STUDYING THE LINGUISTIC NORM: NAVIGATING THE CONFLUENCE OF SOCIOLOGY AND LINGUISTICS

ESTUDAR A NORMA LINGUÍSTICA: NAVEGANDO NA CONFLUÊNCIA DA SOCIOLOGIA E DOS ESTUDOS DA LINGUAGEM

ESTUDIAR LA NORMA LINGÜÍSTICA: NAVEGANDO EN LA CONFLUENCIA DE LA SOCIOLOGÍA Y LOS ESTUDIOS DEL LENGUAJE

Nina Rioult*
Universidade Federal Fluminense

ABSTRACT: The intention of this article is to reflect on the concepts of norm and linguistic norm. The text begins by showing how the reflections of Social Sciences, particularly Sociology, may be fruitful for defining the concept of norms in the area of Linguistics, as the latter turned its attention to this concept later than the other disciplines. The main conceptualizations proposed in Linguistics are then presented. Finally, attention is given to the concept of standard language, whose definition still varies from one author to another. In this way, the paper brings several clues to deepen the reflection on the subject and hopes to contribute to its relevance as an object of scientific research.
KEYWORDS: Linguistic norm. Sociology. Sociolinguistics. Standard Language.

RESUMO: O principal objetivo deste artigo é contribuir para a reflexão sobre os conceitos de norma e de norma linguística. Com efeito, os linguistas se debruçaram sobre a noção de norma mais tardiamente do que estudiosos de outras disciplinas. Por isso, o texto começa por mostrar como a reflexão oriunda dessas outras disciplinas, notadamente a sociologia, pode ser profícua para a definição do conceito na área dos estudos da linguagem. Em seguida, também são apresentadas as principais conceitualizações propostas no âmbito dos estudos da linguagem. Por fim, é dado um enfoque especial ao conceito de língua-padrão, cuja conceituação permanece oscilante de um autor para o outro. Dessa forma, o artigo traz várias pistas para que se aprofunde a reflexão sobre o tema, contribuindo, de modo relevante, como objeto de investigação científica.
PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Norma linguística. Sociologia. Sociolinguística. Língua-padrão.

RESUMEN: El objetivo principal de este artículo es contribuir a la reflexión acerca de los conceptos de norma y de norma lingüística. En efecto, los lingüistas han examinado la noción de norma más tarde que los estudiosos de otras disciplinas. Por eso, el texto empieza por mostrar cómo la reflexión oriunda de esas otras disciplinas, especialmente la sociología, puede ser aprovechada para la definición del concepto en el área de los estudios del lenguaje. Luego se presentan también las principales conceptualizaciones propuestas en el ámbito de los estudios del lenguaje. Por último, se presta especial atención al concepto de lengua estándar, cuya conceptualización sigue oscilando de un autor a otro. De esta forma, el artículo ofrece varias pistas para que se profundice la reflexión sobre el tema, contribuyendo, de modo relevante, como objeto de investigación científica.
PALABRAS CLAVE: Norma lingüística. Sociología. Sociolingüística. Lengua estándar.

1 INTRODUCTION: THE COMPLEX INTERTWINING BETWEEN LINGUISTIC AND SOCIAL ASPECTS

The relationship between "linguistic" and "social" aspects remains a fertile ground for theoretical discussion in the area of Linguistics. From Saussurean Linguistics – and then Chomskian Generativism – which dismissed right at the outset the social aspects of its study program to the Sociology of Language, such as that formulated by Fishman (2019), which approaches language as something inseparable from social life, we observe lines of inquiry that radically differ in their definition of language. In fact, one might say that the room granted to social aspects of language serves as a criterion to distinguish different research lines in the area of Linguistics.

A scholar such as Fishman strongly contributed to the "rehabilitation" of social aspects in the field of Linguistics, allowing it to go beyond Saussurean Linguistics. When presenting the goals of the Sociology of Language, he links Linguistics to Social Studies: "Man is constantly using language – spoken language, written language, printed language – and man is constantly linked to others via shared norms of behavior. The sociology of language examines the interaction between these two aspects of human behavior: use of language and the social organization of behavior "(Fishman, 2019, p. 217).

Thus, we see that the author considers language as being related to social organization. In this perspective, language is seen as human behavior and as such, it can be studied as a social fact. This view is corroborated by well-known contemporary researchers in Brazil, such as Lagares, who points out that language usage is social practice (Lagares, 2018, p. 159), or Calvet, who proclaims the impossibility of separate linguistic from social aspects – considering that language is a social fact – and assumes that "linguistics can only be defined as the study of the social community under its linguistic aspect"[1] (Calvet, 2017, p. 123).

In order to strengthen this line of research, this article aims to offer a reflection on one of the concepts that best highlights the intertwining between linguistic and social aspects, namely, the concept of "norm" and, in this case, "linguistic norm." It has recently seen a growing interest in the field of Linguistics and Language Studies, although it has already been conceptualized for decades in several Social Sciences, among which is Sociology. Although it is a central concept for several sociolinguists – such as Labov, who defines "speech community" from the notion of norm – there is little theoretical basis in the field of Linguistics, as highlighted in a recent publication by Mortensen and Kraft (2022). We hope that this article, written from an extract of our Ph.D. thesis, will contribute to the reflection on this topic.

2 A CONCEPT THAT GOES BEYOND LINGUISTICS

Before becoming a source of interest for linguists, the concept of norm was an object of theoretical discussion in several social sciences, such as Psychology, Sociology, or Economy. The sociologist Demeulenaere (2003, p. 2) claims that those diverse disciplines cannot isolate one from another since they have the same research object. We consider that this postulate applies to Linguistics. That is why we decided to present, in this section, norm conceptualizations proposed in other disciplines, mostly Sociology.

In a book devoted to the question of social norms, Pierre Demeulenaere (2003, p. 15-17) states that the notion of norm is linked to the one of choice. Facing several behavior options – e.g.: eating meat or not, wearing such clothes or not, etc. – the choice made by an individual might have a natural origin – e.g.: not eating a poisonous mushroom, which will irretrievably lead to death – or a social origin. Among the choices with a social origin, one might distinguish situations in which every choice has the same acceptability level, which is then considered as preference , from those in which the available options do not appear to be equally acceptable so that the feeling that one *has to* choose a specific alternative arises. The feeling of "having to" is correlated to the notion of norm. Thus, in addition to motivating actions, the social norm is linked to a prescriptive dimension. This observation leads Demeulenaere to assume that "the norms correspond then to rules of conduct whose compliance is linked to sanctions that tend to

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[1] Original version: "la linguistique ne peut être définie que comme l'étude de la communauté sociale sous son aspect linguistique". My translation. All the translations given in the footnotes are mine.

prevent deviation from the rule" (2003, p. 19)[2]. These sanctions can be of various types (coercive physical sanctions, inciting internal pressure, etc.).

