Standard German in Austria
from the folk perspective:
Conceptualizations, attitudes, perceptions

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INTRODUCTION

One of the central precepts of the Western 'Utilitarian' scientific discourse system currently dominating academic writing is its celebration of 'anti-rhetoric': academic discourse forms "should appear to give nothing but information, […] they should appear to be making no attempt to influence the listener or the reader except through his or her exercise of rational judgement" (Scollon, Scollon and Jones 2011: 140). As Swales put it, "[t]he art of the matter, as far as the creation of facts is concerned, lies in deceiving the reader into thinking that there is no rhetoric, […] that the facts are indeed speaking for themselves" (Swales 1990: 112, cited in Scollon, Scollon and Jones 2011: 140). Of course, Scollon, Scollon and Jones's (2011) point is to expose 'anti-rhetoric' as just another form of rhetoric, and, by extension, scientific 'fact' as constructed under a specific belief system. Ultimately, scientific activity turns out to be a culturally saturated process of discursively interpreting the world.[1]

This idea is given shape and substance when one conducts sociolinguistic research on standard language use in the context of German. Inevitably, one reaches a place beyond empirical evidence where it becomes unavoidable to position oneself theoretically and methodologically in the terms of an academic-cultural discourse system mapped over the following dimensions (further discussed below):[2] the role

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[1] See also Scollon (2003) for further theoretical underpinnings from the viewpoint of Critical Realism.

At the time of writing, the world-wide Covid-19 crisis and the conspiracy theories gaining traction in its wake are throwing into public relief precisely this relativity of science, and its ambiguity as self-corrective iterator but also perplexing destabilizer of human knowledge (see e.g. discussion in Probst and Schnabel 2020).

[2] Note that we use the term 'discourse' throughout this chapter in the sense of Gee's (1999: 13) 'big-D Discourses', as ways of making sense of the world, "that is, different ways in which we humans integrate language with non-language 'stuff,' such as different ways of

of language norms, authorities, experts, and codifications; who speaks (good) standard; where is (good) standard nationally or regionally located; and whether non-linguist laypeople get to say anything about this (see also Ammon 1995).[3] What's more, discussion easily finds itself affectively charged, which is to some extent attributable to the fact that linguistic experts on the subject are often themselves 'native speakers' who experience and observe German language use not only from a (supposedly) objective, 'external' but also from a personal, insider's perspective, thus raising the emotional stakes. A general shortage of large-scale, data-rich, multidimensional, comparative studies on these topics exacerbates the situation (see Koppensteiner and Lenz 2021).

Further complexity arises from what Schmidlin (this volume), in the Swiss context, so aptly calls 'multiattitudinism': in the German-language area, there is evidence that attitudes towards 'standard language', and indeed the entire variety spectrum, are diverse and divergent across and within the various national/regional settings (Germany, Austria, Switzerland, and beyond; and across the traditional dialect regions – see e.g. Koppensteiner and Lenz 2020; see also Christen et al. 2010; Herrgen 2015; Hundt et al. 2015; Lenz 2014; Purschke 2011; Schmidlin 2011; Studler 2013). Concomitant differences in the view of what constitutes ('good') 'standard German' divide into camps laypeople just as well as linguists (cf. Koppensteiner and Lenz 2021).

In this light, the purpose of the present chapter is to position and discuss current and ongoing sociolinguistic research on German standard language in Austria with reference to the broader academic and lay discourses on standard language use prevalent in the German-language area. Below, we begin by situating our work and perspective relative to the pertinent theoretical frames and discourse matrices. Overall, for us, (non-linguist) laypeople's 'folk' conceptualizations of and attitudes towards standard language in Austria take center stage. We lay out the theoretical foundations of this position, before expounding it with existing and ongoing empirical research. Our report of the latter mostly draws on the large-scale flagship 'Special Research Programme' "German in Austria: Variation – Contact – Perception"[4]

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thinking, acting, interacting, valuing, feeling, believing, and using symbols, tools and objects in the right places and at the right times so as to enact and recognize different identities and activities, give the material world certain meanings, distribute social goods in a certain way, make certain sorts of meaningful connections in our experience, and privilege certain symbol systems and ways of knowing over others".

[3] The questions of linguistic authority and model speakers recur throughout our entire volume, flagging them as central pivots for standard language research anywhere in (Germanic-speaking) Europe.

[4] The SFB DiÖ (short for: *Spezialforschungsbereich Deutsch in Österreich*) is a comprehensive and multidimensional special research program financed by the Austrian Science Fund (FWF; funding number F'60). Its first phase ran from 2016 to 2019; its second phase is cur-

('SFB DiÖ' – see e.g. Lenz 2018) and its sphere and sources of influence. After a synthesis of findings, we conclude by widening the scope of discussion again, proposing some implications of the Austrian situation for research on German standard language at large, and beyond.

THEORETICAL FRAMING: COMMUNICATION AS A DIALOGUE

Our undertaking is theoretically grounded in a dialogical-interactional view of communication which holds that human sense-making is largely a communicative activity based in social interaction, which is, by definition, of a dialogical nature. If 'interaction' is "the reciprocal influence of individuals upon one another's actions when in one another's immediate physical presence" (Goffman 1959: 15), it follows that both producers and perceivers of communication play a constitutive role in meaning-making, on an equal footing, via joint engagement, mutual anticipation/response, and iterative, 'online' interpretation and negotiation (e.g. Bakhtin 1986 [1952–53]; Goffman 1959; Gumperz 1982; Erickson 1986; Tannen 2004; Schiffrin 2004). In other words, in a communicative exchange, both 'speaker' and 'listener' (here standing in for any production and perception role) are equally implicated as active participants whose relationship is of a two-way nature. Where speakers design their utterances in expectation of listeners' responses, trying to influence these responses (i.e. trying to relate certain communicative messages), listeners in turn are not merely passively influenced by speakers' utterances but actively shape these utterances through their responsive stance. As Gumperz (1982) puts it, meaning-making in interaction is the joint activity of relating communicative signals (including, but not limited to, the verbal) to interactional context, so as to arrive at fully 'contextualized' messages, in a process of ongoing negotiation and interpretation he calls 'inference'. 'Context' here may draw on anything from micro to macro, from past to present to future projections, from immediate physical surroundings to global or even imagined settings, from short turns to whole speech events, from local personas to generalized identity categories, and so on (see e.g. Erickson 1982 for illustration; see furthermore Hymes' 1972 SPEAKING grid for a heuristic to capture the central contextual parameters of 'communicative events').

   The dialogical-interactional model of communication thus holds that the speaker's and the listener's perspective, and therefore language production and language perception (including perceptions of the social meanings of language use, aka atti-

tudes and ideologies), are intrinsically related and mutually constitutive.[5] Production anticipates perception, and is shaped by it accordingly (as both are shaped by context). Under this theory of communication, studying production without perception would ignore an essential ingredient of meaning-making. It is with this idea in mind that we here propose to shed light on (non-linguist) laypeople's 'folk' conceptualizations of and attitudes towards standard language in Austria, as a quintessential yet hitherto underexplored 'ingredient' in Austrian language use at large. In other words, while most research, and indeed controversy, on this topic has focused on standard from a production perspective (as we will review shortly), we propose a change of view in academic discourse, tackling the inherent complexities of standard language use from the twin end of perception, in order to help untangle and illuminate some of the traditional 'sticking points' – to which we turn next.

'STANDARD LANGUAGE' IN THE CONTEXT OF GERMAN

Conceptually prior to any and all discourse on German standard language, in Austria and elsewhere, is the notion of 'standard language' as such. Following Milroy (2001), it can be argued that German (just like e.g. English and French) is embedded in a 'standard language culture'. The concomitant folk belief system (aka 'standard language ideology' or SLI – see also Milroy and Milroy 1985) centers on the idea that there exists a reified, 'correct', 'canonical', 'ideal' form of language whose correctness can be determined linguistically, that this form does not arise naturally (through L1 acquisition) for most but has to be taught (especially in school), and that it should be revered and groomed as a sophisticated, historical, cultural achievement and heritage (and possibly prevented from changing). In many respects, this amounts to a prescriptivist perspective on language.

Milroy (2001) goes on to argue that (socio)linguists, despite typically subscribing to a descriptivist perspective, are complicit in this folk ideology. The term 'standard' as such technically refers to "the imposition of uniformity upon a class of objects" (p.531), typically for "economic, commercial and political" functions (p.535). For standard languages, this 'technical' functionality would generally be taken to comprise intercomprehensibility and communicative efficiency. In sociolinguistics, however, the term 'standard' is routinely extended beyond this definition, to that which is socio-indexically considered a society's most prestigious variety (regardless of its degree of uniformity); and/or it is applied to the most 'formal' and 'careful' way of expression (both written and oral). These senses of

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[5] See Soukup (2013) and Ghyselen (this volume) for cognitive sociolinguistic proposals regarding the production-perception link, with reference notably to Kristiansen (2008).

