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Developing Europragmatics – Food for a Eurolinguistic Stepchild

Abstract

The article presents components of a theory and methodology of Europragmatic research. First, it makes a few introductory remarks. The second section presents definitions for *Europe*, *European*, *Eurolinguistic* and *Europragmatic*. It is suggested that a study only be called *Eurolinguistic* if it includes linguistic representatives from all historical-cultural, historical-linguistic, synchronic-linguistic and geographical areas of Europe in a cultural sense. Third, the article gives a brief state of the art. Fourth, it answers the question of when to call a pragmatic feature *European*. It is suggested that a feature type can be called European if it is present in at least 66% of the cultures analyzed. The article also shows how to group concrete tokens into feature types through conversions into indexes, how to rate the flexibility of conversational scripts and how to apply accepted statistical tests. Fifth, the article answers the question of how we can get comparable national data. It sheds light on natural language corpora as well as data-eliciting techniques, incorporating a number of case studies (using Wikipedia, EU parliament speeches, Facebook and different types of questionnaires).

Sommaire

L'article présente des éléments d'une théorie et méthodologie de recherche europragmatique. Dans la première section, il offre quelques remarques introductoires. Secondement, il présente des définitions des termes *Europe*, *européen*, *eurolinguistique* et *europragmatique*. Il est proposé qu'une étude soit seulement appelée *eurolinguistique* lorsqu'elle inclue des représentants de l'Europe culturelle dans tous les domaines historique-culturels, historique-linguistiques, synchronique-linguistiques et géographiques. Troisièmement, il donne un aperçu d'études publiées jusqu'à présent. Le quatrième section discute la question quand un trait pragmatique pourrait être appelé *européen*. Il est proposé qu'un trait européen devrait être présent dans au moins 66% des cultures analysées. En outre, l'article montre comment on peut classifier des formes en types par des conversions en indexes, comment on peut déterminer la flexibilité des scripts conversationnels, et comment on peut appliquer des tests statistiques acceptés. Cinquièmement, il discute comment on peut gagner des données nationales qui seraient comparables. Il illustre, au travers d'études modèles (Wikipédia, discours au parlement européen, Facebook et différents types de questionnaires), des corpus de données linguistiques naturels ainsi que des techniques expérimentelles.

Zusammenfassung

Der Artikel stellt Bausteine einer Theorie und Methodologie europragmatischer Forschung vor. Im ersten Abschnitt erfolgen einleitende Bemerkungen. Im zweiten Abschnitt werden Definitionen für *Europa*, *europäisch*, *eurolinguistisch* und *europragmatisch* gegeben. Es wird vorgeschlagen, Studien nur dann als *eurolinguistisch* zu bezeichnen, wenn sie Vertreter aller historisch-kulturellen, historisch-linguistischen, synchron-linguistischen und geographischen Gebiete Europas in kultureller Definition berücksichtigen. Im dritten Abschnitt wird kurz der Forschungsstand dargelegt. Im vierten Abschnitt wird die Frage beantwortet, wann ein Merkmal als europäisch klassifiziert werden soll. Es wird vorgeschlagen, dass ein solches Merkmal in mindestens 66% der untersuchten Kulturen vorhanden sein soll. Es wird auch gezeigt, wie konkrete Tokens durch Umwandlungen in Indizes in Typen von Merkmalen zusammengefasst werden können, wie man die Flexibilität von Gesprächsskripten messen kann und wie man statistischen Tests anwenden kann. Der fünfte Abschnitt beantwortet die Frage, wie man vergleichbare Daten erhält. Dabei wird anhand von Fallstudien (Wikipedia, Reden im EU-Parlament, Facebook und verschiedene Typen von Fragebögen) auf Korpora natürlicher Sprache und auf experimentelle Techniken der Datenbeschaffung eingegangen.

1. Introductory Remarks

Fifty years of pragmatics have passed since its foundations were laid in the book *How to Do Things with Words* (Austin 1962). While there are vast number of studies in cross-cultural pragmatics and while the systemic branches of Eurolinguistics have quite well been shed light

on, Europragmatics is still a field very much in its infancy and not really taken care of by linguists. It is therefore necessary to give a definition of what should be meant by Europragmatics in this article. This article then contains preliminary methodological thoughts for a more elaborate presentation of aspects of a theory of Europragmatics and its practical implications (Grzega [in prep.], to be published in 2013). The methodological ideas will be demonstrated in a number of case studies. These case studies will then also be brought together to give a first picture of pragmatic European features.

2. Definitory Remarks

The definition of Europragmatics is not as clear as it may seem at first. Rather, some of the defining elements require a definition themselves.

1. What is Europe? What is European? Europe can be defined from various perspectives—geographical, political or cultural-anthropological:
 - a. In a geographical way, *Europe* is today most commonly understood as the semi-continent from the Atlantic to the Ural, sometimes including, sometimes excluding the British Isles (and Iceland). The British in particular often contrast Europe to Britain. But not only the western boundary is debatable. Seeing the Ural as the eastern border strip of Europe is a rather recent convention. On older maps, Europe just reaches a line from the Ob River down to the Dnieper mouth, sometimes only the line from the Ob River to the Don River.
 - b. In a political way, *Europe* is often used synonymously with the European Union. But it could be defined equally well as the members of the Council of Europe.
 - c. Cultural-anthropological definitions for Europe have been proposed by Toynbee (1945), Kolb (1962), Quigley (1979), Braudel (1987), Wallace (1990), Fontana (1994: 45), Huntington (1996), Newig (1986, 2002), and Le Goff (2003). For Wagner (2006) the reference points for identities are language, territory, the public, values, history, and symbols. The most important symbol, according to Wagner, at the same time of his analysis, was the euro. Other symbols are connected with important developments in history: the Judeo-Christian tradition, the Greek and Roman heritage (including democracy, the rule of law and the Latin alphabet), some elements from Germanic, Arab and other cultures, the development of the university (since the Middle Ages) and the common school (since Modern Times), the development of the welfare state, the philosophies of the Renaissance, the Enlightenment, and Romanticism, the musical styles known as the Gregorianic chant, the Viennese school, and Romantic music, the architectural styles of Gothic, Baroque and Classicist art. Important European values are human dignity, freedom, democracy, equality, constitutional legality, and the defense of human rights. European values according to Joas (2005) are freedom, the tolerance of diversity, rationality, inwardness (i.e. the distancing from the world, self-experience), the esteem of common life, self-actualization. As already argued elsewhere (Grzega 2006, 2012), I personally favor such an cultural-anthropological definition to the political and geographical ones. It is more flexible and thus more open for boundary shifts. It also allows to distinguish between central, or more typical, and peripheral, or less typical, members of the category *European*. That this is also justified from a histori-

cal point of view has been demonstrated by Tornow (2009, 2010) and Mitterauer (2010). But what are the cultures or civilizations that we want to contrast Europe with? On the basis of Huntington (1996) and Newig (2002), I would like to determine the following other cultures, or civilizations—as they are called then:

- North America
- Latin America (including Mexico)
- the Russocentric civilization
- the Oriental, predominantly Arab civilization
- South Asia, or the Hinduistic civilization
- East Asia, potentially dividable into a Sinic civilization (China, Korea, Vietnam) and Japan

potentially also

- South-East Asia
- Australia and Oceania
- Sub-Saharan Africa

2. What is a European feature? It is debatable whether the commonalities among European languages should be searched for with or without comparing them to non-European communities. *Stricto sensu*, for the search of commonalities, it “suffices” that the features are present in all, or at least most, European languages. We will return to the problem what “most” should mean in this regard. Some may claim, though, that the features must also distinguish Europe from neighboring areas, as, after all, *definition* means ‘boundary determination, delimitation’.
3. What is a European language? Apart from the areal question, the historical and the social dimension must be taken into account as well.
 - a. Should *European languages* only refer to autochthonous/indigenous languages or also to allochthonous/migrant languages? And when does a language become indigenous? For this study I will only focus on the languages that have been used as native languages in European history for at least 600 years.
 - b. Should *European languages* only cover varieties of these languages within Europe or also the varieties exported to other parts of the world? The original idea of *Eurolinguistic* is to exclude the varieties used outside Europe.
 - c. If we speak about languages, shall we only investigate the standard or also include non-standard varieties? I have strongly proposed the latter approach (cf. Grzega 2009b; cf. also Kortmann 2009), but—in contrast to phonological, morphological, syntactic and lexical data—comparable data is much more difficult to gather when it comes to pragmatic aspects. Since there is nothing like norm-like “standard pragmatics”, you first need to collect data from the multitude of speech communities (which may be comparatively easy with written texts, but becomes a Herculean task when you need informants to participate in projects of experimental character).
4. What is a Eurolinguistic study? Many studies are already termed *Eurolinguistic* when they compare two or three languages or a specific group of languages in Europe. As for my part, I agree with Norbert Reiter, who was the first to use the term *Eurolinguistics* (1991) and claimed that it should be the study of the commonalities among European languages (e.g. in the preface of his 1999 book). But the comparison of two or three languages can hardly allow us to say anything about

Europe. In the same vein, many programs bearing the label *European Studies* are window-dressing: students participate in the courses of two philologies, but the European commonalities are at best an optional or accidental part of the program. Even if it may be seen as unrealistic to collect comparable data on all European languages, we should undertake each effort to come to this end as close as possible. If we stick to Norbert Reiter's conception, then we can view Europragmatics as the study of the pragmalinguistic commonalities among Europeans.

5. What is (Euro-)pragmatics? There are different views on what aspects pragmatics should include. In a very strict sense, it is the study of words in concrete spoken utterances. In a broader sense, though, pragmatics also includes written utterances, and it also considers isolated words with respect to issues that go beyond the neutral dictionary meaning, in other words: connotations.

All in all, in practice, it will hardly be possible to include data from all European cultures and languages. The researcher or the research team has to know the different languages at least to some degree. But a selection that claims to be Eurolinguistic should, in my view, cover at least one member of each of the following groups of languages and cultures:

- a. with respect to the historical-anthropological-cultural concept of Europe, which is structured in circles: at least one country from the culturally-anthropologically "central" area (for some this may currently cover the predominantly German-, French-, Dutch- and Italian-speaking countries, and maybe Spain), very "peripheral", one country from the "marginal" areas (e.g. Finland, the Baltic countries, Hungary, possibly Romania—which Wallace [1990] saw as a part of Europe as far as its western part was concerned), three countries from the shades in between, and, ideally, one borderline case (e.g. Russia and, arguably, Romania);
- b. with respect to a geographical definition: northern, western, southern and eastern European countries, either according to the UN terminology or the EU terminology (according to the former, the British Isles are northern and the ex-Yugoslavian states southern; according to the latter, the British Isles are western and the ex-Yugoslavian states eastern) – the EU terminology would best reflect the biomic division, the north consisting of taiga areas, the west and the east of humid, temperate climate areas with broadleaf forests and the south of subtropic areas with Mediterranean forests¹
- c. with respect to historical-linguistic aspects (particularly if the research topic goes beyond single lexemes): representatives of all major Indo-European language groups (Germanic, Romance, Balto-Slavic) and the major non-Indo-European language family (Finno-Ugric)
- d. with respect to synchronic linguistic aspects (particularly if the research topic goes beyond single lexemes): representatives of Western European languages (Standard Average European, Charlemagne sprachbund), East-Central European languages, the Balkan languages, and, for *Europe lato sensu*, Russian

3. State of the Art

Cross-cultural studies seldom compare more than two languages or linguacultures. Exceptions are the paper collection edited by Blum-Kulka/House/Kasper (1989) (a study of 8 speech communities, including British English, Danish, German and Russian) and Eckkramer/Divis-Kastberger (1996) (a study on 7 speech communities: German, English, French, Italian, Spanish and Portuguese) as well as the contributions by Braun (1988), Clyne et al. (2009), De

¹ Alternatively, the Europe's heteronomous division by the CIA in its World Factbook may be preferred due to its finer distinctions: Northern Europe, Western Europe, Eastern Europe, Central Europe, South-Western Europe, South Europe, and South-Eastern Europe.

