Joachim Grzega

Analyzing Languages on the National, European and Global Level – Different Goals and Frames Require Different Methods

Abstract

Due to their phone-based scripts, their good documentation of historical and present-day varieties and their extra-linguistic *ceteris paribus* conditions, European languages are a rich source for analyses different from analyses in national philologies, contrastive linguistics and general linguistics. Eurolinguistic analyses can reveal more about language evolution and the relationship between language and the mind. This is shown by various examples (the nominal categories of definiteness and gender, blends, terms for 'understanding', 'meat', 'pet', 'free', 'friend', and the relationship with other nations, as well as the way of addressing). However, Eurolinguistic analyses require a tremendous effort in collecting a homogeneous corpus of language data—a task for which more institutionalization of Eurolinguistics is desirable.

Sommaire

À cause de leurs écritures basées sur des sons, leur bonne documentation de variétés historiques et actuelles et les conditions extra-linguistiques ceteris paribus, les langues européennes sont une source riche pour des analyses différentes des analyses connues dans les philologies nationales, la linguistique contrastive et la linguistique générale. Des analyses eurolinguistiques peuvent découvrir plus d'aspects relatifs à l'évolution linguistique et la relation entre le langage et la pensée. Cela est illustré par plusieurs exemples (les catégories nominales "défini:indéfini" et "genre", les contaminations lexicales, les désignations pour 'comprendre', 'viande', 'animal domestique', 'libre', 'ami' et la relation avec d'autres nations ainsi que les manières d'adresser un interlocuteur). Cependant, les analyses eurolinguistiques exigent un effort énorme pour la collection d'un corpus homogène de dates linguistiques – une tâche pour laquelle une plus grande institutionalisation de l'eurolinguistique est désirable.

Zusammenfassung

Aufgrund ihrer lautbasierten Schriften, ihrer guten Dokumentation von historischen und gegenwärtigen Varietäten und ihrer außersprachlichen *ceteris-paribus*-Gegebenheiten sind die europäischen Sprachen eine reiche Quelle für Analysen, die sich von Analysen der Nationalphilologien, der Kontrastiven Linguistik und der Allgemeinen Linguistik unterscheiden. Eurolinguistische Studien können mehr über Sprachentwicklung und den Zusammenhang zwischen Sprache und Denken aufdecken. Dies wird anhand verschiedener Beispiele gezeigt (der Nominalkategorien Bestimmtheit und Genus, Wortkreuzungen, Bezeichnungen für 'verstehen', 'Fleisch', 'Heimtier', 'frei', 'Freund' und die Beziehung zu anderen Völkern sowie Anredeformen). Allerdings erfordern eurolinguistische Studien einen hohen Aufwand beim Erstellen eines homogenen Korpus an Sprachdaten – eine Aufgabe, die eine größere Institutionalisierung der Eurolinguistik wünschenswert macht.

1. Introductory Remarks

Eurolinguistics is the study of the common features of European languages. Where is Eurolinguistic work carried out? If we check the profiles of general linguists from Europe, you may get the feeling that they rather seem to fear specializations on European languages. Moreover, very often general linguistics means national linguistics—one study deals with only one language, another study with another one language, with language-specific methodological approaches. Of course, there are also the typologists. They, however, have to face the methodological problem that they analyze data that were gathered in highly different ways: The standard varieties of European languages are compared to languages without a standard variety. In turn, non-standard varieties of European languages are excluded. Often, not even all national standard varieties of European languages are respected. In

addition, the variants for languages without a standard are not selected on the same principles. Further, global analyses disable comparable diachronic aspects, since for many parts of the world there are no usable historical records. Thus, the predominant value of typological studies seems to consist in giving good overviews of phenomena, but not so much about the diachronic and synchronic details. Then there is contrastive linguistics. Most of the studies under this label deal with two languages—an approach which is particularly useful in language learning. The focus of contrastive linguistics is on differences, however, whereas Eurolinguistics primarily searches for commonalities. Finally, there is comparative linguistics where a number of languages are studied in order to reconstruct Indo-European. It does not mean that comparative linguistics is interested in finding the common features of Indo-European and other European languages in the course of times. In order to discover common features of European languages, we need specific methods.

First, it must be explained what should be meant by "European languages" and by "common feature". As already mentioned elsewhere (Grzega 2012, 2013a, 2013b), *Europe* can be used in a geographical, a cultural-anthropological sense, or a political sense. In European newspapers, we find both the use of the word-type "Europe" in the geographical sense and as a synonym for 'European Union'. This also includes Russian newspapers[1]. Furthermore, *European* can refer to indigenous languages, which have been used in Europe for several centuries, or to migrant languages which were brought here only within the past 200 years or so. It can include or exclude outer-European varieties of European languages. The intersection of all these definitions is: languages and their varieties indigenous in the EU.

We can look for the common features, which should rather be perceived as typical features, defined as present in clearly more than 50% of the cases. Not all languages can probably be observed, but at least a selection that represents all geo-cultural zones generally determined (north, east, west with the center, and south). If a feature is present in at least 66% of the cases of such a selection, it could be considered "typically European" (cf. Grzega 2013a). Moreover, we can see whether the typical features are also present in other languages. If not, we have a truly "defining" feature, i.e. a feature that delimits Europe from others.

As a basis for analyses, linguists can resort to qualitative and quantitative research, normative descriptions (dictionaries, grammars, style books), highly natural language and experiments. Utter care must be taken so that the language material analysed is within the same clearly defined contexts for all languages taken into account, is clearly the same variable. Many form-content relationships may be difficult to compare over a vast number of languages.