'standard', however, are evaluative and socially determined rather than technical-neutral.[6]

As Fasold (2006) explains, similar to Milroy, a fallout from conflating these technical (objectively calculable) and evaluative (arbitrarily selective) senses of 'standard' is that it inversely promotes the idea that non-standard language varieties (ethnolects, regiolects, sociolects) are somehow linguistically inadequate by a fixed, external, objective measure, while they are actually being ostracized by (variable and alterable) social judgment and dominant, elite consensus. Thus, an objectivist narrative infiltrates what is, linguistically, mostly a phenomenological and historical caprice of social selection.

Milroy (2001) points out that SLI is an ideology precisely because it is not the only way to think about language existing in the world. As an example, he cites research on Austronesian communicative systems which evidences cultural repertoires that show little reification and categorization of 'languages' as such (both central activities of standardization). In fact, sociolinguistics itself has recently begun to deconstruct its traditional occupation with neatly compartmentalized (albeit inherently variable) linguistic systems, experimenting instead with concepts of fluid and leaky 'repertoires' to explicate language use on the ground, which is notoriously difficult to pin down (see e.g. Blommaert and Rampton 2011; see also Ghyselen this volume).[7]

That academic discourse on German is largely embedded in a 'standard language culture' in Milroy's sense is evident in the fact that the very existence of standard language as such is hardly disputed. Yet scholarly discourse also grapples with SLI from within and without, contesting the proper perspective, approach, and focus to apply. As already mentioned, central points of contention are (1) where, in which country or region of the entire German language area, the (best) standard is spoken; (2) what role language norms, authorities, experts, and codifications play for determining standardness; (3) who might be a model speaker; and (4) to what

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[6] See, exemplarily, Auer's (2005: 8) definition of 'standard' as "a *variety* of a language (which follows a 'norm' or 'codex', i.e. 'standard' does not designate the norm itself), which is characterised by the following three features: (a) it is orientated to by speakers of more than one vernacular variety (which does not necessarily imply that it is mastered by everybody), (b) is looked upon as an H-variety and used for writing [...], and (c) it is subject to at least some codification [...] or conscious *Ausbau* (Kloss 1967).[4] [Fn 4/p.32: This last criterion is an attitudinal one; it is not the act of codification (such as the existence of a grammar and a dictionary) which makes a standard variety, but the fact that its speakers think that such things should exist and that, where they exist, they should determine how members of that society ought to express themselves in situations in which the standard is required.]"

[7] See furthermore Lenz (2003) for a synoptic approach that integrates the concepts of varieties and fluid repertoires in the context of West Central German: from an etic perspective, variation on the dialect–standard axis can be cast as a continuum, while from an emic perspective certain *Verdichtungsbereiche* (density clusters) on the continuum become manifest.

extent the practices and beliefs of non-linguist laypeople should be the keystone of this debate.

We assume, for now, that questions (2)–(4) are fairly transparent in their focus and concern. In the German linguistics literature, these are oftentimes discussed with reference to Ammon's (1995: 73–82) 'Soziales Kräftefeld' (or Hundt's 2010 rendition of it), which puts them in relation to each other as interlinked yet potentially competing forces in the architecture of standard German. These forces are not so much debated *per se* but rather regarding the scope of their influence and consequence. We return to them further below, when we delve into the specifics of standard German in Austria.

Meanwhile, issue (1) of geographically locating standard German overarches all the others, and has proven to be hotly contested on a conceptual level, to the point where it bears some explanation to the uninitiated. The linchpin is the notion of 'pluricentrism' (see also Schmidlin's and Ghyselen's chapters, this volume). As the term suggests, it relates to the question of how many national or regional 'centers' (in terms of 'norms,' 'prototypes', 'foci', 'reference points' – perhaps even: 'gestalts') of standard German should be assumed in view of a linguistically coherent and adequate definition and description. Linguistic models favoring a 'monocentric' perspective assume standard language to have (only) one normative center, and a broad periphery. Distance from the center is held to imply increasing deviation and 'less correctness' (cf. Schmidlin 2011: 77). The concept of pluricentrism contests this mono-normative view of dealing with standard language variation, proposing multiple (particularly geographically or nationally assigned) centers.

Indeed, from the perspective of analyzing oral and written language production, the bulk of corpus-based evidence disfavors a monocentric perspective concerning the German language area. In particular, (model) texts originating in Germany, Austria and Switzerland exhibit divergent, identifiable 'national' or at least regional patterns and regularities (cf. Ammon, Bickel and Lenz 2016; Elspaß, Dürscheid and Ziegler 2017).[8] Assuming that regularity (within such model texts) is indicative of unmarkedness, 'expectedness', and, by extension, 'standardness', this is taken by critics of monocentrism to mean that standard German usage is most adequately described with reference to more than one national 'center' of gravitational linguistic pull, and is hence pluricentric.

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[8] The model texts adduced in corpus-based inquiries into German standard language usage usually comprise certain types of print media like newspapers (cf. Ammon, Bickel and Lenz 2016; Dürscheid, Elspaß and Ziegler 2018). Of course, controversy, particularly regarding the sub-types of pluricentrism called plurinationalism vs. pluriarealism (which we turn to presently), also plays out on the level of data collection, e.g. concerning whether or not the focus should be on specific newspaper sections and media with a markedly regional (vs. pan-regional or national) reach.

A common definition in this line holds that a language is considered pluricentric, "if it is used in more than one country as national or regional official language ('Amtssprache') resulting in differences on different linguistic levels of standard language" (Ammon, Bickel and Lenz 2016: XXXIX). Today, plenty of languages are considered pluricentric, including German, English, French, and Spanish (cf. Ammon, Bickel and Lenz 2016: XXXIX). While the above definition of pluricentrism is largely accepted amongst linguists within the German language area, there are further definitions available: "In a looser sense, a language is also pluricentric if within the frontiers of a nation state several dominant or standard varieties co-occur (such as the case of High German and Low German). In the loosest sense possible, all languages are pluricentric insofar as dialectal variation naturally emerges and evolves around regional centers where social identities come to the fore" (Kristiansen 2008: 2). As some aspects of these definitions come into play with regard to academic discourse (see below), we return to them later on.

In the initial conceptualization of the theoretical framework of pluricentrism from a German perspective by Heinz Kloss (e.g. 1967) around the mid-20th century, the key terms 'national variety' and '(linguistic) center' were not necessarily connected (cf. Ammon 1995: 47), though this was later proposed in the work of Michael Clyne (e.g. 1995; see also Ammon 1995: 48). The key term 'center' itself leaves room for interpretation insofar as it can denote entire countries just as well as regions that have developed standard (German) specifics; thus, it does not clearly delimit its scope of application (Ammon, Bickel and Lenz 2016: XXXIX). In consequence, pluricentrism, at least from a German linguistic perspective, has arguably turned into a hypernym (cf. Ammon 1996; Schmidlin 2011), with two conceptual sub-camps, viz. 'plurinationalism' and 'pluriarealism' (the latter alternatively: 'pluriregionalism', cf. Ammon 1996: 136). Here, the contesting rationales are largely about what communal order level should primarily be adduced to circumscribe coherent manifestations of standard German; i.e., whether the impact of national borders (> *plurinationalism*) vs. that of dialect regions (> *pluriarealism*) should be given epistemological preference in compartmentalizing standard German (see also Schmidlin, this volume). These seemingly divergent approaches have led to controversial academic discussions particularly amongst German-speaking linguists (cf. Scheuringer 1996; Wiesinger 2014). Proponents of the pluri*national* approach have suggested that, in contrast to the pluri*areal* view, their stance is theoretically especially well-founded,[9] and, from an academic perspective, may be considered 'common sense' notably within the broader, international pluricentric languages paradigm (cf. de Cillia and Ransmayr 2019; Dollinger 2019a, 2019b). Yet in Austria,

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[9] According to Ammon (1996: 136), this is actually not the case for either flavor of pluricentrism.

for one, supporting empirical data on corresponding lay attitudes is scarce, being largely limited to schooling contexts.

Linguists endorsing the pluri*areal* (or pluri*regional*) perspective argue their case on the basis of the historical linguistic development of the German language area, as well as its special diatopic circumstances, whereby dialect regions overlap national borders – a linguistic situation few other pluricentric languages exhibit. Meanwhile, the pluriareal camp has been critiqued for interpreting their data on shifting bases, and, in the Austrian context, for being dominated by voices and views from 'outside' (i.e. from 'non-Austrian natives'), purportedly running the risk of not properly taking (Standard) Austrian German specifics as well as Austrian cultural particularities into account.[10]

Of course, what we can thus generically call the 'pluri-X' issue is further fueled by the ever latent, historically touchy topic of (German) nationalism.[11] And in fact, on some level, the disputes between the two camps appear impossible to settle, because sparring often occurs from the discrepant vantage points of synchronic versus diachronic linguistic developments and, depending on which, conflate or differentiate pluriareality and areal variation in general (cf. discussion in Glauninger 2013; see also Auer 2021).