Geer et al. (2002), Dolilina (2002), Kallia (2005), Lavid (2000), Nixdorf (2002), Suszczyńska (1999), Tulviste et al. (2002, 2004), Pallotti/Varcasia (2008) as well as Junefelt/Tulviste (1997), Schneider (2005, 2008), Schneider/Schneider (2000), Berger (2004) and Yli-Jokipii (1996) (each studying 3 speech communities). Grein (2008) studies compliments in 4 national languages, but only one of them is European (German German). Brehmer (2003, 2004, 2005, 2007) has focused on pragmatic aspects of Slavic languages, in part in comparison to German. Yet none of these studies can be termed *Eurolinguistic* in our sense. Popular compilations that bring information from other works into a comparative cross-cultural, nearly global, survey are those by Spillner (2001) and Fichtinger/Sterzenbach (2003).²

As already said, Europragmatics is virtually untilled soil—this is also proven by the fact that the handbook edited by Hinrichs (2010) could only present a corresponding chapter labeled as “sketch” (Grzega 2010) and the fact that Kortmann and van der Auwera did not include a pragmatic chapter at all in their handbook (2011). The largest problem for European-wide results is the consistent use of one single method to gather information on the widest possible range of languages. The first attempts to draw a Europragmatic picture were carried out on address pronouns by Helmbrecht (2005, 2010), on connotations and diverse speech-acts by myself (Grzega 2006, 2012), and on address pronouns and various speech-acts in the single contributions of Volume 5 of the *Journal for EuroLinguistiX [JELiX]*, supplemented by a synopsis article (Grzega 2008). In the JELiX volume, the same questionnaire was used by all contributors. In *EuroLinguistischer Parcours [ELP]* (Grzega 2006), the description mainly relied on ethnographic observations in the form of language and culture guides of one book series (so that a certain uniformity in the data collecting process was given), some questionnaire studies (in part carried out in student projects), the global empirical study by Geert Hofstede (2000) and the ethnographic observations by Axtell (1993), Collett (1993), and Mole (1998); in the ELP’s enlarged successor (Grzega 2012), additional sources were the studies by Richard Lewis (2006, 2008) and by Morrison/Conaway (2006). Lewis—as well as the findings by Fons Trompenaars and Charles Hampden-Turner (1997)³—give valuable insights, applying uniform methods for a large number of countries all over the world. They themselves have only hesitantly tried to present nation clusters, or culture clusters, of a certain type—Europe does not form any parameter or unit in their studies. In the ELP (Grzega 2006, 2012), I have tried to check the “Europeanness” of some of their aspects. Apart from the studies quoted, it should not be forgotten that cross-culturally working pragmalinguists also owe a lot of concepts to the work by Edward T. Hall (1959, 1963, 1976). In a sense, Issue 8 of the EURO TYP volumes (Bernini/Schwartz 2006) can be considered an attempt of pragmalinguistic investigation, however: with a dominant interest in syntactic and morphological patterns. The volumes encompasses studies on the pragmatic organization of discourse in the languages of Europe. Only three contributions in this volume, though, can be termed a Eurolinguistic study in our sense (comprehensive language selection, same method). Finally, if Europragmatic studies on

² The volume *Politeness in Europe*, edited by Hickey/Stewart (2005), sheds light on politeness aspects in many countries. Unfortunately, the contributions do not deal with the same aspects nor do they apply the same methods. Consequently, the country data are not really compared and not comparable. Lundmark’s (2009) book offers anecdotes rather than linguistic studies on aspects of greeting and parting in a selected set of cultures. Otterstedt’s (1993) study unfortunately contains too many obvious factual mistakes to be considered a reliable source.

³ Trompenaars/Hampden-Turner describe (1997) cultures using the following dimensions: universalism vs. pluralism (What is more important—rules or relationships?), affectivity vs. neutrality (Do we display our emotions?), individualism vs. communitarism (Do we function as a group or as individuals?), specificity vs. diffuseness (with respect to participating in public life), inner directedness vs. outer directness (Do we control our environment or work with it?), achieved status vs. ascribed status (Do we have to prove ourselves to receive status or is it given to us?), sequential time vs. synchronic time (Do we do things one at a time or several things at once?).

spoken language have been rare, those on written language have even been rarer (cf. Pöckl 2010).

4. When Is a Pragmatic Feature European?

4.1. General Remarks

When should something count as a European feature? What is a commonality? Strictly speaking, something is a commonality only if a variant for a variable is present in 100% of the languages or cultures. This is what Haarmann defined as a *europeme* (1976). This will probably not lead to many Europragmatic traits, and will lead to even fewer traits if these variants should additionally define Europe in contrast to other civilizations. Such an approach also neglects human thinking in prototypicalities. Therefore, an equally valuable approach seems to look for variants that are “typical” for European languages or cultures. This, of course, raises the question: what is typical? Do people consider something typical if it is present in more than 50% of the cases? Probably not; people will hardly perceive any European typicality if 49% of the cultures show variant A and 51% variant B. Shall we then vote for 60%, 66%, 75% or 90%? Psychological studies do not seem to help us here. It seems reasonable to make three “result-groups” of similar size: If we analyze two variants A and B and the A:B-ratio is from 100:0 to 67:33, then variant A is typical; if the A:B-ratio is from 0:100 to 33:67, then variant B is typical; if the A:B-ratio is from 66:34 to 34:66, then we have a balanced situation. In other words, we consider a variant European if it occurs in at least two thirds of the countries. This shall also hold true when there are more than two variants. Of course, it is also possible to search for features of higher scores. We could then speak of a “European feature at the 75%-level” etc. The smaller the number of countries we have, the more useful it will be to look for features of higher percentages, or scores.

No matter what level of frequency we define for classifying a feature as European, such an approach will tremendously facilitate the classification of a phenomenon as European when it comes to nominal or qualitative categories, or variants. It is not that easy when we are dealing with quantitative categories. With quantitative data, we first need to find out whether the cross-cultural differences in the prominence of a feature are statistically significant or not. For this purpose, a chi-square test (χ^2 test) needs to be carried out. Such a test compares the distribution of something between groups—in our case: between nations—that can be expected if the distribution were totally random to the distribution that is actually observed and decides—based on the sample size—whether the discrepancy between expected and observed distribution can be termed accidental or not, in other words, if there is a high probability or not that the differences are accidental. This is known as the level of statistical significance or p-level (from *probability*). If p is 0.05 or lower, we will call this—as some statisticians do—“statistically significant”, if it is 0.005 or lower, “very statistically significant”, and if it is 0.001 or lower “extremely statistically significant”. If data distribution is likely to be accidental, this means all countries analyzed can be said to share the same feature. If data distributions are likely to be not accidental and thus statistically significant, another test can be used to determine the effect size of the parameter that led to the formation of the groups compared—in our case: the nationality. This test is called Cramér’s V, or Cramér’s Phi (ϕ). The effect size can be absent ($0 \leq \phi < 0.10$), small ($0.10 \leq \phi < 0.30$), medium ($0.30 \leq \phi < 0.50$) or large ($\phi \geq 0.50$). If data distribution is likely to be not accidental and thus statistically significant, it makes sense to have a look at the differences more closely, by converting the feature distributions into comparable indexes. The significance of data differences can be determined just for the European values analyzed or for all values analyzed. For a chi-square test the corpus, or the overall

amount of data, needs a certain size; if it does not reach the size, the corpus needs to be enlarged or sub-groups need to be bracketed. This, however, must then be respected in the country descriptions. The corpus, or the amount of data, is large enough if it meets Cochran's (1954) criterion that 100% of the expected values (i.e. the tokens of a feature for a specific country) are 1 or higher and 80% of the expected values are 5 or higher.

4.2. Scalar Indexes

Once we have found that there are significant differences within Europe or between Europe and other cultures, we can think of defining the data that can be seen as typically European. If people use polar categorizations (with a clear possible minimum and a clear possible maximum), one might be tempted to see the middle position as the turning point.

For reasons of facilitation we may suggest to convert everything into scales with a maximum of 100 (which equals percentages). Then the upper side would run from 100 to 51 and the lower side from 49 to 0. But would we really see two countries that score 61 and 59 points respectively as oriented toward different poles? I have already suggested to make a threefold distinction with such polar classifications, lower third (Pole/Category 1) – middle third (balanced) – upper third (Pole/Category 2). However, let's take a scale from 0 to 100, which would mean that a low score is from 0-33, a balanced score from 34-66 and a high score from 67-100. What do we do if we should get the following results for seven countries: 75, 70, 70, 69, 67, 65, 35? Should we really say that the first five countries typically belong to the group with high score and that the countries with 65 and 35 points both belong to a less typical balanced group. Is it justified to see the difference between 69 and 67 as bigger as the difference between 67 and 65, and the difference between 65 and 35 as less "big" than between 67 and 65? And was the corpus large enough to avoid any accidental outliers?

It might help us to determine the arithmetic mean and have a look at the distances from the arithmetic mean. The arithmetic mean is $(75+70+70+69+67+65+35)\div 7=64.4$. We see what happens if there are outliers. They influence the arithmetic mean in a way that leads to a wrong perception. Therefore, statisticians have suggested to use the so-called median especially when dealing with small numbers of values (anything below 100—and any Euro-linguistic study will deal with sets of languages smaller than 100). The median is found if you go step by step from both extremes of an ordered set of numerical values toward the middle. In an odd number of values, the middle value is the median. In an even number of values, there is not one middle value, but two values coalesce if you go from the extremes to the middle; in this case, the median is the sum of the two middle values divided by two. Examples: In the set 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 (odd number of values), the median is 3. In the set 1, 2, 3, 4 (even number of values), the median is $(2+3)\div 2=2.5$. In our example, the median in the row 75, 70, 70, 69, 67, 65, 35 is 69. Again, we would be looking for the figures of 66% of all European values, namely the 66% around the median. The natural next question is then: How far away from this median should all values be allowed to be for being considered the variation range of a European feature. If we accept a high range, say a range of 25 below and 25 above a median on a 100-point scale, this would mean that if the median is 50, a value of 25 would be considered close to the median, although it is as close to the extreme pole 0. Can such a large range covering up to half of the potential value points be said to form a characteristic feature? It seems that a more rigid definition is more meaningful, e.g. a 33%-range. In sum, I suggest to speak of a European feature if at least two thirds of the values are in a 33%-range around the median (i.e. up to 16.5%, or 16-17%, deviation under and above the median).

