

**“Language Ideologies and Media Discourse: Texts, Practices, Policies”
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Metalinguistic discourse in and about the media

On some recent trends of Greek and German prescriptivism

Spiros A. Moschonas & Jürgen Spitzmüller

Prescriptivism and purism

Delveroudi Rhea & Spiros

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Why the press?

- » The press is not just a vehicle, but also a popular *target* of prescriptivism.
- » It is often criticized for its *bad* language use.
- » It is often blamed as the main propagator of (undesirable) language change – a prototype of bad language use.
- » Paradoxically, those criticizing the most are among those criticized the most. Critique to (media) language comes mostly from the press, a partly antagonistic medium. Hence, articles in the press are a suitable index for the study of prescriptivism in both the print and the electronic media.

Data: Texts *in the press about* the language of the media

Greece

- » period: 1970 – 2001+
- » Corpus: 364 texts (Nov. 99- Jan. 2000) / 10,600
- » compiled through a press monitoring agency from 76 newspapers and 102 magazines
- » no metalinguistic reference excluded
- » references to media language increase after the privatization of the electronic media (Greek Laws 1730/1987 and 1866/1989)

Germany

- » period: 1990 – 2001+
- » Corpus: 1,783 texts
- » manually compiled from 9 (+42) newspapers and 3 (+9) magazines;
- » focus on purism – references to spelling reform excluded
- » concentration of references to media language in the periods 1994 (10) - 1995 (11) and 1999 (15) - 2000 (18)

Data: Texts *in* the press *about* the language of the media

Greece

- » texts on media language = 80 / 364 (22%)
 - ▶ letters to the editor (7)
 - ▶ opinion articles [incl. "usage columns"] (34)
 - ▶ short comments (11)
 - ▶ news articles (21)
 - ▶ features (4)
 - ▶ interviews (3)

Germany

- » texts on media language = 81 / 1,783 (4.5%)
 - ▶ letters to the editor (44)
 - ▶ commentaries (23) [= "Glossen" (17) & "Kommentare" (6)]
 - ▶ essays (7)
 - ▶ reviews (4)
 - ▶ news articles (3)
 - ▶ no "usage columns"

Prescriptivism: Sets of correctives (Moschonas 2005a)

- » A **corrective** is a **directive speech act** of a **metalanguage-to-language** direction of fit that has the following form:

One should neither say nor write X [**prohibitive**];
one should say and write Y [**normative**],
because Z [**explicative**]

e.g., one should neither say nor write “αποφασίζω *ότι*” [to decide *that*]; one should say and write “αποφασίζω *να*” [to decide *to*], because ...” (Papazafiri 1991:14-16)

e.g., one should neither say nor write “geschockt” [shocked]; one should say and write “schockiert”, because ...” (Natorp 1996)

Correctives: An example (Greece)

“Malapropisms”,
newspaper *Ethnos*

ΤΑ ΜΑΡΓΑΡΙΤΑΡΙΑ

► **Ακούστηκε:** Από το ΦΠΑ διαφεύγουν 1,5 δισεκατομμύρια τον χρόνο.
Το λάθος: Μόνο στον... παράδεισο συμβαίνουν αυτά.
Το σωστό: 1,5 τρισ. δραχμές τον χρόνο!

► **Ακούστηκε:** Ο παπός των παλιοημερολογιτών.
Το λάθος: Τρία πουλάκια κάθονταν...
Το σωστό: Παλιοημερολογιτών.

► **Ακούστηκε:** Εδώσε και πήρε το ευχέλαιο αυτές τις μέρες.
Το λάθος: Ναι, στην Κορώνη βρέχει λάδι και στην Καλαμάτα σύκα...
Το σωστό: Οι ευχές, το ευχολόγιο ήθελε να πει, ποιος ξέρει...

► **Ακούστηκε:** Η ορθοπεδική σήμερα κάνει θαύματα...
Το λάθος: Γι' αυτό και συ την τσάκισες τη γλώσσα!
Το σωστό: Η ορθοπεδική...

► **Ακούστηκε:** Ηρθαμε δεύτεροι μεταξύ των πρώτων...
Το λάθος: Καλά, εσένα σε χρειάζεται η στατιστική επιστήμη.
Το σωστό: Δεύτεροι και τα υπόλοιπα εκ του περισσοῦ.

X = prohibitive (“we heard: ...”)

Z = explicative (“the mistake is: ...”)

