varieties should not be underestimated.

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The struggle for recognition of Austrian German
The exercise of soft power by means of language policies

Abstract

As a non-dominant variety of a pluricentric language, little recognition is bestowed upon Austrian German outside Austria in teaching practises of German as a foreign language. It is also only marginally represented in the media and often dismissed as a less valid standard variation, or even considered a non-standard dialect. The reasons for the struggle for recognition of Austrian German - in reference to philosophical discourses on recognition in connection to G.W.F. Hegel - can be classified as cases of epistemic deficiency and are strongly related to cultural imprint. My thesis is that speakers of Austrian German are often the subject of institutionalised *language violence* and receive little public visibility outside of Austria. This is in particular the case for the representation in media, arts, and in contexts of language acquisition. In this chapter, I will argue that the state of recognition of a non-dominant variety of a language is closely related to language policies in place and is an important aspect for the exercise of "soft power". Language policies can contribute to symmetrical relations of recognition and allow for *language benefaction* (Rieger 2022).

1. The troublesome misconception of Austrian German[1]

"Alles außer Hochdeutsch" [Everything, but Standard German], is the title of an article published in P.M. History, a popular science journal, in May 2022. The author, Sebastian Kretz (2022), attempts to sketch cornerstones of the history of the German language and German dialects. However, only German in Germany is depicted, without any references to the other two main standard varieties of German (Austrian German and Swiss German). The uninformed reader is under the impression that there is only one standard German language, whilst the other national varieties are to be classified as dialects, hence considered of lower status. Even though neither Austrian Standard German, nor Swiss Standard German are being mentioned, they are subsumed and at the same time reduced

[1] This chapter is based on a much more extensive chapter in my dissertation thesis "Die Sprache der Anerkennung" [The Language of Recognition], which will also be completed in 2023. Special thanks are due to all colleagues who have contributed to the realisation of this text through their support of various kinds, especially to Markus Roschitz and Lisa Winter.

to different parts of dialect regions. The subordination of Austrian German to the "Bavarian German dialect region", even though it is incorrect from a linguistic point of view, as pointed out by Rudolf Muhr (Muhr 2020; Österreichisches Wörterbuch 2022) and highly problematic from a social point of view, as Muhr and Stefan Dollinger stress, (Muhr 2016; Dollinger 2021) is not surprising, since this perception reflects unquestioned assumptions of perhaps a majority of German native speakers from Germany. This misconception proves to be a persistent factor within the troublesome relations between Austrian German and German German.

The German language in Austria covers a wide spectrum of different linguistic phenomena, from regional dialect to the sociolinguistically most prestigious Austrian "Hochdeutsch" [High German] or Österreichisches Standarddeutsch [Austrian Standard German], which is the equivalent of Swiss Standard German and German Standard German (Dollinger 2021; *Österreichisches Wörterbuch* 2022). In the present text, I deal with the struggle for recognition of Austrian Standard German, whenever referred to Austrian German.

In the following, I argue, that by analysing the existing language policies in place, the state of recognition bestowed upon a language variety can be deduced. Furthermore, I aim to illustrate how "soft power", which, according to Joseph S. Nye (2014) is defined as the ability to exercise power by shaping the preferences of others through appeal and attraction, is exercised through different aspects of language policies. With regard to German German being promoted as *the* preferred language variety by means of "soft power", a correlation between hegemonial cultural thinking and linguistic knowledge about language varieties in pluricentric languages has to be taken into account. Subsequently, the following section focuses on this correlation, starting with a philosophical reflection on the term "recognition".

2. How knowledge shapes our view on others

The term "recognition" is composed of the simplex "cognition" and the prefix "re". As explained by Thomas Meyer and Esther Lea Neuhann (Meyer / Neuhann 2021), "cognition" as an act of thinking or a specific mental content in combination with "re" indicates that by recognising someone or something, reflection plays an important role. The French term "reconnaissance" incorporates similar aspects (Roberta Picardi 2021), whilst the German term for "recognition", "Anerkennung", also conveys the meaning of validation,