I have suggested to convert quantitative data into scales from 0 to 100 to illustrate the spread among two variants. However, how do we convert something into a scale from 0 to 100, if the scale has no upper limit, e.g. if we check the quantity of just one certain feature in a written or spoken text? The longer the text, the more possible are instances of a certain feature. For such cases, I suggest the following. Zero instances are converted into 0. We could suggest that the language or country with the highest score is 100; however, this would require that not only all European “areas” are respected in a balanced way, but also all other cultural and/or linguistic areas around the world. This will hardly be possible, though. Therefore, I suggest that 100 equals the highest score of a European language or culture (included in the EuroLinguistic study). And here, I also suggest to exclude the borderline countries. This will allow researchers to see precisely how these borderline cases behave in comparison to the members that are “clearly” European and how the clearly non-European countries behave (so that researchers will be able to label a European feature “exclusively European” or “European, but not exclusively”). Here is an invented example. Let us assume the following data in our sample.

language	times of “please” in requests	“please” per request > % of “please”-requests	index (European basis)
American English	80 times “please” in 100 requests	80	107
British English	22 times “please” in 33 requests	66	88
German	10 times “please” in 20 requests	50	67
Italian	35 times “please” in 50 requests	70	93
Polish	10 times “please” in 40 requests	25	33
Swedish	75 times “please” in 100 requests	75	100
Hungarian	30 times “please” in 80 requests	38	51
French	64 times “please” in 100 requests	64	85

Fig. 1: Example Distributions I

The row of European index values is 33-51-67-85-88-93-100. The median is 85. The 33-point-variance (16.5 below and 16.5 above the median) is from 68.5 to, theoretically, 101.5 (of course the maximum is 100). This result means that 68.5 to 100 is a typical European feature that also distinguishes Europe from the US.

One may wonder why we should not take the median of all European values and convert this regularly into 50 and check whether 66% of the European values are in the surrounding 33-point range, from 34 to 66. Applied to our example, this would yield the following.

language	times of “please” in requests	“please” per request > % of “please”-requests	index (European basis)
American English	80 times “please” in 100 requests	80	63
British English	22 times “please” in 33 requests	66	52
German	10 times “please” in 20 requests	50	39
Italian	35 times “please” in 50 requests	70	54
Polish	10 times “please” in 40 requests	25	20
Swedish	75 times “please” in 100 requests	75	59
Hungarian	30 times “please” in 80 requests	38	30
French	64 times “please” in 100 requests	64	50

Fig. 2: Example Distributions II

As we can see, now all countries but two would fall into the range. This measure is thus less strict than the above one. Since the minimum conditions for a study to be called Euro-linguistic are still relatively few, I suggest to resort to a rather strict measurement.

Aside from scales with open-end there may also be scales that do not have a set zero-point. Let us suppose we want to find the association of *old*. The lowest answer will not be 0 and not even 1 (year). In a way, the scale is also open-ended. We have already seen that the highest European value could be determined as 100. In this instance, with an open-end-and-open-start scale also 0 must be defined. One suggestion is to use the lowest European value as definition for 0. The interval between the lowest and the highest European value will then define the 0-to-100 scale. An example: Let us suppose the median (or, if the group of informants was large enough, the mean) of Group A is 50 years, of Group B 60 years, of Group C 70 years and of Group D 75 years. Then 0 on the index to establish is 50 years, 100 is 75 years. The interval between 50 years and 75 years is 25 years. So 25 years is divided into 100 index-steps. In other words, from a group’s age value we first would deduce 50 years (our zero-point), then multiply this by 100, divided by 25. Hence, the index value of 60 years would be $60 - 50 = 10 \rightarrow 10 \times 100/25 = 40$, the index value of 70 years would be $70 - 50 = 20 \rightarrow 20 \times 100/25 = 80$. The determination of an existing European commonality is then as usual.

If we want to check the presence of just one feature or if we have just a Likert scale for determining connotations we can work with the figures in different ways. A Likert scale commonly includes 4 degrees: “fully disagree”, “rather disagree”, “rather agree”, “fully agree”, plus sometimes a category “don’t know”. Let us suppose the median category is the label “rather disagree” as the typical category for European countries. Some country exceptions would show the median category “fully disagree”. Should we then say that Europeans do not fully disagree, but tend to disagree? This is one possibility. But is it reasonable to mark the degree of absence of a connotation? Should we not rather work with the presence of a connotation? Is this not

what is actually at stake during conversations? The presence, not the absence of certain associations. Therefore I would like to suggest an alternative way of working with these figures.

We can convert the figures, which are percentages, into an index again (possible maximum: 100). The answers for “Fully agree” and “Rather agree” are taken into account for the degree of feature presence. If someone marked “don’t know”, this also shows that a connection cannot be strong. Only the two degrees on the agree side can indicate the presence of a connotation. Then there are theoretically two possibilities again. First possibility: We classify the results into a Yes, a No and a Balanced group. Second possibility: We determine the median and check whether two thirds of the country are situated around the 33%-range of the median. But how do we interpret the results if the median is, for instance, 30? As already said, we should not define European commonalities through absences of a feature. Thus, not medians but categories of absence, slight presence and strong presence should be counted if we are dealing with only one feature. Furthermore, if we want to determine a European trait, then not the absence of a feature should be seen as such, but only the (slight or strong) presence of a feature, as absences are always easy to formulate. The only exception where absences of something can reasonably be used for characterizing Europe is when Europe is contrasted to another civilization.

4.3. Script-Flexibility

Another aspect to determine is how fixed the forms of slots are. Are there very clear rules for the choice of a form for a certain slot or is there flexibility in the choice of forms? In other words: How rigid is a script? It would be advantageous for comparisons if we could work with figures here, too. These figures would represent the script-flexibility/rigidity rate. The value 1 could stand for one variant for a specific slot in a specific script (respecting the situational context), 2 for two variants, etc. In other words: the lower the value, the less the variability, the higher the script-rigidity (or the lower the script-flexibility). However, two variants is not always two variants, three variants not always three variants, etc.: If a variant A occurs 30 times, a variant B 30 times and a variant C 30 times, this is different from a situation where a variant A occurs 80 and variants B and C 5 times each or a situation where variant A and B occur 40 times each and C 10 times. The first case is an ideal case of 3 variants, the second case is close to a one-variant situation with a few aberrant uses, and the third is close to a two-variant situation with a few aberrant uses. This should be expressed in the script-flexibility value. It is clear that a formula that expresses this must work with the mathematical differences between the single variant tokens, which are then somehow subtracted from the figure that is the number of variants. And in order to apply the formula independently of the concrete token-size, the formula must work with percentages or fractions. If we take our example from above, this looks like this:

case	frequency 1	frequency 2	frequency 3	% 1	% 2	% 3	fraction 1	fraction 2	fraction 3
1	100	0	0	100.0	0.0	0.0	1.00	0.00	0.00
2	30	30	30	33.3	33.3	33.3	0.33	0.33	0.33
3	80	5	5	88.8	5.6	5.6	0.89	0.06	0.06
4	40	40	10	44.4	44.4	11.1	0.44	0.44	0.11

Fig. 3: Example Distributions III

In case 1, we have actually only 1 variant, while the other 2 variants are absent. The difference between fraction 1 and 2 is 1.00, the difference between fraction 1 and 3 is 1.00, and the difference between fraction 2 and 3 is 0. The sum of differences is 1.00+1.00+0=2.00, so 2.00 is subtracted from 3. The result is 1. This means that there is 1 variant. If we want to express script flexibility, then a lack of flexibility should be symbolized by 0. Therefore it is necessary the subtract 1 from the result: 1-1=0. The script flexibility/rigidity rate is 0.0.

In case 2, we have 3 variants. The difference between fraction 1 and 2 is 0, the difference between fraction 1 and 3 is 0, and the difference between fraction 2 and 3 is 0. The sum of differences is 0+0+0=0, so 0 is subtracted from 3. From the result 3.0 indicating the variants, we subtract 1. The script-flexibility/rigidity rate is 2.0.

In case 3, we have 3 variants as well. The difference between fraction 1 and 2 is 0.83, the difference between fraction 1 and 3 is 0.83, and the difference between fraction 2 and 3 is 0. The sum of differences is 0.83+0.83+0=1.66, so 1.66 is subtracted from 3. From the “variant sum” 1.34 we subtract 1. The script-flexibility/rigidity rate is 0.34.

In case 4, we also have 3 variants. The difference between fraction 1 and 2 is 0, the difference between fraction 1 and 3 is 0.33, and the difference between fraction 2 and 3 is 0.33. The sum of differences is 0+0.33+0.33=0.66, so 0.66 is subtracted from 3. From the “variant sum” 2.34 we subtract 1. The script-flexibility/rigidity rate is 1.34.

If we want to express this in a mathematical formula, we can put it like this:

$$\sigma = n - \left(\frac{\sum_{i=1, j=1}^{i=n, j=n} \sqrt{(x_i - x_j)^2}}{2} \right) - 1$$

with n being the number of variants (types) that occur in this slot, x being the fraction that a variant occurs (token ratio). Another way to calculate σ is to make sure that two figures are subtracted only once (and that negative results are made positive again, by using square and square-root again (as in the first formula):

$$\sigma = n - \sum_{i=1, j>i}^{i=n-1, j=n} \sqrt{(x_i - x_j)^2} - 1$$

with n being the number of variants (types) that occur in this slot, x being the fraction that a variant occurs (token ratio)

We could then distinguish between

- no script-flexibility ($\sigma = 0.00$)
- a weak script-flexibility ($0.00 < \sigma \leq 0.50$)
- a medium script-flexibility ($0.50 < \sigma \leq 1.50$)
- a high script-flexibility ($\sigma > 1.50$)

5. How Do We Get Comparable National Data?

Although there is, in pragmatics, nothing comparable to grammatical norms (there are only probabilities)⁴, there have been a number of acknowledged cross-cultural pragmatic studies. However, we need to keep the following questions in mind: To what degree can we reasonably compare speech acts, rules for the slots and forms of scripts and other pragmatic aspects if the grammars, the lexical structures and the communicatively relevant situational factors are so different from language to language? Especially in cross-cultural pragmatics, we very clearly have to continually check what we are able to and want to find out—and what for. What is reasonably comparable, what is worth being compared? To what degree are surface structures comparable? To what degree can we be sure about the deep structure of a concrete surface structure? To what degree can we abstract from concrete contexts and generalize? And what are adequate methods that do not ignore such details?

Already Coulmas (1981: 70; cf. also Wolfson/Marmor/Jones 1989: 180f.) pointed out the limitations of comparing speech-acts:

It cannot be taken for granted that interactional routines are defined in an identical manner in different cultures. [...]. The question of how a given communicative function is verbally realized in another speech community must always be conjoined with the questions of how this function itself is defined by the members of the community in question, and what status it has in the framework of its overall communicative pattern. It is one thing to state the semantic equivalence of two given languages. An assessment of their equivalence in terms of communicative function is quite another thing.

We need to keep this in mind when we define the variable we want to analyze and when we classify forms as variants. This difficulty of language contrasts, though, must not lead to a reduction of the number of languages compared.

However, before we make general statements about a language community or a country, we should be aware that a language community will always show variation, which can be of national, regional, social or stylistic nature.

5.1. Natural-Language Corpora

5.1.1. Theoretical Remarks

Thanks to the Internet we have access to a lot of naturally occurring spoken and written language data. But how can we use it? Especially for pragmatic questions, it will be necessary that one collects contextually comparable texts from different languages. The next question is then: What kind of words or constructions are we looking for? What are the surface structures that we are looking for to understand deep structures and cultural values? It should also be kept in mind that there is not only a relation between form and function, but also a relation between one form and other forms.

