Standard Languages in Germanic-Speaking Europe:
Attitudes and Perception

Book series: Standard Language Ideology in Contemporary Europe
Editors: Nikolas Coupland and Tore Kristiansen

1. Tore Kristiansen and Nikolas Coupland (Eds.): Standard Languages and Language Standards in a Changing Europe. 2011.
2. Tore Kristiansen and Stefan Grondelaers (Eds.): (De)standardization in Late Modern Europe: Experimental Studies. 2013.
3. Jacob Thøgersen, Nikolas Coupland and Janus Mortensen (Eds.): Style, Media and Language Ideologies. 2016.
4. Alexandra N. Lenz, Barbara Soukup and Wolfgang Koppensteiner (Eds.): Standard Languages in Germanic-Speaking Europe: Attitudes and Perception. 2022.

Alexandra N. Lenz, Barbara Soukup and Wolfgang Koppensteiner
(Eds.)

Standard Languages in Germanic-Speaking Europe: Attitudes and Perception

Novus Press

Preface and Acknowledgements

The seeds for this present volume were planted in pre-pandemic times, when it was still possible to physically gather groups of scholars in a room for lively discussion and exchange, without first submitting airflow contingency plans, distributing disinfection and test kits, checking vaccination statuses, or issuing mask mandates (or, all else failing, staging things entirely online). It was thus that on Saint Niklas' day in December of 2018, a group of thirteen keynote speakers, and a well-sized audience of peers, first convened in a conference room at the Austrian Academy of Sciences for three days of jointly exploring "Standard Languages in Europe: Attitudes & Perception", as the conference was entitled.

The meeting was organized under the auspices of the Special Research Programme ('SFB') "German in Austria. Variation – Contact – Perception" (financed by the Austrian Science Fund FWF), and was further sponsored by the Austrian Academy of Sciences and the University of Vienna. The local organizing committee consisted of Alexandra N. Lenz (Austrian Academy of Sciences & University of Vienna), Wolfgang Koppensteiner (University of Vienna), Barbara Soukup (Austrian Academy of Sciences), and Rita Stiglbauer (University of Vienna), with Steff Moog serving as culinary executive. The keynote speakers were (in alphabetical order): Elisabeth Buchner (University of Salzburg), Stephan Elspaß (University of Salzburg), Anne-Sophie Ghyselen (Ghent University), Wolfgang Koppensteiner (University of Vienna), Alexandra N. Lenz (University of Vienna), Chris Montgomery (University of Sheffield), Nicolai Pharao (University of Copenhagen), Albrecht Plewnia (ids Mannheim), Christoph Purschke (University of Luxembourg), Unn Røyneland (University of Oslo), Regula Schmidlin (University of Fribourg), Barbara Soukup (Austrian Academy of Sciences), and Rebekka Studler (University of Basel).

Presentations and discussions from this conference are now precipitated in the form of this present volume.

First and foremost, we very cordially thank Nikolas Coupland and Tore Kristiansen, the SLICE series editors, for kindly allowing us to bring our endeavor into the folds of the SLICE book series, for their invaluable feedback and comments, and for their (as well as our authors') patience with the process. We furthermore thank Jacob Thøgersen (co-editor of SLICE 3) for equipping us with a SLICE style sheet, as well as Susanne Schmalwieser, Marlene Lanzerstorfer and Paulina Huber of the University of Vienna for their assistance in editing the proofs. We are indebted to the FWF for financing a considerable part of our research, in the form of the above-

Alexandra N. Lenz, Barbara Soukup and Wolfgang Koppensteiner
Vienna, March 2022

Contents

Contributors

Elisabeth Buchner, PhD candidate, University of Salzburg, Austria.

Stephan Elspaß, Full Professor, University of Salzburg, Austria.

Eva Fuchs, PhD candidate, University of Salzburg, Austria.

Anne-Sophie Ghyselen, Post-Doctoral Researcher, Ghent University, Belgium.

Wolfgang Koppensteiner, PhD candidate, University of Vienna, Austria.

Alexandra N. Lenz, Full Professor, University of Vienna, Austria. Director of the Austrian Centre for Digital Humanities and Cultural Heritage, Austrian Academy of Sciences, Austria.

Chris Montgomery, Senior Lecturer, University of Sheffield, UK.

Nicolai Pharao, Associate Professor, University of Copenhagen, Denmark.

Albrecht Plewnia, Director of the Research Programme 'Language in the Public Arena', Leibnitz Institute for the German Language (IDS), Mannheim, Germany.

Regula Schmidlin, Full Professor, University of Fribourg, Switzerland.

Barbara Soukup, Assistant Professor, University of Vienna, Austria.

Introduction: Standard languages in Germanic-speaking Europe – Attitudes and perception

Alexandra N. Lenz[i,ii], Barbara Soukup[i]
and Wolfgang Koppensteiner[i]

[i]University of Vienna, Austria; [ii]Austrian Academy of Sciences, Austria

BACKGROUND AND OBJECTIVES OF THE VOLUME

Questions and issues concerning the social dynamics and ideologies centering on standard language varieties, both from a linguistic and an attitudinal/perceptual point of view, are currently the subject of intensive research across all of Europe, in national and international projects. This heightened interest in the topic represents a notable shift in focus within sociolinguistics, from its traditional occupation with the vernacular towards (more or less) codified, super-regional, and normative language forms and uses. One reason for this shift arguably lies in the acknowledgement and appreciation of the social (and hence sociolinguistic) tensions arising between forces of globalization vs. localization, mass/social media vs. face-to-face communication, and their concomitant effects on language-driven processes of identity construction, presentation, and fractionality.

In the quest for a consolidation of pan-European insights on the topic of standard language attitudes and perceptions, first important contributions have already come out of the SLICE ('Standard Language Ideology in Contemporary Europe') network of international scholars, especially in the form of the first three books preceding the present volume in the SLICE series (Kristiansen and Coupland 2011; Kristiansen and Grondelaers 2013; Thøgersen, Coupland and Mortensen 2016).[1] As a result, different types of processes regarding fundamental tendencies of standard language dynamics under a European perspective have been identified and investigated that are not restricted to but transcend standard language varieties of single languages or specific sociolinguistic contexts. These include processes of destandardization, whereby 'old'/'established' standard languages (and their standard varieties respectively) lose their status as 'highest language/variety'.[2] Destandardization

---

[1] See SLICE-related publications at https://lanchart.hum.ku.dk/research/slice/publications-and-news-letters/publications/ (March 1, 2022).

[2] For research and reports on destandardisation in general cf. Auer (1997); Coupland and Kristiansen (2011); Daneš (1976); Daneš (2006); Deumert and Vandenbussche (2003); Lenz (2010); Mattheier (1997); Mattheier and Radtke (1997); for Dutch cf. Stroop (1998); Wil-

typically goes hand in hand with processes of democratization and liberalization that "can lead to a 'value levelling' that will secure access to public space for a wider range of speech varieties" (Coupland and Kristiansen 2011: 28). In extreme cases, destandardization might lead to "a radical weakening, and eventual abandonment, of the 'standard ideology' itself" (Coupland and Kristiansen 2011: 28). By contrast, in processes of demotization, "the 'standard ideology' as such stays intact while the valorisation of ways of speaking changes" (Coupland and Kristiansen 2011: 28).[3] Thus, while the fundamental idea remains that there exists something like a 'highest' or 'best' language (or variety), the notion of the linguistic characteristics representing this prototype is modified. The processes of reevaluation inherent in demotization might lead to "revalorization", i.e. a kind of "ideological upgrading" of former low(er) languages/varieties. Following Auer and Spiekermann (2011: 162),

> *de*motisation and *de*standardisation refer to two different processes. If a variety (such as the standard) becomes demoticised, it becomes popular (*demōs = populus* 'people'), i.e. it is used by the masses of the people. This, as we shall see, can imply both large-scale structural and attitudinal reorganisations. The term itself, however, does not imply any kind of strengthening or weakening of the status of that variety.
>
> 'Destandardisation', on the other hand, denotes some kind of structural dissolution or attitudinal debasement of the (once more focussed or more esteemed) standard variety. In theory, then, destandardisation does not exclude the demotisation of the standard variety, and vice versa. We argue that both terms are useful for the description of the European standard languages, but they should not be seen as opposite developments.

The rise of so-called 'new standards' (or 'neo-standards') is closely related to processes of demotization. Neo-standards

> are distinct from the traditional standards in terms of structure and attitudes: the new standards are considered to be 'more relaxed', 'more personal', 'more subjective', 'more creative', 'more modern'. It is possible that the new standards

---

lemyns (1997, 2003); for Italian cf. Scholz (1997); for German cf. Auer (2018a); Mattheier (1997, 2003); Spiekermann (2005); for Danish cf. Kristiansen (2003); for English cf. Nevalainen (2003); for Swedish cf. Sandøy (2002); Teleman (2003); for Norwegian see Røyneland (2009); for Polish cf. Mazur (1997).

[3] For further reference on demotization see also e.g. Ayres-Bennett (2021); Ghyselen, Delarue and Lybaert (2016); Kristiansen (2021); Mattheier (1997); Ó Murchadha (2021).

> will finally replace the traditional standards, but for the time being, the two
> standards co-exist. (Auer 2018b: 37)

From a broader perspective, these general tendencies do not only have an impact on
the European *standard* languages, but of course on the *entire* language repertoires
of individuals and speech communities. As diglossic and diaglossic repertoires[4] are
disappearing, monoglossic repertoires are increasingly becoming the norm. This
means that we more and more encounter stylistic variation *within* the realm of the
standard rather than variation between standard and other varieties of one and the
same language.[5] Instead of internal or intralingual multilingualism, external multi-
lingualism is on the rise. Parallel to these more structural/linguistic processes, what
often takes place is a revaluation of regional, national and social identity – and thus,
on the whole, 'sociolinguistic change' (e.g. Coupland 2014).

Even though this cursory overview can sketch the state of research on standard
language dynamics within Europe schematically at best, it already indicates how
closely standard linguistic dynamics on the level of actual language use are related
to language attitudinal and perceptual dynamics. Further, it has become clear that
attitudinal-perceptual dynamics within the standard language realm are always
accompanied by processes of reevaluation in the entire varietal spectrum of the
language concerned. In other words, again, dynamics within the standard language
realm always affect dynamics within the non-standard realm of a language, too (cf.
Lenz 2010).

Yet, across different socio-linguistic contexts in Europe, comprehensive lan-
guage attitudinal and perceptual analyses still remain central research desiderata,
including the necessary expansion and updating of a critical juxtaposition, compari-
son, and synthesis of current language attitudinal and perceptual findings from a
range of sociolinguistic settings, also in view of testing our hitherto accumulated
knowledge on the broad basis of ever-larger datasets. The present volume sets out to
address this issue. It includes reports of empirical studies from across Europe, in the
endeavor to throw into relief the differences and commonalities obtaining with
regards to attitudes towards and perceptions of standard language varieties, with a
focus on Germanic languages, but in socio-culturally distinct contexts with diverg-

---

[4] where "in a diaglossic repertoire, the gap between standard and traditional dialects is filled
by intermediate forms, such as regional dialects. In a diglossic repertoire, by contrast, the
speakers can only choose between the H ('high') and L ('low') varieties, without the possibil-
ity of compromise" (Auer 2018b: 164).

[5] Though this does by no means incur a loss of socio-symbolic functionality across a system:
as especially pluricentricity research reveals (Clyne 1991; cf. Lenz, Soukup and Koppen-
steiner; Schmidlin; Ghyselen this volume), not only nonstandard but also particular standard
language features may function as strong anchors for personal and group identification.

ing linguistic dialect–standard spectra and constellations. In particular, the volume conjoins studies on the sociolinguistic settings of Austria, Germany, Germanophone Switzerland, Belgium (specifically: Flanders), the UK (specifically: England) and Denmark. Their common thread, apart from a shared typological ancestry, is a focus on bottom-up approaches to research on standard language varieties, based on cutting-edge empirical methodology that takes both emic (inside, bottom-up) and etic (outside, system-oriented) aspects into account. For orientation, the chapters feature brief descriptions of the sociolinguistic-attitudinal situation at hand.

In assembling and drawing on this jointly focused yet diverse body of work, the central goal of this edited volume is to shed light on the following questions:

1) What similar or different configurations and dynamics of (socio)linguistic standard–dialect/non-standard constellations or spectra are currently manifest in the different settings? How can perceptual-attitudinal linguistic research inform, complement, and shape formal-structural work in the investigation thereof?

2) What conceptualizations of 'standard language' do we find in and across the various settings, and according to the various stakeholders (laypersons, linguists, decision-makers)? What are the functions of these concepts? How do they relate to attested linguistic features, phenomena, and behavior?

3) What kinds of similar or different attitudes towards and perceptions of standard language varieties can be observed in the different settings? To what extent is 'multiattitudinism' (Schmidlin this volume), that is, the simultaneous presence of different language attitudes in a community, manifest? What generalizations regarding attitudinal and perceptual patterns and dynamics can be drawn up that may apply across settings?

4) What methodologies can be harnessed in the investigation of attitudes towards and perceptions of standard language? What kinds of data are most useful? What can we as researchers learn from certain methods and data, and what kinds of innovations are currently being explored?

THE CHAPTERS OF THIS VOLUME

The authors contributing to this volume were first assembled as keynote speakers at the international symposium "Standard Languages in Europe: Attitudes & Perception", organized by the University of Vienna and the Austrian Academy of Sciences, and taking place in December of 2018 in Vienna. This meeting, held in the context of the large-scale, multi-year Special Research Programme 'German in Austria – Variation, Contact, Perception', funded by the Austrian Science Fund (F60) – (cf.

Lenz 2018), had the purpose of bringing together leading experts on the topic for exchange and discussion on current activities as well as innovative empirical approaches in research on standard languages in Europe, centering on Germanic languages and focusing on attitudes and perceptions. The outcome of this discussion is manifest as the present volume, whose individual chapters are now summarized in turn.

The volume opens with Lenz, Soukup and Koppensteiner's critical assessment of standard German in Austria, based on an overarching theoretical framework viewing (communicative) meaning-making as socially interactive and equally incorporating both speakers' and listeners' perspectives. The authors compare conceptualizations of standard language in Austria under an academic and a lay perspective, aiming to disentangle the issues involved in and central to these. Their review of the current sociolinguistic situation is aligned to Ammon's (1995) *Soziales Kräftefeld* ('matrix of social forces') of standard language, including the discussion of (the role of) language norms, codices, and model speakers for standard German in Austria and its parameters of 'standardness'. In addition, key issues regarding the concept of pluricentrism are picked out, drawing on data acquired within the above-mentioned multi-year Special Research Programme 'German in Austria. Variation – Contact – Perception'. The authors detect several aspects of standard language culture in comparing academic and lay perspectives. In the academic discussion, these culminate in sometimes heated debates on pluricentrism and its related notions of plurinationalism or pluriarealism. By contrast, the lay perspectives are shaped by different standard language ideological (SLI) evaluations. The authors show that key aspects of the academic linguistic discourse on German standard language are in fact heterogeneously nuanced in folk attitudinal-perceptual evaluations; and they call for the intensification of multidimensional research on folk linguistic perspectives in order to cope with the heterogeneous and complex parameters of standard German in Austria and beyond.

Buchner, Fuchs and Elspaß tie in here and shed light on standard and non-standard varieties in Austrian (internally and at the same time externally multilingual) school contexts, in which notions of standard oscillate between the poles of perceived 'standards of usage' (*Gebrauchsstandards*), i.e. actual language use in classroom interaction, and some (possibly) idealized form(s) of 'Standard German'. They tackle conceptualizations of (German) standard language use based on interview data of 82 students and 12 teachers of secondary schools in two Austrian locations (the city of Salzburg as urban region, contrasted with Zell am See as a rural setting). The data are drawn from a larger corpus within the SFB 'German in Austria. Variation – Contact – Perception'. Online questionnaires completed by the same informants add insights on actual language usage in class. In light of partly vague normative requirements (official guidelines, curricula, regulations) for lan-

guage use at school, heterogeneous conceptualizations of standard language and contextual parameters turn out to be decisive for actual language use. Thus, linguistic reality at Austrian schools is strongly tied to complex social interactional situations that guide attitudinal-perceptual evaluations. As a general result, the usage of non-standard varieties prevails in – especially rural – school contexts, while 'standard German' is predominantly evaluated as a 'written language'. However, in the urban setting (the city of Salzburg), standard might also be used in everyday conversations. The authors conclude that standard language usage in schools is, despite curricula guidelines, strongly connected to conversational practices in everyday life situations: if these are dominated by dialectal varieties, the odds of non-standard usage in school contexts increase as well.