Y = normative (“the right is: ...”)

ΤΑ ΜΑΡΓΑΡΙΤΑΡΙΑ

► **Ακούστηκε:** Η πλειοψηφία των αντικειμένων...
Το λάθος: Ώστε...
Το σωστό: Η πλειονότητα...

► **Ακούστηκε:** Η κατάσταση προχωρά με χωρίς περιορισμούς...
Το σχόλιο:...
Το σωστό: Χωρίς, σκέτο...

► **Ακούστηκε:** Εμείς θέλουμε να σας καθησιγάσουμε...
Το σχόλιο: Ποιος είπε ότι δεν υπάρχουν σήμερα γλωσσοπλάστες;
Το σωστό: Καθησυχάσουμε...

► **Ακούστηκε:** Ο αποπεμπόμενος πρώην υπουργός...
Το σχόλιο: Χμ, μια αποπομπή σου χρειάζεται...
Το σωστό: Ο αποπεμφθείς...

► **Ακούστηκε:** Πέντε διεκδικούν την κατασκευή του προαστικού...
Το σχόλιο: Αμάν πια, ας το μάθουν επιτέλους...
Το σωστό: Προαστιακός...

Correctives: An example (Germany)

Haßwort der Woche

X = prohibitive ("... there is a persisting little fad ...")

Süddeutsche Zeitung,
10 August 1996: 15

Unkosten

Da sage noch einer, die deutsche Sprache sei in sich logisch (sagt keiner? äh, egal). Jedenfalls gibt es da eine kleine Marotte, die sich hartnäckig hält und immer wieder heftig zu der Vermutung Anlaß gibt, die Deutschen seien Meister in der Verschleierungstaktik, um nicht zu sagen im Selbstbetrug. Warum sonst setzte man hierzulande vor gewisse Mengenangaben die unauffällige, negierende Vorsilbe *un-*, auf daß ungemene Verwirrung herrsche, welche Dimensionen der Anlaß nun angenommen hat? Sind Kosten entstanden? Nein, Unkosten. Welche Mengen lagern? Unmengen, um nicht zu sagen Unmassen, laut Duden bedeutungsgleich mit 'sehr große Menge'. Warum nur, fragt sich der Laie, greift man im Deutschen

Z = explicative ("... *un-* is a negating prefix [and thus must not be used to denote anything else, since*] ...")

presupposition (*"the" German language should [ideally] be logical in itself)

ausgerechnet zur Verneinung, wenn man, zum Beispiel, etwas ganz Gewöhnliches würdigen will? Der Dialekt ist offensichtlich, vor der – nix verstehenden ausländischen – Welt mittels eines unscheinbaren Präfixes

Y = normative

(implicit: "don't use the prefix *un-* to mark a big amount of x")

Metalinguage₁ and Metalinguage₂ (< Silverstein / Preston)

Prohibitives + normatives } a **corrective practice**
(**metalinguage₁**)

Explicatives } a **conceptual scheme**, set of beliefs
or ideology proper (**metalinguage₂**)

- » *Hypothesis*: corrective practices (metalinguages₁) vary significantly across languages, periods and linguistic forms (**F. Braudel**: “courte durée”); on the other hand, conceptual schemes (metalinguages₂) tend to be long-term phenomena of wider (even supra-cultural) scope (**Braudel**: “longue durée”)
- » German and Greek prescriptivism are characterized by **varying corrective practices** operating under **similar conceptual schemes**

Metalinguage₁: Corrective repertoires (Greece's NR/TC)

- * [nominal agreement in archaistic morphology: 'of the existing (masc.) predictions (fem.)' instead of 'of the existing (fem.) predictions (fem.)']
- * [nominal agreement in archaistic morphology: 'of the undertaken (masc.) initiatives (fem.)']
- * [adverbial endings: appropriate 'archaistic' ending for 'probably']
- * [the Greek expression for 'sine qua non', misphrased]
- * [adverbial endings: appropriate archaistic ending for 'possibly']
- * [adverbial endings: appropriate archaistic ending for 'previously']
- * [an archaistic rule: internal augment in the aoristic imperative is prohibited]
- * [an archaistic rule: mistaken internal augmentation in aorist]
- * [phraseology: 'to exercise' vs. 'to practice']
- * [phraseology: 'deal with' vs. 'be concerned with']
- * [phraseology: appropriate archaistic form of 'to change residence']
- * [orthography: 'heap, pile' vs. 'corpse']
- * [phraseology: 'the information leaked (intrans.)' vs. 'they leaked (trans.) the information'].