To recapitulate, Eurolinguistics is not very much institutionalized. This is surprising as the set of European languages, no matter how you define *European languages*, offers a number of advantages to study the various linguistic levels. I will try to illustrate these advantages in the following sections.

---

[1] (1) "Россия занимает первое место среди стран Европы и Северной Америки по дорожно-транспортным происшествиям со смертельным исходом" 'Russia ranks first among the countries of Europe and North America on road traffic fatalities'. (2) "Речь идет о появившейся в 2014 году вредоносной программе Tyupkin, которая уже доставляет серьезное беспокойство банкирам в России, Европе, США, Китае." 'We are talking about the program in 2014 malware Tyupkin, which already delivers serious concern bankers in Russia, Europe, USA, China.'. Similar things can be observed for "America" and "American" ('USA', 'North America', 'North + Latin America'): in the Wikipedias, US personalities they are mostly as 'American' (e.g. en., nl., fr., hu., cs., pl., sv.); the Wikipedias that use a morpheme for 'US' (e.g. de., es., it.) are in the minority. Even in the Russian Wikipedia, only "American" is used. The words for 'Asian' are often reduced to 'East Asian' in many European languages as well as in the US, while in Britain it is often used to denote 'South Asian (India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka)'.

2. Euromorphosyntax

A tremendous wealth of categorized data particularly on morphosyntax is provided by the *World Atlas of Linguistic Structures* (WALS). However, as already said in Section 1, the language variants are not uniform. How would our understanding of language, languages and linguistic areas change if we concentrated on data for European languages, but then included standard varieties as well as non-standard varieties, both synchronic and diachronic? This is what Bernd Heine and Tania Kuteva (2006) did for four features from Standard Average European. One of them is the rise of articles. They illustrate the definiteness category as a category that is still spreading in Europe. Among other things, Heine/Kuteva (2006: 114f.), quoting Cummings (1998), mention an incipient use of the demonstrative *ten/ta/to* as a definite article in emotional colloquial Czech. It seems that Czech is still in this stage. And the inclusion of diachronic data would show that this is not at all surprising as this had also happened in English, Dutch, German, French, Spanish, Portuguese, Italian, and Hungarian. On the other hand, the Scandinavian languages, Romanian and Arab would not be seen as simply the same category "languages with definite affix", because in Romanian the definite affix goes back to a demonstrative, while the Scandinavians use a postponed indefinite article, which itself goes back to the numeral for "one". In Arab, in turn, the article affix is put in front of the base not after. And with the diachronic view, we, in contrast to Dryer (2005: 160), would not classify Danish and Swedish as languages where the indefinite word is distinct from *one* only because the "dictionary" form of the indefinite article (the uter form) differs from the cardinal (which is, in fact, the same as the neuter form of the indefinite article). Similarly, the indefinite article in Dutch is simply the phonetically unstressed variant of the cardinal 'one'. If German is classified as a language where the indefinite article and the word for 'one' are the same, so must Dutch, Danish and Swedish—historically also English. (It is also unclear why Hungarian and Japanese are classified as languages where the indefinite article is distinct from the word for 'one': in Hungarian, both 'a' and 'one' are *egy*; in Japanese, there is no indefinite article.). As regards demonstratives, Diessel (2005: 170) writes that German demonstratives are synchronically distance neutral. He knows this as a native speaker of German and classifies German correctly even if grammars may say something else. However, this distance-neutrality in demonstratives also characterizes the current development of many other European languages. In English, Spanish and Italian, the distinction is only made in direct contrasts, otherwise the use in everyday language is blurred—just as in German.

In contrast, the general process in the nominal systems of European languages is typically a reduction of the number category and case category and in the western part a shift from suffixation toward analytical constructions where pre-noun words express syntactic roles. Viewing this, the history of nominal gender is surprising. It is still quite present in European languages, although it is not very much connected to semantic properties. Gender assignment basically rests on two principles: phonology and morphology. The following map shows the destribution in Europe.

(fi)

sv

(et)