Certainly, the current linguistic debate on approaches to pluricentrism would benefit from being more inclusive, balanced, and less heated. Ammon's (1996: 136) proposal to grasp Standard German as both plurinational *and* pluriareal sounds promising for de-escalation. After all, as he so aptly puts it, "the relevance of national varieties for national consciousness or national identity might appear enlarged through linguistic eyewear" (Ammon 1995: 203).[12]

From a plurinational perspective (e.g. Clyne 1995), German standard language does exhibit certain country-specific particularities that make it possible to delimit, say, an Austrian from a German German standard variety. Still, this approach is highly contested. Pluriareal counter-arguments draw on empirical findings from analyses of language production (cf. Glauninger 2013; Scheuringer 1996) that routinely deliver evidence in favor of regional, rather than national, 'standard usages' (*Gebrauchsstandards*) whose areal scope typically transcends national borders.

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[10] Of course, this critique opens the Pandora's box of etic vs emic scientific 'objectiveness' and impartiality. By logical extension, this stance would also put much work on the world's most researched language, English, in doubt, simply because it is produced by non-native English speakers. The benefits of this position do not seem quite clear.

[11] For different perspectives on that topic see, on the one hand e.g. de Cillia and Ransmayr (2019); Dollinger (2019a, 2019b), and on the other hand, respectively e.g. Glauninger (2013); Herrgen (2015); Scheuringer (1996); Wolf (1994).

[12] Original quote: "die Relevanz der nationalen Varietäten für das Nationalgefühl oder die nationale Identität [könnte] durch die sprachwissenschaftliche Brille vergrößert [erscheinen]".

According to Deppermann, Kleiner and Knöbl (2013: 86), "a definition of a 'standard usage' should include the following criteria: the variety must be an *Ausbausprache* (Kloss 1952), which can be used for the vast majority of communicative events in a speech community orienting towards the same *Dachsprache* ('language roof', Kloss 1952); it must be comprehensible to members of the speech community without additional effort; it must be a part of the repertoire of an average educated speaker, i.e. a speaker who is able to take part efficiently in all kinds of social interaction which do not require professional training in speech, and who is regarded as a competent native speaker."

Existing research on (potential) differences between an Austrian and a German German national *Gebrauchsstandard* has so far focused on the lexical and grammatical system levels in writing. Here, the *Variantenwörterbuch* (*VWB* – Ammon, Bickel and Lenz 2016) and the *Variantengrammatik* (Elspaß, Dürscheid and Ziegler 2017) constitute – corpus-linguistics based – reference works that capture and document lexical/grammatical variation in German written standard language across different areas and countries. The basis for both were model texts particularly drawn from print media (newspapers).

The investigation of pronunciation differences between German in Austria and in Germany has been largely limited to the language production of younger, well-educated speakers. The corpus *Deutsch heute* of the German *Institut für deutsche Sprache* (IDS; cf. Kleiner 2015) currently constitutes the most comprehensive documentation of *Gebrauchsstandard* within this class of speakers. The *Atlas zur Aussprache des deutschen Gebrauchsstandards* (*AADG* – 'Pronunciation atlas of the German standard of use' – cf. Kleiner 2012, 2014) is based on transcriptions of the *Deutsch heute* corpus, and provides instrumental-acoustic analyses of selected sound features. *AADG* data and analyses attest a wide range of regional differences in the oral *Gebrauchsstandard* of younger speakers. Yet, the areal patterns exhibited in reading pronunciation, for one, rarely fall along or can be ascribed to national borders (cf. Kleiner 2012, 2014).

In the Austrian context, the *AADG*'s broad-coverage survey data analyses are substantially supplemented by some in-depth studies of selected phenomena of *Gebrauchsstandard* investigating, for example, variation in degrees of vowel aperture, pronunciation of unstressed <-ig>, or [x]/[ç] distribution (cf. Brandstätter and Moosmüller 2015; Hildenbrandt 2013; Hildenbrandt and Moosmüller 2015; Lanwermeyer et al. 2019; Moosmüller 2015; Moosmüller, Schmid and Brandstätter 2015; Moosmüller and Vollmann 2001). The Austrian particularities uncovered are also represented in such pronunciation dictionaries as – more or less officially – focus on German in Austria (e.g. Muhr 2007; Krech et al. 2009; see also the current edition of the *Duden* pronunciation dictionary – Kleiner, Knöbl and Mangold 2015; see furthermore Hirschfeld 2008 for critique of Muhr 2007).

Fully in line with Ammon's (1995) proposed compromise, then, evidence for both a plurinational as well as a pluriareal narrative can be found in the analysis of language production, which a due account of standard German in Austria (and in general) needs to reconcile. Meanwhile, *stereotypical* ascriptions of language phenomena to nation-states by non-linguist laypeople – so-called linguistic shibboleths – do not necessarily nor even frequently relate to actual areal-national distributions of language use as established by linguists, adding even more complexity to the discussion (see also further below).[13] Ignoring this fact, and not accounting for phenomena that are commonly *perceived* as typical for 'the Austrian' vs. 'the German' standard (independent or even regardless of their production-based distribution across geographic or social space), would severely compromise the validity and applicability of linguistic research of German standard language (cf. Auer 2014). Thus, it is necessary to integrate both the 'objective-linguistic' perspective, focusing on analyses of actual language production, and the subjective-attitudinal perspective, focusing on concomitant perceptual aspects, in academic discourse on varieties of and variation within standard German (see also Ghyselen, this volume, in the context of Belgian Dutch). In other words, the key question of "Who is writing/speaking standard German in Austria how?" must be complemented by the question of "Which features are prototypically perceived and enregistered as (standard) Austrian German?".

In sum, we draw the conclusion from the discussion so far that SLI is the necessary anchor point for any sociolinguistic description of 'standard language' of German (and elsewhere) that wishes to be empirically adequate – precisely because the object of study is constituted by this ideology. We furthermore fully subscribe to Milroy's (2001) argument that linguists themselves are propagators of SLI, even as they may seek to pinpoint and refute its inherent bias (particularly against minority varieties), as long as they presuppose the very concept of a 'standard language'. As a consequence, we propose that the best way forward in the ongoing cacophony of academic discourses on standard German (in Austria) is to move towards a bootstrapped view of standard language that gives pride of place to the lay practitioners' perspective. In this, our vantage point is that of a truly *applied* sociolinguistics, in

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[13] According to Auer (2014, with reference to Agha 2003), such structures are embedded within 'processes of enregisterment': "Processes of enregisterment produce social values attached to language forms. In the case of the standard varieties of a pluricentric language, these social values have two dimensions. On one dimension (the *internal* one) they encode (as all standard languages do) at least a subgroup of the following features: respect, formality, complexity, correctness, stiffness, arrogance, high social status, intelligence, ambition, modernity, etc. which are partly metonymically transferred from their typical speakers to the language varieties. On another dimension (the *external* one), they encode national identity against the alterity of the other *language centres* of the same language" (p. 32; italics in the original).

the sense that we consider it the purpose of our research to empirically gather insights into the workings and outcomes of real-life sociolinguistic behavior on the ground. Thus, we take the investigation of how non-linguist laypersons in Austria communicatively make sense of the world as our principal concern, over any systemic-structural approach or description. The former is the yardstick by which the latter must be measured.

Further, as mentioned above, we approach the issue within a dialogic communication framework, whereby production is shaped by perception (as both are shaped by context), so that studying production without perception would ignore an essential ingredient of meaning-making. In order to study and describe standard language from a folk perspective, we therefore especially need to investigate standard-related, perceptual/attitudinal folk discourses systems – or, folk SLIs, which have hitherto been under-researched in our context.[14] Indeed, in the analysis of standard language in Austria (as elsewhere), we would otherwise miss a keystone of real-life linguistic activity and practice.

Below, we compile what we currently know about Austrian folk SLI discourses from current and previous research. As mentioned before, our central source is research conducted within the SFB DiÖ, while of course we also take into account research conducted outside its realm and before its inception.

FOLK SLIS IN AUSTRIA: EMPIRICAL EVIDENCE

In the following, we provide a synthesis of empirically grounded research regarding folk SLIs in Austria, which we quite simply conceptualize as non-linguists' attitudinal / perceptual / ideological discourses regarding standard language in Austria. Here, as in our preceding discussion of the pertinent academic discourses, we find ample evidence and therefore regard as given that standard language culture (see Milroy 2001) is pervasive in Austria, so that a (to be further specified) variety of German is reified as particularly 'beautiful', 'correct', 'sophisticated', 'formal', 'educated', 'professional', 'comprehensible', 'neutral', 'prestigious' etc. (see Soukup 2009 and forthc., Koppensteiner and Lenz 2021 for summary discussion). Building on this, our concern is now with the forms Austrian folk SLIs appear to take.

Second, we do not here focus on the folk linguistic differentiation of standard from regiolects or sociolects (and hence from nonstandard varieties / registers with-

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[14] See Soukup (2014, 2015) for theoretical discussion of 'language attitudes' and 'ideologies' in terms of 'discourses', or, more generically and following Scollon (2003), as sedimented 'human epistemological constructions' featuring the social meanings related to language use, including evaluative stances.

in the common linguistic vertical cone model of a dialect–standard axis, see e.g. Auer 2005; Lenz 2010), or any concomitant definition of standard *ex negativo* ("if a person's speech is free of structures that can be identified as nonstandard, then it is considered standard" – Wolfram and Schilling-Estes 1998: 12).[15] As Milroy (2001: 534) puts it: "Indeed, the standard / non-standard dichotomy is itself driven by ideology – it depends on prior acceptance of the ideology of standardization and on the centrality of the standard variety". Trying to capture what constitutes Austrian standard / SLIs 'in the positive' is thus our primary, albeit probably more complex, concern here.