Metalanguage₁: Corrective repertoires (Germany)

- » [replacing a whole differentiated repertoire of expressions by one (“wrong”) trendy phrase: ‘davon ausgehen’ (to assume that) instead of ‘erwarten’, ‘annehmen’, ‘vermuten’, ‘erhoffen’, ‘unterstellen’, ‘voraussetzen’, ‘glauben’, ‘damit rechnen’, ‘voraussagen’, etc.]
- » [“wrong” plural, disregarding semantic difference: ‘Worte’ instead of ‘Wörter’ (words)]
- » [“wrong” use of reflexive verbs: ‘sich bedanken’ (lit.: to thank oneself) instead of ‘danken’ (to thank)]
- » [“wrong” and “illogical” phrases: ‘Ich würde sagen’ (I would say) instead of ‘Ich sage’ (I say) or Ø]
- » [disregarding semantic difference: ‘scheinbar’ (seemingly) instead of ‘anscheinend’ (obviously)]
- » [“illogical” morphology: ‘lenkfähig’ and ‘abzugsfähig’ instead of ‘lenkbar’ and ‘abziehbar’ (steerable, deductable)]
- » [“inflation of confirmations”: ‘wirklich’, ‘echt’, ‘tatsächlich’, ‘in der Tat’ (really, truly, indeed) instead of Ø].
- » [“wrong” use of technical terms: ‘x-fach/-mal kleiner’ (x-times smaller) instead of ‘x Prozent’ (x percent), ‘Stundenkilometer’ (lit.: ‘hour-kilometers’) instead of ‘Kilometer pro Stunde’ (km per hour)].
- » [wrong use of technical metaphors: ‘Quantensprung’ (quantum leap) for a ‘big step’ instead of ‘a very small move’]

Metalanguage₁: Tendencies and statistics

Greece

- » X/Y-pairs: 328 (= 4.10/text)
 - ▶ token-pairs: 252 (3.15/t)
 - ▶ type-pairs: 76 (0.95/t)
- » X/∅-references: 162 (2.03/t)
- » Total: 490 (6.13/t)

- » Highest concentration:
 - ▶ 51 references (Charis 29/1/2000)
 - ▶ 31 x/y-pairs (Charis 29/1/2000)
- » Lowest concentration:
 - ▶ 0 references (34 texts)

Germany

- » X/Y-pairs: 239 (= 2.95/text)
 - ▶ token-pairs: 221 (2.73/t)
 - ▶ type-pairs: 18 (0.22/t)
- » X/∅-references: 388 (4.79/t)
- » Total: 627 (7.74/t)

- » Highest concentration:
 - ▶ 38 references (Natorp 20/6/1998)
 - ▶ 23 x/y-pairs (Natorp 6/11/1999)
- » Lowest concentration:
 - ▶ 0 references (7 texts)

Metalanguage₁: Tendencies and statistics

Greece

- » **Lexicon: 98 (20%)**
 - ▶ foreign words: 30 (6.1%)
 - > English loans: 24 (4.9%)
 - > loans from other languages: 3 (0.6%)
 - > loan translations: 3 (0.6%)
 - ▶ marked archaistic forms: 38 (7.8%)
 - ▶ marked *demotic* forms: 17 (3.5%)
 - ▶ dialectal: 6 (1.2%)
 - ▶ translation of archaisms: 7 (1.4%)

Germany

- » **Lexicon: 170 (27.1%)**
 - ▶ foreign words: 169 (27%)
 - > English loans: 157 (25%) [-11.2%]
 - > loans from other languages: 9 (1.4%)
 - > loan translations: 3 (0.5%)
 - ▶ colloquialisms: 1 (0.1%)

Metalanguage₁: Tendencies and statistics

Greece

- » Discourse/
Pragmatics: 15 (3%)
 - ▶ media discourse structure: 13 (2.7%)
[+ 21 articles on 'Greek in the new media']
 - ▶ euphemisms: 1 (0.2%)
 - ▶ politeness: 1 (0.2%)

Germany

- » Discourse/
Pragmatics: 210 (33.5%)
"overused"/inappr. used
 - ▶ words: 110 (17.5%)
 - ▶ metaphors: 64 (10.2%)
 - ▶ formulaic expressions: 30 (4.8%)
 - ▶ superlatives: 4 (0.6%)
 - ▶ fillers: 2 (0.3%)