Demeulenaere suggests a classification that identifies several application areas: norms related to the "true"; norms that distribute action capacity; legal and ethical norms; cultural norms (conventions, lifestyles, and stylistic norms); and religious norms. We will not go into the details of this classification[3], and limit ourselves to saying that language norms fall into the "cultural norms" category. According to Demeulenaere, cultural norms are less prescriptive, since they do not aim to hinder certain social practices but rather "establish inequalities of approval between different behaviors, the realization of disapproved behaviors from a certain point of view not being, however, prevented in their realization"[4] (Demeulenaere, 2003, p. 32). In this way, Demeulenaere places language norms in the same category as the ones for the construction of a building or that govern a game.

Cultural norms, and *a fortiori* language norms, have a conventional aspect, that is, there is a necessity to respect the norm to carry out an action, but these norms are arbitrary, and not justifiable by their intrinsic characteristics (p. 33). In this manner, in order to do something together, people need a common language, for instance, Japanese or Corsican, but none of these choices is intrinsically superior, since they cannot be justified by their own characteristics. There are no precise and definitive arguments that make a convention, a language option, to be considered better than another. This fact observed by Demeulenaere refers to the notion of "semiotic potential" of languages, described by Faraco and Zilles, according to whom "any variety is, in principle, apt to meet the cognitive, expressive and communicational needs of its speakers"[5] (2017, p. 45).

However, it is worth mentioning that the norms related to languages shown by Demeulenaere mainly refer to those linked to the proper functioning of communication. They are implicit norms that lead a speaker to unconsciously choose a certain norm, or a certain linguistic system, above another. This vision directly echoes what Aléong calls "implicit linguistic norms": "[...]the operative notion of an implicit norm encourages us to see in linguistic behavior a manifestation of social norms that are at the basis of social life"[6] (1983, p. 262). At this implicit level, the notion of "mistake" only makes sense when communication turns out to be impossible. However, as Aléong points out, there are also explicit social – as well as linguistic – norms. Explicit linguistic norms are a "[…] set of linguistic forms that have been the object of a tradition of elaboration, codification and prescription"[7] (1983, p. 261). The distinction between those two types of norms has been widely commented on by the linguists who have investigated this subject, and we will explore this topic in the next paragraphs. Yet, it can already be noticed that, as highlighted by Aléong (1983, p. 276-277): "Explicit norm and implicit norm can come together in these situations where the mastery of the normative code is precisely the object of an evaluation within the framework of the interaction".[8]

The idea that language can be the target of evaluations and judgments has noticeably been theorized in the area of Sociology, by Pierre Bourdieu, who saw the "linguistic exchanges" as power relations. Then, according to Bourdieu's theory, in every speech act, the linguistic *habitus* is combined with the structures of the linguistic market, the latter being defined as a "system of specific sanctions and censorships". On the other hand, the *habitus* would imply: "[…] a certain propensity to speak and to say determinate things (the expressive interest) and a certain capacity to speak, which involves both the linguistic capacity to generate an infinite

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[2] No original: "Les normes correspondent ainsi à des règles de conduite dont le respect est lié à des sanctions qui tendent à empêcher l'écart par rapport à la règle".

[3] For further details on this classification, cf. Demeulenaere (2003, p. 24-35).

[4] Original version: "L'objectif de ces normes n'est pas d'empêcher ou supprimer des pratiques, mais d'établir des inégalités d'approbation entre les différentes conduites, les conduites désapprouvées d'un certain point de vue n'étant cependant pas empêchées dans leur réalisation."

[5] Original version: "qualquer variedade está, em princípio, apta a atender as necessidades cognitivas, expressivas e comunicacionais de seus falantes".

[6] Original version: " […] la notion opératoire de norme implicite nous incite à voir dans le comportement linguistique une manifestation de normes sociales qui sont à la base de la vie sociale."

[7] Original version: " […] ensemble de formes linguistiques ayant fait l'objet d'une tradition d'élaboration, de codification et de prescription."

[8] Original version: "Norme explicite et norme implicite peuvent se rejoindre dans ces situations où la maîtrise du code normatif est précisément l'objet d'une évaluation dans le cadre de l'interaction."

number of grammatically correct discourses, and the social capacity to use this competence adequately in a determinate situation" (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 37).

The linguistic market is what contributes to determining the significance and value of the discourse. Like in a financial market, the "goods" circulating in a linguistic market – the discourses – see their value determined by the relation between the production – in Economics, one would say "the offer" – and the reception – "the demand":

> What circulates on the linguistic market is not 'language' as such, but rather discourses that are stylistically marked both in their production, in so far as each speaker fashions an idiolect from the common language, and in their reception, in so far as each recipient helps to produce the message which he perceives and appreciates by bringing to it everything that makes up his singular and collective experience. (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 39)

This relationship is what creates the symbolic value of discourses, and, as a result, languages cannot be seen only as communication instruments. Then, some linguistic "goods" are more valuable than others, such as in nation-states – which constitute a unified linguistic market –, the "official" or "standard" language, which occupies the place of the legitim language. In this way, linguistic elements have no value in themselves, but they tend to acquire value within a social system. Thus, Bourdieu highlights the fact that speaking a legitimate language, that is, a prestigious language variety, constitutes a distinctive feature that brings social benefits:

> What is rare, then, is not the capacity to speak, which, being part of our biological heritage, is universal and therefore essentially non-distinctive, but rather the competence necessary in order to speak the legitimate language which, depending on social inheritance, re-translates social distinctions into the specifically symbolic logic of differential deviations, or, in short, distinction. (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 55)

In this way, language can be seen as a social practice similar to others (getting dressed, eating, etc.), as a product that belongs to a market of symbolic goods, in which some have a higher value than others.

In Demeulenaere's book (2003), the notion of "prestige", widely used by Pierre Bourdieu, is discussed in the chapter "The Norms of Economic Life", which seems to corroborate Bourdieu's vision of linguistic prestige depending on a "market". Demeulenaere explains that the prestige associated with certain actions is due to the existence of competition in the social environment. In this competition, these actions are evaluated according to their own objectives, have intrinsic normativity, and can be evaluated by a quantitative criterion – e.g.: the speed of a race – or a qualitative criterion – e.g.: the quality of violin performance. Following this perspective, it is worth mentioning that linguistic productions are evaluated according to qualitative criteria: one usually considers that a person speaks a certain language "well" or "badly".

However, Demeulenaere's vision differs slightly from Bourdieu's, for he considers that there is no unified scale regarding prestige, in other words, what is "good" for someone is not necessarily "good" for someone else:

> A central characteristic of contemporary societies is, however, that there is no general unification of prestige criteria that would allow constituting a unique social scale, as hierarchical traditional societies ambitioned to establish. The greatest football players can be totally ignored by a great mathematician, whereas a great mathematician can be totally ignored by the general public. 9 (Demeulenaere, 2003, p. 236)

For Demeulenaere, the search for prestige and power can then be compared to a game, but shall not be reduced to a dominant/dominated relationship, as suggested in Bourdieu's theory.

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9 Original version: "Une caractéristique centrale des sociétés contemporaines est toutefois qu'il n'existe pas, comme l'ambitionnaient de l'établir les sociétés hiérarchiques traditionnelles, d'unification générale des critères de prestige qui permettraient de constituer une échelle sociale unique. Les plus grands footballeurs peuvent être complètement ignorés d'un grand mathématicien, tandis qu'un grand mathématicien pourra être complètement ignoré du grand public."