appreciation, and respect (Meyer 2021). G.W.F. Hegel conceptualises "recognition" as the process in which two subjects consciously reflect on each other and thereby the "I" is unified with the "we" (Ludwig Siep 1979). Bluntly put, the practical implications of Hegel's dialectical approach to the term "recognition" are as follows: To recognise another subject (or a group of individuals, an institution, or a state) means to acknowledge a community with one another, in which both parties knowingly depend on each other within their existence. For instance, a standard variation of a language can only be such, because there are other variations of the same language, from which it differs. By recognising that Austrian German is a standard variation of the German language, one also recognises that there are other, equally valid standard variations of the same language. A case in point is Austrian German's struggle for recognition, since its most basic condition for recognition – acknowledging the fact that there are other equally valid standard variations of the German language other than German German – has not been fully met yet.

On the one hand, empirical data, for instance, has shown that the majority of German language teachers in Nordrhein-Westfalen in Germany are not familiar with the concept of the pluricentricity of the German language, as Winifred Davies (2017) outlines. This factor contributes to the outcome that speakers of the dominant varieties tend to equate "language" with "standard language", mislead by the false belief that "their" language is the only correct one (Muhr 2012, p. 29). On the other hand, Austrians themselves take an ambivalent stance towards "their" language. While languages are seen as a crucial factor of cultural identity, the perception of Austrian German as a standard variety (and therefore equally valid) is lacking. This *schizophrenic* attitude of Austrians to Austrian German, as Rudolf de Cillia (1997) states, plays into the speakers self-confidence. Even among teachers in Austria who teach German, 12.8% say that there is no Austrian High German (Österreichisches Hochdeutsch), which is also the assumption of almost a quarter of the pupils, as de Cillia and Ransmayr (2019) found out. Using questionnaires, they investigated how this assessment comes about and what conclusions can be drawn from the empirical survey. The teachers stated that there is a lack of teaching of the pluricentric concept and conscious examination of the Austrian standard variety of the German language as such (and thus classification as a high-level variety) in teacher training.

Within the current linguistic discourse, the *"pluri-areal"* approach to

languages (in contrast to the pluricentric concept) degrades Austrian German by denying any standard status. Instead of a standardised language affiliated with the nation state of Austria, Austrian German is described as a local linguistic phenomenon (Dollinger 2021). Dollinger (2019, p. 115) concludes that the only core value of the pluri-areal approach is the negation of pluricentricity:

> "It is an approach that uses a mechanical view of language as a core, void of social meaning, operating with essentialist categories that are based in categoricity in order to refute any claims of linguistic autonomy of larger political bodies."

Peter Wiesinger in *Das österreichische Deutsch in Gegenwart und Geschichte [Austrian German today and in history]* advocates such a pluri-areal approach, although at the same time attempts to strike a balance between the pluricentric and the pluri-areal approach by taking an "Austrian-neutral" or an "Austria-integral" position (Wiesinger 2008). And yet, Wiesinger (idem, p. 439) concludes:

> "It cannot be denied that the Austrian German variety exists and that about fifty percent of Austrians of today consider their language variety as one amongst other factors for the widely recognized Austrian national identity." [own translation]

This contradiction concerning the conceptualisation of Austrian German from Wiesinger's point of view might be explained by a shift of thought as an answer to the ongoing linguistic debate. It is of significance, however, that Wiesinger does not give up his pluri-areal approach. As Wiesinger (idem) notes, Rudolf Muhr, unlike himself, capitalises the first letter Ö of "Österreichisches Deutsch" [Austrian German], even though German orthography calls for a lower-case "ö" (österreichisches Deutsch instead of österreichisches Deutsch). Instead of using an adjective, Muhr resorts to the capital "Ö" to denote a proper name, thus illustrating not only a linguistic difference, but an attitude.

Another means of (willingly or unwillingly) undermining the autonomy of Austrian German is the marginalisation of the differences between German German and Austrian German. This is the case with claims that the lexical variants only make out a very small percentage (about 2%) of the whole lexis, while the factors of frequency and significance of this sample are disregarded, as Dollinger (2021) points out, and phonetic and pragmatic specifications of Austrian German, which are aspects that account for much more significance

than a few such *Austriacisms*, are not taken into consideration.