Metalanguage₁: Tendencies and statistics

Greece

» **Semantics: 13**
(2.7%)

- ▶ obscurity of learned/archaistic forms: 7 (1.4%)
- ▶ semantic differentiation or change: 6 (1.2%)

Germany

» **Semantics: 89**
(14.2%)

- ▶ wrongly used foreign words: 29 (4.6%)
- ▶ loss of semantic differentiation: 26 (4.1%)
- ▶ "illogical" semantics: 18 (2.9%)
- ▶ "contaminated" expressions: 9 (1.4%)
- ▶ misapplications of technical terms: 6 (1%)
- ▶ "odd" metaphors: 1 (0.1%)

Metalanguage₁: Tendencies and statistics

Greece

- » **Morphology / Syntax: 199 (45.7%)**
 - ▶ violation of archaistic rules: 27 (5.5%)
 - ▶ agreement / attraction: 12 (2.4%)
 - ▶ demotic adv. ending (-α): 29 (6%)
 - ▶ stress mov. in declension: 25 (5.1%)
 - ▶ wrong affix: 36 (7.3%)
 - ▶ augmented imperative: 6 (1.2%)
 - ▶ prep + relative clause: 1 (0.2%)
 - ▶ nouns with no plural / sing.: 60 (12.2%)
 - ▶ loan adaptation: 25 (5.1%)
 - ▶ mixed (Greek-foreign) compounds: 2 (0.4%)
 - ▶ foreign word morphology: 1 (0.2%)
- » **Phraseology: 29 (5.9%)**
 - ▶ formulaic expr.: 21 (4.3%)
 - ▶ ἀφορὰ (σε) [to concern / be about]: 8 (1.6%)

Germany

- » **Morphology / Syntax: 113 (18%)**
 - ▶ wrong inflection: 43 (6.9%)
 - ▶ wrong prepositions: 15 (2.4%)
 - ▶ agreement: 3 (0.5%)
 - ▶ code-switching: 3 (0.5%)
 - ▶ word order: 2 (0.3%)
 - ▶ wrong conjunction: 1 (0.1%)
 - ▶ wrong tense ("foreign" syntax): 1 (0.1%)
 - ▶ "illogical" morphology: 34 (5.4%)
 - ▶ foreign word morphology: 11 (1.8%)
- » **Phraseology: 25 (4%)**
 - ▶ foreignisms: 25 (4%)

Metalanguage₁: Tendencies and statistics

Greece

» Orthography: 75
(15.3%)

- ▶ for/against monotonic: 5 (1%) vs. 4 (0.8%)
- ▶ for/against Roman script (in some registers): 3 (0.6%) vs. 10 (2%)
- ▶ loan transliteration: 7 (1.4%)
- ▶ “final -v” rule (assimilation): 5 (1%)
- ▶ CC clusters (dissimilation): 1 (0.2%)
- ▶ punctuation: 2 (0.4%)
- ▶ misspellings: 38 (7.8%)

Germany

» Orthography: 13
(2%)

- ▶ spelling reform*: 9 (1.4%)
- ▶ spelling of loanwords: 1 (0.1%)
- ▶ misc.: 3 (0.5%)

(*consider corpus constraints!)

Metalanguage₁: Tendencies and statistics

Greece

- » **Miscellaneous**: 25 (5.1%)
 - ▶ pronunciation: 2 (0.4%)
 - ▶ pronunciation of loans: 7 (1.4%)
 - ▶ false etymologies: 6 (1.2%)
 - ▶ blunders/boners: 10 (2%)