The linguistic situation in Switzerland differs significantly from the ones in Germany or Austria, as there are different (standard) languages (German, Italian, French, and Romansh) distributed over the country, resulting in a unique constellation of societal multilingualism. As Schmidlin points out in her contribution, this circumstance allows for intensified language contact on various linguistic levels, and the development of heterogeneous attitudinal conceptualizations, along with varying normative evaluations of (different) standard languages. In her chapter, Schmidlin discusses the (Swiss) German standard language from both an etic and an emic perspective. With regard to the former, she analyzes a representative sample of (newspaper) texts used as sources for the (standard language codifying) lemmata of the *Variantenwörterbuch* (cf. Ammon, Bickel and Lenz 2016), and shows that national origin and text genres influence the amount of (national and regional) variants in the documents considerably. However, national and regional variants of German standard language make up only 5% of the total lexical German items available (cf. also Schmidlin 2013). These variational aspects lead Schmidlin to elaborate on the concept of pluricentricity, tying into the discussion in Lenz, Soukup and Koppensteiner, and discussing the impact of (administrative and dialectological) borders on the sub-concepts of plurinationalism and pluriarealism. Schmidlin pays equal attention to the emic perspective on the German standard language, presenting selected results of a large-scale study involving over 900 informants in which data e.g. on usage and language 'loyality' regarding national and regional variants were collected via online questionnaires. Schmidlin shows that there are distinct country-specifics with regard to the choice of (national) variants, varying both between countries and with regard to the linguistic level (phonological, lexical). The author concludes that attitudinal conceptualizations of the German standard language distinctively deviate from the linguistic conceptualizations, once more emphasizing the interconnections with and thus the need for attitudinal/perceptual research.

The German standard language in Germany is of high importance within the attitudinal realm of the German language area (see also Lenz, Soukup and Koppen-

steiner, and Schmidlin, this volume). This makes attitudes tied to the German standard language in Germany itself, and its status in lay linguists' usage, particularly relevant for any discussion of standard German as such. Plewnia addresses these aspects in his chapter, based on a survey representative of the German population and featuring interview data as well as online questionnaires of more than 4,300 participants. Previous findings indicate difficulties in assessing what German standard language constitutes from a non-linguist's point of view (see also the comparable results for Austria reported in Koppensteiner and Lenz 2020). Thus, it has been shown that definitions rely rather on 'negative' approaches that use dialect as point of reference ('standard is what dialect is not'). In other words, in popular conception, one of the most prominent features of German standard language is the absence of any features of regional linguistic variation. This negative view is explored in the representative survey Plewnia reports here, where he infers, for one, standard competence from the individual dialectal one. Results in Plewnia's survey indicate that (self-reported) standard language use dominates the everyday life of, on average, two thirds of the German informants (a number that is much higher in large areas of Austria and Switzerland). However, there is also regional variation within Germany in this regard, with the South being oriented more towards dialectal varieties than the northern parts. In addition, evaluative aspects, such as likeability, to a certain extent correlate with parameters like individual competence and regional origin. Even though the standard-dialect-axis is typically assessed as bipolar without intermediate 'varieties', the informants assess their own standard as 'regionally colored', adding a hitherto still underexplored facet to the complexities of standard language use and perception in Germany.

In her chapter, Ghyselen critically reviews the situation of Belgian Dutch, presenting both theoretical and methodological approaches for delineating and defining standard language on the one hand, and assessing the interplay of emic and etic perspectives on the other. She identifies parameters that at present highly affect conceptualizations of (Belgian Dutch) standard language and its normative 'components'. Amongst these, she lists pluricentrism (Belgian vs. Netherlandic standard), a complex linguistic situation (diaglossic spectra and a multilingual situation due to three official languages in Belgium), a broad range of stakeholders and the public broadcasting media (the Flemish 'VRT', held to propagate an 'artificial' standard language, 'VRT-Dutch'), as well as concerted efforts to promote 'proper' standard. *Tussentaal*, a widely used (colloquial) varietal concept falling in-between standard and dialect, has been found to compete with standard language norms to certain (ideological) extents. This leads to (linguistic) discussions on processes of destandardization, demotization, as well as restandardization. However, Ghyselen once more underlines the fact that language attitudes and corresponding perceptions are key factors in determining a standard language's functions and its underlying nor-

mative notions. She proposes usage-based models of language varieties from both the point of view of production and perception as an approach to addressing key functions and categories of standard language(s). In this context, she particularly focuses her discussion on the issues of widespread social meanings of language use, socio-situative behavior/interaction, heterogeneous (linguistic) identities and ascriptions, cognitive representations of regularities/norms, inherent varietal inhomogeneity, as well as prototypes. Ultimately, Ghyselen pleads for interweaving both attitudinal-perceptual and production data, and for their triangulation – a plea that, indeed, is a common thread throughout the present volume.

Montgomery's chapter changes the scene to England, where folk-linguistic views on Standard English have been found to center on attributions such as 'best' and 'most educated' – such that status-stressing and socio-evaluative parameters are found in academic linguistic approaches to standard languages, too. In the perceptual approach Montgomery proposes, however, folk-linguistic, (standard) ideologically biased parameters of 'standardness' are put to a critical test. The author evaluates perceptions of regional variation/non-standardness in an experiment that makes use of a certain variety of English found on the Isles of Scilly (located to the south-west of England), which is popularly perceived as very close to Standard English. The informants' task was to indicate regional markers in Scillonian speech in four different audio samples presented to them, by clicking on a button in a web browser interface at instances they perceived as distinctive. Afterwards, the individual choices were reviewed by the (over one hundred) informants. This step included the opportunity to indicate why they had selected the corresponding fragments as regional. Contrary to what the popular idea of Scillonian as standard-like would predict, then, stimuli using Scillonian speech did not generate fewer clicks than non-standard stimuli; in fact, the opposite was the case. According to Montgomery, this suggests that regional features are not necessarily excluded in the conception of varieties of high(er) status, and thus, probably, from more general concepts of 'standardness'. At the same time, he discusses potential methodological effects: one possible explanation for the (near-)standard samples generating more clicks (i.e. including more features perceived as regional) can be based on effects of 'surprise', such that listeners did not expect a (near-)standard variety to include regional features at all. This may have increased saliency in these stimuli, contrary to the non-standard samples, where regional features met informants' expectations. In all, then, Montgomery's chapter proposes a highly innovative instrument and approach to accessing lay-linguists' perceptual sensitivity for regional features, with, however, still more application and testing needed to assess the power and scope of the tool for standard language research.

Recent findings on Danish standard language from an attitudinal-perceptual perspective indicate major differences between overt and covert norms, the former

being (also) tied to local varieties, whereas the latter clearly point to Copenhagen-based (standard) speech (cf. Grondelaers and Kristiansen 2013; Kristiansen 2009). Nicolai Pharao sheds light on these selected aspects of (perceived) Danish standard speech in his chapter, presenting another methodologically highly innovative approach, this time drawn from the toolkit of psycholinguistics. Under the premise that selected reduced word forms (e.g. the reduction of intervocalic /g/) are broadly considered non-standard (and, thus, not 'proper' forms of 'standardness'), while at the same time being more difficult to process for language users, Pharao conducted and in his chapter describes a series of listener judgement tests operationalizing reduced segments, regional segmental variation, and regional prosodic variation in the stimuli. Based on his results, Pharao demonstrates, for one, that segmental reduction increases mental processing. This is not the case for word forms corresponding to standard 'norms'. He concludes that there are considerable differences with regard to the encoding of 'standard'/'non-standard' word forms in the mental lexicon, and further critically discusses the implications of these results for related evaluations of 'standardness' within the Danish attitudinal-perceptual realm.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Not entirely unexpectedly, results from the different countries and languages show diverging, heterogeneous configurations of varietal constellations and spectra, with significant effects on and implications for attitudinal-perceptual research and its results. As a short summary of the volume's contribution, then, we would like to tackle the research questions above in a 'lessons learned' manner, both including the findings of the chapters in this book as well as the discussions during the conference held in Vienna where this volume originated.

First, non-linguists basically make use of varieties as categorization tools for classifying their life world, for reducing complexity, handling social meaning. As such, standard varieties are *grosso modo* used for discrimination purposes in the same manner language varieties are generally used. Evidently, in varietal surroundings with dominant non-standard/dialectal varieties, non-standard varieties fulfill such functions as well. However, in contrast to the latter, the remarkable feature of standard – at least in the language areas tackled in this volume – turns out to be its entanglement with the parameter 'language norms'. In the quest for speakers' orientation, standard stands out in this respect. Yet this primarily applies for the written standard, and attitudinal results raise reasonable doubts about whether this is the case for (all) types of spoken standard as well – a question to be taken up by future research. This brings us to the second point: do speakers actually 'need' standard?

On the one hand, this implicates the vast field of standard language ideology already intensely researched by previous SLICE efforts. The 'need' for standard strongly depends on socialization, which differs from one language (area) to another. Here, we are dealing with the complex interaction of, e.g., situational-contextual, evaluative-prestigious, as well as indexical-linguistic phenomena and parameters that generate highly distinctive linguistic situations across the different standard languages and language areas. However, to compare the differences with regard to these phenomena and parameters from context to context, from country to country, widens the interpretational scope in attitudinal-perceptual research considerably, yet necessarily, if we are to learn from and about common patterns and dynamics.

In this interest, and in sum, the chapters in this volume showcase the challenges tied to the elicitation and interpretation of attitudinal-perceptual data, and hence call for a multidimensional empirical framework in standard varieties research.

REFERENCES

Ammon, U. 1995. *Die deutsche Sprache in Deutschland, Österreich und der Schweiz. Das Problem der nationalen Varietäten.* Berlin/New York: de Gruyter.

Ammon, U., H. Bickel and A. Lenz (eds.). 2016. *Variantenwörterbuch des Deutschen. Die Standardsprache in Österreich, der Schweiz, Deutschland, Liechtenstein, Luxemburg, Ostbelgien und Südtirol sowie Rumänien, Namibia und Mennonitensiedlungen. 2., völlig neu bearb. u. erw. Aufl.* Berlin/Boston: de Gruyter.

Auer, P. 1997. Führt Dialektabbau zur Stärkung oder Schwächung der Standardvarietät? Zwei phonologische Fallstudien. In K. J. Mattheier and E. Radtke (eds.) *Standardisierung und Destandardisierung europäischer Nationalsprachen.* Frankfurt a. M./Berlin: Peter Lang. 129–161.

Auer, P. 2018a. Dialect change in Europe – leveling and convergence. In C. Boberg, J. Nerbonne and D. Watt (eds.) *The Handbook of Dialectology*. Hoboken, NJ: Wiley Blackwell. 159–176.

Auer, P. 2018b. The German neo-standard in a Europa context. In G. Stickel (ed.) *National Language Institutions and National Languages. Contributions to the EFNIL Conference 2017 in Mannheim*. Budapest: Research Institute for Linguistics, Hungarian Academy of Sciences. 37–56.

Auer, P. and H. Spiekermann. 2011. Demotisation of the standard variety or destandardisation? The changing status of German in late modernity (with special reference to south-western Germany). In T. Kristiansen and N. Coupland (eds.) *Standard Languages and Language Standards in a Changing Europe.* Oslo: Novus Press. 161–176.

Ayres-Bennett, W. 2021. Revisiting models and theories of language standardization. In W. Ayres-Bennett and J. Bellamy (eds.) *The Cambridge Handbook of Language Standardization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 27–63.

Clyne, M. (ed.). 1991. *Pluricentric Languages. Differing Norms in Different Nations.* Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Coupland, N. 2014. Sociolinguistic change, vernacularization and broadcast British media. In J. Androutsopoulos (ed.) *Mediatization and Sociolinguistic Change*. Berlin/Boston: de Gruyter. 67–96.

Coupland, N. and T. Kristiansen. 2011. SLICE: Critical perspectives on language (de)standardization. In T. Kristiansen and N. Coupland (eds.) *Standard Languages and Language Standards in a Changing Europe*. Oslo: Novus Press. 11–35.

Daneš, F. 1976. Dialektische Tendenzen in der Entwicklung der Literatursprachen. Ein soziologuistischer Beitrag [přeprac. verze příspěvku publ. v Čs. předn. pro 6. mezinár. sjezd slavistů 1968, s. 119–128; zkrácený něm. překlad in *Die Welt der Slawen* 1968, s. 17–27]. In J. Scharnhorst and E. Ising (eds.) Grundlagen der Sprachkultur: Beiträge der Prager Linguistik zur Sprachtheorie und Sprachpflege. In Zusammenarbeit mit Karel Horálek und Jaroslav Kuchař. Band 8.2. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag. 92–113.

Daneš, F. 2006. Herausbildung und Reform von Standardsprachen und Destandardisierung. Development and reform of standard languages and destandardization. In U. Ammon, N. Dittmar, K. J. Mattheier and P. Trudgill (eds.) *Sociolinguistics/Soziolinguistik. An International Handbook of the Science of Language and Society/Ein internationales Handbuch zur Wissenschaft von Sprache und Gesellschaft*. Vol. 3/1. 2nd edition. Berlin/New York: de Gruyter. 2197–2209.

Deumert, A. and W. Vandenbussche (eds.). 2003. *Germanic Standardizations. Past to Present.* Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Ghyselen, A.-S., S. Delarue and C. Lybaert. 2016. Studying standard language dynamics in Europe: Advances, issues & perspectives. *Taal en Tongval* 68, 2: 75–91.

Grondelaers, S. and T. Kristiansen. 2013. On the need to access deep evaluations when searching for the motor of standard language change. In T. Kristiansen and S. Grondelaers (eds.) *Language (De)standardisation in Late Modern Europe: Experimental Studies*. Oslo: Novus Press. 9–52.

Koppensteiner, W. and A. N. Lenz. 2020. Tracing a standard language in Austria using methodological microvariations of Verbal and Matched Guise Technique. *Linguistik Online* 102, 2: 47–82.

Kristiansen, T. 2003. *Danish*. In A. Deumert and W. Vandenbussche (eds.) *Germanic Standardizations. Past to Present.* Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins. 69–91.

Kristiansen, T. 2009. The macro level social meanings of late-modern Danish accents. *Acta Linguistica Hafniensa* 40, 1: 167–192.

Kristiansen, T. 2021. Destandardization. In W. Ayres-Bennett and J. Bellamy (eds.) *The Cambridge Handbook of Language Standardization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 667–690.

Kristiansen, T. and N. Coupland (eds.). 2011. *Standard Languages and Language Standards in a Changing Europe*. Oslo: Novus Press.

Kristiansen, T. and S. Grondelaers (eds.). 2013. *Language (De)standardization in late Modern Europe: Experimental Studies*. Oslo: Novus Press.

Lenz, A. N. 2010. Emergence of varieties through restructuring and reevaluation. In P. Auer and J. E. Schmidt (eds.) *Language and Space. An International Handbook of Linguistic Variation. Vol. 1: Theories and Methods*. Berlin/New York: de Gruyter Mouton. 295–315.

Lenz, A. N. 2018. The Special Research Programme "German in Austria. Variation – Contact – Perception". In U. Ammon and M. Costa (eds.) *Sprachwahl im Tourismus – mit Schwerpunkt Europa/Language Choice in Tourism – Focus on Europe/Choix de langues dans le tourisme – focus sur l´Europe* (Yearbook Sociolinguistica 32). Berlin/Boston: de Gruyter. 269–277.

Mattheier, K. J. 1997. Über Destandardisierung, Umstandardisierung und Standardisierung in modernen europäischen Standardsprachen. In K. J. Mattheier and E. Radtke (eds.) *Standardisierung und Destandardisierung europäischer Nationalsprachen.* Frankfurt a. M./Berlin: Peter Lang. 1–9.