The relationship between agents who represent the dominant and non-varieties and agents who represent the non-dominant variety of German can be characterised by its epistemic deficiency. That implies a lack of knowledge concerning the linguistic and cultural status of the non-dominant variety by both parties. In addition, this lack of knowledge forms the basis for normative conclusions drawn upon the linguistic value of each variety. Hence, an asymmetrical relationship is cemented. Mutual recognition, however, can only occur, when two parties approach each other on an equal footing, acknowledge that specific characteristics are equal, and accept that linguistic norms vary. Within Hegel's concept of recognition, these are the conditions to be met, according to Martin Sticker (2015), in order to achieve symmetrical recognition.

3. Reflections on Cultural Imprint

Johann Gottfried Herder (2015) [1772] viewed language as the sense of a human's soul, a treasury of human thoughts and a signifier for local customs. Hence, the evaluation of the quantity of linguistic divergences between two standard varieties cannot capture their qualitative significance. Linguistic signifiers within a language variety express cultural understanding, a sense of history and even emotions (de Cillia 1997). In particular, pragmatic differences mark cultural codes embedded and put them on display in everyday life. Numerous differences in linguistic pragmatics are to be observed in intercultural dialogues and can be held (partially) responsible for confusion. For instance, the way politeness is linguistically expressed varies a lot. A question, politely put by the sender can be perceived as rather rude by the addressee. Christa Fasch (1997) explains how linguistic particles in German such as "vielleicht" [maybe], certain sentence constructions and the use or non-use of the subjunctive can evoke the impression of impatience or other negative emotions conveyed by the speaker. Such Linguistic pragmatics is something language users from an early age grow accustomed to. They are unconsciously in use on a daily basis and are part of our costumes. This display of cultural imprint through the language we use forms an important aspect of expressing our identity. Or in reference to Hegel, such customs and traditions (the ethical order as a whole) have become our second nature, as Stephan Zimmermann (2021) summarises. In this respect Hegel emphasises how difficult it is to escape these self-defining cultural ties.

Within clashes of cultures, I consider lacking awareness of and knowledge

about one's own and the other's cultural imprint much more problematic than the occasional communicative mishap that are integrative parts of our everyday life. In reference to the first dimension of recognition, (How knowledge shapes our view on others), I argue that *epistemic ignorance* is one of the main reasons of Austrian German's struggle for recognition.

In opposition to obliviousness or unawareness, *epistemic ignorance* specifies a deficit of knowledge or lack of willingness to gain specific knowledge of a person, while in principle, access to this knowledge is given to this person. If, for example, a German teacher has access to linguistic and socio-cultural knowledge, because of their educational background, and yet they pass on incorrect information, they cannot escape their own responsibility for this error. Or, if a person has little or no knowledge of the cultural imprint of a standard variety and yet interacts as if this were not the case or does not understand the relevance of this knowledge, this forms the basis for an asymmetrical relationship. On the contrary, if one does acknowledge and, therefore, takes into account the cultural imprint embedded in another language variety, they are able to reflect their own cultural imprint on the basis of the counterpart. The reflexion of my own "otherness" in the eyes of my communicative partner offers a perceptive distance in which I put myself in a position of normative heteronomy. I become aware of the fact that the language I use does not always translate the content of what is being said (or written) into the language of my communicative partner.

My thesis is that language politics and policies – either rendered by institutions or individuals – are shaped by cultural self-perception and awareness of others. Not only do language varieties display cultural imprint, but language politics and policies also show how the communicative partners envision themselves and one another. While language policies with specific goals and means employed are an expression of political interests and power relations, language policies, which often express themselves without concrete intentions, can, according to Heiko Marten (2016), be overt or covert on the one hand and conscious or unconscious on the other. One's lingo-cultural self-conception is affected by language policies and the understanding of language norms within society. The imprinting of these influences on the lingo-cultural self-image happens unconsciously as part of our socialisation process. Nonetheless, education and intercultural dialogue offer the opportunity for change. Language politics, therefore, are on the one hand the product of unconsciously achieved

cultural imprint, but on the other hand express the active reflection process of an individual.