3 LINGUISTICS AND THE NORM: A LATE INTEREST

If we chose to briefly introduce the concept of norm in the area of Sociology, it is because this concept was far from the interests of most linguists for a long time. Indeed, the "most natural of social sciences" (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 33) has been, during the first half of the 20ᵗʰ century, strongly influenced by Ferdinand de Saussure's structuralist theories. Thus, Aléong shows that the question of the norm was in the background for a long time in Linguistics research:

> We know that since the end of the 19th century, the question of the norm has occupied only a very minor place in linguistic science. Indeed, if we except the particular and technical use of this term by the linguists Hjelmslev and Coseriu [...], the science of language aims to describe and explain facts of observation and is not interested, so to speak, in individual and collective valuations and judgments on the quality of facts. It is that, insofar as the value of a linguistic form does not correspond to any objective reality apart from the consciousness of the speakers, the study of the norm has more related to psychology, sociology, anthropology, and history. (Aléong, 1983, p. 257)10

In this way, before the advent of Sociolinguistics, few linguists were interested in normative issues. As noted by Aléong, Hjelmslev was one of the first to bring the concept of norm to the fore. Yet, Rey (1972) points out that Hjelmslev's theorizations were too brief and presented several unclear areas. For this reason, they will not be explored in more detail here. A more consistent theorization of the concept of norm in Linguistics has been proposed by Coseriu. In his essay *Sistema, norma y habla* (System, norm, and speech), Coseriu starts from the structuralist's considerations about the Saussurian concepts of *langue* and *parole* to, then, introduces another level of analysis: that of the norm. Then, Coseriu starts with structuralism to reformulate it without yet calling it into question (Kabatek, 2020). Coseriu does not deny the existence, already postulated by Saussure, of a linguistic system seen as a system of functional oppositions. For him, a language only exists as speech, and any language study must start from speech since it is the concrete realization of linguistic activity. However, he observes the existence of regularities in the speech that have no distinctive value and, therefore, do not "belong" to the system. Consequently, it is necessary to take into account the invariants of the system, which present a functional nature, and normal variants, which have no functional nature, that is, which do not introduce a meaning distinction:

> [...] in each language there are constant and peculiar oppositions, both between the invariants and between the normal variants, with the difference that the oppositions between invariants are functional, while the oppositions between variants do not have such a character, even though they are neither indifferent nor arbitrary in the given language. In other words, there are extra-phonological and, in general, extra-structural, non-functional aspects that do not belong to the system and that, however, are not given as purely random but characterize a language: language, in the broad sense of the term, is not only a functional system but also a normal realization"11 (Coseriu, 1967, p. 68).

Coseriu highlights that his concept of norm does not refer to the normative norm – the standard language – but has a descriptive value. It rather refers to the norm "objectively verifiable in a language", that is, a norm that indicates "how it is said" and not "how it must be said". Thus, it regards what is "normal" or "abnormal" and not what is "correct" or "incorrect" (COSERIU, 1967, p. 90). According to this scholar, the concept of norm is valid at every level: phonic, morphologic, lexical, and syntactic. From these insights,

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10 Original version: "On sait que depuis la fin du XIXᵉ siècle, la question de la norme n'occupe qu'une place bien mineure dans la science linguistique. En effet, si l'on excepte l'usage particulier et technique de ce terme chez les linguistiques Hjelmslev et Coseriu [...], la science du langage vise à décrire et à expliquer des faits d'observation et ne s'intéresse pour ainsi dire pas aux valorisations et aux jugements de valeur individuels et collectifs sur la qualité des faits. C'est que dans la mesure où la valeur d'une forme linguistique ne correspond à aucune réalité objective en dehors de la conscience des locuteurs, l'étude de la norme ressortit davantage à la psychologie, à la sociologie, à l'anthropologie et à l'histoire."

11 Original version: "[...] existen en cada lengua oposiciones constantes y peculiares, tanto entre las invariantes como entre las variantes normales, con la diferencia de que las oposiciones entre invariantes son funcionales, mientras que las oposiciones entre variantes no tienen tal carácter, aun no siendo ni indiferentes ni arbitrarias en la lengua dada. O sea que existen aspectos extrafonológicos y, en general, extraestructurales, afuncionales, no pertenecientes al sistema y que, sin embargo, no se dan como puramente casuales, sino que caracterizan una lengua: la lengua, en el sentido amplio del término, no es sólo sistema funcional, sino también realización normal.

he tries to outline a "coherent theory of speech and its formalization"[12], in which he distinguishes three levels – system, norm, and speech – which correspond to three levels of abstraction, the system being the most abstract form.

Thus, Coseriu (1967, p. 97-98) establishes the following definitions:

a)   the system is a "set of functional opposition";
b)   the norm is the "'collective' realization of the system, which contains the system itself and, furthermore the 'non-relevant' functional elements, but normal to speak in a community";
c)   the speech (*el hablar*) is "the concrete individual realization of the norm, which contains the norm itself, and furthermore, the expressive originality of the individual speakers."
In this way, the norm appears to be an intermediate form that allows a transition between a greater degree of abstraction – the system –, and the concreteness of the language – speech.

4 SOCIOLINGUISTIC CONCEPTS ABOUT THE LINGUISTIC NORM

Even though Coseriu has been a pioneer in introducing the concept of   norm in Linguistics, it was mostly Sociolinguistics – rather than structuralist Linguistics – that fueled the reflection on this topic. In this part, some attempts to define linguistic norms in this area will be presented, with a specific focus on more recent propositions.

It is arduous to give a fixed definition of what "linguistic norm" is given the proliferation of terms in the current literature. The term "norm" is indeed polysemous. Thus, Bagno, in his *Dicionário crítico da sociolinguística*, points out that the *Dicionário Houaiss da língua portuguesa* describes duplicity in the notion of norm, offering two distinct definitions, although both classified under the label "Linguistics". The first appears as a "set of *precepts established in the selection of what should or should not be used* in a certain language, taking into account linguistic and non-linguistic factors, such as traditions and sociocultural values (prestige, elegance, aesthetics, etc.)"[13], and the other as "everything *that is in common use* in a language relatively stabilized by social institutions"[14] (BAGNO, 2017, p. 309, my emphasis). That is, according to those definitions, the norm can be interpreted either as a set of rules or as a set of uses.
A rather complete model has been created by Baggioni and Moreau (1997), which we resume from Ledegen's writings (2013). The authors conceive of language as simultaneously a practice and a discourse about the practices. From this double definition, they proposed a model that identifies five types of linguistic norms:

a)   The *objective* norms: there are linguistic habits shared within a community, usually experienced in an unconscious way by the speakers;
b)   The *descriptive* norms: these norms explain the objective norms. They register facts;
c)   The *prescriptive* norms: these norms establish a model to follow, conceptualized as "the" standard language;
d)   The *subjective* norms: there are linguistic attitudes and representations, such as considering a language being "beautiful" vs. "ugly", "soft" vs. "rude", etc.;
e)   The *fantasized* norms: they refer to the concept of "linguistic imagination" (*imaginaire linguistique*) developed by Houdebine. According to Baggioni and Moreau (1997, p. 222-223), those norms are an "abstract and inaccessible set of prescriptions and prohibitions that no one can embody and for which everyone is at fault"[15]. They can be individual or collective and add up to the four other types of norms.