Another question is whether the vast amount of Internet texts can serve as a basis for studying connotations. However, if a researcher wants to work on connotations by looking at contexts, or collocations, in a natural text, one cannot rely on simple searches by Google or concordance programs. Each entry would have to be checked individually to see whether the sense is the one that is actually been searched. In addition, all grammatical forms would have to be gathered. A big problem that will remain with collocations that all words of a collocation are

⁴ This was already pointed out by Candlin (1976: 238).

elements within a language-specific net of words. Any way to measure connotations by using natural data seems problematic.

5.1.2. Case Study 1: Wikipedia Talk Pages

On Wikipedia talk pages each entry is made by one single author, which should clearly indicate his identity according to universal Wikipedia rules. Some contributors also reveal their nationality on their individual user page. It is this information that we can profit from to find out more about stylistic features of the following 21 national Wikipedia communities.

AT:	Austria
BEf:	Belgium (French-speaking part)
BEen:	Belgium (Dutch-speaking part)
CHd:	Switzerland (German-speaking part)
CHf:	Switzerland (French-speaking part)
CHi:	Switzerland (Italian-speaking part)
DE:	Germany
ES:	Spain
FR:	France
HU:	Hungary
IE:	Ireland
IT:	Italy
NL:	Netherlands
PL:	Poland
RO:	Romania
SE:	Sweden
UK:	United Kingdom

and, if Europe is to be understood in a larger sense,

RU:	Russia
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as well as, for the purpose of contrast,

CO:	Columbia
MX:	Mexico
US:	United States (English-speaking)

For each of these speech communities, 7 speakers who (according to the Wikipedians' self-given information on their user page) are natives of that language and live in the respective speech community were selected randomly. For each of the 7 Wikipedians it was attempted to collect 7, preferably recent, entries from talk pages (excluding the addition of automatically generated entries, so-called templates). If a speaker had not made 7 edits on talk pages, accordingly more edits were gathered from the next Wikipedian, so that in the end each of the speech communities was represented by 49 contributions, made by 7 Wikipedians. This yielded a corpus of 1,029 contributions, consisting of over 55,000 words and over 5,500 lines in a text document DIN A4, 2-cm margins on each side, in 10 pt New Courier fonts.

One aspect is to analyze the valedictions (a good-bye, a simple thanks, or a wish for the future), which yields the following table.

	valediction	index
DE	19	39
AT	19	39
ES	17	35
RU	16	33
IT	16	33
FR	16	33
CHi	16	33
BEf	15	31
MX	15	31
BEh	15	31
PL	15	31
NL	15	31
CHd	15	31
CO	13	27
RO	12	25
UK	12	25
CHf	11	22
HU	8	16
US	3	6
IE	3	6
SE	2	4

Fig. 4: Valediction in Wikipedia Talk Pages

A chi-square test shows that the distributional differences within Europe are statistically significant ($\chi^2=29.0090$; $df=16$; $p=0.024$). The European median is 31. The 33%-range around the median covers more than 66% of the European countries (from Germany and Austria with 39 points to Hungary with 16 points); so we have a Eurolinguistic feature here. Almost all countries are covered except for the peripheral European countries Ireland and Sweden as well as the US.

Another aspect are internal links—a typical textlinguistic website device to create coherence. The next figure presents the distribution of internal links per line.

	internal links	lines	links/l.	index	
DE	59	294	0.2007	100	DE
AT	42	250	0.1680	84	AT
RU	50	302	0.1656	82	RU
RO	47	285	0.1649	82	RO
CHi	55	342	0.1608	80	CHi
US	30	215	0.1395	70	US
FR	30	256	0.1172	58	FR
UK	36	315	0.1143	57	UK
HU	26	228	0.1140	57	HU
CO	30	264	0.1136	57	CO
ES	33	301	0.1096	55	ES
IT	26	256	0.1016	51	IT
BEf	36	370	0.0973	48	BEf
CHf	21	224	0.0938	47	CHf
MX	18	210	0.0857	43	MX
SE	18	216	0.0833	42	SE
IE	19	231	0.0823	41	IE
BEEn	19	233	0.0815	41	BEEn
NL	18	234	0.0769	38	NL
PL	17	232	0.0733	37	PL
CHd	11	235	0.0468	23	CHd

Fig. 5: Links in Wikipedia Talk Pages

A chi-square test shows that the differences are extremely statistically significant ($\chi^2=70.1794$; $df=20$; $p<0.0001$). The European median is 51. The 33%-range around it covers more than 66% of the European countries (from France with 58 points to Poland with 37 points); so we can speak of a European feature here. The German, Austrian, Swiss-Italian, Romanian and Russian informants (as well as the US informants) show an unusually high degree of internal links, the Swiss-Germans an unusually low one.

5.1.3. Case Study 2: Speeches in the European Parliament

A valuable source for Eurolinguistic studies accessible via the website of the European Parliament are the minutes, or reports, of the sessions, or sittings, of the European Parliament—both in a raw version where each contribution is given in its original language and in various translations. Apart from announcements by the speaker at the beginning and the setting of the agenda, sessions consist, on the one hand, of rather dialogic parts, which are normally introduced by a report, which is then commented on, and on the other hand, there are monologic sections in the form of one-minute speeches, in other words: sections where contributions are not reacted to. From these reports on the sittings a random corpus consisting of a monologic and dialogic part was created for a number of countries. Although the corpus consists of the professional English translations of all contributions, I selected only those countries where I felt competent enough to check, if need be, the original versions for the analyses in the following sections.

- The data for the monologic corpus consisted of (the English versions of) the one-minute speeches of the sittings on 22 Nov 2010, 13 Dec 2010, 12 Jan 2011, 2 Feb 2011, 7 Feb 2011, 14 Feb 2011, 7 Mar 2011, 23 Mar 2011, and 4 Apr 2011 (6 months).

- The data for the dialogic corpus consisted of (the English versions of) all debate contributions, and thus in a sense dialogic contributions, of the sittings on 17 Jan 2011 and 14 Feb 2011.

In order to get enough monologic contributions from Austria, the Czech Republic, Germany and Sweden, one-minute speeches had to be screened from the reports of 12 more months into the past (until 23 Nov 2009). Even after checking the minutes (reports) of sittings from 18 months, there were still not enough monologic contributions from the Belgian and Dutch MEPs (although the MEPs from these countries are higher in number than those from Sweden, Austria, Ireland and Slovakia). The same held true for the large dialogic parts of two reports. Therefore, these countries were excluded from further analyses.

country (code top-level domains)	monologic contributions	monologic contributions enlarged	dialogic contributions	MEPs
AT	3	5	18	17
CS	2	5	9	22
DE	1	5	30	99
ES	17	17	8	50
FR	5	5	21	72
HU	19	19	13	22
IE	13	13	11	12
IT	12	12	28	72
PL	11	11	12	50
RO	27	27	19	33
SE	1	5	9	18
SK	7	7	7	13
UK	6	6	21	72

Fig. 6: MEP Contributions

One idea could be to analyze “individualistic” and “collectivistic” ways of expression by checking the use of pronominal and determinative forms of ‘I’ and ‘you’ in contrast to pronominal and determinative forms of ‘we’ and thus, in a sense, the individuality degree of monologic and dialogic contributions in the EU parliament. Of course, one cannot simply count the corresponding words for ‘I’, ‘you’ etc. and then compare the figures between countries, as the personal pronouns have different systemic values in the different languages: In English, German, Dutch, and French, the use of a pronominal ‘I’ is compulsory in the first person singular; in Italian and Spanish it is used for emphasis. In Russian and Polish, the pronoun for ‘I’ is optional. Therefore, a systemic-internal analysis was necessary. This analysis respects the words for ‘I’, ‘you (sg.)’, ‘you (pl.)’ and ‘we’ and counts all occurrences of the pronominal variants in the subject case. This means, for instance, that in the English corpora, each *you* had to be particularly checked, since this is also the object form; in French, two variants, *je* and *j’*, had to be searched for with respect to ‘I’; in Dutch, *jij*, *je*, *gij*, and *ge* had to be counted as variants for ‘you (sg.)’. The results are presented in Fig. 7.

	I	me	my	mine	you	your	yours	we	us	our	ours
DEm	8	0	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	2	0
CSm	6	0	1	0	2	1	0	3	0	1	0
HUm	34	6	6	0	6	3	0	9	4	12	0
ROm	44	0	4	0	3	2	0	21	2	4	0
PLm	26	1	4	0	1	0	0	9	2	6	0
UKm	9	0	3	0	2	1	0	9	1	2	0
ITm	18	3	1	0	3	0	0	14	4	4	0
IEm	21	3	8	0	3	1	0	19	3	11	0
ATm	9	1	4	0	1	0	0	11	5	3	0
ESm	22	0	4	0	3	0	0	28	5	5	1
SKm	8	0	6	0	0	1	0	17	2	5	0
FRm	11	1	1	0	1	0	0	12	2	9	0
SEm	7	0	2	0	0	0	0	14	3	5	0
CSd	29	0	4	0	6	2	0	6	8	6	0
FRd	169	7	21	0	68	13	0	115	24	15	0
ROd	41	2	6	0	5	1	0	26	3	5	0
ITd	100	4	16	0	17	1	0	90	16	27	0
UKd	82	4	14	0	16	2	0	90	18	19	0
HUd	34	7	10	0	11	6	0	56	5	13	0
ATd	44	4	7	0	7	2	0	58	9	5	0
IEd	32	0	6	0	2	0	0	46	2	7	0
ESd	22	0	8	0	1	0	0	31	9	4	0
DEd	107	8	20	0	20	3	0	173	15	38	0
PLd	26	1	4	0	1	0	0	45	2	6	0
SEd	21	1	8	0	9	0	0	56	4	8	0

Fig. 7: MEP Use of 1st and 2nd Person Pronouns and Determiners I

A chi-square test shows that the national differences in the distribution of “I+you” vs. “we” (pronouns and determiners) in monologic contributions are extremely statistically significant ($\chi^2=41.4563$, $df=13$, $p<0.0001$). As to dialogic contributions, the differences are also extremely statistically significant ($\chi^2=83.0262$, $df=13$, $p<0.0001$). So, we can convert the concrete data into indexes. Fig. 8 shows the respective indexes for the monologic contributions (indicated by *m* suffixed to the country code) and the dialogic contributions (indicated by *d* suffixed to the country code).

	I/we-ind		I/we-ind
DEm	85	CSd	67
CSm	71	FRd	64
HUm	69	ROd	62
ROm	66	ITd	51
PLm	65	UKd	48
UKm	56	HUd	48
ITm	53	ATd	47
IEm	52	IEd	42
ATm	44	ESd	41
ESm	43	DEd	41
SKm	38	PLd	38
FRm	38	SEd	36
SEm	29	SKd	34

Fig. 8: MEP Use of 1st and 2nd Person Pronouns and Determiners II

For the monologic contributions the median is 53; the 33%-range (37 to 69) covers more than 66% of the countries, so we can speak of a European feature here (only Germany, the Czech Republic and Sweden are excluded). For the dialogic contributions the median is 47; the 33%-range (31 to 63) covers more than 66% of the countries, so we can speak of a European feature here (only France and the Czech Republic are excluded).