Further, there still is a lack of evidence regarding the relationship of spoken and written types of 'standardness' from a folk linguistic perspective. There is some (provisional) evidence, though, that this kind of media differentiation is ambiguous in Austrian folk SLIs: Results in Koppensteiner and Lenz (2017, 2020, 2021) indicate that spoken stimuli are also, among other things, qualified as 'written language' (*Schriftsprache*), thus conflating both types of media. In tribute to this ambiguity and lack of research, we suspend any disentanglement of the medium of standardness in Austrian folk SLIs for the time being.

In the following sections, then, we attempt to specify Austrian folk SLIs in as much detail as is currently available. First, we consider the role of language norms and codices, which play a central role in Ammon's (1995) widely accepted *Soziales Kräftefeld* architecture of standard language. Similarly, the next sub-section takes on discourses regarding Ammon's parameter of model speakers. We then compile folk views on Austrian linguistic particularities (shibboleths), so-called 'Austriacisms', looking at how they may stake out Austrian standard language from a perceptual perspective. All of these discourses are pervaded by the overarching pluri-X question, particularly as regards the position of an Austrian standard vis-à-vis a/the German German standard. We more broadly explore the extent to which such discourses actually play a role from a folk linguistic perspective in the fourth sub-section, before we finally submit our conclusion(s) for this chapter.

The role of language norms and codices

In the context of Ammon's (1995) *Soziales Kräftefeld* architecture of standard language, it is proposed that reference works can significantly enhance the sociolinguistic status of country-specific linguistic particularities simply by endorsing certain variants as standard. Further, there are certain 'normative' instances that govern

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[15] For research on the folk perceptual conceptualization of 'standard' in Austria on the feature level see e.g. Kleene (2020), Koppensteiner [in prep.], Koppensteiner and Breuer (2020), Koppensteiner and Lenz (2021), Moosmüller (1991), Soukup (2009), Lenz (2021), Lenz, Dorn and Ziegler (2021).

the process of both establishing and sustaining these variants as 'language norms' in Ammon's (1995: 75) sense. Thus, 'language norms' are typically (but not always) connected to country-wide validity: "Orientation towards a codex of a standard variety is not voluntary, but in a certain sense prescribed. Codification is furthermore not simply a description of language norms, but rather their affirmation and confirmation, as well as, often, an imposition of new norms" (Ammon 1995: 75).[16] Codified language norms are also the basis for legally backed and required acts of evaluation and sanctioning, such as emendation (correction) and grading in the educational context (see also below). A precondition is, of course, that the standard language codices be known and accepted within the speech community concerned, at least on the part of experts and authorities (like teachers, i.e. 'normative authorities' according to Ammon 1995: 75), and that they actually be implemented and used in language-centered contexts such as education and the media.

The codification of Austrian standard language is in fact concordantly deemed inadequate by researchers (cf. de Cillia and Ransmayr 2019; Ender and Kaiser 2009). The lexical level is the lone exception, because here the "*Österreichisches Wörterbuch – ÖWB*" (2018, 43rd edition) figures as an officially validated regulatorium and dictionary.[17] Its linguistic quality and authoritative status (beyond the educational context), however, have faced critique over time (see e.g. Ammon 1995: 135–141; Ammon 1996: 134; Schmidlin 2011: 68–69 for discussion).

In theory, the *ÖWB* is the dictionary to be used in Austrian schooling, for one. But reality has it different: according to findings reported in de Cillia and Ransmayr (2019), only the older generation of teachers use the *ÖWB*, while both younger teachers and students predominantly have recourse to the official German German dictionary, the *Duden* (e.g. Dudenredaktion 2019), as well as to reference sources on the Internet.[18]

The fact that teachers/educators in general adduce the norms and codifications in the *ÖWB* only to a rather limited extent in their everyday professional activities, if at all, is evident throughout the research on the topic of norm awareness and emendation practices (see the overview in de Cillia and Ransmayr 2019). Austrian teach-

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[16] Original quote: "Die Orientierung am Kodex einer Standardvarietät geschieht nicht freiwillig, sondern ist in gewissem Sinne vorgeschrieben. Die Kodifikation ist auch nicht nur Beschreibung von Sprachnormen, sondern deren Bekräftigung oder Bestätigung und außerdem oft auch Setzung neuer Sprachnormen."

[17] Regarding initiatives aiming for a codified standard Austrian pronunciation norm, see the overview in Lanwermeyer et al. (2019).

[18] As de Cillia and Ransmayr (2019: 223) point out, the *Duden* itself provides extensive Internet resources that are to some extent accessible free of charge. While the *ÖWB* has just now begun to also feature an online version (https://www.oewb.at/index.htm), this one is only accessible via a user key featured in the (payable) print edition, and thus not freely available to all.

ers are much more likely to mark Austriacisms than their German German equivalents, and attribute a higher level of standardness to variants from Germany than to the 'native' ones. The intergenerational comparisons drawn in de Cillia and Ransmayr (2019: 187) show this trend to be growing, insofar as younger teachers "tend towards a higher acceptance of Germanisms and older [teachers] towards more variant loyalty regarding Austriacisms".[19]

Yet it is to be noted that supposedly 'common German' reference works like the *Duden* tend to feature German German variants as unmarked entries, while Austriacisms are represented with some qualification (e.g. "österr." / 'Austr.'). Consequently, "users from Switzerland and Austria have problems recognizing the lexical standard variants in their countries, because so-called Teutonisms [i.e. German German terms/Germanisms] are not marked as such" (Scanavino 2015: 9).[20] A rough comparison of current editions of *Duden* and *ÖWB*[21] focusing on (culinary) lexical variants from the notorious so-called 'Protocol Nr. 10'[22] evidences this: grosso modo, Germanisms are not marked as such in *Duden*, while Austriacisms are not marked as such in *ÖWB*. Within *Duden*, Austriacisms are marked as "Austrian" ("österreichisch"), such as *Faschiertes* (*hash*), *Karfiol* (*cauliflower*) or *Paradeiser* (*tomato*). In *ÖWB*, Germanisms are marked as "D" (for Germany), e.g. *Aubergine* (*aubergine/eggplant*), *Meerrettich* (*horseradish*) or *Quark* (*curd*).

Variants that co-occur both in areas of Germany and Austria, such as *Eierschwammerl* (*chanterelle*), are additionally qualified in *Duden*, e.g. with 'Bavarian' (thus: "bayrisch, österreichisch"). Yet *Eierschwammerl* is handled differently in the *ÖWB*, as it is regionally marked within Austria as 'regional, esp. eastern Austrian ("reg., bes. ostöst."), while its counterpart *Pfifferling* is marked as 'western Austrian' in addition to German German as well as Swiss ("westöst., CH, D"). Thus,

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[19] Original quote: "[…] zu einer größeren Akzeptanz von Deutschlandismen tendieren und ältere [Lehrer*innen] zu einer stärkeren Variantenloyalität gegenüber Austriazismen neigen." For further research on teachers' language attitudes (in Germany, Austria, Switzerland) regarding the dynamics of language change and the status of the German language on a general level see Lenz (2014), Buchner, Fuchs and Elspaß (this volume).

[20] Original quote: "…die Benutzer aus der Schweiz und Österreich [haben] Schwierigkeiten bei der Erkennung der Varianten der Standardvarietäten ihrer Länder […], weil die sogenannten Teutonismen […] nicht als solche markiert werden".

[21] Here, the online versions, i.e. www.duden.de (for Duden) and www.oewb.at (for ÖWB), were used.

[22] The 'Protocol Nr 10 Regarding provisions on the use of specific Austrian terms of the German language in the framework of the European Union' ("Protokoll Nr. 10 Über die Verwendung spezifisch österreichischer Ausdrücke der deutschen Sprache im Rahmen der europäischen Union") features a list of 23 mainly culinary Austrian lexical variants that were granted the same status and legality as the corresponding German German terms, as an annex to the treaty of accession between Austria and the EU from the 1990s (see e.g. de Cillia 2006; Ebner 2008).

although Austriacisms are typically not marked in *ÖWB,* if the variant is considered to occur *not* in the entirety of Austria, it is regionally marked. Meanwhile, in *Duden*, very few variants are regionally marked within Germany (e.g. as 'southern German' / "süddeutsch"). From the 'Procotol Nr. 10', these are *Kren (horseradish)* and *Schlögel (pork leg)*. There are also variants that are handled identically by *Duden* and *ÖWB*, such as *Tomate*, which is not marked in either of both codices (and this also corresponds to the *VWB*'s approach – Ammon, Bickel and Lenz 2016). In turn, *Paradeiser* is marked both in *Duden*, as 'Austrian', and in *ÖWB*, as 'especially eastern Austrian'.[23]

Overall, then, this quick round-up of the 'Protocol Nr. 10' lexemes shows that regional variation of Germanisms (in *ÖWB*) or Austriacisms (in *Duden*) is typically not depicted respectively. Rather, the regional distribution of lexical variation is predominantly taken into account only for the 'own' country-specific lexemes in the corresponding 'autochthonous' codex, while their counterparts are nationally 'other-attributed' in an undifferentiated fashion. National attribution in general is further-more only applied outside the own national realm. Given the increasing use of *Duden* in the Austrian educational context, this suggests a concomitantly increasing construction of linguistic 'normalcy' around codified German German variants and flagging of Austrian usage. Implications for Austrian folk SLIs, together with the effects of the regional compartmentalization (demotion?) of certain Austrian vari-ants in the *ÖWB*, warrant further scrutiny.