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[12] Original version: "teoria coerente del hablar y de su formalización."

[13] Original version: "conjunto dos *preceitos estabelecidos na seleção do que deve ou não ser usado* numa certa língua, levando em conta fatores linguísticos e não linguísticos, como tradições e valores socioculturais (prestígio, elegância, estética etc.)".

[14] Original version: "tudo *o que é de uso corrente* numa língua relativamente estabilizada pelas instituições sociais."

[15] Original version: "ensemble abstrait et inaccessible de prescriptions et d'interdits que personne ne saurait incarner et pour lequel tout le monde est en défaut."

The model provided by Baggioni and Moreau offers lines of thought that allow grasping the concept of norm from multiple prisms. But it is certainly not the only existing classification. However, we will start from it to nurture our considerations on this subject, since several types of norms can be discussed together, or even in a single category. Thus, in the next section, we will discuss the relations between "objective norms, "standard language" and "subjective norms".

The objective norms

The objective norm refers to what Faraco and Zilles (2017, p. 12) call the "normal norm", that is, the "linguistic reality in its variability, in its fluidity, in its own dynamics in the universe of social interrelations"[16]. It is also called "descriptive norm" because it is subject to the descriptions of linguists who use empirical methods.

Since the 19th century, Linguistics has adopted a descriptive attitude, characterized by a scientific approach to language and an empirical approach that aims to describe language with the support of data. In this way, it is worth noting that Baggioni and Moreau separate the "objective" norm from the "descriptive" norm. Indeed, the "descriptive" norm is nothing more than a description of a tiny part of the "objective" norm. In essence, an exhaustive description of the objective norms is unattainable, and any undertaking of a linguistic description constitutes a reduction of the objective norms.

It is worth mentioning that the use of the plural is preferable to refer to this kind of norm: within an *x* group (ex: the group of Portuguese speakers), there are always several ways of speaking that can be observed and which are usually grouped by linguistics under the name "variety" (e.g.: "Portuguese", "Brazilian", "carioca" variety, etc.). To a certain extent, it could be argued that every person has their own speech, their own idiolect, and that every idiolect has a system of objective norms.

The codified norm

The objective, observable, and describable norms are often opposed to the norm called by Faraco and Zilles (2017, p. 12) a "normative norm", defined as such by them: "attempt to regulate, control, normatize the linguistic behavior of the speakers in certain contexts". Baggioni and Moreau, as well as many other authors, refer to it as a "prescriptive norm", precisely because it prescribes, orders, and enjoins ways of speaking to the speakers.

Yet, several authors prefer to avoid using the denomination "prescriptive norm". This is the case of Siouffi (2011, p. 17), according to whom it would be more appropriate to talk about a "prescriptive enunciate" than a "prescriptive norm" since it is possible to have a normative behavior without an enunciate[17], whereas it is not possible, by definition, to prescribe without enunciating. Del Valle also defines prescriptivism as a practice whose exercise is to modify behavior, usually in the form of an injunction. In this sense, prescriptivism is a particular form of normativism: every prescriptive act is normative, but not every normative act is prescriptive. A good example of this is the preparation of dictionaries: choosing one or another word to appear in the dictionary and excluding others is a normative act but not a prescriptive one: "The normativity to which we refer here should not be confused with prescriptivism. The latter is a metalinguistic practice that explicitly seeks to impose certain uses on others; it is only one of the many ways in which normativity appears" [18] (Del Valle *et al.*, 2021, p. 18).

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[16] Original version: "realidade linguística em sua variabilidade, em sua fluidez, em sua dinâmica própria no universo das inter-relações sociais."

[17] This can be exemplified by the variety of corrective feedback from the teacher in the classroom. Corrective feedback is always normative behavior since it aims to correct a mistake made by a student. However, it does not always materialize by a prescriptive enunciate like "we don't say X, we say Y". Then, feedback can be a mere reformulation (ex: "- I have two dog / - Ah, yes, you have two dogs."), without explicit prescriptive enunciate to make the correction.

[18] Original version: "No se debe confundir la normatividad a que aquí aludimos con el prescriptivismo. Este último es una práctica metalingüística que de manera explícita pretende imponer ciertos usos frente a otros; y es solo una de las múltiples formas en que se puede manifestar la normatividad."

his postulate meets the definition of "linguistic prescription" given by Amorós Negre (2008, p. 94), according to which prescription is a "universal sociolinguistic behavior, consubstantial to the very beginning of thinking and linguistic consciousness"[19]. For sure, linguistic prescriptions exist in all societies. That is, a linguistic prescription does not exist only in communication related to the standard language, considering that prescriptions "are part of the cultural and ideological heritage of a community"[20] (AMORÓS NEGRE, 2008, p. 97). Although the establishment of a standard language usually comes with prescriptions, the distinction is important in that any linguistic form can be prescribed, and not only the ones registered in codification works.

Indeed, behaviors that do not aim to be normative end up being so. This is particularly the case for descriptions of objective norms undertaken by linguistic science. Much of the research that aimed to study the phenomenon of language in the 20th century ambitioned to "describe" language. However, as Lagares points out, the description also ends up having normative effects:

> When the grammarian objectifies a certain linguistic practice, when he describes it by putting it on paper, in black and white, he "makes public things that everyone confusedly perceived" (Bourdieu, 2004b, p. 102), which constitutes a true work of creation. Officializing a fluid practice means, in social terms, control, ratification, consecration, and, ultimately, *homologation* of this practice. Transforming a practical scheme into a "linguistic code of a legal type" (Bourdieu 2004b, p. 103) means doing away with the fluid and the vague and making clear cuts, well-defined classifications. From this point of view, the difference between description and prescription, which is fundamental for linguistic science, is not so evident, since any explicit description of practical norms ends up having normative effects[21] (Lagares, 2018, p. 163, emphasis of the author).

This phenomenon is qualified by Amorós Negre as a "covert prescription"[22] (2008, p. 107). The author resumes Haugen's postulate (1966), according to whom, before the 19th century, "all Linguistics was normative", and explains how, from that century on, linguistic science, then in development, created a clear boundary between description and prescription.

Nevertheless, as pointed out by Lagares (2018, p. 171), the distinction between objective norms and, codified norm is insufficient to globally understand the phenomenon of normativity in language: it is also necessary to take subjective norms into account.