NA-en　　　UK-en　　　dk　　　lv

nl　　　**pl**　　　lt　　　**ru**

de　　　**cs**　　　**sk**

fr　　　*(hu)*　　　**ro**

it　　　si　　　**hr**

LA-es　　　EU-es　　　ca　　　**bg**

(no gender, even historically)
no gender any longer
2 genders
3 genders
3 genders in general, but in some dialects 2
largely phonologically governed
in part phonologically, in part morphologically governed
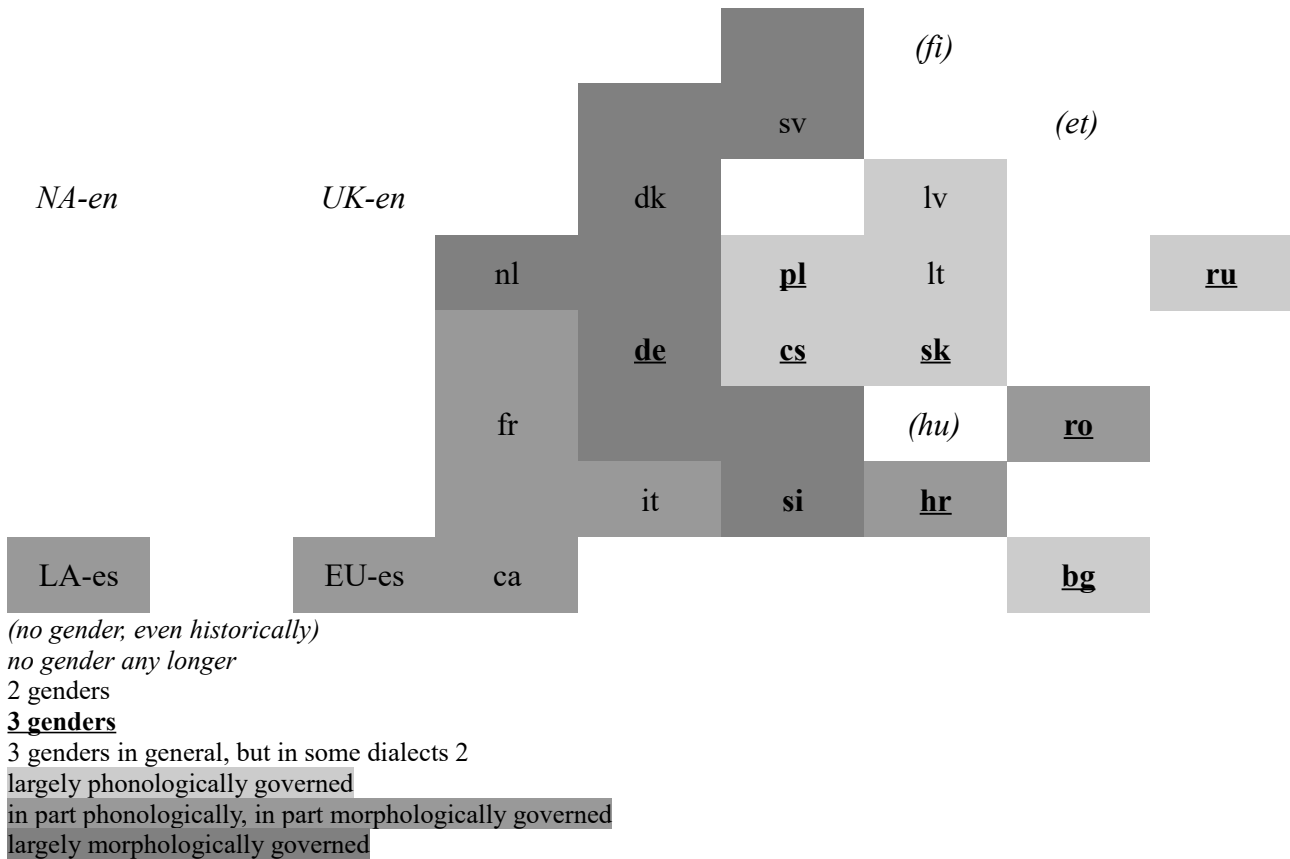largely morphologically governed

Fig. 1: Gender Distribution Principles in Europe

Two things can be observed in the languages which historically had gender: (1) a west-to-east process of reducing the number of gender variants; (2) a distribution of gender assignment principles that can hardly be contact-induced: the north-west with a largely morphological government, the neighboring north-east with a largely phonological government, (3) and the south where morphological and phonological principles are combined.

3. Europhonology, Eurographology

All indigenous languages from the Atlantic to the Urals are written in phone-based scripts, in other words: in scripts based on the principle that each sound is represented by a letter or letter-combination. Due to orthographical conventions, there may be deviations from this principle, but this principle is valuable when you deal with dialect literature or literature from earlier centuries, even though this does not mean that we always know for sure which sound precisely is represented by a given letter or letter-combination. At any rate, it is still more unclear with abjads, where only consonants and long vowels are indicated (as in Arabic), syllabaries (as in the Hiragana system of Japanese) and logographies (as in the Kanji system of Japanese or the Chinese system or our number symbols). In all regions from the Atlantic to the Urals we have languages whose written record is several centuries long. Together with the century-long European tradition of metalinguistic descriptions, we have many valuable sources to shed light at sound developments and see whether they are related to universal or cultural forces.

Apart from that, our phone-based scripts supported the creation of certain word-formation patterns. Blends, for example, cannot occur in languages with logographies; and only certain types of blends can appear in languages with syllabaries. This leads us to the field of lexicology.

4. Eurolexicology

Among lexical issues are Europeanisms from Latin-Greek, which do not have the global extent that some designations from English have. This should also be respected in the creation of language-teaching concepts for European languages (cf., e.g., Grzega/Hanusch/Sand 2014, Grzega/Sand/Schweihofer 2014, Klein/Stegmann 1999).

A fascinating large-scale project that looks at the inner structure of designations is the *Atlas Linguarum Europae*, briefly: ALE. The project team has worked with a questionnaire and informants. Due to its close-knit net of local expressions, the ALE is likely to collect also forms that were historically more important. Nevertheless, it cannot give an answer on the chronology of lexical changes. However, with Buck's dictionary (1949), we have an enormous source for the evolution of the most usual words for more than 1,000 concepts over more than 1,000 years. Of course, it is a dictionary of Indo-European languages, not European languages. It would be very valuable if at least Hungarian as the largest non-Indo-European language could be added. It would also be useful to integrate more non-standard/non-frequent expressions that illustrate similar developments. Thus, Buck does not reveal that many secondary words for 'understand' relate to 'see, look': in English (*see*), German (*blicken*), French (*voir*, already 11th c. [FEW, s.v. *videre*]), Italian (*vedere*, in Dante [Cortelazzo/Zolli s.v.]). Additionally, more focus could be dedicated to the reasons for changes. Realizing that the meaning 'understand' in the above-mentioned words is clearly later than the sense of 'see' indicates , for example, that the use of visual-perception words got more prominent as words for 'understand' after Europe shifted from a more orality-oriented to a more literality-oriented culture. Johannes Schröpfer began a large cross-linguistic historical dictionary in 1979. Schröpfer's goal was to compose a dictionary with originally 3,000 notions, later 600 notions in 28 Indo-European languages as well as Hungarian and Turkish. Unfortunately, the project was no longer continued after Schröpfer's death in 1996.