Returning from this little lexicographic excursus, one thing that becomes evident in a synthesis of existing research on the role and use of language codices in Austria is the fact that it is quite exclusively focused on teachers and students and their (self-reported) practices. Findings from beyond the educational context are lacking, and thus a big desideratum for compiling a more comprehensive picture of the im-pact of codices on Austrian folk SLIs. But as far as the evidence goes, linguistic codification of an Austrian standard German is rather slim, and what there is of it is losing traction even in the potentially most normative remit of language usage, namely education. It is therefore unlikely that Austrian SLI in any context is strong-ly shaped by or reflective of specifically Austrian codification practices.

The role of model speakers

At least within the German sociolinguistic scholarly community, the centrality of the role of model speakers and model writers for the implementation of a standard

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[23] The *VWB* indicates for *Paradeiser* 'A (without west)' ("A [ohne west]"), thus correspond-ing with the *ÖWB*'s listing. For a detailed analysis of the *Tomaten/Paradeiser* variation in Austria, cf. Lenz, Dorn and Ziegler (2021).

variety ("Setzung einer Standardvarietät" – Ammon 1995: 79) is uncontested. According to Ammon (1995: 79), model speakers/writers are presumed to be exemplary and influential in their choice of language variants. Specifically, this pertains to the oral and written texts they produce as intended for public purposes, or which are made accessible to the public; these can be called 'model texts'. Authors and editors of language codices often orient towards these supposedly exemplary texts, just like language experts and language norm authorities.[24]

In this section, we extract from the current state of research on language attitudes and perceptions in Austria some first answers to the questions of who could be called prototypical 'model speakers' of standard, viz. 'Hochdeutsch' ('High German') in folk SLIs,[25] what roles are ascribed to model speakers in non-linguist laypeople's conceptualizations of standard, and what expectations are held regarding model speakers and their language use. We qualify these findings as preliminary because there is actually a considerable lack of research regarding the perception of written patterns of *Gebrauchsstandard*, and hence on the perception of both written model texts and model writers from a lay perspective.[26]

In an online survey conducted within the SFB DiÖ in 2017,[27] participants were asked, 'Who, do you think, speaks 'pure High German'?' ("*Wer spricht Ihrer Meinung nach 'reines Hochdeutsch'?*"). 22% of respondents indicated 'TV/radio announcers' ("*TV-/Radio-SprecherInnen*"). Yet this category of speakers was only the second most frequently mentioned; the most frequent being 'no-one/hardly anyone' ("*(fast) niemand*" – 35% of responses). In the same survey context, 13% of the participants responded to the question 'Where do you hear 'pure High German'?' ("*Wo hören Sie 'reines Hochdeutsch'?*") with the answer 'nowhere' ("*nirgendwo*"), though here the pattern was reversed, with more respondents (47%)

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[24] Original quote: "[ModellsprecherInnen und -schreiberInnen gelten] in ihrer Wahl von Sprachvarianten als vorbildlich […]. Genaugenommen sind es die von ihnen produzierten mündlichen und schriftlichen Texte, und zwar nicht ihre privaten, sondern ihre für die Öffentlichkeit bestimmten oder der Öffentlichkeit zugänglich gemachten Texte. Man kann diese Texte Modelltexte nennen. An diesen als sprachlich vorbildlich geltenden Texten orientieren sich zumeist Verfasser oder Bearbeiter des Sprachkodexes. Ebenso stützen sich Sprachexperten und Sprachnormautoritäten teilweise auf diese Texte" (Ammon 1995: 79).

[25] On the lay term 'Hochdeutsch' cf. Koppensteiner and Lenz (2017, 2020).

[26] By contrast, there is ample research on written *Gebrauchsstandard* patterns and variation from a system-linguistic, (production) perspective; see e.g. the already mentioned Ammon, Bickel and Lenz (2016) for lexis, Elspaß, Dürscheid and Ziegler (2017) for grammar. For one of few production-based accounts of spoken *Gebrauchsstandard*, see e.g. Kleiner and Knöbl (2018) and Lanwermeyer et al. (2019).

[27] The sample includes answers of 182 adults of all age groups, of which the majority has an Eastern-Austrian background. The questionnaire was distributed online via different Austrian universities as well as via 'snowball sampling'.

mentioning the category of 'film/TV/radio/media'. These summary findings are illustrated by the participants' comments shown below:

> Q: 'Who, do you think, speaks 'pure High German'?'
> A: – 'Probably speakers in the media' ("*Am ehesten SprecherInnen in Medien*")
>   – 'Newscasters on national public radio (Ö1)' ("*Nachrichten-sprecher/innen im bundesweiten öffentlichen Radio (Ö1)*")
>   – 'TV hosts, radio hosts' ("*Fernsehmoderatoren, Radiomoderatoren*")
>   – 'In Austria, probably the newscasters of ZIB [the main news]. In Germany… well, even with these speakers the accent comes through. Maybe actors?' ("*In Österreich am ehesten ZIB-SprecherInnen. In Deutschland ... wobei, selbst bei diesen SprecherInnen scheint ja der Akzent durch. Vielleicht SchauspielerInnen?*")
>   – 'No-one, really; newscasters (ORF, Ö1, ARD)' ("*Niemand so wirklich; Nachrichtensprecher (ORF, Ö1, ARD)*")
>   – 'No-one, or maybe only all those come close who practice adapting their language to a standardization; people who work with language, like in speaking professions' ("*Niemand, beziehungsweise nur all jene in einer annähernden Form, die sich darin üben, ihre Sprache an eine Standard-isierung anzupassen; Menschen, die mit Sprache arbeiten, etwa in Sprechberufen*")

Thus, based on the outcome of this online survey, we can postulate that spoken-language focused media, in particular traditional TV and radio formats, are strongly connected with certain aspects of folk SLIs – notably, the idea of 'purity'.[28] Other studies in Austria confirm the central role attributed particularly to newscasters as model speakers in Austrian SLI, notably to those on public TV (viz. the channels of ORF) and radio (especially on the public broadcast station Ö1).[29] Newscasters, viz. their patterns of language use, are frequently associated with 'High German' ("Hochdeutsch" – Kleene 2020; Soukup 2009; Steinegger 1998), but also specifi-cally with attributions of 'good', 'perfect', 'pure' or 'beautiful' 'High German' (see Koppensteiner and Lenz 2017, 2020).

Yet, in all this, there is also a tendency to draw a line between German and Aus-trian newscasters, particularly in terms of how their speech is labeled. Thus, Kleene's (2020) online survey shows that many Austrian participants tag the news-

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[28] For further discussion of (linguistic) 'purism'/'purity' see e.g. Christen (1998), Haas (1992), Koppensteiner and Lenz (2020), Langer and Davies (2011), Lenz (2003).

[29] ORF (Österreichischer Rundfunk) is the state-owned, public Austrian broadcasting compa-ny (https://www.orf.at/). The main outlet for TV news is the channel ORF2. The public radio station Ö1 is also owned and run by ORF.

casting language from either country as 'High German' or 'Standard language/ German' without any further qualification (36% for German news language on the public stations ARD/ZDF, 48% for Austrian/ORF news language). However, around a third of the informants differentiate between the two types of newscasting by applying nation-specifying attributes, such that ORF-newscasting is qualified as 'Austrian High German' ("österreichisches Hochdeutsch") and contrasted with a 'German High German' ("bundesdeutsches Hochdeutsch") of ARD/ZDF speakers.[30]

These results are complemented and reinforced by findings from a series of listener judgment studies conducted from 2017–2020 within the SFB DiÖ (cf. Koppensteiner and Lenz 2020). For these studies, which implemented micro-variations in design between iterations (e.g. matched vs. verbal guise, different elicitation question wordings), participants were asked to respond to auditory stimuli that featured professional newscasters from Austria and Germany as well as non-professional speakers with an academic educational background. First results, from a pan-Austrian sample of 540 participants (mainly students, with a bias towards eastern Austria), are reported in Koppensteiner and Lenz (2020). Summarily, the findings from this study series evidence that, for Austrian listeners, German newscasters represent the concept of 'pure High German' better than their Austrian peers. However, when participants are not asked to judge the stimuli with 'pure High German' as a reference point, but rather to evaluate the speakers' qualification as an ORF newscaster, the picture is reversed, and the German newscasters are held to be less qualified than both the professional and non-professional Austrian speakers (see Koppensteiner and Lenz 2020: 67–69). Besides national origin/language socialization, a further speaker variable strongly correlating with the judgment outcomes is speakers' geographical provenance within Austria: both for the professional and the lay speakers (of academic background), those were more positively evaluated that had grown up in the east of the country, than those from the west.[31] In fact, an eastern provenance (i.e. from closer to the capital Vienna) turned out to have a greater effect on ratings than whether or not the speaker was a professional. This dovetails with findings from other studies in which informants tend to locate speakers of standard Austrian German, in absence of strong regional markers, in the east/Vienna, even regardless of their actual provenance (e.g. Goldgruber 2011; Kleene 2020; Moosmüller 1991; Soukup 2009).