As another aspect of MEP speeches, I would like to shed light on the opposition of orders and suggestions as represented in the use of modals. For this, all instances of clauses with grammatical constructions for ‘must’ and ‘should’ were counted provided that in this case both would have been possible with the difference “obligation” vs. “recommendation”. The differences in the distribution in the single countries are extremely statistically significant ($\chi^2=75.9659$; $df=12$; $p<0.0001$). Therefore, a must/should-index was created, with 100 meaning that in 100% of ‘must/should’ options ‘must’ was chosen (and thus in 0% ‘should’ was chosen) and 0 meaning that 0% of the relevant clauses included ‘must’.

	should	must	must/should-index
HU	1	30	97
RO	12	59	83
FR	18	62	78
SE	9	29	76
IE	9	22	71
DE	36	85	70
SK	6	14	70
AT	15	30	67
UK	25	39	61
IT	40	48	55
ES	19	21	53
PL	23	15	39
CS	20	7	26

Fig. 9: MEP Use of ‘Should’ and ‘Must’ I

The median is 70. The 66%-range is from 53 to 86 and covers more than 66% of the countries, so we can speak of a European feature here. All countries are included except for a central vertical stripe including Poland and the Czech Republic with comparatively low indexes and Hungary with a comparatively high index. The typical rhetoric of MEPs is “must”-oriented.

Another aspect could be the opening of speeches. It is required according to rules of the European Parliament that you start a contribution with an address form that includes at least “Mr./Madam President”. How many times did contributors use a minimal speech opening formula (i.e. just “Mr./Madam President”)? In other words: which nation sticks to a fixed script in this aspect? And how often do speakers complement an opening line by “ladies and gentlemen”, the name of another MEP that will be referred to in a speech, or another similar phrase? The types and tokens are given in Fig. 10. The following abbreviations are used:

+lg	= Mr./Madam President, ladies and gentlemen	= var[iant] 1
+C	= Mr./Madam President, Commissioner	= var 2
+C+lg	= Mr./Madam President, Commissioner, ladies and gentlemen	= var 3
+C.X+lg	= Mr./Madam President, Commissioner [name], ladies and gentlemen	= var 4
+M.X+lg	= Mr./Madam President, Mr./Ms. [name], ladies and gentlemen	= var 5
+C+rapp+lg	= Mr./Madam President, Commissioner, [rapporteur], ladies and gentlemen	= var 6
+C+M.X+lg	= Mr./Madam President, Commissioner, Mr./Ms. [name], ladies and gentlemen	= var 6
+hon.m	= Mr./Madam President, honorary members	= var 8
-	= Mr./Madam President	= var 9

	contrib.	+lg	+C	+C+lg	+C.X+lg	+M.X+lg	+C+rapp+lg	C+M.X+lg	hon.m	--	
ATm	5	1								4	ATm
CSm	5									5	CSm
DEm	5	4								1	DEm
ESm	17		1							16	ESm
FRm	5		1							4	FRm
HUm	19	7								12	HUm
IEm	13									13	IEm
ITm	12	12								0	ITm
PLm	11									11	PLm
ROm	27									27	ROm
SEm	5									5	SEm
SKm	7									7	SKm
UKm	6									6	UKm
ATd	18	1	5	1						11	ATd
CSd	9									9	CSd
DEd	30	4	3	5	1	1				16	DEd
ESd	8		1							7	ESd
FRd	21	4	3	5						9	FRd
HUd	13	2	3	2						6	HUd
IEd	11									11	IEd
ITd	28	15		9			1	1	2	0	ITd
PLd	12									12	PLd
ROd	19									19	ROd
SEd	9		2							7	SEd
SKd	7		1							6	SKd

Fig. 10: MEP Salutations

The differences are extremely statistically significant ($\chi^2=182.1913$; $df=14$; $p<0.0001^5$). The fractions of the variant-frequencies and the script flexibility/rigidity values are these:

	tokens	var1	var2	var3	var4	var5	var6	var7	var8	var9	no. var	script-flex/rig
AT	23	0.09	0.22	0.04	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.65	4	1.04
CS	14	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	1	0.00
DE	35	0.23	0.09	0.14	0.03	0.03	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.49	6	2.05
ES	25	0.00	0.08	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.92	2	0.16
FR	26	0.15	0.15	0.19	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.50	4	1.91
HU	32	0.28	0.09	0.06	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.56	4	1.31
IE	24	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	1	0.00
IT	40	0.68	0.00	0.23	0.00	0.00	0.03	0.03	0.05	0.00	5	1.00
PL	23	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	1	1.00
RO	46	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	1	0.00
SE	14	0.00	0.14	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.86	2	0.28
SK	14	0.00	0.07	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.93	2	0.14
UK	27	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	1	0.00

Fig. 11: MEP Salutations Script Flexibility I

Applying our formula, this leads to the following results.

⁵ Monologs and dialogs were taken together for each country. Salutations were categorized into one group of minimum salutation and one group of “supplemented” salutations. This was done to meet Cochran’s (1954) criterion that 100% of the expected values should be 1 or higher and 80% of the expected values should be 5 or higher).

	script-flex/rig
IE	0.00
PL	0.00
RO	0.00
UK	0.00
CS	0.00
SK	0.14
ES	0.16
SE	0.28
IT	1.00
AT	1.04
HU	1.31
FR	1.91
DE	2.05

Fig. 12: MEP Salutations Script Flexibility II

There is

- no flexibility ($\sigma = 0.00$) among MEPs from the British Isles, Poland, Romania and the Czech Republic
- a weak flexibility ($0.00 < \sigma \leq 0.50$) among MEPs from Slovakia, Spain and Sweden
- a medium flexibility ($0.50 < \sigma \leq 1.50$) among MEPs from Italy, Austria and Hungary
- a rather high flexibility ($\sigma > 1.50$) among MEPs from France and Germany.

The highest script-flexibility is found among Germans. A chi-square test shows, however, that these differences cannot be said to be significant ($\chi^2=4.338$; $df=12$; $p=0.976$).

5.1.4. Case Study 3: Facebook

In Facebook, certain words are used in a way different from everyday conversation. The word *friend* is evidently used in a more widespread sense than in everyday language. In English, *friend* prototypically denotes ‘one joined to another in mutual benevolence and intimacy [...] Not ordinarily applied to lovers’ (OED s.v. *friend*). But it is also ‘Used *loosely* in various ways: e.g. applied to a mere acquaintance, or to a stranger, as a mark of goodwill or kindly condescension on the part of the speaker’ (OED s.v. *friend*) and to denote ‘a lover or paramour, of either sex’. In most European Facebook versions, the equivalence for the prototypical English sense is used, although it may share the rather loose usages, but this is definitely not the case for all of them. The German *Freund*, for instance, is not used to denote acquaintances; apart from the sense ‘one joined to another in mutual benevolence and intimacy’, it is commonly used to denote one’s steady partner. In many other languages, too, the word used in Facebook does not cover just acquaintances if used in everyday life; thus, the word has thus become jargon. Only in Polish and Hungarian, the words for ‘acquaintance’ are used: *znajomi* and *ismerősök* (cf. Grzego 2012: 180).

In a traditional terminology of semantic change (Bloomfield 1933), the use of *friend* in the original Facebook version can be seen as some sort of weakening of meaning. The same development can be observed for *love*, which was originally only used to express ‘To have or feel love towards (a person, a thing personified) (*for* a quality or attribute); to entertain a great affection, fondness, or regard for; to hold dear; To feel sexual love for (a person); To be strongly attached to’ (OED s.v. *love*) and is nowadays used ‘in weakened sense: to like, to be partial to (chiefly *U.S. regional*)’. It is therefore a little bit surprising that the Facebook creators em-

ployed the word *like* as a category that users can click if a certain message, picture etc. appeals to them. The semantic equivalent of *like*, as a word for an affection not as strong as expressed by *love*, is used in all European Facebook versions except for French. Here, *aimer* is used. However, it has to be admitted that *aimer* can be used to denote weak and strong affection in everyday French, too. Nevertheless, there would also have been *plaire* ‘to please’ as a word excluding strong affection.

5.2. DCTs, MLJTs, and SICSs as Data-Eliciting Methods

5.2.1. Theoretical Remarks

DCTs (discourse completion test) and similar tests as well as MLJTs (meta-linguistic judgment tasks) are well accepted research designs in cross-cultural pragmatics. However, criticism against production and multiple-choice tasks was also voiced (cf., e.g., Geluykens 2007: 35f.). Since the goal of cross-linguistic comparisons is normally a more general and abstract one, the alternative method of a semi-expert interview on communication strategies (SICS) was designed (first presented and explained in Grzegza/Schöner 2008).

5.2.2. Case Study 4: The JELiX SICS Questionnaire

An international team of researchers published their results of a truly Eurolinguistic project working with a SICS in Vol. 5 of this journal, together with a synoptic article (Grzegza 2008).

5.3. The Semantic Differential as a Data-Eliciting Method

5.3.1. Theoretical Remarks

In the 1950's Charles E. Osgood and his team developed the technique of the semantic differential. The technique is to present informants words together with a number of 7-step scales of bipolar antonyms. Informants then have to position each word on each 7-step scale. Eventually, the arithmetic means are used to show the group connotations of a word. The bipolar scales are not necessarily labels that the concept is usually associated with. Osgood and his colleagues were rather in search of factors that represented anthropologically universal ways of structuring the world. In the end, according to the results of their—also cross-cultural—studies the three universal factors are evaluation (good—bad), potency (strong—weak), and activity (active—passive) (cf. Osgood/Suci 1955, Osgood/Suci/Tannenbaum 1957, Osgood 1964) (for more comments cf. Grzegza [in prep.]).

Instead of finding out adjectival pairs that represent universal dimensions of structuring the world, another possibility is to resort to words for universal needs, another long-term topic in anthropology, and then check to what degree something is closely linked with a certain need or maybe the satisfaction of a certain need. Uniting Maslow's (1943) and Max-Neef's (1986, 1991) models, Rosenberg (e.g. 2003, 2005) has tried to set up a list of 7 super-needs he believes to be universal among human beings:

- physical well-being
- honesty
- play
- peace
- freedom
- self-actualization

- interdependence

As the last need is very encompassing, it may be split into the following three needs:

- community
- esteem
- protection

If these needs are one-dimensional, a classical semantic differential cannot be applied. In a 2006 study, Wolf and Polzenhagen tried to illustrate that British speakers of English and Chinese non-native of English use different conceptual networks with certain words, particularly eating, family, and age. They had informants mark the perceived strength of links (strong/medium/weak/none) between concepts (e.g. eating and friends). This idea of working with one-dimensional scales can also be applied to Rosenberg's universal needs in order to test the culturality of connotations between denotatively synonymous words.

5.3.2. Case Study 5: A Connotative Basic Need Relation Index (CoNRI)

The following study investigated the strength of association between certain words and (the satisfaction of) the basic human needs according to Rosenberg's model (e.g. 2003, 2005). The words selected are (in English): *family, work, eat, music, travel, school, sport, taxes, animals*. These words are denotatively connected to concepts that can be considered central to Europe and other civilizations. It is unclear, though, whether the connotations are the same or similar between different nationalities.

The questionnaire started with questions on the nationality, the age, the gender and the profession and then consisted of entries like this one:

Please mark the strength of the link that you feel between the word FAMILY and ...

	no link	weak link	medium link	strong link
<i>... physical well-being</i>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
<i>... community</i>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
<i>... honesty</i>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
<i>... play</i>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
<i>... peace</i>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
<i>... freedom</i>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
<i>... esteem</i>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
<i>... protection</i>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
<i>... self-actualization</i>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Fig. 13: Semantic Differential

The questionnaire was translated into a number of European languages. Each translation was cross-checked by a second person and insecurities or diverging opinions on the right translation were discussed. Although the range of referents or the contexts may change, the core meaning of the denotative equivalents seems the same in all languages. There was not a single debate on how to translate the selected lexemes; there was only some discussion on the appropriate words for some of the anthropological needs. The questionnaires were then sent to both

Europeans and non-Europeans who had to fill out the questionnaire in their corresponding mother-tongue.