4. The power of *language violence* and *language benefaction*

I have argued that *epistemic ignorance* forms the basis for an asymmetrical power relationship between communicative partners. Such an asymmetry occurs when unequal partners speak to one another, which for instance is the case when a child speaks to an adult. Naturally, a child does not own the linguistic capacities of an adult. Whenever the cognitive state of each communicative partner involved substantially differs from one another they are to be considered as unequal. Equal partners, on the contrary, whose cognitive state are within comparable range, have the power to perform language politics as they speak. That happens when the speaker (or writer) intentionally uses language in order to achieve an effect, not just on the communicative partner, but also on the language discourse they are involved in (Rieger 2022). Examples within the context of this chapter can be found in academia – identifying Austrian German as a standard variety of the German language or, on the contrary, locating Austrian German within the Bavarian dialect region by referring to the "pluri-areal" approach (Wiesinger 2008), as this model is "thereby negating the existence of Standard Austrian German" (Dollinger 2019, p. 47). But also, students or colleagues referring to linguistic specifics (such as Austriacisms) in an appreciative or derogatory manner are performing acts of language politics. Language institutions or other institutions engaged with language policies (e.g. publishing houses) have a normative power over the linguistic discourse. Language politics and language policies have the potential to harm by willingly engaging in an asymmetrical relationship or to do good by intentionally engaging in a symmetrical relationship of recognition.

For my case study in question – Austrian German's struggle for recognition – the condition of *language violence* is met for instance when language policies of a publishing house are organised in a discriminatory way that forces authors to erase Austriacisms and replace them with Teutonisms. Muhr (1997) and Robert Sedlaczek (2004) describe such "corrections" in literary texts. Whether this practice has changed since then is yet to be ascertained through empirical data. These regulations fall under the category of *language violence* because they are set in place intentionally by language professionals, who perform what could be perceived as a degrading act towards the authors. Erasing Austriacisms has the

potential to have a degrading effect on the author, because the author's individual voice is infringed through these alterations. The individual linguistic style is essential for literary texts. Particular words and phrasing may not only change the tone of a text, but also have the potential to reflect the author's identity. *Language violence* either happens due to *epistemic ignorance* and is, therefore, at least partially unconsciously performed or fully consciously put in action lead by the idea of German German inhibiting some sort of prerogative as a language variety. In both cases, the language regulations established aim to shape a linguistic (here: literary) discourse. As Muhr (2015) suggests, marking the lexis of the non-dominant variety used in a text as valid in a regionally, non-standard valid-way only, and, therefore, as non-equivalent to the lexis of the dominant variety, is a practice of degradation by which national interests are promoted. Hegel (2003) [1807] describes the intentional refusal to engage in a symmetrical relationship of equal partners as "hard hearted". Reflecting on Hegel's assumptions, Martin Sticker (2015) concludes that in such a case, the condition for a symmetrical relationship is not met.

The opposite to *language violence* would be *language benefaction*. The communicative partners, equal to each other, are engaged in a symmetrical relationship. When *language benefaction* takes place, both partners acknowledge the equally valid cultural heritage embedded in the language used by one another and to each other. That implies ascribing an equal normative power to the language used. Within intercultural dialogue these are the conditions to be met in order to achieve an appreciative communicative interaction. Needless to mention, the practical implication would be not to perform discriminatory acts upon one another. Moreover, *language benefaction* stands for keeping an open mind that allows for creative synergies. Robert Sedlaczek (2004) mentions the opportunity to combine Austriacisms and Teutonisms in literary texts as a literary stylistic feature. Indeed, synonyms known to the author or the reader of a text might evoke different connotations. The word for "stairs", "Stiege", which is more commonly used in Austria and "Treppe", which is more commonly used in Switzerland and Germany (Ulrich Ammon / Hans Bickel / Alexandra N. Lenz 2004), has the potential to convey different images in a mind of a person who is familiar with both variants. Further, certain phrases known in one standard variety might not translate well to another standard variety or lose its stylistic quality. A case in point is the commonly used phrase "Es geht sich aus." ["It will be fine."] in Austrian German. Dollinger (2021, p. 118) designates "Es geht sich aus." as Austrian "Exportschlager" [best seller]. The range of meaning conveyed

by this phrase ranges from: “We can make it.” (for example, catch a train), to “There is enough.” (for example, money left in my pocket to pay at a counter), to the figurative meaning of “someone or something matching or not matching with someone or something” (for example, when learning that two people are not suitable for each other in a romantic relationship – “Das geht sich nicht aus zwischen uns.” [It does not work out between us.], just to mention a few meanings, amongst many others. *Language benefaction* between communicative partners, be they individual speakers or an author and an audience or language institutions and the public, offers a chance for a playful engagement with language, an enrichment of an individual’s language culture and appreciation for the broad spectrum of verbal and textual forms of expression.