In fact, large parts of Europe are based on the same cultural history and share today the same values. This holds true if we indeed use a cultural-anthropological definition of Europe, where this would be juxtaposed to Russia. This is very valuable for analyses where you need *ceteris paribus* conditions, in other words: where studies on relations between linguistic and extra-linguistic are not disabled by large differences in customs, legal systems, political systems etc.

Looks at entire conceptual fields are interesting here. How have Europeans' views on animals changed over the centuries? What does it tell us if the words for "flesh" and "meat" are different: English (*meat* < 'foodstuffs' vs. *flesh*), French (*viande* < 'foodstuffs' vs. *chair*), Latvian (*gaļa*) Lithuanian (*mesa* < 'flesh' vs. *kūnas* 'flesh'), Polish (*mięso* 'meat, flesh', apart from *ciało* 'flesh'), Greek (*κρέας* vs. *σάρκα*), and potentially Russian (*мясо* 'meat, coll. flesh' apart from *плоть* 'flesh'). Such suppletive pairs could prove that the differences have become more prominent and typical, as already Hermann Osthoff (1899) tried to show for suppletive denominations for male and female animals in Indo-European and other languages. Furthermore, in some languages the difference between those domestic animals that are eaten or that "work" for humans and those animals that are simply used as companions are lexically clearly kept apart (e.g. en. *production animal* vs. *pet*[2]), while in others there is no such clear distinction. Figure 2 shows where suppletive distinctions are drawn or can be drawn in the following languages (in dark gray); others have word-formational means to discriminate the notions (in light gray).

---

[2] English *pet*, attested as such since the early 18th century, before already attested in the senses 'spoiled person' since the early 16th century and 'lamb (or other animal) reared by hand' since the late 17th century, from Scottish Gaelic *peata* 'tame animal' [OED s.v. *pet* n.²].
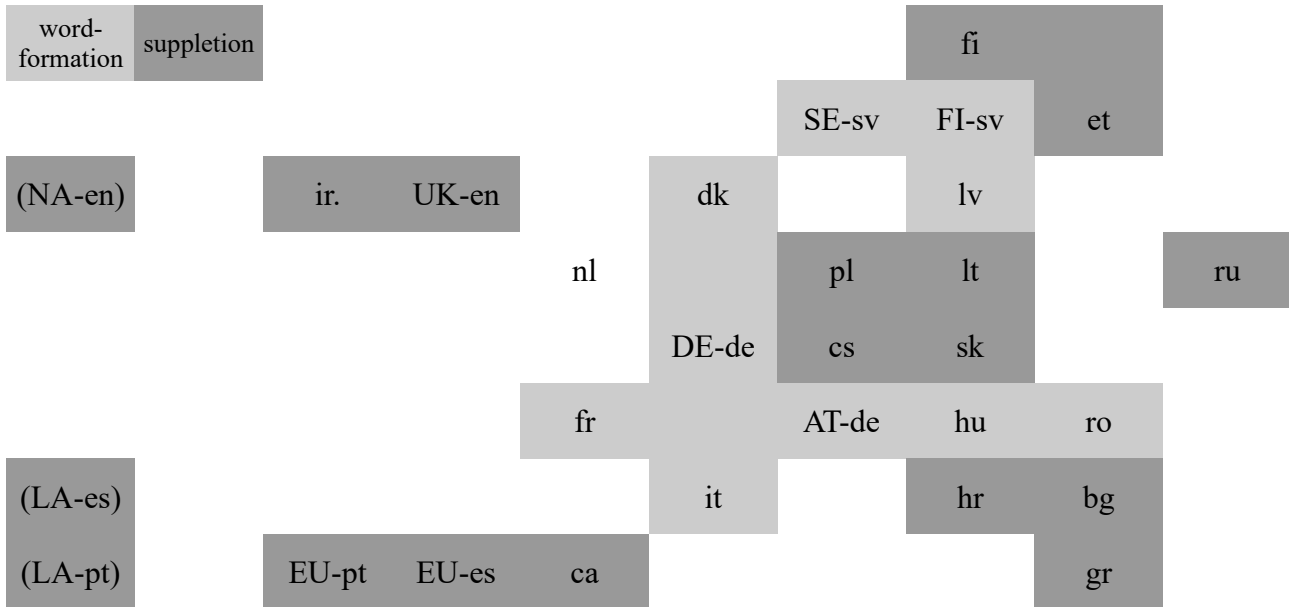
word-formation | suppletion

fi

SE-sv   FI-sv   et

(NA-en)   ir.   UK-en   dk   lv

nl   pl   lt   ru

DE-de   cs   sk

fr   AT-de   hu   ro

it   hr   bg

(LA-es)   (LA-pt)   EU-pt   EU-es   ca   gr

Fig. 2: 'Production Animal' and 'Pet' in European Languages

It should be mentioned that with both cases, "flesh vs. meat" and "domestic animal vs. pet", the suppletion process starts at the periphery.