For this experimental study only those countries are respected for which at least seven informants could be found, namely:

- Czech Republic (27)
- Finland (19)
- France (25)
- Germany (31)
- Italy (9)
- Poland (103)
- Spain (9)
- United Kingdom (7)

as well as

- Russia (16), which may be considered as belonging to a separate civilization, though,

and, as non-European countries,

- Ecuador (9)
- United States (29)

The median (0, 1, 2, or 3) for each of the 9 need-categories was then calculated for each word. Then all need-category medians of a need were added up and then converted into an index. This means that the maximum sum of medians can be 27, which equals 100 on the index. This index shall be called *Connotative Basic Need Relation Index (CoNRI)*. It can also be used with further studies.

Even though we should keep in mind that the number of informants is quite small—it is hard to get informants if you have to rely on anonymous voluntary cooperation—, it is nevertheless interesting to make a first comparison. The results are these:

	UK	IT	FR	DE	RU	US	CZ	FI	PL	ES	EC
<i>animals</i>	7	11	12	14	15	15	15	17	17	19	27
	26	41	44	52	56	56	56	63	63	70	100
physical well-being	0	1	2	2	2	2	1	2	2	2	3
community	1	1	2	2	1	1	2	2	2	2	3
honesty	1	0	0	1	1	1	2	2	1	2	3
play	2	3	2	2	3	3	2	2	3	3	3
peace	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	2	1	2	3
freedom	0	1	0	2	2	2	2	1	2	2	3
esteem	0	2	1	2	2	1	2	2	2	2	3
protection	2	1	2	1	2	2	2	2	3	2	3
self-actualization	0	1	2	1	1	1	1	2	1	2	3

Fig. 14: CoNRIs

A few interesting remarks:

- ‘family’ – All CoNRIs range from 56 (Italy) to 81 (Finland, Poland, Russia). The European median is 72. The 33%-range covers all European and non-European countries. All informant groups feel a strong connection with ‘protection’.
- ‘work’ – The CoNRIs range from 41 (UK) to 70 (Finland). The European median is 52. The 33%-range covers all European and non-European countries.
- ‘eat’ – The highest CoNRI, by far, can be determined for Finland and Ecuador. The lowest CoNRI is given for Russia. The rest is between 22 (Germany) and 48 (France). The European median is 31.5. The 33%-range covers all countries except for the Finland and Ecuador. It is interesting to note that the Italian informants mostly see no link between ‘eat’ and ‘community’, although one would stereotypically imagine that in the Mediterranean countries having a meal is embedded in spending time with other people. This is corroborated for France and Spain, but not for Italy. However, the inclusion of more informants may change the picture. Most informants who have participated so far are students from northern Italian universities.
- ‘music’ – Ecuador shows the highest CoNRI (81), Russia the lowest (30). The CoNRIs of the other countries range from 41 (UK) to 70 (Finland). The European median is 54. The 33%-range covers all countries except for the two extreme, non-European countries.
- ‘travel’ – Ecuador shows the by far highest CoNRI (96), Italy the by far lowest CoNRI (44). The ones of the other countries go from 56 (Hungary) to 70 (Poland, France, Spain). The European median is 67. The 33%-range covers all countries save Ecuador.
- ‘school’ – The highest CoNRI can be determined for Finland and France (74), the lowest for Italy (48). The European median is 54. The 33%-range covers all countries but the two with the highest score.
- ‘sport’ – France shows the highest score, with a CoNRI of 81, the UK the lowest, with a CoNRI of 52. The European median is 68.5. The 33%-range covers all European and non-European countries.
- ‘taxes’ – The highest CoNRI (44) can be found in Finland. The European median is 15 and covers all European countries except Finland. This corroborates earlier findings for the word for ‘taxes’ in Scandinavian countries (cf. Grzega 2009b: 324-325). Furthermore, Ecuador scores clearly higher than typical Europe.
- ‘animals’ – In Ecuador, the word has a CoNRI of 100. In the other areas the CoNRI is between 26 (UK) and 70 (Spain). The European median is 54. The 33%-range excludes Ecuador and the UK.

5.3.3. Case Study 6: Eurobarometer Surveys

The EU's *Eurobarometer* surveys sometimes include statements of the type *X is N* or *X has N* or *X does N* that informants are asked to rate with respect to their agreement and disagreement. This can be helpful for checking connotations. For this, it is important that both X and N only consist of one element, and it is important that the statements are really representative, or descriptive, speech-acts in Searle's sense (1969, 1976), and not directives or commissives. The only disadvantage of these surveys is that there are countries where it is not clear which language informants received the questionnaire in and countries with more than one national language or more than one official language with supranational impact, where no distinction was made. The figures for these countries have to be excluded. As for the rest, the answers for "Totally agree" and "Tend to agree" are taken into account for the degree of feature presence. If someone marked "DK (Don't Know)", this also shows that a connection cannot be strong. Only the two degrees on the agree side can indicate the presence of a connotation. We can convert the figures, which are percentages, into an index (possible maximum: 100). The same procedure can be applied to cases in which informants are not asked whether they "agree", but in which the formulation includes terms like "X plays a big role in N / X plays no big role in N / X plays no role in N at all". Here, the figures for "play a big role" should be taken into account. An example of this is Special Eurobarometer 378, Question 6.3: "Would you say that generally speaking in your country today, people aged 55 and over play a major role, a minor role or no role at all when it comes to being active in the local community?" The percentages of "major role" answers for the European countries *stricto sensu* are the following.

NL	82
DK	82
FR	80
IS	79
DE	77
SE	75
MT	72
UK	70
AT	69
NO	68
EE	68
LT	66
SI	60
LV	59
PT	58
PL	54
CZ	47
SK	42
HU	41
HR	38

Fig. 15: Index Connotation "People 55+ play a major role in being active in the community."

In all European countries *stricto sensu*, there is at least a medium prominence of this association. There are also many countries with a strong prominence of this association (at least 67 points), but this does not include at least two thirds of the countries. Among Greeks and Cypriots, too, there is a strong association here, among Romanians, Bulgarians and Turks there is a medium-frequent association, and rather an absence of this association among Macedonians.

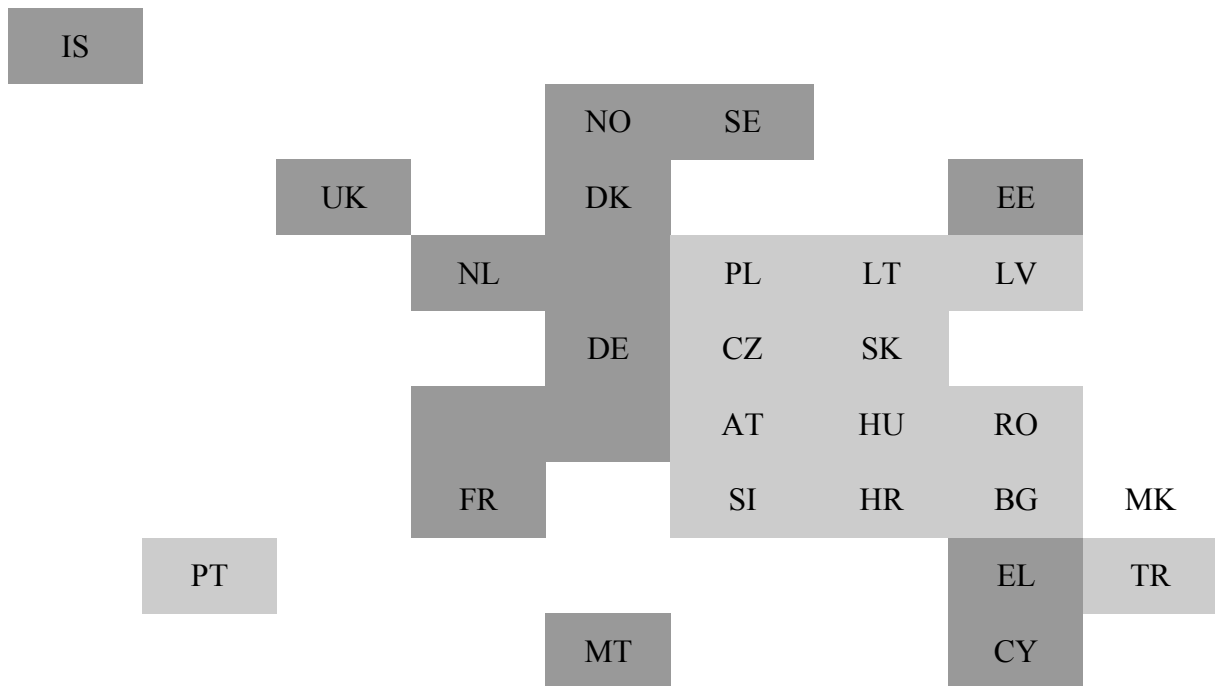


Fig. 16: Map Connotation “People 55+ play a major role in being active in the community.”

In sum, it is the northern countries, the western countries (save Portugal) and the southern countries, where this association is very prominent.

In this same Eurobarometer we also find examples of statements that we should not take into account because they are too vague, or too comprehensive, such as 6.1: “people aged 55 and over play {a major / a minor / no} role when it comes to poliics (e.g. participating, voting)”.

Here are some more associations from the Eurobarometers which turn out to be Europragmatic features in our sense.

- “Workers aged 55 and over are more likely to be reliable than younger workers.” (Special Eurobarometer 378, statement 10.1): very prominent.
- “Workers aged 55 and over are more likely to be able to work well with other people than younger workers.” (Special Eurobarometer 378, statement 10.5): of medium-strong prominence in all countries except Sweden.
- “Workers aged 55 and over are more likely to be able to handle stress than younger workers.” (Special Eurobarometer 378, statement 10.11): of medium-strong prominence in all countries except the Czech Republic.
- “When I think about the word *culture*, arts come to my mind.” (Special Eurobarometer 278, statement 2): medium-prominent
- “If I think of *chemical products*, the following words come to mind: *unhealthy*, *industrial* and *artificial*.” (Special Eurobarometer 360, Question 1).

The following maps show the spread of some of the associations.