In sum, these findings suggest that newscasting constitutes a salient linguistic prototype for model speakers in lay conceptualizations of standard language, viz.

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[30] Qualitative and quantitative findings similar to Kleene's (2020) currently emerge in the interview data first analyzed for Koppensteiner and Lenz (2021).

[31] Moosmüller (1991) reports similar evaluative differences in the comparison of academic, non-professionally trained speakers from western vs. eastern parts of Austria.

folk SLIs, in the Austrian context. Furthermore, both professional, and non-professional but academically trained speakers from eastern Austria whose *Gebrauchsstandard* is perceptually placed in Vienna are closely associated with this prototype.

At the same time, it must be conceded that the frequency of real-world encounters with such model speakers varies greatly between individuals. For one, ORF's self-reported market research for 2020 shows that the main public broadcast channels ORF1 and ORF2 together reach around 30% of viewers over 12, with ORF2 (which features most of the news programming) taking the lion's share of 22% (27% in prime time, 12% among 12–49 year-olds).[32] The radio station Ö1 had a 9% share in the market of listeners in 2020.[33] These numbers provide some context regarding the general exposure to the elicited prototypes, such that their actual average reach extends to a limited portion of the population on a regular basis. And it is, of course, unclear how much of the viewing/listening time directly concerns newscasting.[34]

The role of Austrian shibboleths ('Austriacisms')

We already intimated in our introductory discussion that under the concept of pluricentrism, a standard language 'center' is distinguishable on a systemic level via certain particularities of production that set it apart from neighboring centers (cf. Ammon 1995: 45–49). In the context of the German language, the lexical level has been shown to be particularly apt for this kind of differentiation. In the following, we show how this plays out in Austria from a folk perceptual perspective.[35] Note, however, that identifying and classifying a particular variant as Austrian (and hence as a so-called 'Austriacism') is complicated by the fact that the number of lexical variants that cover the whole area of Austria and not only parts of it, and that, in addition, do not also routinely occur at least in some part of a neighboring German-speaking country, is actually very small:[36]

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[32] Source: https://der.orf.at/medienforschung/fernsehen/marktanteil/index.html (March 1, 2022).

[33] Source: https://oe1.orf.at/artikel/681143/Rekordquoten-fuer-Oe1 (March 1, 2022).

[34] For empirical data on general media use among Austrian adolescents see de Cillia and Ransmayr (2019).

[35] For folk linguistic perspectives on that topic and aspects of 'standardness' see e.g. Koppensteiner [in prep.], Koppensteiner and Breuer (2020), Koppensteiner and Lenz (2021), Schmidlin (2011).

[36] The *VWB* (Ammon, Bickel and Lenz 2016), for one, contains around ca. 1,340 articles (ca. 16%) with lexemes which are marked as 'pure' Austriacisms (i.e. lemmata used all over Austria but not in other regions/countries of the German language area.

> The problem is that while it is easy to find Teutonisms (forms only used in Germany, although not in all regions), it is much more difficult to find Helvetisms or Austriacisms (forms only used in Switzerland or Austria), since there is almost always at least one regional standard in Germany which shares the feature in question. (Only a small section of the vocabulary, such as administrative terms, and, in the case of Austria, terms for food, are true Helvetisms/Austriacisms […]) The solution for this problem is to eliminate standard variation internal to Germany for the sake of constructing one feature as the German feature which can then be opposed to the Swiss or Austrian form. (Auer 2014: 41)

Yet, as already mentioned further above, the sociolinguistic status as standard of any Austriacisms identifiable as such is weakened by the fact that Austrian teachers/educators tend to deprecate them as norms in instruction and emendation vis-à-vis their German German counterparts. The annotation practices in the *ÖWB* and *Duden* do not exactly counter this effect, as our brief analysis above suggested.

Studies investigating the status of Austriacisms from a folk perspective outside of the educational context tend to apply a direct elicitation methodology, either asking speakers to report their own language use regarding written lists of Austriacisms ('Are you familiar with this word/do you use this word/in oral/written communication?' – "*Kennen/verwenden Sie dieses Wort (in mündlicher/schriftlicher Kommunikation)?*" – see e. g. Wiesinger 2015; de Cillia and Ransmayr 2019); or, alternatively, asking informants to judge the 'standardness' of words ('Please rate the following words on the scale from non-standard to standard'– "*Beurteilen Sie die folgenden Wörter auf einer Skala von umgangssprachlich/nicht standardsprachlich bis standardsprachlich*" – Pfrehm 2011). So far, however, rather than being grounded in empirical deduction, both the selections of Austriacisms featured in such studies as well as the envelope of variation implicitly constructed in the questions employed (what varies how and with what) have typically drawn on researchers' introspection or word lists perpetuated from one study to the next.[37]

Wiesinger's (2015) survey of Austrian students regarding their 'personal written language use' ("persönlicher schriftsprachlicher Gebrauch") leads him to conclude that all traditional Austrian expressions investigated are being pushed out by the respective German ones ("alle behandelten traditionellen österreichischen Ausdrücke [werden] von den entsprechenden bundesdeutschen verdrängt" – Wiesinger 2015: 117). Similarly, Pfrehm's (2011) survey of "rather well educated" nonlinguists from Austria and German shows that "First, the rater's nationality matters most in determining whether the speaker accepts a German or Austrian

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[37] A favorite fallback here is the already mentioned 'Protocol Nr 10', despite the fact that the current state of use and representativeness of the terms comprised is somewhat dubious (see e.g. Lenz, Dorn and Ziegler 2021).

written standard, or both. Second, Austrians regard both the ASG [Austrian Standard German] and GSG [German Standard German] items as standard; that is, their elicited perceptions suggest a duality of standardness" (Pfrehm 2011: 55–56). De Cillia and Ransmayr (2019: 47) confirm these trends in apparent time across different generations: "The results of the survey on the usage of Austriacisms/Teutonisms have shown […] that there exists a dynamic, age-related development in [subjectively perceived] language use under the influence of media, such that codified norms and norms of use are drifting apart" (de Cillia and Ransmayr 2019: 47).[38] However, it is somewhat unclear whether these investigations of (supposed) Austriacisms tend to yield similar results because of a true trend in Austrian SLI or because of input and design effects.

To circumvent these issues, and to uncover and dissect a potential multitude of levels that may simultaneously affect the evaluation of target words, a multidimensional perspective is called for in the analysis of the sociolinguistic status of Austriacisms. In a nation-wide survey of 572 Austrian participants,[39] the approach within the SFB DiÖ was thus to implement various production and rating tasks regarding lexical variants, but also to develop and explore the power of a new 'stereotype judgment' task (see Lenz, Dorn and Ziegler 2021). For this task, the participants were asked to rate stereotypical expressions of language attitudes regarding selected Austriacism and their German counterparts on 5-point Likert scales ranging from 'fully agree' ("stimme völlig zu") to 'not agree at all' ("stimme überhaupt nicht zu"). For illustration, Figure 1 shows results for the Austriacism *Paradeiser* versus (German German / common German) *Tomaten* ('*tomatoes*' pl.).[40]

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[38] Original quote: "Die Ergebnisse der Befragung zur Verwendung von Austriazismen/ Deutschlandismen haben auch gezeigt, […] dass es auch eine dynamische altersabhängige Entwicklung im [subjektiv wahrgenommenen] Sprachgebrauch unter dem Einfluss der Medien gibt, sodass kodifizierte Norm und Gebrauchsnorm auseinanderdriften".

[39] Participants from 238 different localities all over Austria were polled, with between 1 and 22 participants per locality. The participants were divided into two age groups (one group below 50 years of age, 450 persons in total, average age approx. 32 years, vs. an older group of 120 persons in total, average age approx. 60 years). More women (n = 425; 74%) than men (n = 143; 25%) participated, which was presumably also due to the distribution of the questionnaire in courses at German departments at different Austrian universities. 231 participants (40%) identified as students.