Mattheier, K. J. 2003. German. In A. Deumert and W. Vandenbussche (eds.) *Germanic Standardizations. Past to Present*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins. 211–244.

Mattheier, K. J. and E. Radtke (eds.). 1997. *Standardisierung und Destandardisierung europäischer Nationalsprachen.* Frankfurt a. M./Berlin: Peter Lang.

Mazur, J. 1997. Destandardisierungserscheinungen im gegenwärtigen Polnischen. In K. J. Mattheier and E. Radtke (eds.) *Standardisierung und Destandardisierung europäischer Nationalsprachen.* Frankfurt a. M./Berlin: Peter Lang. 221–236.

Nevalainen, T. 2003. English. In A. Deumert and W. Vandenbussche (eds.) *Germanic Standardizations. Past to Present*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins. 127–156.

Ó Murchadha, N. 2021. Renegotiating Language Norms in Minority Contexts. In W. Ayres-Bennett and J. Bellamy (eds.) *The Cambridge Handbook of Language Standardization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 741–764.

Røyneland, U. 2009. Dialects in Norway: Catching up with the rest of Europe? *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 196/197: 7–30.

Sandøy, H. 2002. Nordic language history and current trends in dialectology. In O. Bandle, K. Braunmüller, E. Håkon Jahr, A. Karker, H.-P. Naumann and U. Teleman (eds.) *The Nordic Languages*. Berlin/New York: de Gruyter. 304–312.

Schmidlin, R. 2013. Gebrauch und Einschätzung des Deutschen als plurizentrische Sprache. In K. Schneider-Wiejowski, B. Kellermeier-Rehbeini and J. Haselhuber (eds.) *Vielfalt, Variation und Stellung der deutschen Sprache*. Berlin: de Gruyter. 23–41.

Scholz, A. 1997. Das Varietätenspektrum des Italienischen im Wandel. In K. J. Mattheier and E. Radtke (eds.) *Standardisierung und Destandardisierung europäischer Nationalsprachen*. Frankfurt a. M./Berlin: Peter Lang. 61–86.

Spiekermann, H. 2005. Regionale Standardisierung, nationale Destandardisierung. In L. M. Eichinger and W. Kallmeyer (eds.) *Standardvariation: Wie viel Variation verträgt die deutsche Sprache?* Berlin/New York: de Gruyter. 100–125.

Stroop, J. 1998. *Poldernederlands. Waardoor het ABN verdwijnt*. Amsterdam: Bert Bakker.

Telemann, U. 2003. Swedish. In A. Deumert and W. Vandenbussche (eds.) *Germanic Standardizations. Past to Present*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins. 405–429.

Thøgersen, J., N. Coupland and J. Mortensen. (eds.) 2016. *Style, Media and Language Ideologies*. Oslo: Novus Press.

Willemyns, R. 1997. Dialektverlust im niederländischen Sprachraum. *Zeitschrift für Dialektologie und Linguistik* 64, 2: 133–154.

Willemyns R. 2003. Dutch. In A. Deumert and W. Vandenbussche (eds.) *Germanic Standardizations. Past to Present*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins. 93–126.

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

Alexandra N. Lenz[i,ii], Barbara Soukup[i]
and Wolfgang Koppensteiner[i]

[i]*University of Vienna, Austria,* [ii]*Austrian Academy of Sciences, Austria*

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

---

[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]

---

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-

---

rently ongoing and scheduled to run until 2023. See also the SFB's homepage: https://dioe.at/en.

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

---

[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

---

[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.

---

[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,

---

[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.

---

[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 <u>*Dachsprache*</u> ('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

---

[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-

---

[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

---

[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 further-more 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 authori-ties' 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 regulato-rium 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 emen-dation practices (see the overview in de Cillia and Ransmayr 2019). Austrian teach-

---

[16] Original quote: "Die Orientierung am Kodex einer Standardvarietät geschieht nicht freiwil-lig, sondern ist in gewissem Sinne vorgeschrieben. Die Kodifikation ist auch nicht nur Beschreibung von Sprachnormen, sondern deren Bekräftigung oder Bestätigung und außer-dem 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,

---

[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

---

[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%)

---

[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-

---

[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.

---

[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]

---

[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

---

[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]

---

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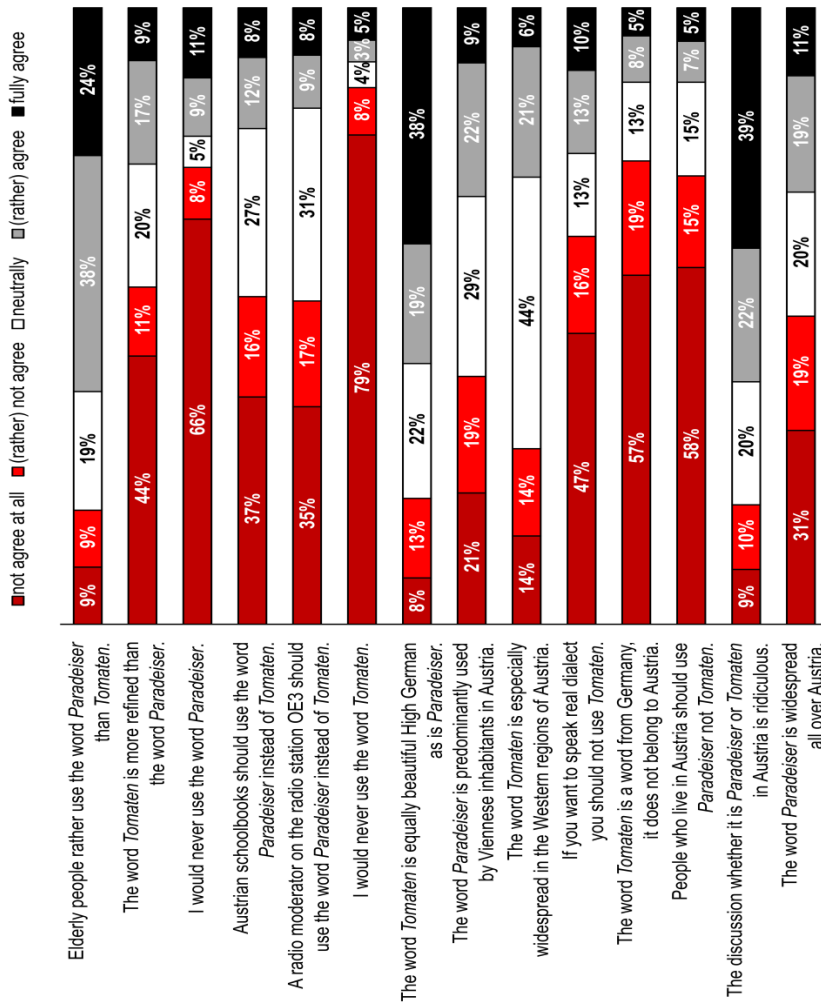
Figure 1: Frequency of responses on the stereotype judgment task for the variable 'Tomaten/Paradeiser' (n=572); see Lenz, Dorn and Ziegler (2021)

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-

---

[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

---

[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?

---

[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.

REFERENCES

Agha, A. 2003. The social life of cultural value. *Language & Communication* 23: 231–273.

Ammon, U. 1995. *Die deutsche Sprache in Deutschland, Österreich und der Schweiz. Das Problem der nationalen Varietäten.* Berlin/New York: de Gruyter.

Ammon, U. 1996. Gibt es eine österreichische Sprache? *Die Unterrichtspraxis / Teaching German* 29, 2: 131–136.

Ammon, U., H. Bickel and A. N. Lenz. 2016. *Variantenwörterbuch des Deutschen. Die Standardsprache in Österreich, der Schweiz, Deutschland, Liechtenstein, Luxemburg, Ostbelgien und Südtirol sowie Rumänien, Namibia und Mennonitensiedlungen.* 2., völlig neu bearbeitete und erweiterte Auflage. Berlin/Boston: de Gruyter.

Auer, P. 2005. Europe's sociolinguistic unity, or: A typology of European dialect/standard constellations. In N. Delbeque, J. van der Auwera and D. Geeraerts (eds.) *Perspectives on Variation.* Berlin: De Gruyter. 7–42.

Auer, P. 2014. Enregistering pluricentric German. In A. Soares da Silva (ed.) *Pluricentricity. Language Variation and Sociocognitive Dimensions.* Berlin/Boston: Walter de Gruyter. 19–48.

Auer, P. 2021. Reflections on linguistic pluricentricity. *Sociolinguistica* 35, 1: 29–47.

Bakhtin, M. 1986 [1952–53]. The problem of speech genres. In Emerson C. and M. Holquist (eds.) *Speech genres and other late essays.* Transl. by V. W. McGee. Austin: The University of Texas Press. 60–102.

Blommaert, J. and B. Rampton. 2011. Language and Superdiversity. *Diversities* 13, 2: 1–20.

Brandstätter, J. and S. Moosmüller. 2015. Neutralisierung der hohen ungerundeten Vokale in der Wiener Standardsprache – A sound change in progress? In A. N. Lenz and M. Glauninger (eds.) *Standarddeutsch im 21. Jahrhundert – Theoretische und empirische Ansätze mit einem Fokus auf Österreich*. Göttingen: Vienna University Press. 185–205.

Christen H. 1998. *Dialekt im Alltag. Eine empirische Untersuchung zur lokalen Komponente heutiger schweizerdeutscher Varietäten*. Tübingen: Niemeyer.

Christen H., M. Guntern, I. Hove and M. Petkova. 2010. *Hochdeutsch in aller Munde. Eine empirische Untersuchung zur gesprochenen Standardsprache in der Deutschschweiz*. Unter Mitarbeit von M. Reçi. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner.

Clyne, M. (ed.). 1995. The German Language in a Changing Europe. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

de Cillia, R. 1997. 'I glaub, daß es schon richtig ist, daß der österreichische Dialekt do muaß i sogn, holt bleibt' – Einstellungen der ÖsterreicherInnen zu ihrem Deutsch. In R. Muhr and R. Schrodt (eds.) *Österreichisches Deutsch und andere nationale Varietäten plurizentrischer Sprachen in Europa*. Wien: Hölder-Pichler-Tempsky. 116–127.

de Cillia, R. 2006. "Sieg im Marmeladekrieg" – Das Protokoll Nr. 10 zehn Jahre danach. In A. Fill, G. Marko, D. Newby and H. Penz (eds.) *Linguists (don't) only talk about it: Essays in Honour of Bernhard Kettemann*. Tübingen: Stauffenburg. 123–139.

de Cillia, R. and J. Ransmayr. 2019. *Österreichisches Deutsch macht Schule. Bildung und Deutschunterricht im Spannungsfeld von sprachlicher Variation und Norm*. Unter Mitarbeit von Ilona Elisabeth Fink. Wien/Köln/Weimar: Böhlau.

Deppermann, A., S. Kleiner and R. Knöbl. 2013. 'Standard usage': Towards a realistic conception of spoken standard German. In G. Kaufmann, J. C. Reina and P. Auer (eds.) *Language variation – European Perspectives IV; selected papers from the Sixth International Conference on Language Variation in Europe (ICLaVE 6), Freiburg, June 2011*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: Benjamins. 83–116.

Dollinger, S. 2019a. *The Pluricentricity Debate. On Austrian German and other Germanic Standard Varieties*. New York: Routledge Focus.

Dollinger, S. 2019b. Debunking "pluri-areality": On the pluricentric perspective of national varieties. *Journal of Linguistic Geography* 7, 2: 98–112.

Dudenredaktion (eds.). 2019. *Universalwörterbuch*. Berlin/Mannheim/Zürich: Dudenverlag.

Dürscheid, C., S. Elspaß and A. Ziegler. 2018. Variantengrammatik des Standarddeutschen. Ein Online-Nachschlagewerk. Open-Acces publication.

http://www.variantengrammatik.net (March 1, 2022).

Ebner, J. 2008. *Duden – Österreichisches Deutsch. Eine Einführung von Jakob Ebner*. Mannheim/Zürich: Dudenverlag.

Elspaß, S., C. Dürscheid and A. Ziegler. 2017. Zur grammatischen Pluriarealität der deutschen Gebrauchsstandards – oder: Über die Grenzen des Plurizentrizitätsbegriffs. In H. Sieburg and H.-W. Solms (eds.) *Das Deutsche als plurizentrische Sprache. Ansprüche – Ergebnisse – Perspektiven*. (= Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie, Bd. 136, Sonderheft). 60–102.

Ender, A. and I. Kaiser. 2009. Zum Stellenwert von Dialekt und Standard im österreichischen und Schweizer Alltag – Ergebnisse einer Umfrage. *Zeitschrift für Germanistische Linguistik* 39, 2: 266–295.

Erickson, F. 1982. Money tree, lasagna bush, salt and pepper: Social construction of topical cohesion in a conversation among Italian-Americans. In D. Tannen (ed.) *Analyzing discourse: Text and talk*. Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press. 43–70.

Erickson, F. 1986. Listening and speaking. In D. Tannen and J. E. Alatis (eds.) *Languages and linguistics*. Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press. 294–319.

Fasold, R. 2006. The politics of language. In R. Fasold and J. Connor-Linton (eds.) *An Introduction to Language and Linguistics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 373–400.

Gee, J. P. 1999. *An Introduction to Discourse Analysis. Theory and Method*. London: Routledge.

Glauninger, M. M. 2013. Deutsch im 21. Jahrhundert: 'pluri' -,'supra' - oder 'postnational' ? In I. Fiala-Fürst, J. Joachimsthaler and W. Schmitz (eds.) *Mitteleuropa. Kontakte und Kontroversen. II. Kongress des Mitteleuropäischen Germanistenverbandes (MGV) in Olmütz, 13.–16. September 2007*. Dresden: Thelem. 469–480.

Goffman, E. 1959. *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*. New York: Doubleday.

Goldgruber, B. 2011. *Einstellungen zu Dialekt und Standardsprache in Österreich*. Diploma thesis. University of Vienna.

Gumperz, J. J. 1982. *Discourse Strategies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Haas, W. 1992. Mundart und Standardsprache in der deutschen Schweiz. In J. A. Leuvensteijn and J. B. Berns (eds.) *Dialect and Standard Language – Dialekt und Standardsprache in the English, Dutch, German and Norwegian Language Areas*. North Holland: Koniniklije Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen. 312–336.

Herrgen, J. 2015. Entnationalisierung des Standards. Eine perzeptionslinguistische Untersuchung zur deutschen Standardsprache in Deutschland, Österreich und der Schweiz. In A. N. Lenz and M. M. Glauninger (eds.) *Standarddeutsch im 21. Jahrhundert. Theoretische und empirische Ansätze mit einem Fokus auf Österreich*. Göttingen: Vienna University Press. 139–164.

Hildenbrandt, T. 2013. *"Ach, ich und die r-Vokalisierung": On the difference in the distribution of [x] and [ç] in Standard German and Standard Austrian German*. MA thesis. University of Vienna.

Hildenbrandt, T. and S. Moosmüller. 2015. The pronunciation of <-ig> in three varieties of Austria. In E. Torgersen, S. Hårstad, S., B. Mæhlum and U. Røyneland (eds.) *Language Variation – European Perspectives V: Selected papers from the 7th International Conference on Language Variation in Europe (ICLaVE 7)*, Trondheim, June 2013. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. 111–128.

Hirschfeld, U. 2008. Rezension zu Rudolf Muhr. 2007. Österreichisches Aussprachewörterbuch. Österreichische Aussprachedatenbank. *Theorie und Praxis* 12: 205–212.

Hundt, M. 2010. New norms – How new grammatical constructions emerge. In A. N. Lenz and A. Plewnia (eds.) *Grammar between Norm and Variation*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang. 27–57.

Hundt, M., N. Palliwoda and S. Schröder. 2015. Wahrnehmungsdialektologie – Der deutsche Sprachraum aus der Sicht linguistischer Laien. Exemplarische Ergebnisse des Kieler DFG-Projekts. In R. Kehrein, A. Lameli and S. Rabanus (eds.) *Regionale Variation des Deutschen. Projekte und Perspektiven*. Berlin/Boston: de Gruyter Mouton. 585–620.