We can also have a look at the edge of word-formation and collocation. In the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, supported by the European Union, it says: "All humans are born free". The words that are used for 'free, not imprisoned, not ensalved, unobstructed' here in different languages can be expected having positive connotations in European languages: en. *free*, nl. *vrij*, de. *frei*, fr. *libre*, es. *libre*, it. *libero*, hu. *szabad*, cs. *svobodný*, pl. *wolny*, sv. *fri* and also ru. *svobodnyj*. The words are often extended in their meaning or rather were taken to denote other things. In all European languages (including Russian and including the American varieties of originally European languages) the words are also used for 'unconstrained'. In all of these languages, the word is also used in the economic term for 'free market', although in the original sense a market is clearly rule-constrained. The figurative use of 'free' is shown in Romanic equivalents which place the adjective in front of the noun: it. *libero mercato* and fr. *libre marché*. In most of the selected European languages this word is also used when a room is not occupied (an exception is pl. *otwarty*) and in words for leisure-time (an exception is cs. *volný čas*, with *volný* also meaning 'unobstructed, not imprisoned'). Not generally European is the use of the word for 'free' to denote vacant job-posts (as, e.g., in German, Czech, Polish) and to denote a thing that can be obtained without payment (as, e.g., in English, German, Czech and Swedish, but not in southern European languages). In the Anglophone world other unusual uses of 'free' can be noticed. Somebody without a permanent contract with a company is called a *freelance* or *freelancer*. That this is not a typically European aspect of 'free' is illustrated by the fact that many Europeans use a different indigenous morpheme here (e.g. fr., es., cs. 'independent worker') or have borrowed a variant of the English expression (nl., de., fr., es., it., hu., pl., sv.); for *freelance(r)* the morpheme for 'free' can only be used in English, German, Hungarian, and Polish.

Are there ways to become more certain about people's view on a concept? How do we measure connotation? Connotations are not visible and in intercultural conversations they are often transferred from the mother-tongue into the lingua franca. A question that leads us to pragmatics.
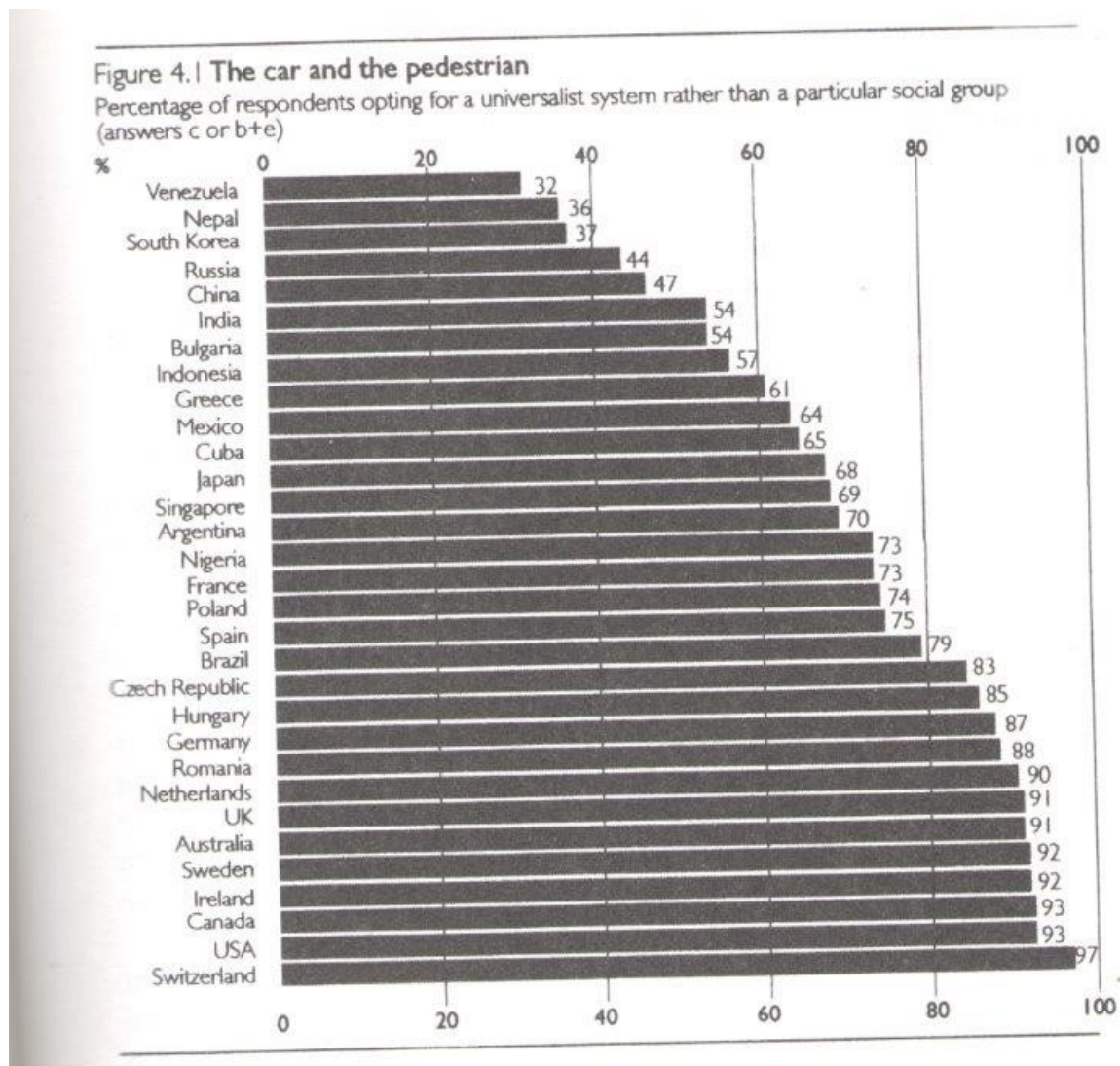
5. Europragmatics

A classical method to determine connotations is the semantic differential, as suggested by Osgood (e.g. Osgood 1964, Osgood/Suci/Tannenbaum 1957). It consists of very vague scales. The word *friend* and *family* will probably be marked as good all over the world, but will this tell us something about what freedom will look like? And what does it tell us if something is marked on a strong—weak and active—passive scale? Some have tried to complement or substitute these classical scales with other labels that may count as universal, such as anthropological needs (cf. Grzega 2013a). This may certainly yield some interesting results, but does this give us enough information useful for guidelines in intercultural communication, does it help to improve European politics?