In *Excitable Speech. A Politics of the Performative* Judith Butler (2021) describes numerous examples showing how language has the power to violate and hurt. She states that the performative power of language allows the victim of *language violence* to change the discourse by redefining the meaning of certain words of phrases that initially had a pejorative meaning. Her thesis is applicable to swear words or abusive language in general, since these examples are representations of openly expressed violence. For more subtle instances of *language violence*, however, concealed by bureaucratic regulations, such as language policies of publishing houses, it is not only more difficult to detect acts of *language violence*, but as a result also hardly possible for an individual faced with established institutions to accomplish a shift of discourse. Moreover, many authors want to reach a wide audience that goes beyond their immediate sphere of influence and therefore want to cater to a wider German-speaking market. Muhr (1997) undertook a detailed survey in which he questioned Austrian authors about their reactions to and their handling of such “corrections” of Austrian German words and phrases suggested by the editors. The arguments of the authors who accepted the suggested corrections, amongst other reasons, were economic factors and resignation after having tried in vain to keep the original version. Three authors reported drastic reactions on their behalf, one of them even withdrew his manuscript, because he felt the proposed changes altered is literary style in a way he could not identify with it any longer.

5. The importance of authenticity and creativity for symmetrical relationships

Symmetrical recognition is found in communicative partners who regard each other as equally valid; and recognise one another by acknowledging their differences and their existential dependence on each other. This community is based on the willingness to learn about the other and on openness towards intercultural enrichment. Only a communicative environment that fulfils these conditions allows for linguistic authenticity and inventiveness in the case of non-dominant varieties.

As argued before, certain characteristics of language varieties are difficult to translate without losing some of the original meaning and tone intended to convey. A speaker socialised with Austrian German would simply not use the phrase *"Das krieg' ich gebacken."*, instead of *"Das geht sich aus."* Even though, both phrases within the right context are formally equally valid translations of "I'll get it done. / I can make it.", the cultural connotations of the two phrases differ substantially. If confronted with a speaker, who would not understand (or is not willing to engage in an understanding for) the Austrian German phrase or vice versa, forcing the other to use the Teutonic (or in the other case the Austrian) phrase instead, a misunderstanding based on language confusion is avoided, but all at the cost of authenticity. How accepting and appreciative would it feel for both communicative partners when the dialogue could be phrased in the following way. A: *"Geht sich die Deadline bei dir aus?"* [(*"Can you make the deadline?]* D: *"Ja, das krieg ich gebacken."* (*„[Yes, I can make it."*) *.]*

Since it is in the nature of languages to ever evolve, as illustrated in the short dialogue above, certain English terms have been introduced in the German language – an appreciative approach towards language varieties, the willingness to learn and know about the specifications of the other variant provides creative opportunities within the literary context, as well as for all speakers of the German language. However, the "pluri-areal" approach is not only an instrument to promote political interests of the states of dominant language varieties, but also contributes to a loss of cultural heritage that is embedded in language diversity. An important factor for maintaining language diversity is the public visibility of non-dominant standard varieties in media of all sorts. That paradigm is applicable to classes in German as a foreign language in non-German speaking countries as well as within states with German as a national language.

There is a rising awareness of the importance of authenticity of language

samples used in German as a foreign language class. In my years as a language tutor at university, I noticed that teaching material covering the Austrian standard was rather limited. The few text books available were mostly designed for migrants living in Austria, but were not appropriate for the target group of university students. A positive exception is the project "Hörtexte Deutsch", realised by Kerstin Paulik, Sylvia Schlagintweit and Judith Wölfer, retrievable from *hoertexte-deutsch.at.* The website offers 32 audio files with transcripts and exercise sheets spoken/written in Austrian German. The files are not only authentic, they also manage to convey cultural characteristics and are at times humorous. The only downside is the limited range of language levels offered. The listening comprehensions and texts are targeted at German language learners with language skills equivalent from A1 to A2. There is also an Austrian short film compilation available to Austrian lecturers and materials for business German in Austria amongst some others, but in general the teaching material available is considerably smaller in scale compared to the wide range of materials offered by German language institutions.