Hymes, D. 1972. Models of the interaction of language and social life. In J. Gumperz and D. Hymes (eds.) *Directions in sociolinguistics: The ethnography of communication*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston. 35–71.

Kaiser, I. 2006. *Bundesdeutsch aus österreichischer Sicht*. Mannheim: Institut für Deutsche Sprache.

Kleene, A. 2020. *Attitudinal-perzeptive Variationslinguistik im bairischen Sprachraum. Horizontale und vertikale Grenzen aus der Hörerperspektive*. Mannheim: IDS Verlag.

Kleiner, S. 2012. 80 Karten + Kommentare. In *Atlas zur Aussprache des deutschen Gebrauchsstandards*. Mannheim: Institut für Deutsche Sprache.

Kleiner, S. 2014. 60 Karten + Kommentare. In *Atlas zur Aussprache des deutschen Gebrauchsstandards*. Mannheim: Institut für Deutsche Sprache.

Kleiner, S. 2015. "Deutsch heute" und der Atlas zur Aussprache des deutschen Gebrauchsstandards. In R. Kehrein, A. Lameli and S. Rabanus (eds.) *Regionale Variation des Deutschen. Projekte und Perspektiven*. Berlin/Boston: de Gruyter. 489–518.

Kleiner, S. and R. Knöbl. 2018. Zur Aussprache nicht haupttoniger Vorsilben mit <e> in Lehnwörtern im deutschen Gebrauchsstandard. In. A. N. Lenz and A. Plewnia (eds.) *Variation – Normen – Identitäten*. Berlin/Boston: de Gruyter. 157–176.

Kleiner, S., R. Knöbl and M. Mangold. 2015. *Duden: Das Aussprachewörterbuch.* 7th, fully revised and updated edition. Berlin: Dudenverlag.

Kloss, H. 1952. *Die Entwicklung neuer germanischer Kultursprachen seit 1800*. Düsseldorf: Schwann.

Kloss, H. 1967. Abstand languages and Ausbau languages. *Anthropological Linguistics* 9, 7: 29–41.

Koppensteiner, W. [in prep.] *Standard(s) in Österreich. Attitudinal-perzeptive Analysen [working title]*. PhD thesis. University of Vienna.

Koppensteiner, W. and L. M. Breuer. 2020. Wo Wien anderst ist und wo nicht. Kontrastierung von Spracheinstellungsdaten aus Wien und ruralen Regionen Österreichs. In M. Hundt, A. Kleene, A. Plewnia and V. Sauer (eds.) *Regiolekte – Objektive Sprachdaten und subjektive Sprachwahrnehmung*. Tübingen: Narr Franke Attempto (Studien zur deutschen Sprache 85). 55–76.

Koppensteiner, W. and A. N. Lenz. 2017. Theoretische und methodische Herausforderungen einer perzeptiv-attitudinalen Standardsprachforschung. Perspektiven aus und auf Österreich. In H. Sieburg and H.-W. Solms (eds.) *Das Deutsche als plurizentrische Sprache. Ansprüche – Ergebnisse – Perspektiven*. (= Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie, Bd. 136, Sonderheft). 43–68.

Koppensteiner, W. and A. N. Lenz. 2020. Tracing a standard language in Austria using methodological microvariations of Verbal and Matched Guise Technique. *Linguistik Online* 102, 2: 47–82.

Koppensteiner, W. and A. N. Lenz. 2021. Standard(s) aus der Perspektive von "Nicht-LinguistInnen" in Österreich. In T. Hoffmeister, M. Hundt and S. Naths (eds.) *Laien, Wissen, Sprache. Theoretische, methodische und domänenspezifische Perspektiven*. Berlin/Boston: de Gruyter. 391–416.

Krech, E.-M., E. Stock, U. Hirschfeld, L. C. Anders, W. Haas, I. Hove and P. Wiesinger. 2009. *Deutsches Aussprachewörterbuch.* Berlin/New York: de Gruyter.

Kristiansen, G. 2008. Style-shifting and shifting styles: A socio-cognitive approach to lectal variation. In G. Kristiansen and R. Dirven (eds.) *Cognitive Sociolinguistics*. Berlin: de Gruyter. 45–88.

Labov, W. 2006. The Social Stratification of English in New York City. (2nd ed.). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Langer, N and W. V. Davies. 2011. An Introduction to linguistic purism. In N. Langer and W. V. Davies (eds.) *Linguistic purism in the Germanic languages* (Studia Linguistica Germanica 75). Berlin/New York: Walter de Gruyter. 1–17.

Lanwermeyer, M., J. Fanta-Jende, A. N. Lenz and K. Korecky-Kröll. 2019. Competing norms of standard pronunciation: Phonetic analyses on the <-ig->-variation in Austria. *Dialectologia et Geolinguistica* 27, 1: 143–175.

Lenz, A. N. 2003. *Struktur und Dynamik des Substandards. Eine Studie zum Westmitteldeutschen* (Wittlich/Eifel). Stuttgart: Steiner.

Lenz, A. N. 2010. Emergence of Varieties through Restructuring and Reevaluation. In P. Auer and J. E. Schmidt (eds.) *Language and Space: An International Handbook of Linguistic Variation, Vol. 1: Theories and Methods*. Berlin/New York: de Gruyter. 295−315.

Lenz, A. N. 2014. Sprachvariation und Sprachwandel aus der Perspektive von Deutschlehrerinnen und Deutschlehrern – Einstellungsdaten aus Österreich, Deutschland und der Schweiz. In A. Plewnia and A. Witt (eds.) *Sprachverfall? Dynamik – Wandel – Variation* (Jahrbuch des Instituts für deusche Sprache 2013). Berlin: de Gruyter. 323–371.

Lenz, A. N. 2018. The Special Research Programme 'German in Austria. Variation – Contact – Perception'. In U. Ammon and M. Costa (eds.) *Sprachwahl im Tourismus – mit Schwerpunkt Europa. Language Choice in Tourism – Focus on Europe. Choix de langues dans le tourisme – focus sur l'Europe*. Berlin/Boston: de Gruyter. 269–277.

Lenz, A. N. 2021. Ein "Austriazismus" auf Erfolgskurs – *geben* als Basisverb der zielorientierten Objektsbewegung. In E. Scherr and A. Ziegler (eds.) *In Stadt und Land. Perspektiven variations- und soziolinguistischer Forschung.* 51–74. [special issue: *Linguistik online*]

Lenz, A. N., A. Dorn and T. Ziegler. 2021. Lexik aus areal-horizontaler und vertikal-sozialer Perspektive – Erhebungsmethoden zur inter- und intraindividuellen Variation. *Sprachwissenschaft* 46, 3: 387–431.

Milroy, J. 2001. Language Ideologies and the Consequences of Standardization. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 5, 4: 530–555.

Milroy, J. and L. Milroy. 1985. Authority in language: Investigating language prescription and standardisation. London: Routledge.

Moosmüller, S. 1991. *Hochsprache und Dialekt in Österreich. Soziophonologische Untersuchungen zu ihrer Abgrenzung in Wien, Graz, Salzburg und Innsbruck*. Wien/Köln/Weimar: Böhlau.

Moosmüller, S. 2015. Methodisches zur Bestimmung der Standardaussprache in Österreich. In A. N. Lenz and M. Glauninger (eds.) *Standarddeutsch im 21. Jahrhundert - Theoretische und empirische Ansätze mit einem Fokus auf Österreich*. Göttingen: Vienna University Press. 165-184.

Moosmüller, S., C. Schmid and J. Brandstätter. 2015. Standard Austrian German. *Journal of the International Phonetic Association* 45: 339-348.

Moosmüller, S. and R. Vollmann. 2001. Natürliches Driften im Lautwandel. Die Monophthongierung im österreichischen Deutsch. *Zeitschrift für Sprachwissenschaft* 20, 1: 42–65.

Muhr, R. 2007. *Österreichisches Aussprachewörterbuch, Österreichische Aussprachedatenbank*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.

Österreichisches Wörterbuch. 2018. Hg. im Auftrag des Bundesministeriums für Bildung, Wissenschaft und Forschung. 43. aktualisierte Auflage. Wien: ÖBV.

Pfrehm, J. 2011. The pluricentricity of German: Perceptions of the standardness of Austrian and German lexical items. *Journal of Germanic Linguistics* 23, 1: 37–63.

Probst, M. and U. Schnabel. 2020. Nichts ist in Stein gemeißelt. *Die Zeit*, Nr 32, 30. Juli 2020, 32, 25–26.

Purschke, C. 2011. *Regionalsprache und Hörerurteil: Grundzüge einer perzeptiven Variationslinguistik*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner.

Scanavino, C. 2015. Deutschlandismen in den Lernerwörterbüchern. Frankfurt/Main: PL Academic Research.

Scheuringer, H. 1996. Das Deutsche als pluriareale Sprache: Ein Beitrag gegen staatlich begrenzte Horizonte in der Diskussion um die deutsche Sprache in Österreich. *Die Unterrichtspraxis / Teaching German* 29, 2: 147–153.

Schiffrin, D. 1994. *Approaches to discourse*. Malden, MA: Blackwell.

Schmidlin, R. 2011. *Die Vielfalt des Deutschen: Standard und Variation. Gebrauch, Einschätzung und Kodifizierung einer plurizentrischen Sprache*. Berlin/Boston: de Gruyter.

Schmidt, J. E. and J. Herrgen. 2011. *Sprachdynamik. Eine Einführung in die moderne Regionalsprachen-forschung.* Berlin: Erich Schmidt.

Scollon, R. 2003. The Dialogist in a Positivist World: Theory in the Social Sciences and the Humanities at the End of the Twentieth Century. *Social Semiotics* 13, 1: 71–88.

Scollon, R., S. W. Scollon and R. H. Jones. 2011. *Intercultural Communication: A Discourse Approach,* 3rd edition. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.

Soukup, B. 2009. *Dialect use as interaction strategy. A sociolinguistic study of contextualization, speech perception and language attitudes in Austria*. Wien: Braumüller.

Soukup, B. 2013. Austrian dialect as a metonymic device: A cognitive sociolinguistic investigation of Speaker Design and its perceptual implications. *Journal of Pragmatics* 52: 72–82.

Soukup, B. 2014. Konstruktivismus trifft auf Methodik in der Spracheinstellungsforschung: Theorie, Daten, Fazit. In C. Cuonz and R. Studler (eds.) *Sprechen über Sprache: Perspektiven und neue Methoden der linguistischen Einstellungsforschung.* Tübingen: Stauffenberg. 143–168.

Soukup, B. 2015. Mixing methods in the study of language attitudes: Theory and application. In A. Prikhodkine and D. R. Preston (eds.) *Responses to Language Varieties: Variability, Processes and Outcomes*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. 55–84.

Soukup, B. (forthc.). Über die empirische Spracheinstellungsforschung in Österreich. In M. Pucher (ed.) *Akustische Phonetik und ihre multidisziplinären Aspekte: Ein Gedenkband für Sylvia Moosmüller*. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.

Steinegger, G. 1998. *Sprachgebrauch und Sprachbeurteilung in Österreich und Südtirol. Ergebnisse einer Umfrage*. Frankfurt/Main: Lang.

Studler, R. 2013. Einstellungen zu Standarddeutsch und Dialekt in der Deutschschweiz. Erste Ergebnisse einer Fragebogenstudie. In Y. Hettler, C. Jürgens, R. Langhanke and C. Purschke (eds.) *Variation, Wandel, Wissen. Studien zum Hochdeutschen und Niederdeutschen*. Frankfurt/Main: Peter Lang. 203–222.

Swales, J. M. 1990: *Genre Analysis: English in academic and research settings*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Tannen, D. 2004. Interactional sociolinguistics/Interaktionale Soziolinguistik. In U. Ammon, N. Dittmar, K. J. Mattheier and P. Trudgill (eds.) *Sociolinguistics/ Soziolinguistik*. 2nd edn. Berlin: W. de Gruyter. 76–88.

Wiesinger, P. 2014. *Das österreichische Deutsch in Gegenwart und Geschichte*. 3., aktualisiert und neuerlich erweiterte Auflage. Wien: LIT Verlag.

Wiesinger, P. 2015. Das österreichische Deutsch in der globalisierten Umwelt: Wandlungen durch bundesdeutsche Einflüsse. In A. N. Lenz, T. Ahlers and M. M. Glauninger (eds.) *Dimensionen des Deutschen in Österreich. Variation und Varietäten im sozialen Kontext*. Frankfurt/M: Lang. 91–122.

Wolf, N. R. 1994. Österreichisches zum österreichischen Deutsch. *Zeitschrift für Dialektologie und Linguistik* 61, 1: 66–76.

Wolfram, W. and N. Schilling-Estes 1998. *American English: Dialects and Variation*. 1st edition. Oxford/Malden, MA.: Blackwell.

Standard and non-standard varieties in Austrian schools: The perspectives of teachers and students

Elisabeth Buchner[i], Eva Fuchs[i, ii] and Stephan Elspaß[i]

[i] Paris Lodron University of Salzburg, Austria
[ii] Salzburg University of Education Stefan Zweig, Austria

INTRODUCTION: BACKGROUND AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The linguistic situation in Austrian schools is currently undergoing significant change. Due to growing national and transnational migration, 'internal' as well as 'external multilingualism' ("innere und äußere Mehrsprachigkeit" – see Wandruszka 1979) are becoming increasingly relevant in everyday interaction. Reflecting the sociolinguistic situation in Austria in general, the majority of students (and also teachers) in Austrian schools are native speakers of non-standard varieties of German, while there is also a rising number of native speakers of non-German languages.[1] In these linguistically multidimensional circumstances, teachers and students alike are confronted with an official school policy which, on the one hand, calls for a register-sensitive use of language varieties, but, on the other hand, purports and propagates the use of a standard variety of German as the main language of instruction.

In real life, however, any implementation of this standard language policy faces two main difficulties. Firstly, curricula and official guidelines lack a clear definition of 'standard'. While there seems to exist a widespread and relatively consensual idea of what written Standard German is – traditionally, it corresponds to the language of print and its norms –, the concept of a spoken Standard German has remained notoriously vague (cf. Barbour and Stevenson 1990: 147). A specific facet of the language situation in Austria is that the use of an 'Austrian standard language' at school has been demanded and actively promoted by the Federal Ministry

---

[1] According to the 2001 census, which was the last to include the relevant question, the percentage of citizens with a non-German 'family language' (*Umgangssprache*) rose from 1.2% in 1971 to 4.5% (330,612 people) in 2001 (see Statistik Austria 2007). Though no longer recording 'family language', more recent data show that, in 2019, 23.7% of the Austrian population had a (1st or 2nd generation) migrant background, up from 17.4% in 2008 (Statistik Austria 2020). The Ministry of Education reports that, in the academic year 2018/19, more than 26% of pupils and students at Austrian schools used languages in addition to German in their everyday life (BMBWF 2020).

of Education and Women (cf. *Österreichisches Deutsch als Unterrichts- und Bild-ungssprache* 2014). The question of whether such a national variety is not only a theoretical concept but also an empirical reality has been a highly controversial issue in the sociolinguistic literature for more than twenty-five years (cf. e.g. Scheuringer 1996; Wodak 1994). Secondly, despite a general societal consensus that the language of instruction at schools ought to be Standard German (cf. Steinegger 1998; Soukup and Moosmüller 2011: 43f.),[2] it has been shown that the use of non-standard varieties in the classroom is widespread among both teachers and students, its extent depending on factors such as region as well as urban or rural setting (cf. de Cillia 2018: 74–79). For some forms of classroom interaction, such as group work, even the use of non-German languages has been reported (cf. e.g. Redder 2018: 268–276).