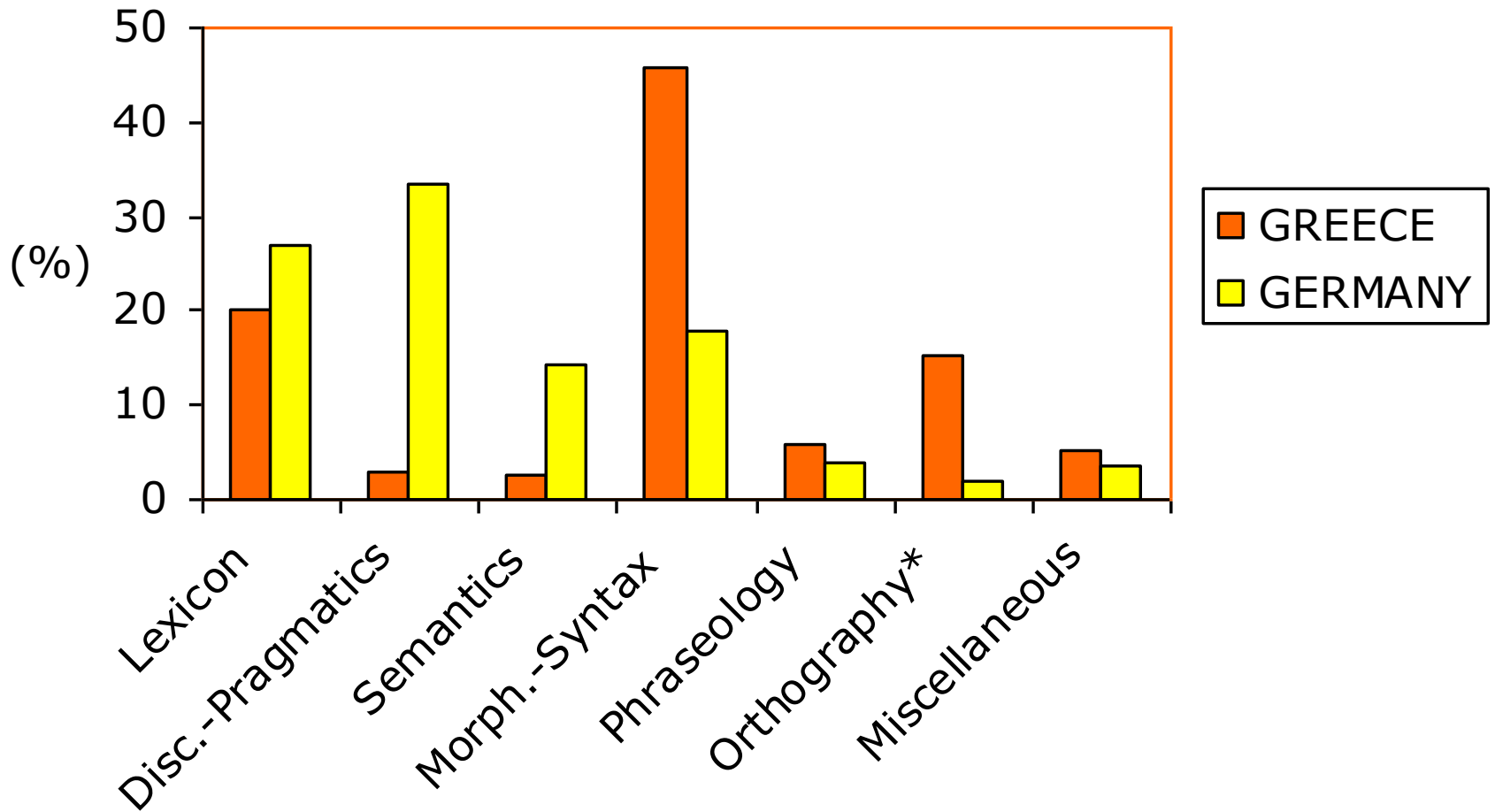
Germany

- » **Miscellaneous**: 22 (3.5%)
 - ▶ pronunciation: 1 (0.1%)
 - ▶ pronunciation of loans: 9 (1.4%)
 - ▶ typos: 12 (2%)

- » **loans**: 62 (12.7%)
- » **diglossia**: 158 (32.2%)

- » **loans**: 254 (40.5%)
- » **orthography**: ?

Metalanguage₁: Tendencies and statistics



(*consider corpus constraints!)

Metalanguage₁: Recent trends of Greek and German prescriptivism

Greece

- » Diglossia: *demotic* vs. archaistic/puristic variety (two standards)
- » Restandardization:
 - ▶ Standard Modern Greek = *demotic* + archaisms
 - ▶ internal purism
 - ▶ external purism
- » “Grammatical” model → “phraseological” model:
 - ▶ “comprehensive”
 - ▶ “etymological”
 - ▶ “conventional”
 - ▶ “internal”

Germany

- » Long prescriptive tradition (standardization)
- » Restandardization:
 - ▶ purism against Anglicisms
 - ▶ spelling reform: battle for the right to prescribe (cf. **Johnson 2005**)
- » “Grammatical” model → “semantic” model:
 - ▶ “comprehensive”
 - ▶ “etymological”
 - ▶ “logical”
 - ▶ “external”

Metalanguage₁: Shared presuppositions

- » Presuppositions of correctives:
 - ▶ variation of X and Y
 - ▶ awareness of X and Y
 - ▶ variation is “transitional”
 - ▶ correctives raise awareness of X and Y through X/Y, with the aim of replacing X by Y.
- » Variation is not the “normal case” (as in sociolinguistics); rather, it is a “transitional” stage between two exclusive uses (X *or* Y) – a motion in a pendulum. Could correctives prove felicitous under particular circumstances? Could an increase in awareness of X/Y in favour of Y stop the pendulum swinging towards X?