When literary texts are translated into German, in most cases, they are translated into German German. One of the few exceptions is the first translation of Stephen King's *Salem's Lot* (Brennen muß Salem!), published in 1979 by Zsolnay publishing house. The OeAD-lecturer Ulrike Thumberger (2014) proved the dominance of Austrian Standard German within the text. She elaborates that at the time of the translation, the publishing house and both translators were based in Vienna. The first translation of *Salem's Lot* (Stephen King 1979) had 375 pages and was significantly shorter than the original English version with 631 pages. New translations commissioned by German publishing houses and translators based in Germany in 1995 and 2001 included translated sections of the English original that could not be found in the first translation and contained 573 pages. Thumberger's analysis shows that, not only the English original, but also the first translation were used as basis for later translations, while many phrases in Austrian German were changed in order to adhere to the German German standard. The German translation of *Menuet za kitaro* (Vitomil Zupan 1975), in contrast, published by Guggolz publishing house in 2021, includes instances of Austrian German in appreciation of local colourit. By including Austricisms, the Austrian translator Erwin Köstler creates an authentic regional atmosphere, as the reviewer Katrin Hillgruber (2021) emphasises.

The question of authenticity also concerns audio books. Surprisingly, even

audio books written by Austrian authors tend to be read by Germans, rather than Austrians, while usually an attempt is made to have the original authors read their books for the audio version. An example is the audio book of the novel *flüchtig* (Hubert Achleitner, 2020), read by the German actress Caroline Peters. The novel *Lust* (Elfriede Jelinek 1989) is read by the German Barbara Nüsse. These authors could have been asked to read the audio versions themselves. In case of books written by the Austrian canonical writers Thomas Bernhard (1931-1989) and Ingeborg Bachmann (1926-1973) the choice of the readers lies with the publishing houses. Both *Malina* (Ingeborg Bachmann 1971) and *Herzzeit. Briefwechsel* (Ingeborg Bachmann and Paul Celan 2021) are read by Germans. While *Holzfällen. Eine Erregung* (Thomas Bernhard 1984) is read by the German actor Thomas Holtzmann, *Der Keller. Eine Entziehung* (Thomas Bernhard 1976) is read by the Austrian actor Peter Simonischek.

Another question of authenticity arises when the setting of a literary novel contrasts with the standard variation used. A case in point is the systematic use of German German in the book *Das Sterben der Bilder* (Britta Hasler 2016). The historical thriller is set in Vienna, mostly at the Museum of Art History, and yet all speakers either use the German standard variety with a few random features of supposedly Austrian German by adopting a Pseudo Austrian accent in direct speech.

In TV, an example of such a lack of authenticity can be found in the crime fiction series *Soko Donau* in the person of Penny Lanz, portrayed by Lilian Klebow, whose character is from Klosterneuburg in Lower Austria, but sounds like someone who grew up in Germany. In *Soko Linz,* police officers Ben Halberg and Nele Oldenburg are portrayed by Germans rather than Austrians. On the other hand, in the Austrian ORF-series *Landkrimi,* the vast majority of actors and actresses are Austrians who, even though they are not originally exactly from the region, where the film is set, they manage to mimic the local dialect authentically.

Another media phenomenon with a large number of viewers are Youtube-Channels. Reglindis De Ridder (2020) discusses the linguistic output of Youtubers in Austria and Belgium. The extremely popular channel *ViktoriaSarina* is hosted by two girls from Graz. As De Ridder points out, their German is not marked Austrian German, but "Youtube-German". The aim to attract a broader German-speaking audience is visible when phrases such as "Mal kucken" ("We will see") are used by the Youtubers, which are clearly marked as German German.