These two aspects lead to the question of whether the use of a standard language in Austrian schools is "an idea in the mind rather than a reality", borne out by a strong standard language ideology (Milroy and Milroy 1991: 22–23; cf. also Lippi-Green 2012: 67). As the reality of classroom interaction seems to allow for the use and coexistence of different varieties and even languages, depending on registers and situational needs, we began to wonder what teachers and students consider as 'Standard German' in general – and whether and how this might differ from their *perceived* 'standards of usage' (*Gebrauchsstandards*), i.e. varieties which are de facto applied and accepted in classroom interaction.[3]

We present results from an ongoing project on the perceptions of and attitudes towards varieties and languages at schools in Austria.[4] At the heart of the project are data which were collected at fourteen vocational schools in Austria in 2017 and

---

[2] The present discussion is limited to German-language schools in Austria. Austrian indigenous minority law makes provisions for the additional languages of instruction of Slovene, Croatian and Hungarian (BMBWF 2020).

[3] By applying the term *Gebrauchsstandards*, translated here as 'standards of usage', we adopt a concept that can be defined as "geographically defined patterns of language use which carry a correspondingly high prestige in the respective regional context and which are appropriate and accepted in both informal and formal language use" ('geographisch definierte Varietäten- und Sprachgebrauchsmuster […], die im jeweiligen regionalen Kontext ein entsprechend hohes Prestige tragen und die sowohl im informellen als auch im formellen Sprachgebrauch angemessen sind und akzeptiert werden', cf. Berend 2005: 143)". Recent German language compendia such as the *AADG*, cf. Kleiner (2011ff.), the *Variantenwörterbuch* (2016) and the *Variantengrammatik* (2018) are operationalisations of the concept of formal 'standards of usage' and, correspondingly, account for areal standard variation.

[4] The project "Perceptions of and Attitudes towards Languages and Varieties at Austrian Schools" has been funded since 2016 by the Austrian Science Fund (FWF, project number F 6010). It is part of the FWF Special Research Programme (SFB) F 60 *Deutsch in Österreich* (= *DiÖ*). *Variation – Kontakt – Perzeption* ('German in Austria. Variation – Contact – Perception') (cf. Budin et al. 2019).

2018. In view of the particular sociolinguistic landscape of Austria, with a (rather) diglossic situation in the western parts, where Alemannic dialects are spoken, and a diaglossic situation in the other parts, which are part of the Austrian-Bavarian dialect regions, schools in the west, in the centre and the urban centre of Vienna in the east of Austria were selected for study. Data were elicited via speaker evaluation tests, interviews and focus group discussions with students and teachers, and were analysed both quantitatively and qualitatively.

This chapter addresses the following research questions: What status does 'Standard German' have for teachers and students given the presence of other varieties of German at schools? Which varieties and registers do they consider appropriate and acceptable for which situations? What concepts of 'standard' do they have? Is 'standard' seen rather as an ideal norm or a norm of usage? What are the students' notions of language norms, in general, and how are these defined? And, finally, how, if at all, do students conceptualise 'Austrian German standard' and what role does it play in everyday classroom interaction?

The following section outlines some relevant contemporary concepts of standard in the German-speaking countries with a special focus on schools. We will then introduce the data and methodology of the present study. The main part of this chapter presents the results of the study, which comprise analyses of quantitative as well as qualitative data. The chapter closes with a recap and discussion.

NOTIONS OF STANDARD IN THE GERMAN-SPEAKING COUNTRIES – WITH A SPECIAL FOCUS ON SCHOOLS

The emergence of present-day notions of 'standard'

In order to better understand present-day notions of standard, it is necessary to take a look at the standardisation process of German in Switzerland, Germany and Austria, its ideological roots, and older as well as more recent discourses on 'Standard German'.

Like many other standard languages, Standard German, in the sense of a supra-regional and virtually homogeneous language variety, can be viewed as an ideological construct of the 19th century – the century of nation-building in Europe (cf. Durrell 2017). After the French Revolution, a close linking of language and nation became an instrument in the construction of national identity (cf. Coulmas 1985: 41ff.). The ideologisation of the national-language concept in the 19th and early 20th centuries was effective in three ways, in particular. Firstly, it resulted in a growing sociolinguistic and political bias towards minority languages and neighbouring languages – in the case of German, especially towards French and the Slav-

ic languages. Secondly, it promoted efforts not only to further standardise but also to codify the 'national' written language, essentially based on "national print-languages" (Anderson 1983: 67). In fact, the 19th century saw a surge of school grammars and the first codifications of spelling and pronunciation of German, which basically declared variants as deviances from a mainly prescriptive norm (von Polenz 1999: 231f.). Thirdly, and based on the construction of a 'standard language', the strict distinction between standard and non-standard languages was established by codifiers on all linguistic levels (orthography, grammar, pronunciation) and monitored by norm authorities such as teachers (cf. von Polenz 1999: 230f.).

It has been noted that in German-speaking countries, very purist and defensive attitudes towards the standard language prevail (for Germany cf. Durrell 1999: 298; for Austria cf. Koppensteiner and Lenz 2017: 26–28). The sometimes fierce public debates about spelling reforms and the purism discourse which have taken place since the end of the 19th century are often cited as symptoms of and evidence for this attitude. There is a widespread consensus in the research literature that such sensitivities can to a large extent be attributed to a comparatively 'late' standardisation of German, which may be explained by the absence of a dominant political and cultural centre, such as London in Great Britain and Paris in France (Durrell 1999; von Polenz 1999: 232ff.). Thus, not only the linguistic form of the present-day Standard German variety (or varieties), but also the ambiguous attitudes towards variation and varieties in German are deeply rooted in historical and ideological developments in the late modern history of the German-speaking nation states.

While the standardisation process of German from the end of the 19th century until the middle of the 20th century was marked by a language policy emphasising "monocentric" tendencies (von Polenz 1989: 15, 1999: 419), the German-speaking countries have not only seen the emergence and recognition of different standard varieties of German after the Second World War, but also divergent developments in the relationships between standard and non-standard varieties. While a relatively stable functional diglossia between dialects and standard language has become established in German-speaking Switzerland, there has been a considerable decrease in the use of dialectal varieties in favour of standard varieties in Austria (Wiesinger 1990), and even more so in Germany (Auer 2005; Schmidt 1998). In Germany as well as in Austria, regional differences, and differences between urban and rural regions, in particular, apply. Germany has seen a rapid decline of Low German and Low Franconian dialects in the northern parts of the country, while dialects and regiolects in the south have shown a stronger pertinence. As for Austria, a mainly diglossic language situation has prevailed – similar to the situation in Switzerland – in the westernmost part of the country (Vorarlberg), where Alemannic dialects are spoken. In contrast, the centre and east of Austria, which belong to the large Bavari-

an-based dialect area, are characterised by a diaglossic situation, i.e. a co-existence of (base) dialects, standard varieties and intermediate varieties, often modelled as a continuum between dialect and standard (cf. Auer 2005: 22f.; Lenz 2019; Fanta-Jende 2020). Thus, while it is comparatively easy for speakers in Vorarlberg to identify 'standard' as the variety which is maximally different from their native dialects and is used mainly in formal contexts, speakers in other parts of Austria, living in a diaglossic context, tend to shift between standard varieties and regiolects even in formal situations (cf. Ender and Kaiser 2014).

These areally diverse linguistic developments in the German-speaking countries and the dynamic tendencies in recent decades have called for a more flexible concept of 'standard' – less monocentric, less homogenous and less prescriptive, even in the established codices of written Standard German. Motivated by both pragmatically and sociolinguistically informed approaches, recent codices have adopted the concept of *Gebrauchsstandards* / 'standards of usage' (e.g. *Duden Zweifelsfälle-Wörterbuch* 2016), some of them also accounting for areal variation in German (*Duden Aussprachewörterbuch* 2015; *Variantenwörterbuch* 2016; *Variantengrammatik* 2018).

However, there is as yet no established codex of register variation in spoken Standard German (for Austria, cf. Lanwermeyer et al. 2019). Schneider, Butterworth and Hahn (2018) have attempted to model the syntax of spoken Standard German on a corpus consisting partly of data from political talk shows and partly of data from classroom interaction in two schools in the west of Germany. Taken to its logical extreme, this approach would classify all forms of actual verbal interaction in political talk shows and in the classroom as 'standards of usage'. In the Austrian case, this means that even regiolectal as well as dialectal conversations in class would have to be considered 'standard of usage' at schools. Our current state of knowledge about language attitudes, however, suggests that such a model of standard language would very likely not be accepted in the general public (cf. Koppensteiner and Lenz 2017, 2020). Thus, while the concept of 'standards of usage' offers an etic perspective – based on 'objective' and verifiable data –, a fully adequate sociolinguistic account of 'standard' also has to consider an emic dimension, based on data on people's notion of what constitutes a standard – in this case 'Standard German'.

We return to this at the end of the chapter, as we discuss and contextualise our own findings. Meanwhile, the next section will look into concepts of 'Standard German' specifically in school curricula and official guidelines.

The concept of 'Standard German' in school policies

The school as an educational institution is considered to be the central location for secondary language socialisation (cf. Baquedano-López and Kattan 2008). In the

German-speaking countries, one of the the main aims of all schools is to enable students to acquire a certain level of competence in Standard German. In Austria, the focus of educational politics is increasingly on the acquisition and development of German as a 'language of education' ("Unterrichts- und Bildungssprache Deutsch"), as Standard German is labelled in official documents of the Federal Ministry of Education, Science and Research (BMBWF 2019). Even though the importance of linguistic diversity ('the realm of first and second languages, languages of origin and foreign languages as well as minority languages'[5]) is referred to, 'German as a "language of education"' is central, indicated, for example, by the inclusion of German skills in the subjects of the school readiness criteria (cf. BGBl II 2018). It can be assumed – also based on the recent discourse on the term 'language of education'– that "Standard German, at least in writing, is the undisputed normative authority, which also has an impact on the oral language use of German" (Dirim 2018: 25).[6] Hence, the quite complex and diverse linguistic reality in school with respect to spoken language is often viewed by school policies from an angle of prescriptive-normative standards based on the written standard.

But on which official guidelines from school authorities can teachers, as 'language authorities' (cf. Ammon 1995; Davies 2005; Davies and Langer 2014), base their – actually powerful[7] – role, necessary for the educational success of their students? Where can they find the crucial specifications for the reality of teaching? Official documents relevant to teaching such as curricula for German (and other subjects) or school textbooks offer little assistance. Indeed, sociolinguistic varieties such as standard varieties, colloquial vernaculars or dialects (the common term for dialect in primary school curricula is *Mundart*) or in many cases categories such as 'linguistically correct – compliant with the standard – but also: appropriate to the situation' are mentioned, although unsystematically and without any terminological clarification or substantiation (cf. most recently the analysis by de Cillia and Ransmayr 2019, building on Griesmayer 2004). When it comes to clarifying the relevant terms, teachers are often left to their own devices, because 'language variation' has long been a marginal topic in the curricula of universities and teacher training institutes (cf. de Cillia and Ransmayr 2019). This finding is alarming – and

---

[5] "Bereich der **Erst-, Zweit-, Herkunfts- und Fremdsprachen** sowie auch der Minderheitensprachen" (BMBWF 2019; emphasis in the original text).

[6] Original quote: "Auch wenn in österreichischen Schulen nicht nur das Standarddeutsche gebraucht wird (...), steht das Standarddeutsche zumindest im schriftlichen Bereich als normierende Instanz im Raum, mit Auswirkungen auf den mündlichen Sprachgebrauch."

[7] Cf. Gogolin and Lange (2011). For a more general discussion on questions of language discrimination or language norms as a means of exerting power in school cf. Elspaß and Maitz (2011).

in this respect, the situation in Austria is as unsatisfactory as that in Germany and in the German-speaking parts of Switzerland (Davies 2017; Wyss 2017).

In everyday classroom reality, teachers are confronted with quite an array of different native language varieties of their students – varieties of German and non-German languages.[8] The teachers' role, among other things, is to negotiate different areas of potential linguistic conflicts in the classroom: on the one hand, teachers have to monitor students' compliance with prescriptive language norms (orthographic and grammatical norms in writing, a desired use of near-standard varieties in spoken language); on the other hand, teachers have to exert a certain norm tolerance in dealing with the language reality in the classroom, and, at the same time, they have to guide students to a situation- (and addressee-) appropriate language use.

Studies of actual (oral) language use in school – e.g. the performance of students in class – present an important desideratum for future research projects in Austria.[9] Until recently, there have been only few studies on the relation of norm and variation in oral classroom interaction (cf. Dannerer and Esterl 2018). One recent project and one ongoing research project provide empirical data on these issues on a larger basis for the first time, including standard concepts of students and pupils and standardisation issues. Whereas the research project "Austrian German as a Language of Teaching and Education" (cf. de Cillia and Ransmayr 2019)[10] concentrated on "Austrian German" as a specific national variety and its role as opposed to other varieties of German, the (ongoing) research project at the University of Salzburg, which the present contribution is based on, focuses on "Perceptions of and Attitudes Towards Varieties and Languages at Austrian Schools" and will eventually contrast perceptual and attitudinal data with data from classroom interaction.[11]

DATA AND METHODS

The present study examines concepts of standard in school contexts, building on the expectations and attitudes of teachers and students in Austrian schools. To this end, survey data were analysed, in which normative expectations, evaluations and attitudes towards the use of varieties in school – especially towards the use of standard varieties – were obtained by use of a questionnaire. To consolidate the quantitative

---

[8] Cf. on forms of bilingualism/multilingualism in schools e.g. de Cillia (2010: 247–249).

[9] Cf. for Germany Knöbl (2012) and for German-speaking Switzerland Steiner (2008)..

[10] Cf. https://oesterreichisches-deutsch.bildungssprache.univie.ac.at/home (March 1, 2022).

[11] Recordings and analyses of classroom interaction are presently conducted in the second funding period of project part of PP10 (2020–2023).

findings, qualitative data were analysed. The qualitative data were elicited from selected informants in semi-structured, guided interviews.

For data collection, a direct discursive as well as an indirect approach to eliciting the language attitudes of the respondents was chosen (cf. the discussion of methods by Liebscher and Dailey-O'Cain 2014; Soukup 2014). For the indirect survey, the socio-biographical data of the informants as well as their evaluations of the appropriateness of different varieties in certain contexts (and to provide the reasons for their ratings) were collected by means of an online questionnaire. The semantic differential procedure (following Soukup 2014: 153f.) was used to indirectly elicit attitudes toward internal and external multilingualism. The questionnaire data were collected by means of the open-source software LimeSurvey. The quantitative data were analysed in MS Excel and IBM SPSS.[12] For the direct survey, 325 partly narrative, guided interviews at seven locations in Austria were carried out. For instance, the informants were invited to articulate their perceptions of and attitudes towards their concepts of 'standard', or how they feel when they are required to speak standard in certain contexts, and their understanding of language norms (e.g. 'Is the following speech style (in)appropriate for group work | class discussion | presentation?'). Thus, the qualitative interview data provide substantial in-depth information and insights into the informants' reasons and substantiations regarding attitudes towards and expectations of the standard language. The conversation sequences were transcribed using the software 'f4transkript', and the contents were analysed for repeating themes using the program 'MAXQDA'.

The indirect method does not openly ask for the perceptions and attitudes of the informants (cf. e.g. Cuonz 2014; Garrett 2005; Soukup 2014). This method also ensures that the same ways of speaking are assessed, whereas the direct approach gives rise to the problem that different informants may have different understandings of the different terms for varieties, such as *Hochdeutsch* (the meaning of which can range from 'uniform standard written German' to 'close-to-standard spoken varieties of German in Austria', cf. Vergeiner et al. 2019 and the "Results" section below) or *Dialekt* (potentially ranging from 'base dialect' to 'intermediate varieties between base dialects and close-to-standard spoken standard', cf. Vergeiner et al. 2019). This applies to the 'close-to-standard' area in particular where, for example, pluricentric as well as pluriareal concepts compete.[13] However, different categorisa-

---

[12] In addition, the online questionnaire contained a rating task in which the informants were asked to evaluate verbal stimuli (in the form of audio samples from students) from different registers according to their appropriateness in various situations in school. However, the analysis of this task is not part of the present study (but see Vergeiner et al. 2019: 297–300 for results).

[13] Whereas "[t]he term *pluricentric(ity)* indicates that a language has more than one centre, i.e. several centres, each providing a national variety with its own norms" (Clyne 1989: 358),

tions can also occur in the close-to-dialect area (Lameli 2010: 395). Nevertheless, further phenomena such as justifications for the use of standard can only be captured via direct methods – for this reason, the directly collected data are paramount in the current study (cf. the "Results" section for further descriptions of methods used for individual results).