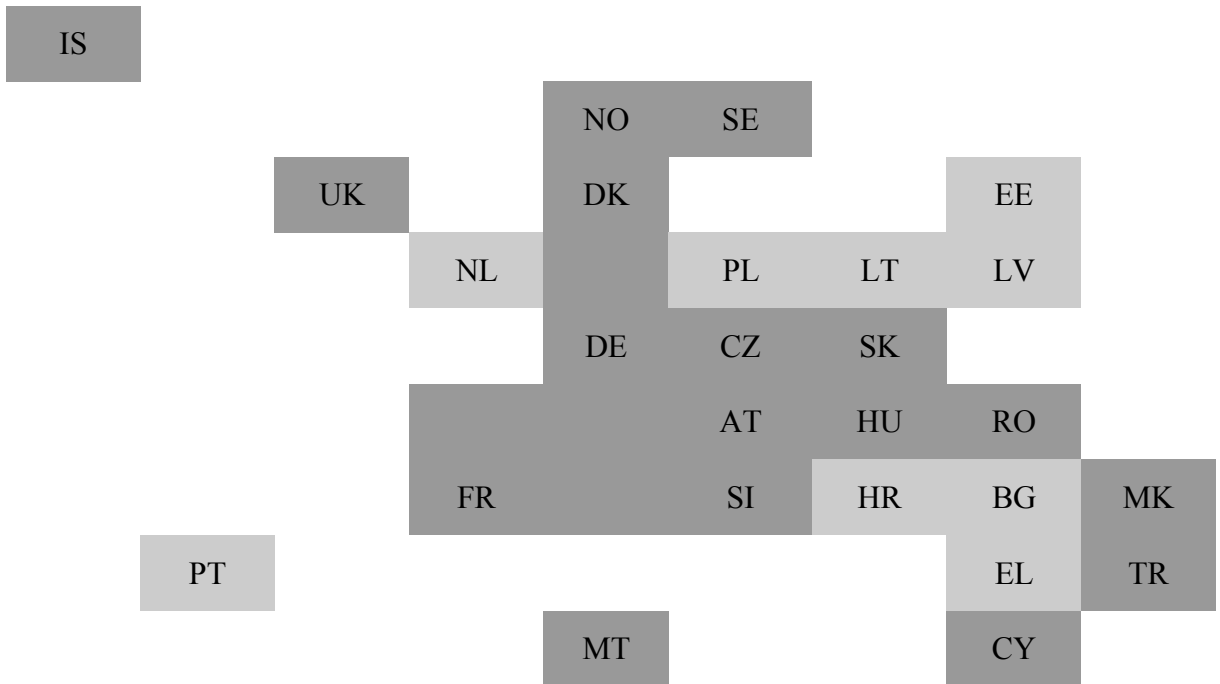


Fig. 17: Connotation “Workers 55+ are more reliable than younger workers”

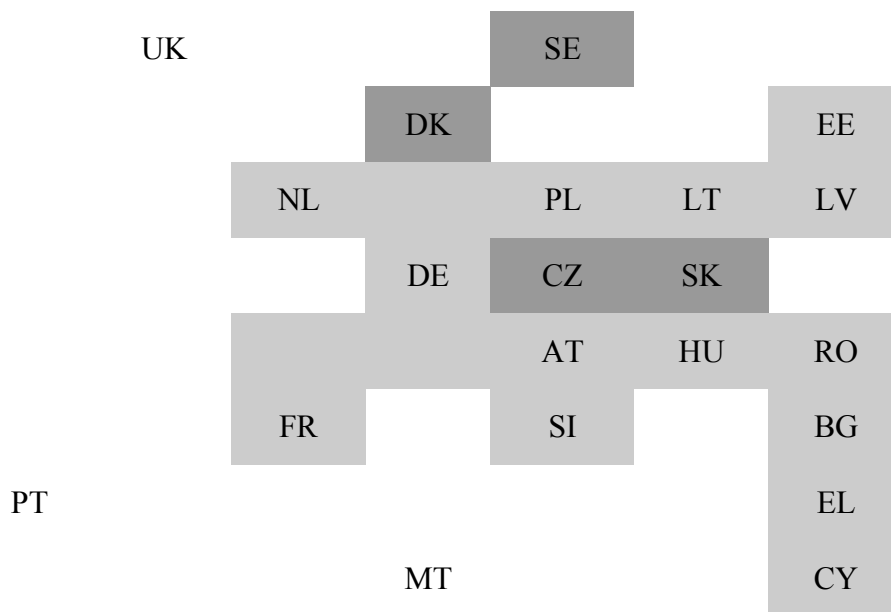


Fig. 18: Connotation “culture = arts”

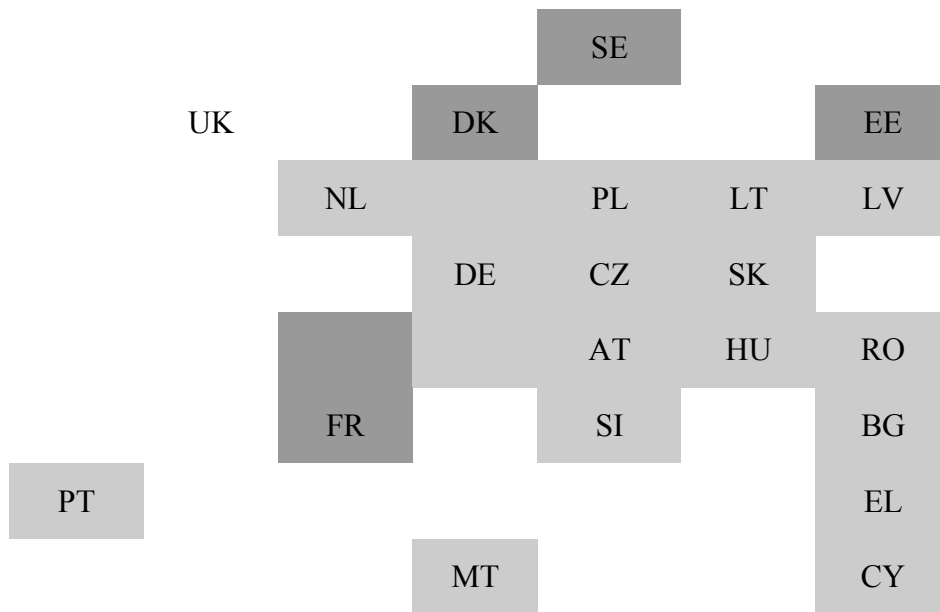


Fig. 19: Connotation "chemical products = unhealthy"

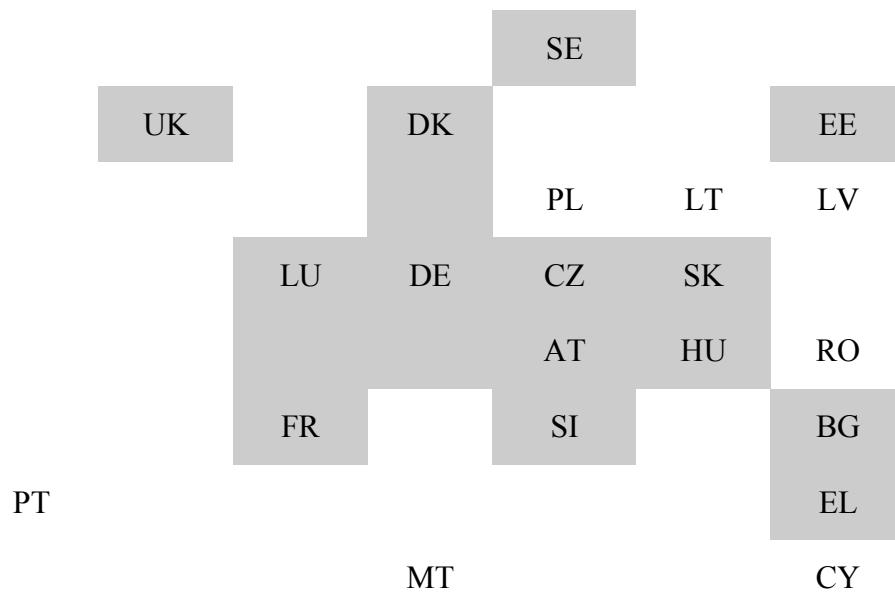


Fig. 20: Connotation "chemical products = industrial"

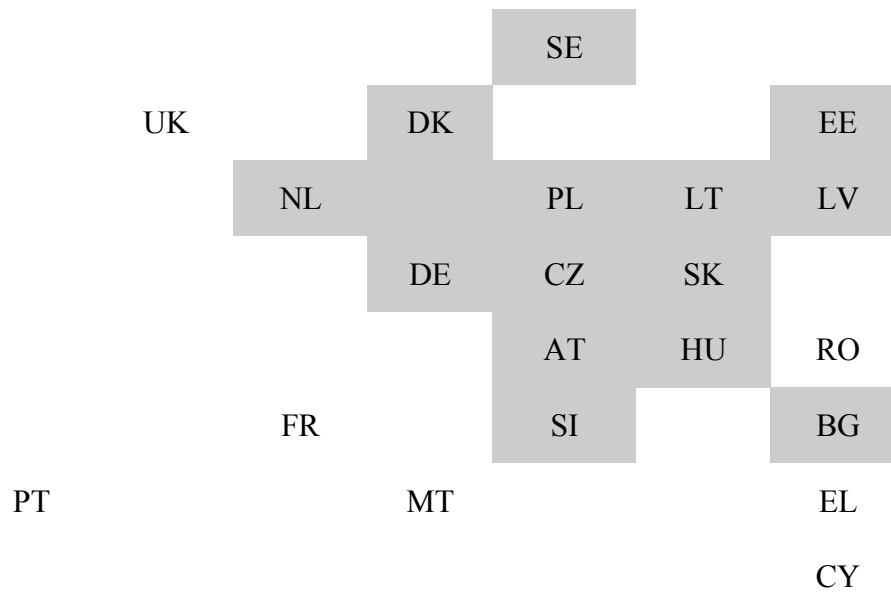


Fig. 21: Connotation "chemical products = artificial"

In Question 6 of Special Eurobarometer 296 people are asked to rate, on a scale from 1 to 10, their feeling of comfortability with the following situations:

- (1) having a disabled person as a neighbor
- (2) having a homosexual as a neighbor.

As to the first, we get the following results, with conversions into an index where the 0-point is 1 and the 100-point is 10.

	Eurobar	index
CY	9.9	99
UK	9.8	98
SE	9.7	97
PL	9.6	96
DK	9.6	96
SI	9.5	94
FR	9.5	94
MT	9.5	94
EL	9.3	92
LT	9.3	92
NL	9.3	92
EE	9.1	90
DE	9.1	90
LV	8.8	87
HU	8.7	86
RO	8.6	84
BG	8.5	83
SK	8.4	82
AT	8.3	81
PT	7.6	73
CZ	7.2	69

Fig. 22: Comfortability Connotation with Disabled People

The median of the European countries in our sense is 90. The 33%-range includes all countries, including the borderline cases, except Portugal and the Czech Republic. Even these, though, are clearly on the comfortability side. As regards the second statement, the figures are these.

		index
SE	9.5	94
DK	9.3	92
NL	9.3	92
LU	9.2	91
ES	8.9	88
BE	8.8	87
UK	8.7	86
FR	8.6	84
IE	8.6	84
MT	8.4	82
DE	8.3	81
SI	7.5	72
FI	7.4	71
PL	7.4	71
CY	7.2	69
EL	7.2	69
AT	7.2	69
EE	7.2	69
IT	6.7	63
PT	6.6	62
CZ	6.6	62
SK	6.5	61
HU	6.2	58
LT	6.1	57
LV	5.5	50
BG	5.3	48
RO	4.8	42

Fig. 23: Comfortability Connotation with Homosexuals I

The relevant median is 72. The 33%-range includes more than two thirds of the European countries as well as Greece and Cyprus. It excludes an eastern strip, where the comfortability degree is comparatively low (on a middle level), and a diagonal middle strip, where the degree is comparatively high.