6. The visibility of language policies in the public sphere

The recognition of language varieties only occurs through the acknowledgment by someone; therefore, the representation in the public sphere is essential. Authenticity can only be observed and creativity only flourishes if there is a responsive audience. As indicated before, Austrian German is represented less prominently in education and hardly at all in the international media, than the dominant variety of German, which has a major influence on how the non-dominant standard variety is perceived by others than those who were socialised with Austrian German. Naturally, such perception has an effect on the self-image of Austrians. There is a close relationship and overlap between language policies and language politics, for the latter is very much susceptible by the former. If students do not have the opportunity to learn anything or only little about a non-dominant variety of a language and/or furthermore get the impression that the non-dominant variety is to be regarded as lower status, they are likely to adopt this concept to their own understanding of the language. The tutors also have a role to play in this. Or, if a language student's access to media representing the non-dominant variety is limited to the extent that they would have to make an effort to find authentic examples, they would either not engage in such a search or assume that learning more about the non-dominant variety is not worthwhile, since it seems too exotic. Ransmayr (2005) investigated the status of Austrian German at non-German-speaking universities. She concluded that there is little knowledge of Austrian German and that it is commonly regarded as a sub-standard / less valid variety. My own experiences as a language tutor at different universities in non-German speaking countries are consistent with her conclusions. These factual conditions are the result of language policies that have an effect on the language politics in use by individuals. A language student would want to leave a good impression when practising German and therefore is not likely to use spoken or written language considered of lower status or encouraged to consume media written or spoken in a language variety that has the image of inferiority or the label of something exotic at best.

Language policies brought forward by language institutions is key to the recognition of non-dominant language varieties both in terms of the language discourse in Austria and abroad. Within a country with a non-dominant national language variety, the status of the language spoken and written is influenced by the language policies in place. This includes codification processes, such as the establishment of national dictionaries, which are core elements for language

identity and self confidence in speakers, as described by Muhr (2013). Subsequently, Jutta Ransmayr (2020, p. 248) points out that the attitude towards one's own language or variety is a crucial factor for the survival of a language, stating:

> "After all, studies have shown that a positive attitude toward one's own language or variety as well as identification with one's own language or variety is important for language maintenance: Language loyalty is regarded as an essential socio-psychological factor for the survival of languages or varieties when ‚threatened'."

As pointed out before, a central aspect of language policy measures concerns the existence of a national dictionary. In 2021, the 44th edition of the Austrian Dictionary – *Österreichisches Wörterbuch* - was published. Since 2007 an Austrian German pronunciation dictionary, edited by Rudolf Muhr (2007) is available online. Nonetheless, the Austrian dictionary covers a much smaller scope than the "Duden". The current edition of the "Duden" contains about 148,000 keywords in their basic form. The German Dictionary by the Brothers Grimm, published from 1852 to 1971, even contained 450,000 entries (Duden 2022). In comparison, the current edition of the Austrian Dictionary contains about 90,000 keywords on 928 pages (Österreichischer Bundesverlag Schulbuch 2022).

An important role for the dissemination of a nation's language and culture are national media and language institutions. With regard to television, the ORF (Austrian Broadcasting Corporation) plays an important role in the public dissemination and portrayal of Austrian German. In 2018, Peter M. Mayr (2018) reported that the ORF decided to increase the quota for Austrian music to 33%. In addition, the radio station Ö3 (Österreichischer Rundfunk) plays songs exclusively in Austrian dialect from Monday to Thursday, 9 to 10 pm. Austrian German used in newspapers also contributes to language loyalty of Austrians. Further research could focus on the language variety used on television as well as in Austrian newspapers.

A comparison between Austria and Germany, concerning language institutions, draws a clear picture. Germany currently has 137 German schools abroad, about 400 DAAD-lecturer positions teaching German German in more than 100 countries and 159 Goethe-Institutes in 98 countries worldwide, including Austria. Strangely, the destination Vienna subsumes under in the

section “German courses in Germany”, which causes for speculation what intentions preceded this mapping, which had only been a geopolitical fact during Austria’s dark Nazi years from 1938 to 1945.