Data collection for the present investigation took place between March 2017 and April 2018 in vocational middle and high schools in Austria. Data were collected at seven *Handelsschulen* and *Handelsakademien*[14] at seven locations in four Austrian states: Bregenz and Bludenz in Vorarlberg, Innsbruck and Wörgl in Tyrol, the City of Salzburg and Zell am See in the state of Salzburg[15] were chosen as locations in areas of Austria in which there is still a widespread use of dialect. Vienna was chosen in order to compare these three areas with a metropolitan area in which the use of dialect has already declined considerably (cf. Lenz 2019: 341). One of the two locations each in Vorarlberg, Tyrol and Salzburg represents a more urban and the other a more rural context.

In the present study, the focus is placed on the federal state of Salzburg. The reason for this is that, according to the data, the comparison of the City of Salzburg and Zell am See is quite emblematic of the differences between western and eastern regions of Austria as well as between urban and rural locations. Thus, results on a small scale in this region reflect, to a certain extent, tendencies for the whole of Austria. The data for Vorarlberg, Tyrol and Vienna are subsequently omitted from discussion in the present study.[16] In Salzburg and Zell am See, a total of 82 students from the 10th grade of different subjects and twelve teachers both responded to the questionnaire and were interviewed. Approximately half of the students are speakers of German as a second language. Two thirds of these are native speakers of Bosnian, Serbian, Croatian, Macedonian or Turkish. The remainder were mainly made up of other European languages, but also a few Asian languages. The focus of

---

the term "*pluriareal(ity)* indicates that a language has more than one standard variety with its own norms of usage. There may be more than one standard variety within a nation. In contiguous language areas, standard varieties may also transcend national borders" (Elspaß accepted). For a discussion of the different concepts with respect to the German-speaking countries cf. Elspaß and Niehaus (2014), Herrgen (2015), Schmidlin (2011), Vergeiner (2019).

[14] The focus of this type of school is on commercial and business education. Business academy (*Handelsakademie*) students complete the *Matura* after five years; business school (*Handelsschule*) students complete a technical examination after three years.

[15] The reason for the concentration on schools in the middle and west of Austria arose on the one hand from the fact that other sub-projects of the SFB "German in Austria" focus on the (south) east of the country and on the other hand from the fact that the "western half" of Austria exhibits a broader range of varieties (cf. de Cillia 2018: 77–78, 81–82).

[16] For results from all of the survey locations cf. Fuchs and Elspaß (2019); on further differences between schools in western and eastern regions in Austria cf. de Cillia (2018: 77–78, 81–82).

the present study was on regional peculiarities, differences between urban and rural areas as well as between different school types. With regard to the role of language standards, the study is guided by a particular interest in the comparison between learners and teachers, allowing us thus to compare the perceptions and attitudes of language norm authorities and language norm mediators with those of the 'recipients' or addressees of such norms, whose language perceptions and attitudes are assessed in relation to the prescribed norms.

RESULTS

In general, the results show that both teachers and students have certain ideas and expectations about the use of standard as well as non-standard varieties in school, which they consider to be very dependent on the context.

Below, as a first step, 'students' and teachers' conceptualisations of standard language are presented. These were obtained through content analysis of the guided interviews and are grouped by topic. Results from the interviews in the urban schools in the City of Salzburg are contrasted with results from the schools in the small town of Zell am See, which are mostly attended by students from more rural areas.

As a second step, the results of the quantitative analysis of the students' online questionnaire are presented in terms of perceptions of and attitudes towards the use of 'standard' and non-standard varieties in class.[17] This will be followed by a brief reflection on the notion of an 'Austrian Standard German' in the minds of the speakers.

In addition to students' and teachers' concepts of 'Standard German', the interviews brought to light their reasons for the use of 'standard' and other varieties in class, as discussed in the last part of the "Results" section. Thus, the quantitative data on perceptions as to which varieties are used in which communicative situations in school and the levels of acceptance of different varieties in class can be complemented and analysed in depth by direct data from interviews.

---

[17] Because of the small number of teachers in the Salzburg panel only the results based on the students' assessments are presented here (Salzburg: N = 45 Zell am See: N = 37). For a comparison of teachers' and students' assessments in the entire Austria study cf. Buchner, Elspaß and Fuchs (2022).

Students' and teachers' concepts of 'Standard German' (qualitative analysis)

'Standard' as the everyday language: Our analysis of the guided interviews shows that, in the City of Salzburg, different concepts of 'standard language' exist. The terminology also varies. This standard variety is termed *Standardsprache* ('standard language') as well as *Hochdeutsch* (literally 'High German').[18] Many of the informants from the City of Salzburg[19] conceptualise the 'Standard' as *Alltagssprache* ('everyday language') in the sense of the language of everyday use. According to student SA47,[20] it is a "completely normal language" which is spoken in "everyday communication" (12:14-13:21). SA10 confirms this by saying that this variety is something "which everyone speaks" and "at the end of the day, is understood by everyone" (19:35-20:21). SA21 goes further in that she states that the standard language is the variety which is "spoken universally in Austria" and "in daily interaction" – whether that is "in working life" or "during leisure time" and constitutes the most important form of communication (15:50-19:22). Student SA23 is also of the opinion that the standard is an "pre-established language for everything" which should therefore also be used universally. According to him, there are no dialects spoken in Salzburg, which has "only advantages". There are thus no comprehension difficulties and communication is "much less complicated" (20:21-21:15). Interestingly, the standard is much more clearly defined as the everyday language by the students in the City of Salzburg than by their teachers. The latter remain considerably vaguer. Nevertheless, for most teachers, the standard is also a "kind of colloquial language" which is appropriate in most interactive situations but also has potential for variation.

'Standard' as a foreign language: In contrast to the City of Salzburg, the variety reportedly used in everyday spoken communication in the rural parts of Salzburg is dialect. According to the informants from Zell am See, dialect plays a central role in leisure time and at school. Nevertheless, according to teacher LC4, it is essential that students are also confronted with Standard German (*Hochdeutsch* in her terminology), in particular with regard to the oral exams in the *Matura*, i.e. the general certificate of university entrance qualification in Austria. However, it was "a kind of

---

[18] *Hochdeutsch* is a widespread term for Standard German in the German-speaking countries, used to refer to the most 'elevated' variety or register in speakers' repertoires of German. Terminologically, it conflates with the dialectological umbrella term for the central and upper German dialect areas which have undergone the Second ('High German') Sound Shift (cf. Salmons 2018: 118–124).

[19] Similar notions were expressed by students from Vienna.

[20] The labels read as follows – e.g. SA47: S = student (L = teacher), A = city of Salzburg (C = Zell am See), 47 = respondent code number. The respondent code number may be higher than the total number of actual participants from the individual location (e.g. for Salzburg N = 45), as not all individuals who received a code actually participated.

foreign language" for her, which shows "only a little similarity" to the local dialect. Student SC22 confirms that *Hochdeutsch* comprises a "completely different vocabulary" to dialect, and, in contrast to the latter, it is "grammatically correct". According to SC22, this would make comprehension difficult outside of one's own region. For this reason alone, "learning the standard language is essential" (15:22-15:47). As with the acquisition of a foreign language, the transition from dialect to the standard language is "a process", according to LC2; standard competence is built up little by little and used in different situations.

'Standard' as the 'language of educatedness', as the 'formal' or 'high variety' (overt prestige): According to the perception of students and teachers from the City of Salzburg, the language variety used in their classes is almost exclusively Standard German. They attribute this to the fact that the Standard is generally viewed as being "clearer", "more articulate" and also "more educated". According to SA45, one tries to use High German to "represent", "position yourself well" and therefore "be taken more seriously" (17:03-17:55). SA52 also supports this argument. For her, High German shows "respect, high regard". By speaking standard, one indicates that one "accepts" and "values" the other person. She also draws a comparison with the language of Goethe and thus makes it clear that she sees High German as something that is spoken by more educated people. For SA2, the standard language is something "that is prescribed in this way", which "conforms to the rules, which one must follow" (13:28-14:50). According to SA6, it is also important "to pronounce the words as they are". Only then would it be "proper High German"; she concedes that it "isn't bad", if a few words in dialect appear in between, although it shows "less intelligence" and is also "not so nice [nett]" (13:58-14:32). In this respect, for SA20, it is not appropriate to speak dialect at school. High German is the "polite form", which is "more formal" than dialect and which "should always be spoken outside of your own family and circle of friends" (07:52-09:19). For SA32 the standard is "an official language", which should also be used in everyday life (13:12-14:02). For the informants from the rural part of Salzburg as well, High German is a variety with a high prestige, concomitant with a higher level of education. SC5 describes it as "higher, more educated" (12:05-12:35). SC25 reiterates this opinion, by labelling the standard language as an "elevated form of dialect" which is "more cultivated and more beautiful". For him, it is directly related to "nobleness". The standard is a "clean language, without errors, in which you can express everything clearly". Above all, "the educated" would speak High German, whereas dialect is more at the forefront in the family or with friends. He has "great respect" for people who use the standard language in daily life. In his opinion, this variety also contributes to success in later working life. If you are able to "express yourself well in High German", you will be "better perceived" and thereby "more

successful" (21:14-21:57). This argument was supported by SC41, who is also of the same opinion that the standard language is "essential in business" (19:18-21:03).

'Standard' as a rather exoglossic variety (not genuinely 'Austrian'): In part, in the City of Salzburg, our informants make a distinction between the standard which is the "highest variety" possible in Austria, and proper *Hochdeutsch*. The latter is a form of language which is spoken "purely in Germany" and "not achievable" for Austrians. According to SA33, this is also not necessary. SA33 thinks that *Hochdeutsch* is not used very often in Austria anyway. It is important that one "knows German" and "is proficient in the grammar". Should one enter "a phase of life" where *Hochdeutsch* is essential, one could always "take a couple of lessons to have it in the back of your mind" (16:45-17:23). This also goes hand in hand with the perception of a separate Austrian Standard of German. SA52 compares the language situation in Germany and Austria with America and England, for example. According to her, American English is comparable with Austrian German. "The same words are used" in Austria as in Germany, but these are "pronounced more sloppily" in Austria. In contrast, High German as spoken in Germany sounds "much more highbrow" and is "closer to the orthography and the norm" (15:33-16:25). For SA40 there is also a large difference between the German and Austrian Standard. She first became aware of this when her four-year-old German cousin asked her why she could not speak "proper German"; the child declared not being able to "understand her well" because she spoke "so strangely" (20:16-20:49). Still, in the City of Salzburg, the informants are largely convinced that Austrian Standard German and German Standard German exist side by side, on an equal footing, although there are in part large linguistic differences. The picture is completely different in the rural part of Salzburg. In this region, dialect is virtually the only everyday language. As we reported earlier, the standard language is generally seen as a "foreign language", which is certainly "desirable" but is "difficult to achieve". Despite the conviction that different centres exist and that a "universal German" can never be achieved, it is an "ideal" which stands out above all other varieties, according to our informants. 'Austrian Standard German' on the other hand, which represents the "highest level of language" within Austria, is subordinate to the 'German German Standard'. "German German [Standard]" is perceived as flawless compared to the unpolished 'Austrian [Standard] German'. In general, Germans appear "more competent", "rhetorically better" and are in a much better position to get to the point.

'Standard' as written language, which students learn at school: As already mentioned, the informants in the rural part of Salzburg assume the existence of a "uniform Standard German" which is difficult to achieve in oral communication for Austrians. Student SC37 regards High German as "the written" language which is "not relevant" to everyday communication (13:22-14:01). According to him, the standard is therefore considered to be "the standardised and codified written lan-

guage" which is used in textbooks. According to SA12, High German is exactly "how one writes and formulates". In terms of grammar, it is "exactly how you learn it at school" (15:14-15:46). For SC12, as well, the Standard language is exactly that which is found "in the dictionary". It is a "very objective and grammatically correct German", which is the "official language" in Austria and therefore has to be learned at school (23:30-24:45).

Standard domains: Perceptions of the use of 'standard' in relation to non-standard varieties (quantitative analysis)

In order to compare the notions of standard language and non-standard varieties, the informants were given typical types of texts or conversational situations from outside the school environment in the questionnaire and were asked to grade the language typically used in such written and oral genres on a scale between the two poles *Hochdeutsch* ('Standard German') and *Dialekt* ('base dialect').
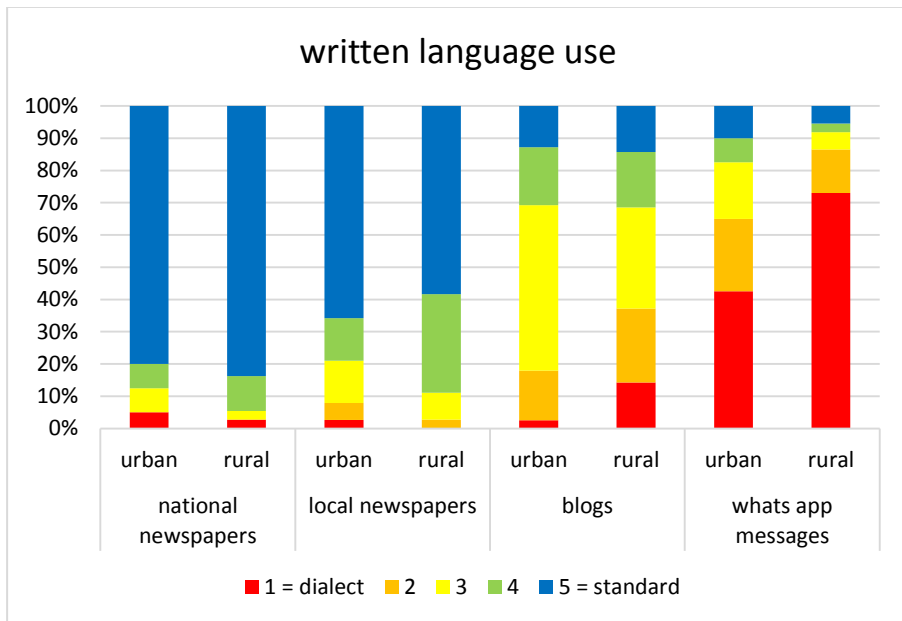

Figure 1: In your impression, are the following text types written mostly in dialect (*Dialekt*) or in standard (*Hochdeutsch*)?

Figure 1 presents the results for the *written* level. In general, the results show that the students from the City of Salzburg (in Figure 1 represented under the label 'urban'), like those from the rural part of Salzburg, differentiate clearly between the

types of texts in the written field which they regard as representative of the standard language, and those which they rate mostly as non-standard language. (On a five-point-scale, we consider the ratings from 1 to 3 as 'non-standard'.) In the view of the respondents, newspapers are written almost exclusively (national newspapers) or mainly (regional newspapers) in High German or close-to-standard (= rating number 4 on the five-point-scale). For types of text such as blog posts or private WhatsApp messages, which (can) also differ medially from newspapers, the impression of the respondents is that dialect is clearly used more frequently, most often in private WhatsApp messages with peers, i.e. in text types with presumably the lowest degree of formality (cf. dialect as the "language of immediacy", cf. Koch and Oesterreicher 2012). Students from the rural part of Salzburg differ in their perceptions from those from the City of Salzburg in that they gravitate more strongly to one pole of the dialect–standard-continuum, e.g. for newspapers towards the standard pole and for blogs and WhatsApp messages towards the dialect pole.