Metalanguage₂: Media language as a model (Greece)

Τα θετικά και αρνητικά για τη γλώσσα

ΓΙΩΡΓΟΣ ΜΠΑΜΠΙΝΙΩΤΗΣ

(Καθηγητής Πανεπιστημίου Αθηνών)

Από τη λειτουργία της ιδιωτικής τηλεόρασης σε σχέση με τη γλώσσα, έχουν προκύψει ορισμένες θετικές και αρνητικές πλευρές και κυρίως παραλείψεις.

Στις θετικές πλευρές είναι ο



πρότυπα άσχημα για τη γλώσσα.

Επίσης οι σειρές — πλην εξαιρέσεων — έχουν κατά κανόνα κακό λόγο, με την έννοια ότι τα πρότυπα που προβάλλουν έχουν συχνά ένα χυδαίο χαρακτήρα και προχειρότητα στις επιλογές προκειμένου να βγάλουν το «αστείο».

Πέρα από το ξενόγλωσσο στοιχείο που ακούγεται, δεν βοηθάει επίσης την ελληνική γλώσσα, η μεταγλώττιση των ξένων σειρών. Συχνά υπάρχουν σοβαρά ορθογραφικά λάθη και κακή απόδοση των ελληνικών τα οποία κάνουν κακό στη γλωσσική συγκρότηση του θεατή.

Στις αρνητικές πλευρές θα έβαζα

και τα ριάλιτι σόου, όπου ο λόγος που εκπαιδεύεται είναι κατά κανόνα πολύ κακής ποιότητας. Θα μπορούσε η ιδιωτική τηλεόραση να δώσει ένα ποσοστό χρόνου αφιερωμένο στην ελληνική γλώσσα.

Υπάρχει ήδη ο Νόμος Βενιζέλου που υποχρεώνει τα κανάλια να το κάνουν, πράγμα το οποίο δεν γίνεται. Έτσι, δεν περνάει στην τηλεόραση, αυτό που εγώ λέω, πως η γλώσσα ως αξία, και ως ένα αγαθό πολιτιστικό, πρέπει να προσεγθεί και να προβληθεί. Γιατί ο λόγος στην τηλεόραση λειτουργεί ως πρότυπο και καθώς συνοδεύεται από την εικόνα αποτυπώνεται όσο τίποτε άλλο.

“the media language is [should be] exemplary in both expression and structure”

Ethnos 29/11/1999

media language as a model

Metalanguage₂: Media language as a model (Germany)

“Without question, those institutions and persons who pester the people every day with their stereotyped sentences **bear the responsibility** for the described language change. For **the masses follow these leading figures.**”

Politiker von sich geben und Fernsehen und Rundfunk dann Millionen von Haushalten vermitteln, wird dort aufgesogen, weiterverbreitet und **media language as a model** dem Lautsprecher stets nur **erneut** ertönt und die vielen anderen

“People in millions of households will absorb what politicians, for instance, say and what TV and radio broadcast, and they will spread it further. If the loudspeaker always outputs **‘erneut’** [again] and all the many other possibilities like **‘wiederum’, ‘abermals’, ‘ein weiteres Mal’, ‘noch einmal’, ‘auf neue’** are disregarded, only **‘erneut’** will remain at the end.”