[40] Wiesinger (2014: 187) writes on the term *Paradeiser* < *Paradiesapfel*: 'Despite the fact that in 1930/40 *Paradeiser* dominated in all of Austria, because it was a kind of fruit cultivated in the agrarian regions of eastern Austria and delivered as indigenous produce to the western and southern Austrian mountain areas, where the fruit due to the harsh climate could not be grown, the word is nowadays limited to eastern Austria. In contrast, the west and south have due to the international trade of this produce that is now available year-round adopted the term *Tomate*. For the same reason, *Tomate* is beginning to dominate now also in eastern Austria, spreading from Vienna and other cities, and is relegating *Paradeiser* to the level of dialect.' // "Obwohl sich um 1930/40 in ganz Österreich *Paradeiser* durchgesetzt hatte, weil

Legend: ■ not agree at all ■ (rather) not agree □ neutrally ■ (rather) agree ■ fully agree

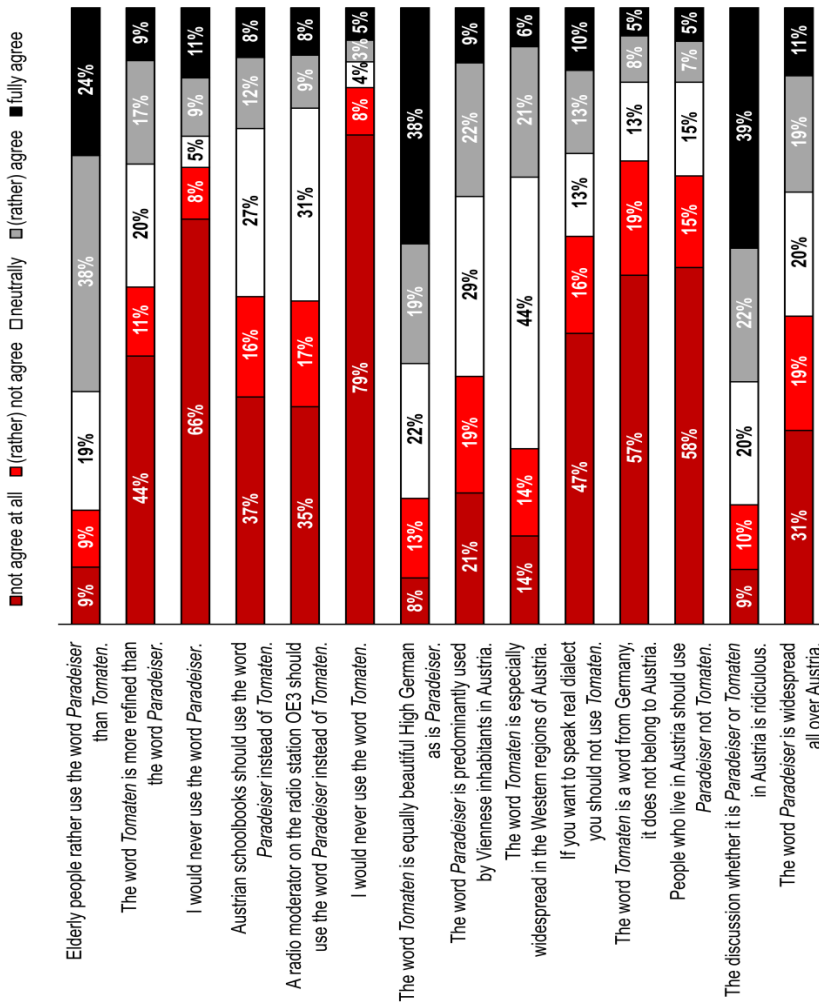| Statement	not agree at all	(rather) not agree	neutrally	(rather) agree	fully agree
Elderly people rather use the word *Paradeiser* than *Tomaten*.	9%	9%	19%	38%	24%
The word *Tomaten* is more refined than the word *Paradeiser*.	44%	11%	20%	17%	9%
I would never use the word *Paradeiser*.	66%	8%	5%	9%	11%
Austrian schoolbooks should use the word *Paradeiser* instead of *Tomaten*.	37%	16%	27%	12%	8%
A radio moderator on the radio station OE3 should use the word *Paradeiser* instead of *Tomaten*.	35%	17%	31%	9%	8%
I would never use the word *Tomaten*.	79%	8%	4%	3%	5%
The word *Tomaten* is equally beautiful High German as is *Paradeiser*.	8%	13%	22%	19%	38%
The word *Paradeiser* is predominantly used by Viennese inhabitants in Austria.	21%	19%	29%	22%	9%
The word *Tomaten* is especially widespread in the Western regions of Austria.	14%	14%	44%	21%	6%
If you want to speak real dialect you should not use *Tomaten*.	47%	16%	13%	13%	10%
The word *Tomaten* is a word from Germany, it does not belong to Austria.	57%	19%	13%	8%	5%
People who live in Austria should use *Paradeiser* not *Tomaten*.	58%	15%	15%	7%	5%
The discussion whether it is *Paradeiser* or *Tomaten* in Austria is ridiculous.	9%	10%	20%	22%	39%
The word *Paradeiser* is widespread all over Austria.	31%	19%	20%	19%	11%

Figure 1: Frequency of responses on the stereotype judgment task for the variable 'Tomaten/Paradeiser' (n=572); see Lenz, Dorn and Ziegler (2021)

es eine in den Agrarregionen Ostösterreichs angebaute Frucht war und diese als landeseigenes Erzeugnis in die west- und südösterreichischen Gebirgsgegenden geliefert wurde, wo diese Frucht wegen des rauhen Klimas nicht gedeiht, beschränkt sich das Wort heute auf Ostösterreich. Dagegen hat der Westen und Süden auf Grund des nunmehr durch den internationalen Handel des ganzjährig angebotenen Produkts mit diesem die Bezeichnung *Tomate* aufgenommen. Aus den gleichen Gründen setzt sich auch in Ostösterreich von Wien und den anderen Städten aus umgangssprachlich zunehmend *Tomate* durch und verdrängt *Paradeiser* auf die dialektale Ebene."

Findings from our illustrative case of *Paradeiser/Tomaten* show the following trends in its socioperceptual status: while the majority of respondents associate *Paradeiser* with older speakers, geographical locating of the term does not show a clear pattern. *Paradeiser* is neither consistently associated with Viennese speakers nor is it pinpointed all over Austria either. Indeed, the statement 'The word *Paradeiser* is common all over Austria' ("Das Wort *Paradeiser* ist in ganz Österreich verbreitet") is rejected with salient frequency. Yet, *Tomaten* is *not* attributed primarily to the west – despite the fact that all production data confirm this areal distribution, even across regional varieties.

Rejection of pan-Austrian usage of *Paradeiser* is spread areal-horizontally all over the country, while agreement that it is used in all of Austria is (with few exceptions) limited to eastern Austria. Thus, participants from those areas where *Paradeiser* appears in use are also those who tend to assume the word is used everywhere.

Response patterns regarding stylistic stratification of the variants are fairly consistent across the sample. The participants agree that *Tomaten* is 'just as beautiful High German' as *Paradeiser*, and that, in reverse, *Tomaten* is not more sophisticated than *Paradeiser*. Any indication that *Tomaten* might be 'incorrect dialect usage' is limited to the Central Bavarian area, where the variant does not dominate.

The survey also included statements geared at eliciting attitudes regarding model texts and model speakers. The results show that neither does *Paradeiser* find a majority supporting its inclusion in school books, nor is it strongly demanded that a radio host use it. Yet, on the whole, more participants favor inclusion of *Paradeiser* in school books than actually indicate using it themselves in their 'best High German'. At the same time, the idea that *Tomaten* be a word from Germany is clearly dismissed.

Regarding their self-assessment of language production, it seems that most of the participants do not pretend to use either variant exclusively. One fifth even agrees with the statement that 'I find the discussion of whether one says *Paradeiser* or *Tomaten* in Austria ridiculous' ("Die Diskussion, ob man in Österreich *Paradeiser* oder *Tomaten* sagt, finde ich lächerlich."). This opinion is evenly spread all over the country.

As mentioned above, this excursus into Austrian distributions of produce terminology serves to illustrate the considerable amount of intra- as well as inter-individual heterogeneity to be taken into account in the elicitation of attitudes and usage patterns – in general: the social meaning of lexical variation, particularly regarding its potential to take on socio-pragmatic identity functions in the form of national shibboleths. All in all, the matter is of considerable complexity, requiring methodology that accesses and triangulates multiple vantage points, and elicits as well as integrates interrelated aspects of language norms, codification, usage, and

folk perceptions/beliefs. Research that takes on this challenge is direly needed, and finally starting up.

Plurinational, pluriareal and monocentric perspectives – a synopsis

We mentioned earlier that the pluri-X debate overarches the 'parameters of standardness' as we have discussed them here in terms of their role in Austrian folk SLIs. Now, we extract from the available research those aspects that pertain specifically to the question of whether (or not) aspects of pluricentricity (especially plurinationalism) or monocentricity are actually detectable within folk SLIs in Austria. Ultimately, the question arises to what extent the experts' debate (see further above) is actually mirrored in non-linguists' views on standard German at all.

The basic fact that, from a folk perspective, there actually exists an Austrian Standard German, diverging from a German Standard German, is broadly undisputed in the literature (cf. Kaiser 2006; Kleene 2020; Moosmüller 1991). However, frictions arise as soon as we try to pinpoint its status in contrast with (a) German Standard German, as the findings and conclusions start to diverge. In Moosmüller's (1991) seminal study on language attitudes in Austria, informants revealed a certain linguistic orientation towards Germany, boosted by intense socio-economic intertwining (e.g. trading of goods, supply of services, tourism). According to Moosmüller (cf. 1991: 16), this might pave the ground for linguistic insecurity (in Labov's sense – e.g. 2006). Other studies, however, indicate that a sense of more linguistic independence / autonomy from Germany clearly increased between 1984/85 and 1991 (cf Steinegger 1998: 377).[41] Such evaluations are supported by de Cillia's (cf. 1997: 120) findings that point towards a (to a certain extent vague) common perception that (the) different German Standard varieties are equally valid (see also Kaiser 2006: 242), though they may diverge from each other in certain linguistic nuances. These nuances, in turn, are far from being clear, though linguists have classified any concrete mentions as pertaining predominantly to the levels of lexis, grammar and prosody (cf. Kaiser 2006: 241; see also our discussion above).