In comparison, the evaluations of *spoken* genres by the respondents show a more diverse picture (cf. Figure 2). In the rural region as well as in the city, the national ORF news broadcast ZIB 1 (i.e. the primetime evening news) would use language which is perceived as 'standard' or 'close-to-standard' by the vast majority (nearly 80%). A job interview in the business field in the City of Salzburg would also be conducted in (near) standard in the opinion of almost all students (urban over 80% / rural slightly under 80%), there were no indications for the use of 'dialect'. All
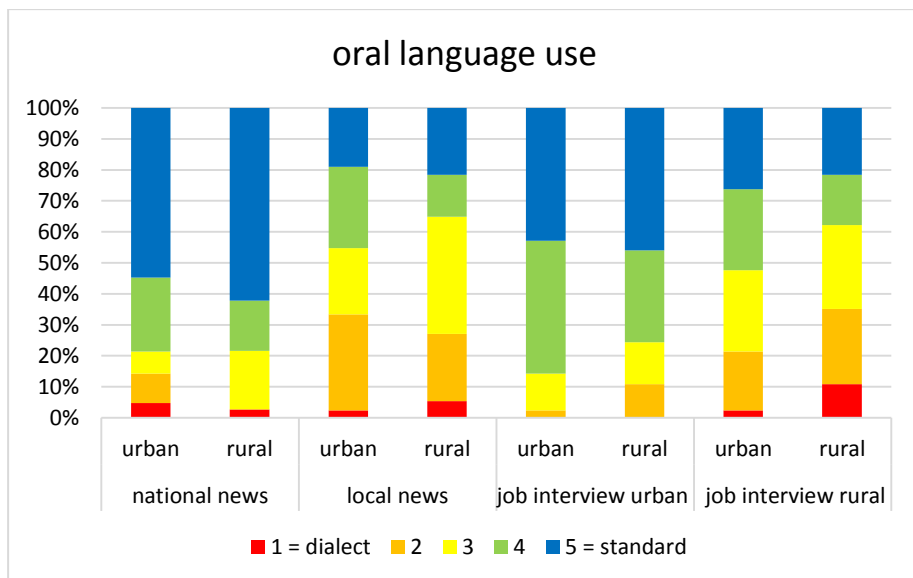

Figure 2: In your impression, do people predominantly use dialect (*Dialekt*) or standard (*Hochdeutsch*) in the following genres?

varieties are represented for local news broadcasts and job interviews in the rural part of Salzburg. However, students from the City of Salzburg assume more often that 'standard' or 'close-to-standard' would be used in these spoken genres. Both groups also agree that there are regional differences in the choice of varieties: as for job interviews in the city and national news broadcasts, respondents think that both professional speakers (radio) as well as they themselves speak closer to the 'standard' than in comparable communication situations with a regional focus.

Now that it has been clarified which extra-curricular conversational situations the interviewed students from urban and rural areas associate with the terms *Hochdeutsch* ('Standard German') and *Dialekt* ('base dialect'), we consider the question in which school situations and with which conversational partners *Hochdeutsch* ('Standard German') and other varieties are used. For this purpose, a comparison is drawn between more formal (oral examinations) and more informal conversational situations (class discussion), whereby a distinction is also made between conversational partners (students vs teachers) and subject (German class vs other subjects).

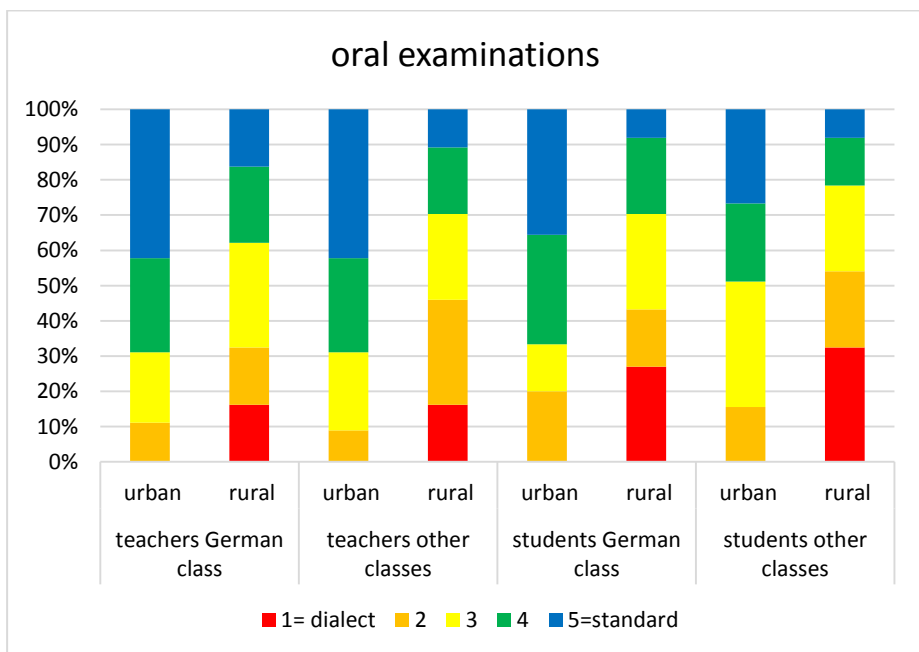Figure 3: In your impression, do people predominantly use dialect (*Dialekt*) or standard (*Hochdeutsch*) in oral examinations in your school?

In terms of the perceived choice of varieties in examination situations, there are once again clear differences between urban and rural respondents. Students from the city more often refer to the variety used in these situations as 'standard' or 'close-

to-standard', whereas students from rural areas more often refer to it as 'dialect' or 'close-to-dialect' ways of speaking. Urban students state that they do not observe the use of dialect in the specified situations, a perception which rural students do not share.

Interestingly, the clearly discernible differences in ratings according to subject in the other states, i.e. Vienna, Tyrol and Vorarlberg (e.g. that German teachers speak closer to standard than teachers of other subjects and students in German lessons speak closer to standard than in other subjects), or groups of persons (teachers speak closer to standard than students), cannot – or only to a very limited extent – be confirmed for Salzburg.

In comparison to formal oral examinations (cf. Figure 3), the respondents – in all categories – perceive less use of 'standard' in classroom interactions between teachers and students (cf. Figure 4). Again, the two groups of interviewees differ greatly from one another. Students from the city state more often than their rural
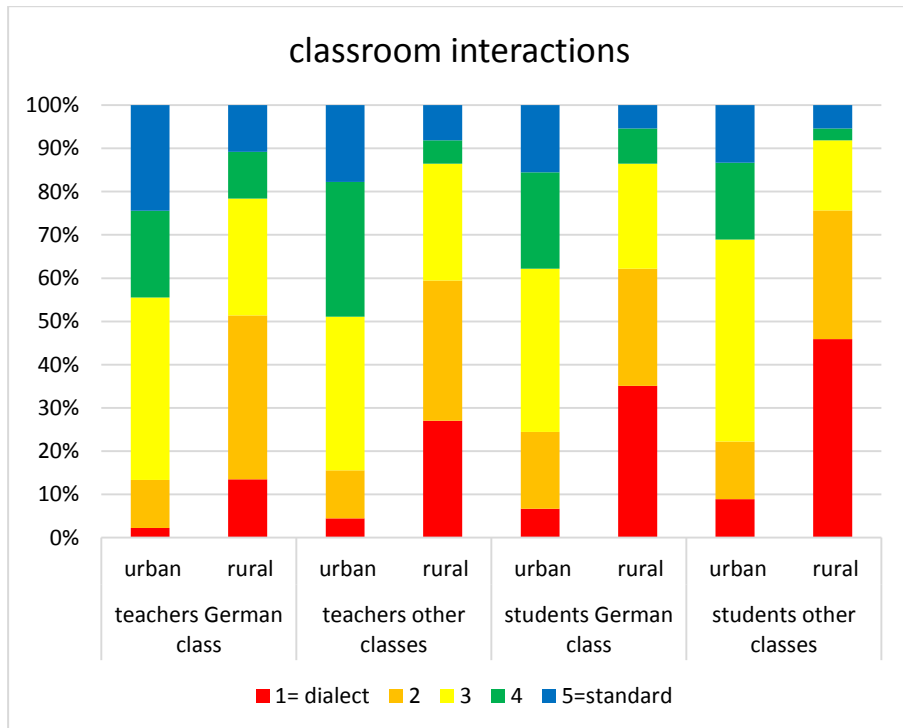

Figure 4: In your impression, do people predominantly use dialect (*Dialekt*) or standard (*Hochdeutsch*) in classroom interactions between teachers and students in your school?

colleagues – and teachers of other than German classes even up to four times more often –, that in their view 'standard' or 'close-to-standard' language is spoken in class. As for the use of non-standard varieties, the opposite picture arises. According to students in the rural part of Salzburg, 'dialect' or 'close-to-dialect' is spoken by teachers and students alike to a large extent (from 50% of the German teachers up to 75% of the students in other subjects). Urban-rural differences can therefore be seen even more clearly.

Attitudes towards the use of 'standard' and non-standard varieties in class (quantitative analysis)

After analysing the perceived use of language in the previous sections, the question arises as to which varieties should be used when, according to students, and which are accepted in different situations in school.

Firstly, we asked students to respond to the following statements on a five-point-Likert scale between 1 "yes" and 5 "no":

(a) *Im Schulunterricht sollte Hochdeutsch geschrieben werden*. ('In class, Standard German should be written.')

(b) *Im Schulunterricht (= in Lehrer-Schüler-Gesprächen) sollte Hochdeutsch gesprochen werden*. ('In class, i.e. in teacher-student interaction, Standard German should be spoken.')

(c) *Im Schulunterricht sollten Hochdeutsch und Dialekte nicht miteinander vermischt werden*. ('In class, Standard German and dialects should not be mixed.')

(d) *Solange es den SchülerInnen hilft, ist es egal, ob in der Schule auch mehr Dialekt als Hochdeutsch gesprochen wird*. ('As long as it helps the students, it is unimportant whether more dialect or Standard German is spoken in school.')

(e) *Im Schulunterricht an österreichischen Schulen soll österreichisches Hochdeutsch gepflegt werden*. ('In classrooms at Austrian schools, Austrian Standard German should be cultivated)

Figure 5 shows the results of this task, again divided by responses from students from rural and urban schools.

The approval rating for the use of *Hochdeutsch* ('Standard German') in written tasks (statement (a)) is the highest (between 80 and 90%), with both groups of students being in agreement. This result, however, does not apply to spoken usage (statement (b)): the approval rates for the use of '(close-to-) standard' varieties in
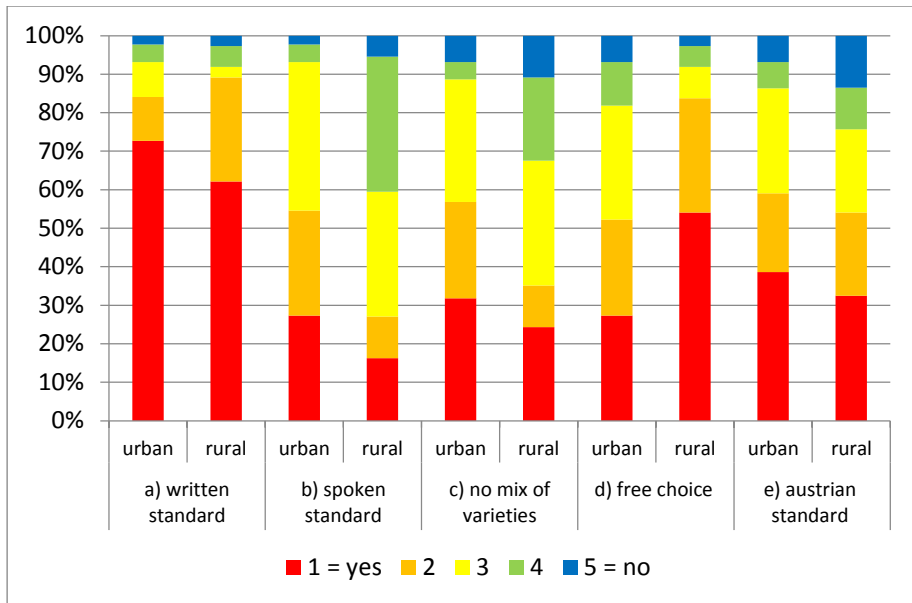
Figure 5: Level of acceptance of statements on whether only Standard German
(*Hochdeutsch*) or also other varieties of German be used in class

teacher-student interaction is twice as high for students from urban schools as for
students from rural schools; up to 40% of students from rural schools oppose this
statement (including category 4, "rather not"). The difference according to the de-
gree of urbanisation in the perceived use of language in oral teaching situations (cf.
Figures 3 and 4) is reflected in the respective acceptance rates. It is not surprising,
then, that the overwhelming majority of students from rural schools (over 80%)
favour the use of dialect in lessons, "as long as it helps the students" (statement (d)).
While over half of the students at urban schools oppose a mixing of 'dialect' and
'*Hochdeutsch*' in class (statement (c)), students from rural schools present a two-
part picture – rejection and approval were effectively equal (ca. 30% each). The call
for the cultivation of an 'Austrian Standard German' (*österreichisches Hoch-
deutsch*) in Austrian schools was supported by students to a large extent (50–60%),
irrespective of school location.

**Attitudes towards the concept of '(Austrian) Standard German' (quantitative
analysis)**

In order to explore whether there is a notion of 'Austrian Standard German' in the
minds of our informants and, if so, what that notion is, we asked about the concept

of 'Austrian Standard German'. Firstly, students were asked to respond to the following statement: "Es gibt ein eigenes österreichisches Hochdeutsch." ('A standard variety of German called 'Austrian Standard German' does exist.). The vast majority answered with a 'no' (urban schools: 75%, rural schools: 73%). Interestingly, de Cillia's and Ransmayr's (2019: 138) study produced exactly the opposite result. However, in de Cillia's and Ransmayer's study, the respondents were confronted with a – differently worded – question, not with a statement: "Glauben Sie, dass es ein österreichisches Standarddeutsch (Hochdeutsch) gibt?" ('Do you think that there is an Austrian Standard German (*Hochdeutsch*)?')

To find out how homogeneous or heterogeneous Standard German in Austria appears to our informants, we further asked where the 'best' and the 'most beautiful' *Hochdeutsch* in Austria is spoken. Figure 6 shows the results of the students' responses. All nine federal states of Austria as well as "everywhere the same" and "don't know" were given as answer options.
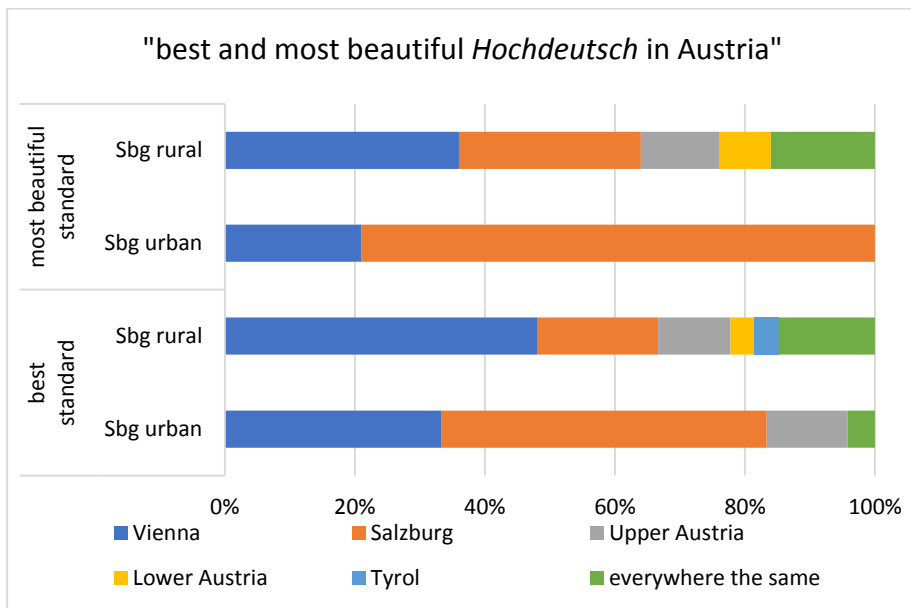
Figure 6: The 'best' and the 'most beautiful' Standard German (*Hochdeutsch*) in Austria is spoken in …

For many students from the City of Salzburg, the answer in both cases was that the 'best' and 'most beautiful' *Hochdeutsch* is to be found in their own state (or to a small extent in neighbouring Upper Austria) and in the capital Vienna. The vast majority (over 60%) of students from the rural part of Salzburg also named their

own state and Vienna in both cases. One in seven students from rural schools stated that there are no differences between the states. Although there are notable differences between the responses of students from urban Salzburg and rural Zell am See, the overall picture shows very clearly that there is no consistency in terms of the notion of a 'best' High German in Austria. This makes it seem unlikely that there is a notion of a uniform 'Austrian Standard German' in the students' minds.