Another suggestion are the semantic primes, with which Wierzbicka (e.g. 1997) has tried to capture cultural key-words. Here, one could argue that what authors offer is often very much, maybe too much, based on introspection or subjectively drawn conclusions. Another way is to analyze conceptual metaphors within the frame theory pursued by Lakoff (e.g. Lakoff 1987, Lakoff/Johnson 1980).

An interesting quantitative alternative is Hofstede's way to confront people with opposite statements formulated in the same syntax and have them choose the statement they consider more correct for themselves (or their culture). For example, "Friends and acquaintances are important." vs. "Family is important. (Hofstede 2001: 306). Variants without juxtapositions could be formulations like "In my country, friends are typically ..." or: "In my country, ideal friends are ...".

Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner (1997) confront informants with a little story or frame and then have informants select from various mutually exclusive answers with respect to classifications. For the category (and word) *friend*, for instance, the story is that a car-driver has bumped into a pedestrian. The driver did not respect the speed limit. Sitting next to him was somebody the driver calls a *friend*: Can you expect from a person called a friend to lie for you to authorities? The table shows how many percentages rather voted for sticking to universalist rules.

Figure 4.1 **The car and the pedestrian**

Percentage of respondents opting for a universalist system rather than a particular social group (answers c or b+e)

Country	%
Venezuela	32
Nepal	36
South Korea	37
Russia	44
China	47
India	54
Bulgaria	54
Indonesia	57
Greece	61
Mexico	64
Cuba	65
Japan	68
Singapore	69
Argentina	70
Nigeria	73
France	73
Poland	74
Spain	75
Brazil	79
Czech Republic	83
Hungary	85
Germany	87
Romania	88
Netherlands	90
UK	91
Australia	91
Sweden	92
Ireland	92
Canada	93
USA	93
Switzerland	97

Fig. 3: A Connotation of 'Friend'

In typical European countries, a clear majority (at least 73%) support a universalist system here. So does the US. In Russia, only 44% think that a friend should opt for a universalist system; in other words, 56% think that a friend should lie for you. I suggest to apply a 66%-rule also in such a method (cf. Grzega 2013). In this sense then, 56% is not a clear majority: Russia could rather be categorized as a balanced culture.

A big problem of such methods is how to get the large number of informants. The larger the bricks of texts of a test, the smaller the number of people willing to serve as informants. What are alternatives? Can similar information be obtained with natural written texts? Articles in widely read newspapers, especially the headlines, which are always scanned by readers, could be considered a good indicator. Let us stay with the conceptual field of family and friends.

European newspaper readers often step over quotations by Russian politicians who speak of their brothers in the Ukraine: sometimes this is restricted to the Russian-speaking population only, but sometimes this seems to encompass all citizens of Ukraine. A related case is to see other nations as friends, as German politicians and diplomats categorize US-Americans (underlining this particularly after the NSA surveillance scandal); for US-Americans, in contrast, there is normally no "friendship" between states. Is there a typical European way of labeling other nations on a scale "brother—cousin—relative—partner—ally"? For this I have used the LexisNexis databank and

checked the articles from 4 April 2013 to 4 April 2015 for the respective renditions of the phrase "our NATIONALITY-PLACEHOLDER {variable}" and "our {variable} in NATIONALITY-PLACEHOLDER" (e.g. *our German friends* and our *cousins in Germany*) in the following newspapers (one center-left and one center-right quality paper per country).

UK: *The Guardian, The Daily Telegraph*
France: *Le Monde, Le Figaro*
Spain: *El país, El mundo*
Italy: *La stampa, Il corriere della sera*
Germany: *Frankfurter Rundschau, Die Welt*
Austria: *Der Standard, Die Presse*
Poland: *Gazeta prawna, Gazeta wyborcza*
US: *The New York Times, USA Today*
Russia: *Komsomolskaya Pravda, Izvestiya*

Especially for semantic-pragmatic issues, comparable corpora can only be collected for small, clearly defined contexts and variables. Each hit was checked individually and only those were accepted where the expression was uttered by a native. Only those hits were counted where the word referred to all members of the group. Excluded were clearly marked ironic uses and collocations with cardinal direction terms (north, west, east). For the variant "relatives", there was no connection with nations, only with apes and the Neanderthals; for the other variants we get the following results.

	US	UK	DE	FR	ES	IT	PL	RU
brothers	0 =0%	0 =0%	4 =5% :: 3 US :: 1 RU	0 =0%	2 =4%	1 =3%	2 =18%	16 =10% :: 10 Crim
cousins	1 =3%	15 =21% :: 11 US	0 =0%	11 =7% :: 5 Québec	2 =4%	5 =13%	0 =0%	0 =0%
friends	7 =18%	9 =13% :: 7 US	**34 =45%** :: 17 US	40 =25% :: 12 DE :: 10 US :: 8 UK :: 3 Angl-S	3 =2%	5 =13%	0 =0%	38 =24% :: 10 UA
partners	9 =23% :: 7 Eur	**34 =49%** :: 29 Eur	31 =41% :: 14 Eur :: 6 US :: 5 NATO	**94 =59%** :: 71 Eur :: 7 DE :: 5 RU	**40 =25%** :: 22 Eur :: 11 EU	**21 =54%** :: 18 Eur :: 1 EU	**7 =64%** :: 6 Eur	**104 =65%** :: 32 US :: 16 XH :: 16 EAEU
allies	**22 =56% :: 9 Eur**	22 =31% :: 11 Eur	6 =8%	12 =8%	5 =3%	7 =18%	2 =18%	3 =2%
total hits	*39*	*70*	*75*	*157*	*52*	*39*	*11*	*161*