Metalinguage₂: Media language as a model (Greece's NR/TC)

«...τα μέσα, αν και δεν αποτελούν έναν από τους θεσμοθετημένους φορείς γλωσσικής αγωγής, εν τούτοις

“the role of the media is decisive [...] because the media provide language models”

Διαμορφώνουν στάσεις, ιδεολογίες, συνειδήσεις και με τον έναν ή τον άλλο τρόπο παρεμβαίνουν στην καθημερινή ζωή του τηλεθεατή»

**media language
as a model**

“fines on those who violate “Ελληνική γλώσσα και

ΜΜΕ”. Στο συνέδριο αυτό [...] θα ετίθετο δημοσίως το σοβαρό αυτό πρόβλημα [...], αφού οι ποικίλες

“the various instructions, guidelines and fines issued by NR/TC have had absolutely no effect so far”

Papakostas, *ibid.*
[Call for NR/TC's
2007 conference]

Metalanguage₂: Media language as a model (Germany)

"However, we need to differentiate. In private, inaccuracies and, if need be, the simple twaddle are the oil that starts conversation or keeps it going. When it comes to public speech diarrhoea, however, things are completely different. [...] Politicians, leading civil servants, economy leaders, journalists and others who participate in the big public discourse all bear a particular responsibility for accuracy, truth and time-economic use of language. In other words: it is up to them whether we [all] end up saying nothing through talking and writing."

Mit anderen Worten: Sie entscheiden, ob wir eines Tages redend oder schreibend nichts mehr sagen." (Großkopff 1997) **publicity ↔ norm infringements**

"Es sollte selbstverständlich sein, daß diejenigen, die sich in Wort oder Schrift artikulieren, die Regeln der

"It should be a matter of course that those who articulate orally or in writing know and follow the norms of the standard language – in private, anyone is free to talk as s/he likes."

Metalinguage₂: Shared presuppositions about language

- » languages are homogeneous and distinct, separable entities
- » languages are internally logical and precise
- » languages are stable
- » the only “real” function of language is denotation
- » variation (without variation in denotation) is a transitional stage (metalinguage₁)

Purism

- » Conforms to the “Herderian concept of language” (Gal 2006: 14 ff.)
 - long tradition and supra-cultural scope

Metalanguage₂: Shared presuppositions about *media* language

0. Since languages are homogeneous, distinct, logical, precise and stable, there is also one and only one language ("the" language) of the media, which itself is homogeneous, distinct, logical, precise and stable.

"This" one and only language of the media

(Re-)standardization

1. is/should be standard; it models language usage
2. has to be monitored carefully: high publicity requires low tolerance with regard to infringements to "the" norm;
3. can be evaluated by ideals of transparency, logicity and standardness that contradict actual media usage; it can be corrected mechanically (by 'proofreaders' or 'professionals');
4. it is influential, i.e., it affects language change.

Studies asserting that media affect language change

» Anthony Naro & Maria Scherre

▶ (Brazil's Portuguese)

» Ana Maria Carvalho

▶ (Uruguay's Portuguese)

» Rudolph Muhr

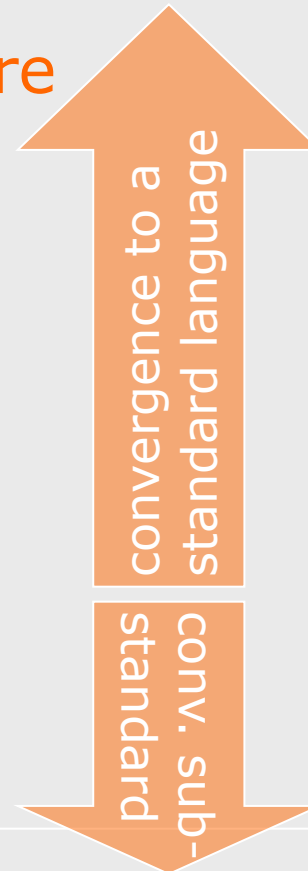
▶ (Austria's German)

» Jane Stuart-Smith

▶ (Glaswegian)

» (Jannis Androutsopoulos)

▶ (Immigrants' German)



Susan C. Herring, ed., 2003. *Media and Language Change*, special issue of *Journal of Historical Pragmatics* 4.1

Conclusions

1. In metalanguage₁, purism manifests itself as a collective linguistic practice.
2. In metalanguage₂, purism manifests itself as the most general conceptual/ideological presupposition of media discourse about the discourse of the media.
3. Metalanguage₁ is based on the presupposition that variation is a transitional, exceptional state, unless it conforms with “variation” in denotation.
4. For prescriptivists, the main function of media language is to serve as a model of “the” language.
5. The same conceptual scheme explains the differences as well as the similarities between Greek/German prescriptivism. While linguistic practices vary, language ideologies are long-term, supra-cultural phenomena.
6. Could the same conceptual scheme also explain differences (as well as similarities) between prescriptivists and descriptivists?

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