Subjective norms

As shown by Baggioni and Moreau in their aforementioned definition, subjective norms refer to linguistic attitudes and representations. In a 1972's article, Alain Rey already indicated the term "norm" covered two concepts, the first being related to an objective and statistical situation, and the other, to a "bundle of subjective intentions", a system of values. With this distinction, he places the subjective norm as an integral part of the linguistic norm. Ledegen (2013, p.377)[23] points at: "These norms can be implicit or explicit, in which case they often constitute stereotypes. They constitute the discursive field *par excellence* of the concept insofar as sociolinguistic analysis can thus bring to light the social representations of social groups individuated by their greater or lesser deviation from the norm of the person who perceives this deviation.

The implicit or explicit character of subjective norms has already been shown, in particular, by Labov (1972, p. 178-180), who established a distinction between linguistic variables in three categories:

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[19] No original: "comportamiento sociolingüistico universal, consustancial al comienzo mismo de la reflexión y de la conciencia lingüísticas."

[20] Original version: "forman parte del acervo cultural e ideologico de una comunidad."

[21] Original version: "Quando o gramático objetiva determinada prática linguística, quando a descreve colocando-a no papel, preto no branco, "torna públicas coisas que todo mundo percebia confusamente" (Bourdieu, 2004b, p. 102), o que constitui um verdadeiro trabalho de criação. Oficializar uma prática fluida significa, em termos sociais, controle, ratificação, consagração e, em última instância, *homologação* dessa prática. Transformar um esquema prático em "código linguístico de tipo jurídico" (Bourdieu 2004b, p. 103) é acabar com o fluido e o vago e fazer cortes nítidos, classificações bem definidas. Desse ponto de vista, a diferença entre descrição e prescrição, que é fundamental para a ciência linguística, não é tão evidente, pois toda descrição explícita das normas práticas acaba tendo efeitos normativos."

[22] Original version: "prescripción encubierta."

[23] Original version: "Ces normes peuvent être implicites ou explicites, auquel cas elles constituent souvent des stéréotypes. Elles constituent le domaine discursif par excellence du concept dans la mesure où l'analyse sociolinguistique peut ainsi mettre au jour les représentations sociales des groupes sociaux individués par leur plus ou moins grand écart à la norme de celui ou celle qui perçoit ledit écart."

a)   Indicators: they are observable variables that present regular patterns, although they appear below the level of awareness of the speakers. That is, speakers do not perceive that there is variation. In Portuguese, for instance, Lívia Oushiro (2020) mentions interrogative sentences such as "Onde você mora?", "Onde que você mora?" or "Você mora onde?"[24].

b)   Markers: they are variables noticed by the speakers, and which depend on social and stylistic stratification. The example given by Oushiro in Portuguese is the diphthongization of the /ẽ/ in São Paulo, noticed only by speakers from outside São Paulo.

c)   Stereotypes: they are stigmatized variants, objects of explicit social commentaries. Oushiro gives the example of nominal concordance ("os cachorros" *vs.* "os cachorro") and verbal concordance ("nós vamos" *vs.* "nós vai") in Portuguese.

It is also important to distinguish subjective norms from codified norms: speakers' judgments may or may not correspond to the codified norm. On the other hand, there are subjective norms in any speech community, whether its language is standardized or not. One may also note that mastering a codified norm does not always go along with "speaking well" a language. The judgment about "speaking well" or "speaking badly" is not always made in relation to a current standard, codified norm. In fact, it is interesting to account for the different types of norms, especially to show that they are not always correlated. Labov had already observed that speakers can valorize linguistic features that are different from those they produce, or features that are also non-standard.

The three types of norms that we mentioned (objective, codified, and subjective) are all analyzable. However, they were studied in different areas of research, which do not always dialogue. The objective norm has been a favored object of study in Sociolinguistics, especially in its variationist aspect. The study of the subjective norm has greatly benefited from research methods in Social Psychology and studies on social representations, such as, for example, the matched guise technique elaborated by Lambert *et al.* (1960). Finally, the codified norm, or standard norm, is generally studied through the analysis of normative instruments, such as grammars and dictionaries. The strands of the History of Linguistic Ideas, driven by Sylvain Auroux (1989), and the Historiography of Linguistics, developed by Pierre Swiggers (2019), brought important points to the understanding of the language standardization process. In the following section, we will particularly focus on this notion of standard language.

5 THE NOTION OF STANDARD LANGUAGE

Amorós Negre (2008, p. 123) observes that "the terminological imprecision around the very concept of standardization is remarkable"[25]. Indeed, the terminology used can vary a lot from one author to another, with some preferring "standard"[26], "norm" or "normatization", "standardization". Thus, paradoxically, the own terminology of studies on linguistic standardization is still not standardized. In this regard, there is an ongoing initiative within the scope of the comparative standardology research line. Not being able to solve this terminological knot, we will try in this part to present the main lines of thought about the notion of standard language.

Definition problems

There are numerous definitions for the notion of standard language. Let us see some examples from Sociolinguistics dictionaries, written in different languages (Portuguese, English, and French):

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[24] All sentences can be translated as "Where do you live?". Since the text was originally written in Portuguese, we will keep the examples of this section in Portuguese. Several examples in English can be found in Labov's works.

[25] Original version: "es notable la imprecisión terminológica en torno al concepto mismo de estandarización."

[26] In the original text, in Portuguese, we also added the word "padrão", which can also be translated as "standard".

> The standard (or the standard norm) is the *model of idiomatic correction built throughout history* from the *election* of a language or linguistic variety to become the *official language* of a State[27] (BAGNO, 2017, p. 333, my emphasis).

> A standard language is usually identified as a relatively uniform variety of a language which *does not show regional variation*, and which is *used in a wide range of communicative functions* (e.g. official language, medium of instruction, literary language, scientific language, etc.). Standard varieties tend to observe *prescriptive, written norms*, which are *codified* in grammars and dictionaries (SWANN et al., 2004, p. 295, my emphasis).

> Standardization can be defined, in its simplest form, as the imposition of a *supradialectal norm* on a linguistic community, and as the *diffusion of a particular register* which, through its *associations with the State and with education*, comes to *represent the best and most legitimate form* of a given language.[28] (COSTA, 2021, p. 319, my emphasis)

From these definitions, we see that the criteria used to define what a standard language is, highlighted by the italics, are diverse: uniformity, correction model, official bond, supradialectal, etc. In this way, Pöll (2005, p. 39) emits the hypothesis that "proposing an operational definition of a standard language/variety would consist of setting out all the criteria making it possible to identify the language forms that are considered, in accordance with general opinion, to be standard […]."[29]

The denomination problem

Just as there are several definitions for "standard language", its denominations can also vary. In publications in Portuguese, the word "padrão" predominates. In several other languages of European origin the term "standard" has prevailed: *standard language* (English), *langue standard* (French), *Standardsprache* (German), *lengua estándar* (Spanish), etc.

However, according to the criteria adopted for the definition of the standard language, other nomenclatures can be found. Then, the written, or literary, character of the standard language can be emphasized, like, for instance, the term *Schriftsprache in* German or *spisovný jazyk* in Czech, used by the founders of the Prague School. The standard language can also be referred to as the "common language", *Gemeinsprache*, which emphasizes its supraregional character. In this sense, the standard can hold the position of a *koinè*. Yet, a koineization process is not also accompanied by a standardization process. Other appellations point out the prestige character of the standard language, with expressions such as *língua culta, langue cultivée, hochsprache*, etc. Those terms show that these forms enjoy a high degree of prestige in society.