Austria, in contrast, currently runs 8 Austrian schools in neighbouring countries. There are 105 posts for Austrian lecturers (OeAD-lecturers), which is the equivalent to DAAD-lecturers, in 32 countries worldwide, 26 of which are in Europe. Additionally, there are 10 Austrian Institutes (Österreich Institute) situated in Eastern Europe, 30 Austrian Cultural Fora and 65 Austrian Libraries in 28 countries worldwide. Also, the interdisciplinary doctoral program for Central European History at Andrássy University Budapest that offers doctoral scholarships financed by the Federal Ministry for Science and Education of the Republic of Austria can be seen as a place of dissemination and fostering of the academic discourse focused on Austria related topics as well.

7. Soft power by means of language policies and language politics

Language institutions and other institutionalised agents directly or indirectly promoting a certain language variety are crucial elements for the exercise of soft power. Germany efficiently uses these tools to promote its cultural interests by creating appeal and attraction through media and education. As already illustrated, availability and distribution of teaching material are paramount for establishing preferences for language and media consumption of language learners. Works of art, such as literature, play an important role in the export of cultural goods and the perception of nation states, hence the image of a nation state is shaped by the art and media consumed. Thomas Lindemann (2021, p. 397) argues that

> “[r]ecognition struggles are often less motivated by the actor’s desire to have a special status than by the desire to make a ‘contribution’ to society, to ‘give’ something [...] to shape their environment.”

I agree with Lindemann’s assumption that struggles for recognition are driven by the desire of an agent to make a contribution to society. Therefore, the agent feels needed and of importance to others. If this is the case, a certain status is bestowed upon the agent. Soft power targets at cultivating specific interests and needs, so that the agent harnessing soft power is recognized within the global community as an important player with a significant saying on political matters. If language is a core aspect of a nation’s identity, succeeding in

exporting its language through language policies not only has an impact on the cultural self-concept of its citizens, but also reflects the value bestowed by others on the nation and ultimately is one tool amongst others to exercise power. Whether on institutional levels or within academic discourses, in education or media, language policies and language politics can only then be efficient, when the resources needed are provided. These are on the one side financial capacities, but also political commitments by the government and officials to foster language policies.

8. Conclusion

The ongoing and long-standing struggle for recognition of Standard Austrian German is the result of an asymmetrical relationship, characterised by *epistemic ignorance* on behalf of the dominant society in Germany, lack of knowledge about the equity of language variety, and too little willingness to engage in intercultural dialogue that would advance authenticity and creativity. *Epistemic ignorance*, self-inflicted lack of knowledge, results in wrongdoings of representations, such as subordinating Vienna as part of the locations within Germany or insisting that Austrian German is merely a dialect that is to be subsumed under the Bavarian dialect region instead of recognising the equity of the Austrian standard variety to the German standard variety and can even lead to acts of *language violence*, as it is the case in the publishing industry.

Language and cultural institutions and staff affiliated with them are paramount tools for the exercise of soft power, hence important for the standing of each agent in relationships of recognition. I agree with Christa Fasch's (1997) statement that Austria has missed for a long time its chance to foster language policies in language institutions abroad and Muhr's (2015) postulated measurements to overcome the dominance of dominant variety by enforcing: a change of language ideology; a change of attitudes of the cultural and linguistic elite in order to promote the interests of the one's own nation and by refraining from social devaluation by adhering to exonormative norms; avoiding discrimination of non-dominant language varieties; putting forward a multilingual approach and accepting inner-linguistic multilingualism and considering it as a linguistic capital and not as a social burden. Further, these changes can only be achieved, if the established structures allow for such measures.

Whether this is the case, relies on the one hand on language professionals,

who play a vital role in the academic and subsequently social discourse on the general perception of the status of Austrian German. On the other hand, a substantial change depends on the acknowledgment by the Austrian government, in particular on leaders at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and at the Ministry of Education, Science, and Research that language policies are paramount tools for exercising soft power and the willingness to put the tools and resources in question in place. Only when these conditions are met, Austria's struggle for recognition will cease to exist and allow for a symmetrical intercultural dialogue in which *language benefaction* prevails.

Bibliographical note

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This volume deals with language policies and practices relating to the linguistic standard used in a range of different media. It contains research on ten language areas. The aim is to gain a better understanding of such policies and practices in both original and translated media in different pluricentric language areas.

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