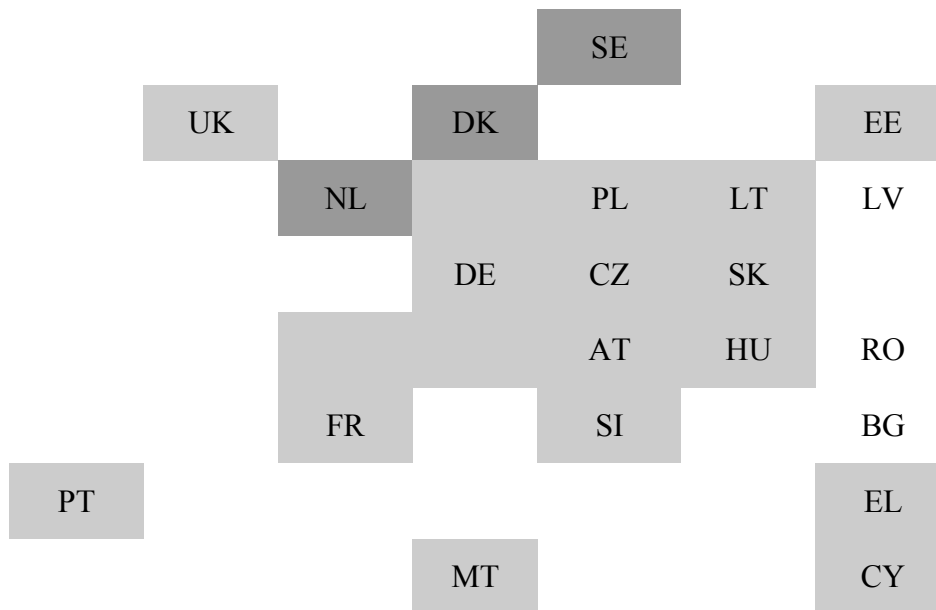


Fig. 24: *Comfortability Connotation with Homosexuals II*

If we do not take the median, but interpret the question as an indicator for a strong positive connotation, we can build Yes/No/Balanced categories. It can then be noticed that the excluded eastern countries, the still included eastern countries Lithuania, Hungary, Slovakia and the Czech Republic as well as Italy and Portugal do not have a clear comfortability connotation. The Eurobarometers' disadvantage for Eurolinguists are their restriction to EU or future EU member states. It would be interesting to enlarge the answers by sending the above questions also to non-Europeans.

5.4. Other Types of Data Collection

Further examples of data-collection techniques are

- the representation of spoken language in language, or conversation, guides
- the—idealized or parodied—representation of spoken language in written literary genres
- the—idealized or parodied—representation of spoken language in movies
- reports from participant observers and non-participant observers (including critical incidents)

The first source of data was used for the speech-acts chapter in Grzega (2006, 2012).

6. Conclusion

We can now put the distributions of the 36 Europragmatic features we have determined or referred to in the preceding sections (Wikipedia talk pages, MEP speeches, Facebook terminology, the connotations from the semantic differential study here, the Eurobarometers, Hofstede's figures, the SICS project in JELiX Vol. 5) into a table and draw a first picture. The column “+” shows the number of Europragmatic features present in this country according to our analyses. The column “out of” shows the highest possible number a country could have

reached. This is 36 if the country was respected in all of the studies carried out here (they are given in the last six columns). If a country could be respected only in some studies, the “out of” column shows a lower number, of course. The “%”-column puts the ratio “number of features out of features investigated” into percentages. For further discussions, only those countries should be taken into account for which at least a third of the features were checked and which were part of both at least one connotation study and at least one speech-act study (the percentages of the excluded countries are barred).

country	+	out of	%	JELiX	WP	Faceb.conn.	Hofst.	MEP	Barom
IT	28	28	100	9	4	2	9	1	3
DK	11	11	100			2		1	8
CHf	5	5	100		4			1	
BEf	5	5	100		4			1	
ES-cast	27	28	96	8	4	2	9	1	3
NL	22	23	96	8	4	2		1	7
RU	14	15	93		4	2	8		
AT	25	27	93	8	3	2		1	3
HU	25	27	93	9	4	1		1	2
DE	33	36	92	8	3	2	9	1	2
SK	20	22	91	7		2			3
SI	10	11	91			2		0	8
CZ	19	22	86			2	9	1	0
BE _n	12	14	86	7	4			1	
FR	23	27	85		4	1	8	1	2
PL	23	27	85		4	1	9	1	2
RO	21	25	84	8	3	2			3
SE	15	18	83		3	2		1	2
ES-cat	9	11	82	7		2			
UK	22	27	81		4	2	8	0	3
FI	17	21	81	9		2	5	1	
CHd	4	5	80		3			1	
EE	15	19	79	6		2			7
CHi	3	4	75		3				
LT	8	11	73			2			6
CY	8	11	73			2			6
EL	8	11	73			2		0	6
BG	7	11	64			2			5
LV	7	11	64			2			5
PT	6	11	55			2		0	4
IE	9	19	47	0	3	2		1	3

Fig. 25: Prominence of Europragmatic Features

If we try to visualize the strength of the Europragmatic character of each country, the map reminds us of the flight of a bumblebee (recalling Rimsky-Korsakov’s composition).

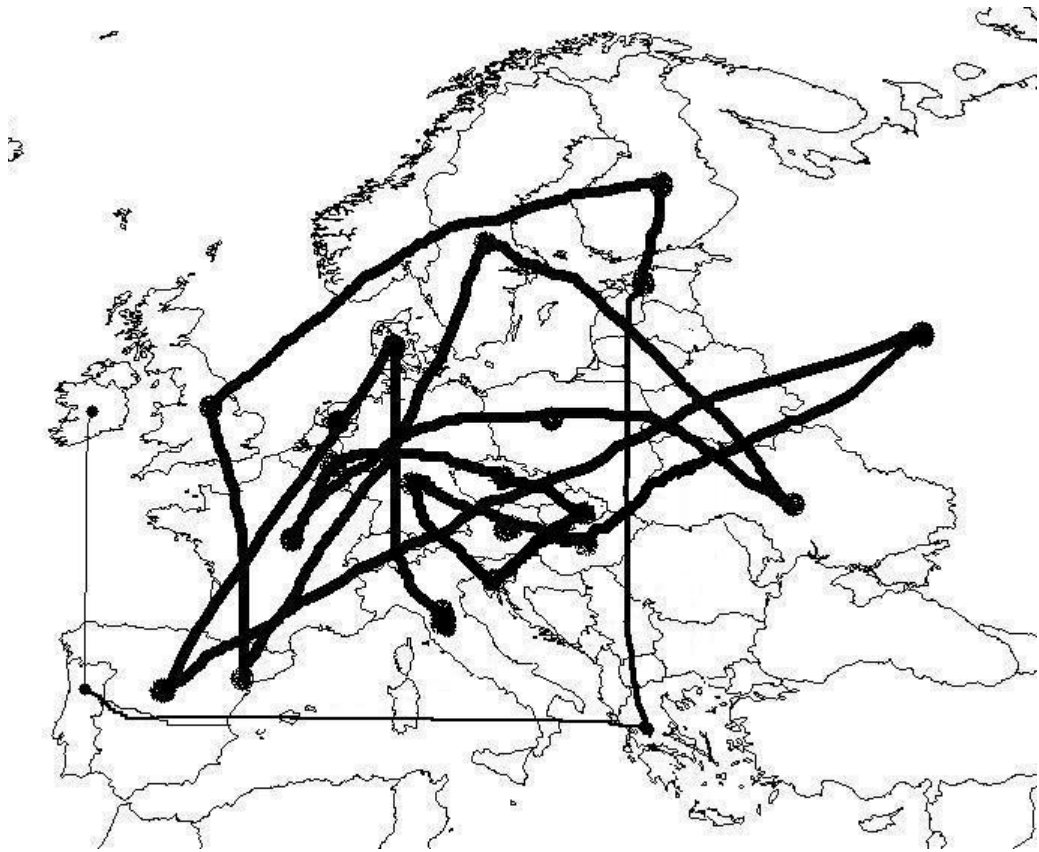


Fig. 26: The Flight of the Europragmatic Bumblebee

The Europragmatic bumblebee starts its flight in Italy, richest in Europragmatic features, then flies zigzag to the Netherlands and Spain, makes a loop to Russia, flies back to central Europe, loops to Romania and back westwards to Catalonia, from there again eastwards via the UK to Finland and Estonia. From there, it flies, weakened, to Greece and finally, in a fast weight-losing manner, to Portugal and Ireland. In a way, there is a certain areal coherence, except for the first few stages: Italy + Denmark/Netherlands + Spain > external eastern periphery (Russia) > center spiral (Hungary/Austria/Germany/Czech Republic/Slovakia/Slowenia/Germany/Poland/France/Belgium/Romania) > inner western and northern periphery (Catalonia/UK/Sweden/Finland/Estonia). Then there is visible distance to the south-eastern periphery (Greece/Cyprus). Still less European is the external western periphery (Portugal/Ireland).

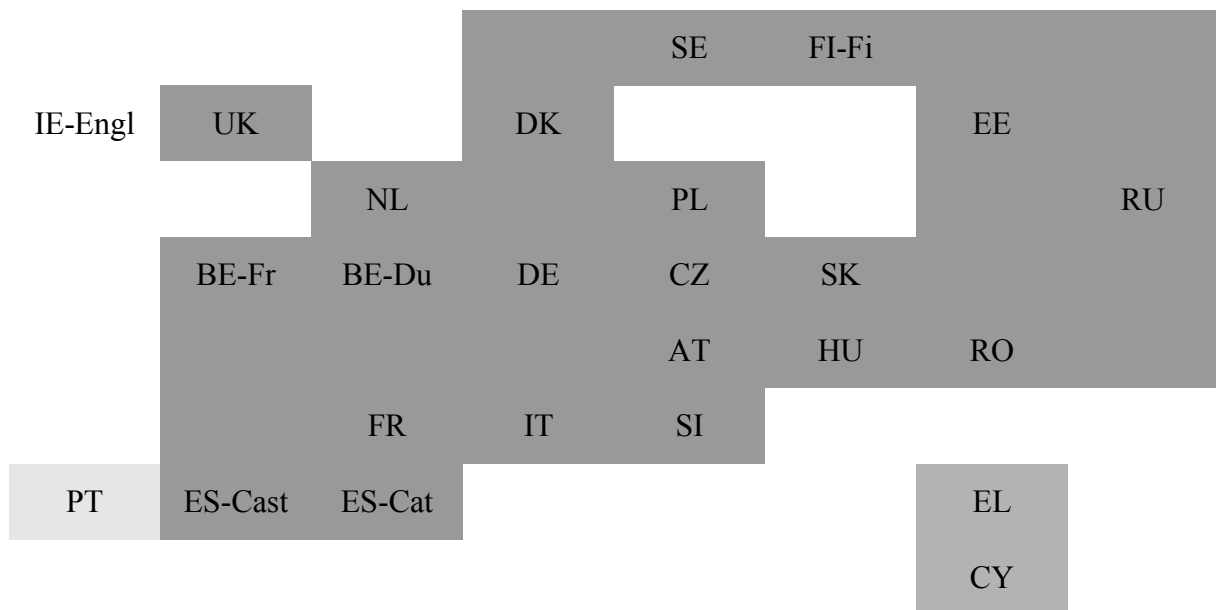


Fig. 27: Pragmatic Europeanness of Selected Countries

Nonetheless, the zigzag impression especially in the central zones also calls for more Euro-pragmatic studies. The book that I am about to publish with Harrassowitz in the series *Euro-linguistische Arbeiten* will present more methodological discussions and case studies on Synchronic Europragmatics (Grzega in prep.). In addition, it will offer approaches to Diachronic Europragmatics, or Historical Europragmatics, as well as Applied Europragmatics.

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