::   *of which ... refer to ...*
Angl-S   *Anglo-Saxon*
Crim   *Crimea*
DE   *Germany*
EAEU   *Eurasian Economic Union*
Eur   *Europe*
RU   *Russia*
UA   *Ukraine*
XH   *China*

Fig. 4: Labeling the Relationships to Other Nations

As a result, we can say that it is untypical of Europeans to call other nations "brothers". It seems more spread in Russia, but it is—in contrast to what citations in EU newspapers suggest—by far not the most common way. Like the typical EU newspaper, Russian newspapers show "partners" as the most frequent term. The German newspapers are odd in this respect, since the term "friends" is roughly as frequent as "partners". This, however, may have to do with the NSA surveillance affair, where German politicians may have wanted to stop the surveillance reminding the US of what good friendship should look like. Although the word *friend* in US English includes more referents (OED s.v.) than the German *Freund* (Wahrig s.v.), the designation of another nation as friends is quite unusual in the newspapers analyzed.

A typical European feature is the binary distinction between an informal (proximity) address pronoun and a formal (distance) address pronoun, traditionally also called T-form and V-form since the landmark work by Brown and Gilman (1960). A binary distinction is present in nearly all European languages and within this large group most use the second-person plural pronoun as the formal address pronoun. Among the exceptions are German (*Sie* 'they'), Italian (*Lei* 'she', linked to *Signoria* 'Lordship', which is a feminine noun), Polish (*pan/pani/panna* 'Mr.'/'Mrs.'/'Miss'). But Polish and Italian would not be excluded if historical and dialectal data would be taken into account, where you find *wy* and *voi* 'you all' respectively. Apart from this, you could also find 'he/she' in earlier stages of the Slavic languages (save Russian), and 'they' was used in varieties of Czech, Slovak and Slovene in the late 18th and in the 19th centuries. In German you find *ihr* 'you all' at least historically. The German *Sie*, in turn, was and/or is also present in non-standard varieties of the Slavic languages. Sometimes an address pronoun just seems to be a phonetic aberration of an existing pronoun (e.g. Kashubian *wë* < *wa* 'you$_{pl}$'). For Slovenia and Croatia, Betsch/Berger (2009) note an older/rural and a younger/urban system. In the former, there is non-reciprocal use of the two address pronouns depending on the relative age on the interlocutors; in the latter, there is more reciprocal use of pronouns, as here social distance is important (here, the V-form is absent in the core family and rare in the broader family). A general older/rural vs. younger/urban distinction will hold true for other, if not most other European countries, too. In most Polish regions, you use 'Mr./Mrs./Miss' plus either professional title or given name or nothing; the use of the family name here is rare. In Russia, the system is clearly different except for intercultural contexts. The formal way of addressing up to the president is "given name + patronymic name". In letters, many Europeans typically make a formal—informal distinction in the saluation formula. So does Russian. English, Irish, Danish, Catalan do not seem to make a distinction. My ethnographic observation shows that the French are also gradually giving up the distinction between the informal *cher* 'dear, expensive' (e.g. *Cher Monsieur* or *Cher Monsieur Dupont*) and the formal emptiness of this slot (*Monsieur*).

The way of referring to people is particularly connected to the social function. This is relevant not only for understanding cultural values, but also for the potential improvement of intercultural competences. We must not always simply adopt theoretical models from the American context as reference models for Europe and other parts of the world. When we analyse politeness strategies, for example, we are used to referring to the "distance politeness" model by Brown and Levinson (2002), which differentiates between the degree of downtoning request expressions. However, it could well be that for some cultures the directness degree of strategies is less important than other aspects of communication in order to be polite, for instance the right form of addressing. And the knowledge of politeness connotations decides on the success of a conversation.

5. Further Methodological Remarks

Of course, large language-comprehensive studies cannot always be done by a single author. Meta-studies that summarize different studies from contrastive linguistics (possibly also from national

linguistics) may be a solution here. But this becomes the more problematic the more you walk away from language systemics to pragmatics. With pragmalinguistic meta-studies – we have to mind the year of study and the number of situations studied, what is the intersection of the situations studied.

If analyses do not lead to a European characteristic feature, the work was not in vain. If you have binary or scalar parameters, these may still be used to test the correlation between linguistic features and extralinguistic features (as, for instance, attempted in Grzega 2014).

6. Conclusion

At any rate, the restriction to European languages with their extra-linguistic *ceteris paribus* conditions—by and large—, their phone-based scripts, their good historical documentation as well as their documentation of diverse language varieties offer valuable bases for studies on all linguistic levels. But Eurolinguistics needs its own methodology. Especially for pragmalinguistics, researchers need a lot of time to gather information from the various languages. This cannot always only be done via project funds. You cannot predict whether long searches will lead to interesting results. If they do, they can lead to more efficient language-teaching methods, they can lead to a better understanding of language dynamics, they can enhance the feeling of a European identity, they make people of the manipulative power of language, they can promote empathy and tolerance for national differences, they can raise the awareness that one's own nation is not the center of Europe, they can raise the awareness that a comparison of two European nations and one non-European nation does not tell everything about Europe, they can thus contribute to peace education. Curricula for schools, universities and adult trainings would profit from Eurolinguistic research. This is why Eurolinguistics should be established as a university unit in its own right.