The use of the term "norma culta"[30] in Portuguese has noticeably been commented by Faraco (2022, p. 37). Indeed, according to him, the notion of "norma culta" should not be confused with the one of "norma-padrão" (standard norm). Faraco and Zilles (2017, p. 19) define the "norma culta" as "the set of linguistic characteristics of the group of speakers who consider themselves educated (i.e., the 'normal norm' of that specific social group)"[31], whereas the "norma-padrão" would be "an idealized model built for specific purposes; it is not, then, one of the many norms present in the spontaneous flow of the social functioning of language, but a construct

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[27] Original version: "O padrão (ou a norma-padrão) é o *modelo de correção idiomática construído ao longo da história* a partir da *eleição* de uma língua ou variedade linguística para se tornar a *língua oficial* de um Estado."

[28] Original version: "On peut définir la standardisation, dans sa forme la plus simple, comme l'imposition d'une norme supradialectale à une communauté linguistique, et comme la diffusion d'un registre particulier qui, par ses associations avec l'État et avec l'éducation, en vient à représenter la forme la meilleure et la plus légitime d'une langue donnée."

[29] Original version: "proposer une définition opérationnelle de *langue/variété standard* consisterait à énoncer la totalité des critères permettant d'identifier les formes langagières qui sont considérées, en conformité avec l'opinion générale, comme standard […]."

[30] In English: "cultivated", "educated" norm.

[31] Original version: "o conjunto das características linguísticas do grupo de falantes que se consideram cultos (ou seja, a 'norma normal' desse grupo social específico)."

that seeks to control it"[32] (Faraco; Zilles, 2017, p. 19). Therefore, the two would not be mistaken for each other. Furthermore, the term "norma culta" has been criticized for being prejudiced and bringing "a tangle of presuppositions not always discernible"[33] (Faraco, 2012, p. 37). Indeed, the existence of the term "norma culta" implies the existence, as a reflection, of "normas incultas", non-cultivated norms, which would be that of groups devoid of culture. For this reason, Bagno (2017, p. 312) proposes a new terminology: standard norm (*norma-padrão*), prestige varieties (*variedades prestigiadas*), and stigmatized varieties (*variedades estigmatizadas*).

Recently, Faraco proposed the term "reference norm" (*norma de referência*), which appears notably in the work *Escrever na universidade: gramática da norma de referência* (Vieira; Faraco, 2022) (Writing at the university: grammar of the reference norm). The notion of "reference" is relevant insofar as it insists on its function as a guide for speakers, being a work to which they can refer in their statements in a formal context. This orientation echoes this idea of "reference French" (*français de référence*), proposed during a symposium that promoted the discussion on this topic ("Le français de référence: constructions et appropriation d'un concept"). In this event, Francard (2001, p. 238) showed that, in general, the term *français standard* was used for an abstract correction standard, an "idealization" in the sense of Milroy and Milroy (1999, cf. infra) while the term *français de référence* would refer to one or several existing varieties, attested in sentences considered as models. In this way, the "reference Frenches" could be plural and dynamic, since they are constantly updated by the speakers. On the other hand, the "standard" French, standardization in normative works, is more static and its evolution is slower. Francard shows well that these two concepts are intertwined, and they might not be distinguished in the speakers' representations. Yet, for analysis purposes, the distinction can be valuable.

Other authors have proposed other interesting denominations that bring out the role of the model played by the standard language as, for instance, the notion of *sur-norme* proposed by Garmadi (1981, p. 64). According to her, the *sur-norme*, "over-norm", is a formal system that defines the correct usage, a "system of instructions that defines what must be chosen if one wants to conform to the aesthetic or socio-cultural ideal of a milieu holding prestige and authority [...]" (1981, p. 65)[34]. This system is maintained as a communication instrument. Garmadi differentiates the *sur-norme* from the "norm", which corresponds more or less to the objective norms.

A similar conception has been developed by Coseriu in an article on Spanish from America (1990), who proposed the term "exemplary norm", opposing "the correct" to "the exemplary". According to him, "the correct is a way of being in the speech, and the exemplary is a language: a historical technique of the speech."[35] (Coseriu, 1990, p. 49). Thus, the notion of "correctness" is a property of the speech, and it refers to the conformity to an "idiomatic knowledge", that is, traditional knowledge about how to speak. For instance, any speaker of Portuguese knows, unconsciously, that it is correct to say "fui à praia ontem" and a mistake to say "irei ontem praia à". Then, for Coseriu, "the correct" refers to the aforementioned notion of objective norms. He conceives the standard norm, or exemplary, as a norm historically constituted, that should not be confused with the "correct" norm, since "it is not the "correct language" by antonomasia"[36] (Coseriu, 1990, p. 52). The exemplary norm would apply only to certain types of speech. Both concepts of "sur-norme", by Garmadi, and of "exemplary norm", by Coseriu, show that the existence of a standard language stems from a historical process that took place in different societies at different moments.

Selection criteria for the elaboration of the standard norm

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[32] Original version: "um modelo idealizado construído para fins específicos; não é, portanto, uma das tantas normas presentes no fluxo espontâneo do funcionamento social da língua, mas um construto que busca controla-lo."

[33] Original version: "emaranhado de pressupostos nem sempre claramente discerníveis."

[34] Original version: "système d'instructions définissant ce qui doit être choisi si l'on veut se conformer à l'idéal esthétique ou socioculturel d'un milieu détenant prestige et autorité."

[35] Original version: "lo correcto es un modo de ser del hablar y lo ejemplar es una lengua: una técnica histórica del hablar."

[36] Original version: "no es *la* 'lengua correcta' por antonomasia."

Standardizing a language implies a reduction of variation since those processes tend to register only certain usages occurring in the speech, which then serve as a model of linguistic description/prescription. However, it is fundamental to know under what criteria those usages are chosen: it is a matter of deciding which usages "deserve" to appear in the reference works or not.

The question of the criteria on which a standard should be based has been and still is the subject of debate among linguists. Since the 19th century, several theorists have proposed nomenclatures of criteria to elaborate a standard norm. Faraco and Zilles (2017, p. 98-99) mention in particular the Swedish linguist Adolf Noreen, who published a study in 1895 in which he listed three perspectives of normativism, that is, he argued that there could be three types of reference norm: (1) the historical-literary (based on ancient texts by renowned authors); (2) the historical-cultural (based on usage); (3) the rational (based on intelligibility and simplicity). Noreen's preference was for the norm based on rational criteria.

The debate also took place in Denmark, a neighboring country of Sweden, with the publication of Jaspersen (*Nation, Mankind and Individual*, 1925) (Faraco; Zilles, 2017; Deoclécio, Bagno, 2021), which fueled the discussion started by Noreen and developed its own considerations about criteria. He raised a series of criteria that can serve as a basis for establishing a standard:

a)   the aristocratic criterion (varieties of the privileged socioeconomic classes)
b)   the democratic criterion (based on the majoritarian usages);
c)   the logical criterion (the own "logic" of the language);
d)   the geographic criterion (based on a regional variety);
e)   the literary criterion (based on the usage of great writers);
f)   the aesthetic criterion (based on beauty);
g)   the authority criterion (based on academies or grammarians).