Certain studies do indicate detectable evaluative distinctions regarding the different types of standard. Thus, Moosmüller (1991: 16–18) concludes that Austrian informants tend to conceptualize an 'own' Austrian Standard language which is evaluated more positively than its counterpart from Germany. These findings correspond in large parts with Kaiser's (2006: 241), who shows that an Austrian Standard is favored on the attitudinal dimension of 'attractiveness'; yet a German Stand-

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[41] Steinegger (1998: 377) writes that he cannot provide any conclusive reason for what he calls an 'astonishingly high' increase, outside of speculating about the ideological effects of the reunion of Germany and an increasing participation of post-WWII generations in the survey.

ard is rated higher by Austrians on the dimensions of 'status' and 'dynamism'. Similarly, Kleene (2020: 381) concludes from her data that German Standard German is judged as more 'correct' by Austrian informants than its Austrian counterpart.[42]

Adding further complexity, results from listener judgment tests in Herrgen (cf. 2015: 155) show that Austrians informants do not only evaluate an Austrian professional speaker as speaking rather 'pure High German', but a German professional speaker as well. These results are interpreted by Herrgen (2015: 155) such that there are supposedly *two* standard 'norms of oralization' (cf. Schmidt and Herrgen 2011) present in Austria, rather than only the 'own' Austrian one. Koppensteiner and Lenz (cf. 2020) latched onto these findings in their series of listener judgment tests with regard to 'standardness'. In the end, they conclude,

> Standard in Austria is closely linked to highly heterogeneous dimensions of evaluation. In particular, the parameters 'pure High German' and 'being suitable for ORF newscasting', both showing diverging evaluative patterns, play major roles for the perception of 'standardness'. However, there are decisive perceptual differences between Austrian and German [audio samples], which indicates a focus shifting away from competing (German speaking) country-specific conceptualizations of 'pure High German' on to different and heterogeneous dimensions of 'standard in Austria'. (Koppensteiner and Lenz 2020: 74)

The above findings only tentatively outline certain lay parameters that match the linguistic concept of pluricentricity (differentiating an Austrian from a German standard). These are further contextualized by a seminal study directly addressing lay concepts of pluricentricity in the German language area, namely Schmidlin (2011). Polling 908 informants from Austria, Germany, and Switzerland online, Schmidlin (2011: 297) finds, on the one hand, that national borders do have relevance with regard to pragmatic and cognitive lay conceptualizations of standard language (cf. Kleene 2020 for similar findings). Yet Schmidlin (2011: 287) actually reaches the summary conclusion that "the most widespread view on varieties of German corresponds to the monocentric model, so that there is a geographically

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[42] Our reviewers point out that this attitudinal spilt between 'status' and 'dynamism' on the one hand, and 'social attractiveness' on the other, is a rating pattern typically found in standard vs. dialect evaluation set-ups; they take this as a hint at monocentric folk SLI (whereby only German German is the 'true' standard). Yet, we find the exact same attitudinal pattern in the study iteration of investigating attitudes towards Austrian standard language vs. (Bavarian-)Austrian dialects, whereby Austrian standard shows higher 'status' and dialect higher 'attractiveness' ratings (see Soukup forthc.). This seems to further substantiate Herrgen's (2015) 'two-standard' argument, as discussed next.

placeable, single standard norm, from which (southern) varieties deviate".[43] Thus, in Austria, pluricentric awareness seems to be rather low (cf. de Cillia and Ransmayr 2019: 46, interpreting Schmidlin 2011: 296). In other words, Schmidlin's overall diagnosis is that a monocentric form of SLI is strong within lay conceptualizations.

Herrgen (2015: 148) adds yet another twist to the story, questioning Schmidlin's (cf. 2011) diagnosis. He argues that it is unclear whether the fact that Austrian listeners tend to judge Austriacisms as less correct than Teutonisms is actually a fallout of classic monocentrism. According to him, it could also be the case that current cross-border media consumption, and the forces of pan-national trade and globalization in general, have begun to sprout *supra-national* patterns of evaluation. Herrgen calls for further research to get to the bottom of the matter, in which, at the present, we simply join.

SUMMARY AND OUTLOOK

Against the backdrop of the dominant yet conflicting academic discourses on standard language in the context of German, we ventured in this chapter to shift the focus towards folk SLIs regarding standard language in the specific case of Austria. For this, we ultimately chose, along a dialogical model of communication, an attitudinal-perceptual approach, assessing, discussing and reflecting upon what empirically grounded studies and evidence there currently are. This approach is intended to counterbalance the dominating production-oriented discussion, putting it on a more holistic, bottom-up, integrated footing that accounts for the realities of communicative *praxis*. Yet, we scaffolded this undertaking on those parameters and factors that German language scholars (linguists), from a production perspective, routinely adduce and promote as constitutive elements of standard language. The goal was to investigate and thus verify the role that these parameters and factors might actually play in folk SLIs on German in Austria (if any at all). The issues involved were broken down into the following research questions:

- What is the status of norm codices (dictionaries) in Austrian folk SLIs?
- What speaker groups seem to function as 'model speakers' of standard usage? In particular, what is the role of newscasters, whose status as prototypical model speakers is routinely propagated by sociolinguists studying German?

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[43] Original Quote: "Die am meisten verbreitete Auffassung über die Varietäten des Deutschen entspricht also eindeutig dem monozentristischen Modell, wonach es eine geographisch lokalisierbare einzige Standardnorm gibt, von welcher (südliche) Varietäten abweichen" (Schmidlin 2011: 287).

- What is the status of 'official' (codified) Austriacisms from an Austrian folk SLI perspective, and what attitudinal (affective-evaluative) attributes are associated with them?
- What corollaries can we extract from the reviewed empirical work regarding the scope of monocentric and/or pluricentric views within Austrian folk SLIs?

On the basis of our compilation of empirical evidence, we now conclude, in synopsis, that the dominant concerns of academic linguistic discourse focusing on German standard language have only limited currency in folk perspectives on standard language in Austria. This is particularly evident in the discrepant roles accorded to norm codices in folk SLIs versus linguistic/scientific SLIs. Thus, while scientific discourse on pluricentrism considers the existence of officially sanctioned language codices as a constitutive element of a 'full center' with its own proper variety of standard (cf. Ammon 1995: 96; see discussion at the outset of this chapter), in practice, the *ÖWB*, as the only officially validated Austrian lexical regulatorium and dictionary, bears a restricted prestige and influence in the educational context, which appear to be decreasing even further over generations of teachers.

By contrast, model speakers play a significant role both in the pertinent scientific discussion as well as in Austrian folk SLIs. Thus, conceptualizations of standard language elicited from a folk perspective frequently make reference to prototypical standard speakers. Professional (media) speakers function as central representatives of the prototype, with both those of perceptibly Austrian as well as German origin garnering positive attitudinal responses. Yet the positive attributions for Austrian and German professional speakers are not uniformly expressed, but rather operate on different evaluative dimensions. German newscasters are more closely associated with perceptions of 'correctness' (*Korrektheit* – a central dominion of standard language). Meanwhile, Austrian newscasters are preferred on dimensions of social attractiveness (e.g. 'likeability', 'congeniality'/ *Sympathie*, *Nähe*).

Austriacisms bear a special status both from a sociolinguistic-academic as well as a folk-perceptual vantage point. Regarding the former, they play a central role in the sociolinguistic delimitation and contestation of national varieties. However, regarding the latter, the first empirical analyses investigating Austriacisms from a truly multidimensional perspective reveal highly heterogeneous and dynamic intra- and inter-individual perceptions and attitudes (cf. Lenz, Dorn and Ziegler 2021), warranting further, extended exploration from the vantage point of folk SLIs. Early findings suggest that, at least for now, affective-evaluative assessments diverge considerably from language production patterns in Austria.

In sum, the richness and diversity of components and dimensions of Austrian folk SLIs, as uncovered in the course of our review of pertinent empirical research, defy any bid to be easily squared with the discourses and concepts regarding stand-

ard language that dominate the related academic literature. Folk perspectives on standard language in Austria are too complex and heterogeneous to be subsumed under taxonomies and terms such as monocentrism and pluricentrism, which are furthermore too frequently cast as dichotomous and irreconcilable instead of promoting nuanced gradation and integration.

Two conclusions can be drawn from this apparent conundrum, for the study of standard language in Austria, in the general context of German, and beyond. First, we need more variation, flexibility, and dynamic momentum in our scientific conceptualizations and approach to duly account for standard language from the folk perspective. And secondly, we must step up truly multidimensional research that puts speaking and perceiving individuals and their grounded views at its center, under the dialogical propensity of all communication, and in tribute to the need for external validity of our endeavors.

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