Joachim Grzega
Europäisches Haus Pappenheim
Marktplatz 1
DE-91788 Pappenheim
grzega@pappenheim.de
and
Sprach- und Literaturwissenschaftliche Fakultät
Universität Eichstätt-Ingolstadt
Universitätsallee 1
DE-85072 Eichstätt
joachim.grzega@ku.de

References

ALE = Alinei, Mario et al. (1983-), *Atlas linguarum Europae*, Assen: Van Gorcum / Roma: Istituto Poligrafico e Zecca di Stato.

Betsch, Michael / Berger, Tilman (2009), "Anredesysteme / Address Systems", in: Kempgen et al. 2009: 1019-1028.

Brehmer, Bernhard (2009), "Höflichkeit / Politeness", in: Kempgen et al. 2009: 1047-1090.

Brown, Penelope / Levinson, Stephen (2002), *Politeness: Some Universals in Language Usage*, rev. ed., Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Brown, Roger / Gilman, Albert (1960), "The Pronouns of Power and Solidarity", in: Sebeok, Thomas A. (ed.), *Style in Language*, 253–276, Cambridge (Mass.): MIT Press.

Buck, Carl D. (1949), *A Dictionary of Selected Synonyms in the Principle Indo-European Languages*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Cummings, III, George M. (1998), "Definiteness in Czech", *Studies in Language* 22/3: 567-596.

Diessel, Holger (2005), "Distance Contrasts in Demonstratives", in: WALS 170-173.

Dryer, Matthew S. (2005), "Indefinite Articles", in: WALS 158-161.

WALS = Haspelmath, Martin et al. (eds.) (2005), *The World Atlas of Language Structures*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Grzega, Joachim (2012), *Europas Sprachen und Kulturen im Wandel der Zeit: Eine Entdeckungsreise*, Tübingen: Narr.

Grzega, Joachim (2013a), *Studies in Europragmatics: Some Theoretical Foundations and Practical Implications*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Grzega, Joachim (2013b), "Preface to Papers from the 1st Eurolinguistics Conference at the Europäisches Haus Pappenheim", *Journal for EuroLinguistiX* 10: 1-3.
<http://www.eurolinguistix.com> (2015-12-11)

Grzega, Joachim (2014), "Word-Choice and Economic Performance in European Languages: Methodological Comments and Empirical Results", *Journal for EuroLinguistiX* 11: 34-43.
<http://www.eurolinguistix.com> (2015-12-11)

Grzega, Joachim / Hanusch, Nora / Sand, Claudia (2014), "Quantitative Ergebnisse zur Sprachworkout-Methode", *Journal for EuroLinguistiX* 11: 90-164.
<http://www.eurolinguistix.com> (2015-12-11)

Grzega, Joachim / Sand, Claudia / Schweihofer (2014), "The Language Emergency Doctor (*Sprach-Not-Arzt*) for Migrants: An Innovative Method of Teaching *Deutsch als Fremdsprache (DaF)* and Other Languages to Linguistically Heterogeneous Beginners", *Journal for EuroLinguistiX* 11: 74-89.
<http://www.eurolinguistix.com> (2015-12-11)

Hanusch, Nora (2014), "From Words to War: Eine Analyse des metaphorischen Sprachgebrauchs internationaler Printmedien vor Ausbruch des Irakkrieges 2003", *Journal for EuroLinguistiX* 11: 44-50.
<http://www.eurolinguistix.com> (2015-12-11)

Heine, Bernd / Kuteva, Tania (2006), *The Changing Languages of Europe*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hofstede, Geert (2000), *Culture's Consequences,* rev. and enlarged ed. Beverly Hills (Cal.).

Kempgen, Sebastian et al. (eds.) (2009), *Die slavischen Sprachen: Ein internationales Handbuch zu ihrer Geschichte, ihrer Struktur und ihrer Erforschung / The Slavic Languages: An International Handbook of Their History, Their Structure and Their Investigation*, [Handbücher zur Sprach- und Kommunikationswissenschaft 32], Berlin etc.: de Gruyter.

Klein, Horst G. / Stegmann, Tilbert D. (1999), *EuroComRom – Die sieben Siebe: Romanische Sprachen sofort lesen können*, [Editiones EuroCom 1], Aachen: Shaker.

Lakoff, George / Johnson, Mark (1980), *Metaphors We Live By.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Lakoff, George (1987), *Women, Fire and Dangerous Things: What Categories Reveal about the Mind*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

OED = Murray, James A. H. et al., *The Oxford English Dictionary*, Oxford: Clarendon.
<http://www.oed.com> (2015-12-11)

Osgood, Charles E. (1964), "Semantic Differential technique in the Comparative Study of Cultures", *American Anthropologist* 66: 171-200.

Osgood, Charles E. / Suci, George J. / Tannenbaum, Percy H. (1957), *The Measurement of Meaning*, Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Osthoff, Hermann (1899), *Vom Suppletivwesen der indogermanischen Sprachen*, Heidelberg: Hörning.

Schröpfer, Johannes (1979-[1994]), *Wörterbuch der Vergleichenden Bezeichnungslehre*, Heidelberg: Winter.

Trompenaars, Fons / Hampden-Turner, Charles (1997), *Riding the Waves of Culture: Understanding Cultural Diversity in Business*, London: Nicholas Brealey.

Wahrig = Wahrig, Gerhard / Wahrig-Burfeind, Renate (2002), *Deutsches Wörterbuch*, veränderte Auflage, München Bertelsmann.

Wierzbicka, Anna (1997), *Understanding Cultures Through Their Key Words: English, Russian, Polish, German, and Japanese*, New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press.