According to Jaspersen, none of those criteria would be valid and the issue of choosing the standard norm would be aleatory. He highlights the importance of bearing in mind that the norm is always evolving and should not be rigid. To this day, these criteria are being discussed in studies on various languages.

Sinner provides a fairly complete account of the most common arguments that have been used to legitimize prescriptive norms up until our time. We reproduce below the summary proposed by him:

> (a) the language usage of cultural authorities (elites, role models, etc.);
> (b) historically 'grown' linguistic phenomena (in the sense of a genetic concept of norms);
> (c) regional coverage / distribution (particularly of whole varieties);
> (d) practicability regarding comprehensibility (functional concept of norm);
> (e) the actual use 'by everyone';
> (f) the higher frequency of one variant in comparison to others;
> (g) the fact an element 'fits' structurally into the system;
> (h) the social adequacy, especially situational adequacy, i.e., accordance with nonverbal norms of interaction.
> (Sinner, 2020, p. 156).

The function of the standard norm

In addition to the criteria issue, questions regarding the functions of the standard language also arouse linguists' interest. Its communicative function has already been widely discussed, given that the establishment of rules allows communication with large human groups. The well-known Prague Linguistic Circle, founded in 1926, actively contributed to these discussions. During the 1920s, the group looked into the matter of the Czech language's standardization and committed itself to the elaboration of a new standard norm, getting effectively involved in the debates of that time on the Czech national question.

The Prague school focused on discussing the notion of functional differentiation, one of the characteristics of the standard language. They proposed a model schematizing the functional varieties of standard language and identified the following ones, each

corresponding to distinct functions: the "conversational" variety, the variety of work, the variety of science, and the poetic variety. The term "variety" has no sociolinguistic value here, but rather refers to the functions performed by the standard language. It is worth emphasizing that, in each of these varieties, the standard language is not realized in the same way. Thus, the utterances of standard "conversational" language are obviously not the same as those of scientific language.

Garvin (1993), an author who contributed to the circulation of Prague's thesis, complemented Havránek's theory, particularly regarding the functions of the standard language. He identifies five functions of the standard language, which correspond to certain attitudes toward the language:

a)   The *unifying* function: the standard language binds people together, despite their dialectal or cultural differences. This function corresponds to an attitude of linguistic loyalty.

b)   The *separatist* function: the standard language is used to affirm   the identity of a certain speaker's community before others. This function corresponds to an attitude of linguistic pride.

c)   The *prestige* function: the standard language gives a certain prestige to the speech community or a person who masters it.

d)   The *participatory* function: the standard language allows the speech community to use its own language in cultural and scientific activities of the modern world. This function corresponds to an attitude of willingness to participate.

e)   The *frame-of-reference* function: the standard language serves as a model for language correction. This function corresponds to an attitude of awareness of the norm.

Written standard and spoken standard

The distinction between writing and speaking has been considered fundamental in discussions about standard languages. Indeed, the standardization process initially took place in written languages. In its most simple definition, it is seen as the establishment of a grammar and a dictionary. In fact, written language has been the most standardized, since spoken language is much more difficult to standardize.

Hence Milroy and Milroy's conclusion that: "[…] absolute standardization   of a spoken language is never achieved (the only fully standardized language is a dead language)" (1999, p. 19). Thus, spoken language remains highly variable and has not been as standardized as written language: works that attempt to describe standard speech are rare. Furthermore, the description of spoken language could only be realized with technological advances and the advent of recorders, which only occurred in the 19th century.

According to Milroy and Milroy, spoken language is also less standardized than written language because of its distinct nature and functions. We summarize in a table below the main differences between writing and speaking, based on the chapter by Milroy and Milroy on the subject ("The spoken and written channels", ch. 3.4, 1999, p. 54-58):

Speaking	Writing
auditory medium	visual medium
Context-tied	Context-free
Social activity	Solitary activity
Tolerance for vagueness (ellipsis ambiguity etc.)	Intolerance for vagueness (objects, people, concepts events, actions etc., must me specified
Unplanned	Planed
Acquired with instruction	Acquired with instruction

Table 1: Differences between speaking and writing
Source: self-elaboration, from Milroy and Milroy (1999, p. 54-58)

Despite those differences between speaking and writing, the norms of the written language have been widely used as a correction criterion for the spoken language. This is particularly true in the Western world, where the role of literacy is of great importance: "The *functional* importance of literacy in the development of Western civilization   has been so great that very high values are placed on the written channel, and it is usually considered (implicitly or explicitly) to be 'superior' to speech." (Milroy; Milroy, 1999, p. 55, authors' emphasis).

Bloomfield already pointed out that: "the popular explanation of incorrect language is simply the explanation of incorrect writing, taken over, part and parcel, to serve as an explanation of incorrect speech." (1927, p. 433). Written language, standard language, also becomes the standard for spoken language. Thus, when one says to someone that he "speaks badly" or "speaks well" a language, it means first that he speaking according to or not according to the standards of the written language. The introduction of writing ends up having effects on every aspect of the language in a community and modifies its perceptions of the language. This process is irreversible, as shown by Joseph (1987, p. 39).

However, it would be wrong to state that the notion of standard language only refers to spoken language. Indeed, it is possible to identify several speech forms as "standard" even though this is a much more recent field of study. The first argument for the existence of speech standards is the existence of speech models in communities that do not use writing, as observed by Bloomfield (1927) in his study of the Menomini people. The members of this community did not use the written channel for their language, but the members identified people who spoke the language "well" or "badly". In larger societies that use writing systems, the existence of a pronunciation standard is also verified, particularly with the rise of wider communication media, which seem to favor the fixation of a speech identified by the speakers as "standard", or "neutral". Both in the Bloomfield example and for international languages, the criterion for establishing standard speech seems to be that of "model speakers".

In this way, when mentioning standard language, it is important to distinguish between written standards and oral standards since they are established according to totally different criteria and also because they were not studied in the same way (the written standard being much better known).

Is standard language a language variety?

As Amorós Negre highlights (2008, p. 153), the specialized literature frequently alludes to the "standard language" or the "standard variety", or both, without always clarifying the choice of one denomination or another. Indeed, the question of whether the standard should be considered a language variety or not still sparks debate.

A well-known position is that of Milroy and Milroy, who emphasize that the standard is not a variety but rather a representation, an ideology. For those researchers, standardization exists as "an idea in the mind rather than a reality", being a standard language "a set of abstract norms to which actual usage may conform to a greater or lesser extent" (MILROY; MILROY, 1999, p. 19). In Brazil, this conception was corroborated by Bagno, who sees the standard language as a "hypostasis", that is, an abstract reality that went through an objectification process: "The standardization process grabs the language and removes it from its intimate, private, community life and transforms it into an institution, a cultural monument, bound to a national policy and, on several occasions throughout history, to an imperial, colonial policy"[37] (Bagno, 2011, p. 359).

Thus, according to the Brazilian researcher, the standard is not a variety of the language, but rather a social institution: "Rather, it is a hypostasis ("an idea in the mind"), a social institution, and, as such, enjoys a special symbolic power, very different from that attributed to authentic linguistic varieties; it holds a prominent place in the collective imagination; it is the object of a cult and cultivation that no one ever dedicates to other ways of speaking"[38] (Bagno, 2011, p. 367).

In this way, Bagno recognizes the existence of prestigious varieties, stigmatized varieties, and the standard, which is outside the continuum of language varieties since it would not be an authentic variety, effectively performed by the speakers:
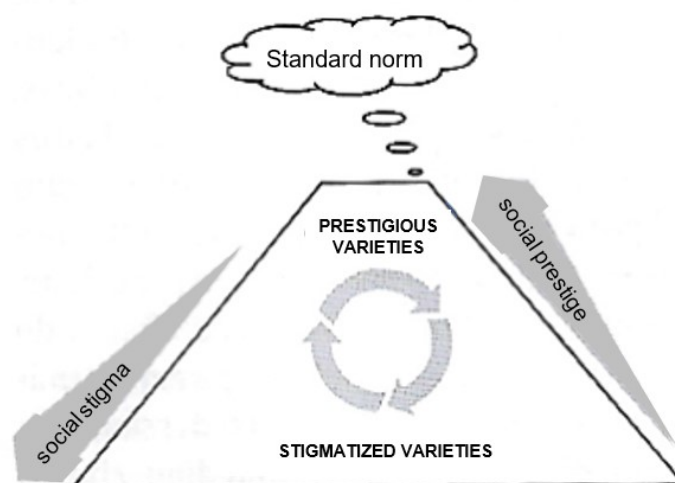

Figure 1: Standard norm, prestigious varieties et stigmatized varieties
Source: Bagno (2017, p. 312, my translation)

This conception of the standard language, as not belonging to the set of language varieties, relies on a conception of the standard language as being exclusively written. However, we have already seen that there is also a standard norm in speech. Thus, other authors consider the standard language as a language variety, such as Amorós Negre (2008, p. 153-154), for whom the standard would be a particular variety of the dialect complex that enjoys greater prestige, but has no intrinsic superiority from a linguistic point of view.

It would be better to consider that the standard interacts with the other varieties, and ends up influencing them. Thus, Van Marle (apud AMORÓS NEGRE, 2008, p. 158-159) designed a model to describe how written Standard Dutch was gradually adopted for the speech norm. This influence resulted in a hybrid speech standard, which, according to the communicative situation, fits more

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[37] Original version: "O processo de padronização agarra a língua e a retira de sua vida íntima, privada, comunitária e a transforma numa instituição, num monumento cultural, em vínculo de uma política nacional e, em várias ocasiões ao longo da história, de uma política imperial, colonial."

[38] Original version: "Ela é, isto sim, uma hipóstase ("uma ideia na mente"), uma instituição social e, nessa qualidade, goza de um poder simbólico especial, muito diferente do que se atribui às autênticas variedades linguísticas; ocupa no imaginário coletivo um lugar de destaque; é objeto de um culto e de um cultivo que ninguém dedica jamais aos outros modos de falar."

or less the written standard, especially among the educated elites. Thus, the written standard influences the other dialects, but, as a feedback effect, the other dialects and the spoken norms impact, in turn, the written standard.
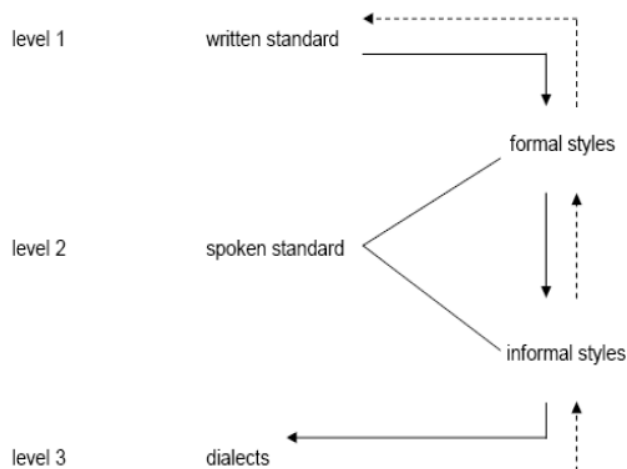

Figura 2: Relation between the different language varieties
Source: Van Marle (1997, p. 19) *apud* Amorós Negre (2008, p. 159).

Bagno also noticed the phenomenon of norm hybridization in his analysis of Brazilian Portuguese. He explains:

> […] between the standard norm and the *norma culta* – authentic usages of the language by the educated literate urban speakers – a tension zone arises in which all speakers, and more intensely these educated urban speakers, find themselves pushed by two opposed forces. The result is that ignoring the whole normative apparatus entirely and, at the same time, subject to the ineluctable force of their linguistic intuition, these speakers end up creating, each of them, a representation of the norm that is, always, a hybrid composite in which the normal and the normative interpenetrate and merge. (Bagno, 2017, p. 185)

It then appears that seeing or not seeing the standard norm as a language variety depends largely on whether the parameter is based on the written or spoken language. If the standard is just seen as writing, it probably cannot be considered a language variety, as no speaker speaks fully according to the written code. In this sense, interpreted only as "the code", the standard is indeed a representation, always partial, of the language and constitutes an ideology, in the sense of Milroy and Milroy. However, as Van Marle's schematization clearly shows, the written standard interacts with other linguistic varieties and cannot be isolated from the linguistic continuum. In addition, it is important to give a place the standard norm of pronunciation. In those times of the omnipresence of mass media, oral, not just written, channels occupy an ever-increasing space in supra-regional communication. In our view, this technological advance contributes to the dissemination of a speech standard through the existence of "model speakers".

6 FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

As we saw the concept of norm is prolific and can be understood in diverse forms. The norm can be "the normal", that is, a language seen through the lens of its registered usages, as well as "the normative", that is, the best-evaluated model by the speakers. The norm is also closely linked to linguistic attitudes. Whichever definition is used, Language Science can be enriched with other disciplines, Sociology, Anthropology, and Psychology being the most suited to approach this topic.

To conclude this article, we would like to underline that theoretical considerations and empiric works on linguistic norms have increased in recent years. In Brazil, we highlight the *Núcleo de Estudos da Norma Linguística* [Study Center on Linguistic Norm] (NormaLi), hosted by the Federal University of Uberlândia (UFU), which promotes meetings and debates on the subject and which

launched the initiative of MuGra (*Museu da Gramática*), an *online* museum that aims to present normative grammar works. On the other side of the Atlantic, in Europe, we can mention as examples *Norm, Variation, Language Change* and the SLICE projects (*Standard Language Ideology in Contemporary Europe*), both hosted by the University of Copenhagen in partnership with other universities in the world. Thus, one expects that research on the linguistic norm will still have space in the future.

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