Reasons for the use of 'standard' at school (qualitative analysis)

In addition to students' and teachers' concepts of 'Standard German', the interviews brought to light their purported reasons for the use of 'standard' and other varieties in class. Thus, the quantitative data on perceptions as to which varieties are used in which communicative situations in school (cf. Figures 3 and 4) and the levels of acceptance of different varieties in class can be complemented and given additional perspective by drawing on direct data from interviews.

First of all, the students' and teachers' expressed expectations regarding the use of the standard and other varieties in school differ considerably depending on region. Teachers frequently report a discrepancy between the 'officially' (i.e. in school curricula) expected use of 'the Standard' in school (especially in the upper grades) and the frequent use of non-standard varieties by students in their everyday life. Below, we list the main arguments provided for the use of 'Standard German' in school.

Comprehensibility as an argument for standard use: For most respondents, the importance of comprehensibility is a strong argument for orientation towards the standard. For teacher LC1, it is explicitly "desired", that "written language" ("*Schriftsprache*") is spoken. According to her, primarily students from (rural) regions strongly characterised by the use of dialects often have difficulties at first with "adapting linguistically". It would be "desirable" for them to adapt, however, especially since students with social backgrounds where little dialect is used often have difficulties understanding a "strong dialect". According to SC5, the large numbers of students with German as a second language make it necessary to adapt to the standard language. LA2 supports this with the following statement (cf. Interview Sequence 1):

> *Interview Sequence 1 (Salzburg LA2 – 05:17-06:02)*
>
> *01 LA2: das ist auch NOTwendig, (-)*
> 01 LA2: this is also necessary, (-)
>
> *02 °h äh: weil wir halt sehr viele mit migrationshintergrund haben.*
> 02 °h eh: because we have so many (students) with a migratory background.

03   (--) und mir fällt dann auch auf, (-)
03   (--) and I notice that, (-)

04   wenn man hin und wieder mal so in den diaLEKT verfällt, (.)
04   when you drop into dialect now and again, (.)

05   °hh äh:: dann verSTEHEN sie das einfach nicht. (---)
05   °hh eh:: they simply don't understand it. (---)

06   also insofern ist es NÖTIG; (.)
06   so in this respect, it is necessary; (.)

07   °h gehobene umgangssprache zu sprechen.
07   °h to speak a more elevated colloquial language.

According to this teacher, in many cases dialect can constitute "a linguistic barrier" which is very difficult to overcome for students from a migratory background. In this respect, it appears to be "necessary" to her to speak a "more elevated colloquial language" (*gehobene Umgangssprache*) to make it easier for such learners to understand. She does not use the term *Hochdeutsch* or *Standard* here; as she only differs between "more elevated colloquial language" and "dialect" here, we can assume that by *gehobene Umgangssprache* she means a variety oriented towards the standard.[21]

Degree of formality and use of the standard: In the opinion of many teachers as well as students, exclusive use of standard should be aimed for primarily in particular situations in class, such as "technical parts" of presentations or oral examinations in school. According to student SA1, speaking dialect during a presentation "has no part" (06:58-07:03). A similar opinion is expressed by teacher LC3, who reaffirms that "dialect-coloured" speech during a final examination "can't happen, of course" (04:28-04:55). The ultimate goal of oral language proficiency in Standard German is the oral *Matura* examination in the business academy or the oral professional examination in the business school. Interestingly, there are no indications of sanctions, such as poor school grades, for infractions of the prescribed use of language. In the interviews, several teachers mention that they or their colleagues raise awareness for "more appropriate" (more standard) ways of speaking after presentations only.

---

[21] *Umgangssprache* is a notoriously difficult term in German linguistics because of its polysemy. The meaning relevant here refers to the notion of 'intermediate' varieties between standard varieties and dialects (cf. Dutch *tussentaal*; for the concept of *Umgangssprachen* in the Austrian context cf. Scheutz 1999).

The informants also have particular expectations regarding the use of the standard at university. Some respondents emphasise that in university (and subsequently professional) situations, a certain level of sophistication in the use of the standard language is essential. That is a reason why LA3 prepares her students for this: back in the day, and in comparison to "German or East Austrian fellow students", who "did not have to think about the appropriate language first", she often found herself in a "linguistic crisis" at university, because the "grammar and lexis" with which she was familiar from the dialect were no longer appropriate for formal situations. To spare the learners such difficulties, she tries to "give them recommendations based on her own experiences" and to train them in the standard variety with a view towards their course of studies (09:37-10:18). A few of the interviewed teachers broached the issue that the time and location of their own university studies expanded their knowledge of linguistic variation. LC5 remarks that linguistic diversity was "quite an issue" at the University of Salzburg. Through interaction with students and staff from different regions, the awareness of other varieties and languages was increased and in the course of this she became "more tolerant" of other language forms (15:41-16:12).

Aside from educational institutions, the importance of speaking 'Standard German' is mentioned in connection with post-educational professional life. Learning *Hochdeutsch* ('Standard German') in school as a supraregional variety appears to be considered an advantage in the professional life for the majority of the informants, especially in business or those professions which require an academic degree. The medical or teaching professions were often mentioned as prototypical examples. For LA2, it is a requirement in a "globalised world" that one "speaks in a language where you also understand someone in the north of Germany". This is even more important for her type of school, where the majority of graduates will work in business fields in the future, as SC5 states (05:20-05:42) (cf. Interview Sequence 2):

Interview Sequence 2 (Zell am See SC5 – 05:20-05:42)

01 SC5: wei wonn i hiatz zum beispü waos in mein dialekt saog?
01 SC5: because if I say something in my dialect now for example?

02   (--) vasteht mi jo so koana. (-)
02   (--) no one understands me (-)

03   °hh äh:: und eigentlich is hochdeitsch scho,
03   °hh eh:: and actually High German is,

04   (-) fi ins hiatz, (--) so irgendwia a a fremdsproch wie
04   (-) in our view, (--) somehow a foreign language

05   (---) °h äh:: jo (--). owa mia soitns hiatz scho kunna; (-)
05   (---) °h eh:: yes (--). but we should be able to do it; (-)

06   wei mia sand a wirtschoftsschui,
06   because we are a business school,

07   (.) und mia mochen zoig mit wiatschoft, (.)
07   (.) and we want to do things in business, (.)

08   °h und sust versteht ins jo spada in berufslem koa mensch.
08   °h otherwise nobody will understand us later in our professional life.

Job interviews were also mentioned as a domain in which it is crucial to speak standard, and, thus, the interview comments confirm the quantitative results (cf. Figure 2). For instance, SC4 asserts that she "tends to speak High German" in such situations. Apart from the fact that this student wants to "express herself well", the standard is a means for her to be *understood* well by the other person (03:30-04:05). Therefore, not only is a higher prestige of the standard variety assumed, but also comprehensibility comes into play. This aspect is also highlighted in school when interacting with fellow students who have a poor or insufficient knowledge of German. With regard to the effects of language use outside of the school as an educational institution, the use of dialect is at times presented negatively as a stigma: according to LC3, standard is necessary because "it is important that you can also move outside of your comfort zone" without being immediately labelled as "a farmer from the country" (07:13-07:26).

It is striking that teachers often speak of a "*gehobene Umgangssprache*", i.e. an 'elevated colloquial language', in place of the 'standard' as the target variety. This variety is generally reserved for more formal situations. This becomes clear in the statement by LC3. It is important for her to communicate in a "manner appropriate to the situation". Thus, her talks to management about private things are conducted entirely in dialect, whereas for "official topics" an "elevated colloquial language" is appropriate to her (cf. Interview Sequence 3):

Interview Sequence 3 (Zell am See LC3 – 02:42-2:52)

01 LC3: mit kollegen spri:ch i (---) äh:, °h äh im haus
01 LC3 With colleagues in-house I speak (---) eh

02   natürlich eher tiroler (--) also diaLEKT?
02   naturally more Tyrolean (--) thus, dialect?

03   °h mit kollegen äh (.) von ONderen schulen,
03   °h with colleagues (.) from other schools,

04   weil ich bin auch monchmal unterwegs
04   because sometimes I'm on the go

05   und in der lehrerbildung tätig,
05   and (I) work in teacher education,

06   °hh do:: (---) gehobene UMGANGSsprache;
06   °hh do:: (---) elevated colloquial language;

07   °h a je noch dem wies ZO:Mpasst jo? (---)
07   °h depending on the situation? (---)

08   situationsangepasst. ((lacht))
08   appropriate to the situation. ((laughs))

09   mit da frau direktor sprich i offiZIELLE sochn (-)gehobene
*   umgangssprache,*
09   with the headteacher I speak (-) an elevated colloquial language
        for official matters,

10   °h priVATE sochn (--) °h diaLEKT.
10   °h (when it comes to) private matters (--) °h (I speak) dialect.

School subject and standard use: Apart from the domain and the degree of formality, the school subject also plays a significant role in relation to the use of 'Standard German': from the point of view of many students and teachers who do not teach German classes, it is the task of German lessons and the teachers of German to require the use of the Standard. In other subjects, conversely, paying attention to the language is only a part of the duties of the teacher. As long as mutual understanding is guaranteed, dialect is entirely adequate there. This argument is made by SA1: whereas in other subjects, language serves merely as a medium of instruction which explicitly "has hardly anything to do with the subject matter", in German lessons the language is the focus. In this respect, "High German" must be spoken in order to develop a feel for "how to write" and "how words are pronounced" (03:52-04:07). This is closely connected to students' notion that teachers of German are role models with respect to the use of the standard. According to student SA7, they should "tend to speak High German" in order to set an example in terms of language use (10:20-11:06).

Situation-appropriate use of standard and other varieties: Although the standard variety appears to be deeply interwoven with everyday school life and, according to some teachers, is indispensable in more formal situations, the respondents often argue for the use of non-standard varieties in day-to-day school life. One argument, put forward by LC4, is aimed at considering all variety competencies and their situational use (cf. Interview Sequence 4):

Interview Sequence 4 (Zell am See LC4 – 05:34-06:37)

01 IV: äh:m i:hre schüler im unterricht (--)
01 IV: eh:m your students, (when they are) in class (--)

02 welche (.) SPRACHformen verwenden denn die (-) überwiegend?
02 which (.) forms of language do they use predominantly?

03 LC4: (1.5) se:hr viel diaLEKT (1.5)
03 LC4: (1.5) a lot of dialect(1.5)

04 IV: hm_hm
04 IV: hm_hm

05 LC4: und (.) ich erlaube es ihnen a (---) natürlich mit grenzen=
05 LC4: and (.) I allow them (to speak dialect) (---) but within limits, of course=

06 =weil (-) MIR wichtig is (.) sie sprechen dialekt=
06 =because (-) it's important to me (.) they speak dialect=

07 =und sie müssen se a nit verstellen
07 = and they don't have to pretend

08 sie soin ja trotzdem auTHENTISCH bleiben
08 they should nevertheless remain authentic

09 IV: ja
09 IV: yes

10 LC4: und der wechsel is sehr sehr schwierig
10 LC4 and this change is very very difficult

11 wenn man so EXTREM dialekt=
11 if you (speak) an extreme dialect=

12   =es is jo schon relativ a STARker dialekt (-)
12   =it is a relatively strong dialect (-)

13   mit großen unterschieden (--)
13   with big differences (--)

14   und sie soin den WECHsel erlernen=
14   and they should learn this switch =

15   =sie müssen des codesch' code switching sozusagen beWUSST anwenden können
15   =they have to be able to consciously code-switch, so to speak

According to LC4, using different linguistic varieties and registers for formal and informal contexts is a prerequisite for comprehensive linguistic competence. This also includes dialect. Learners should be prepared for different linguistic requirements and be sensitised to behave in a linguistically suitable manner in various social contexts. German lessons, in particular, should serve as a "training ground" for this. However, some teachers as well as students also equate 'the standard' with the standardised, codified written language which is subject to certain "grammatical restrictions" (*grammatikalischen Zwängen*). Some respondents portray it as a variety that has the "greatest communicative range" but is actually "difficult to achieve orally". According to some teachers' as well as students' views, the use of non-standard varieties in class is legitimate as general (external) expectations placed on the use of 'the standard' are too high and the (ideal) standard norms can scarcely be met. Most of students' everyday communication takes place exclusively in dialect. Thus, switching into Standard German in school presents a big challenge to them which is for many difficult to face. According to LC2, "this switch is very difficult". As a measure of support for her students, she would accept the use of dialect in class, "within limits, of course" (06:15-07:22).

Working relationships as an argument: Conceding to the use of non-standard varieties, which is seen as authentic, is often also regarded as a tribute to the pedagogical relationship between teacher and student – as long as it is not in official situations. For LA2, it is a mark of a "good relationship" when students speak dialect with her. The students would feel "comfortable" and "accepted", which is imperative for a "good basis of trust". However, she requires them to speak "properly" in examination situations, "of course" (05:10-06:04). Overall, dialect has a positive connotation for students as well as teachers. SC6 associates dialect with "home". In this respect, it is an "important, integral part" of her life (09:46-10:01). This argument is also supported by LC2 as follows (cf. Interview Sequence 5):

Interview Sequence 5 (Zell am See LC2 – 05:10-06:04)

01 LC2: äh: wenn die schüler mit mir im diaLEKT re:den, (--)
01 LC2: eh: when the students speak dialect with me, (--)

02 donn is a gute beZIEHUNG a da; (-)
02 then there's a good relationship there; (-)

03 donn fühlen sie sich a WOHL; (-)
03 then they feel comfortable; (-)

04 donn fühlen sie sich ANgnommen; (--)
04 then they feel accepted; (--)

05 donn fühlen sie sich vertraut. (---)
05 then they feel familiar. (---)

06 °h äh: äh: dialekt is für mi die WURzel, (.)
06 °h eh: eh: dialect is the root for me, (.)|

07 des is die wirkliche MUTTERsprache. (---)
07 it is the true mother tongue. (---)

08 °h wenn ma des (.) woher man kommt (-)
08 °h when you (understand) it (.) where you come from (-)

09 wenn ma des versteht? (-) °h wenn ma des KONN, (.)
09 when you understand this? (-) °h when you can do it, (.)

10 donn konn ma vielleicht a des große ganze a besser sehen. (--)
10 then you can perhaps see the bigger picture better. (--)

11 °hh also donn konn man gehobene UMGANGSsprache oder
11 °hh so you can speak the elevated colloquial language or

12 HOCHdeutsch sprechen beziehungsweise irgendeine zweite dritte
12 High German or you can learn a second or third

13   *fremdsprache NO leichter lernen.*[22]

13   foreign language even more easily

For LC2, regional roots are revealed in the use of dialect. Dialect is "the root" for her, the "true mother tongue", in which one can express "nearly everything" better, but especially "emotions and feelings". For LC2, it is exactly this "mother tongue" which is the basis for the acquisition of further varieties and languages. The regional language contains "additional information". Developed over decades or even centuries, this variety has "a particular tradition". If you understand "where you come from", you can also understand "the bigger picture" better. Regardless of whether one learns "an elevated colloquial language", "standard" or even a "second or third foreign language", with dialect as a basis, one has far fewer difficulties. LC4 confirms this by emphasising the importance of dialect for young people. The regional variety gives them a "certain confidence", they have the feeling "of belonging to something". Accordingly, dialect has much to do with "identity, with personality". In her classes, it is therefore important that students remain "authentic" and don't "pretend" (15:14-15:23).

DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

The present contribution combined analyses of quantitative and qualitative data in an attempt to, firstly, reconstruct the concept of 'Standard German' and other varieties in the minds of teachers and students in Austrian secondary schools, and, secondly, to establish what their perceptions of and attitudes towards the use of 'Standard German' and other varieties in different communicative contexts in school are.

First of all, our results clearly show that, while official guidelines and curricula tacitly assume that the language of instruction at schools in Austria is Standard German, in the perception of teachers and students, the linguistic reality at schools in Austria is much more diverse. There is a widespread notion that teachers and students alike use non-standard varieties of German in classroom interaction to a considerable extent. In rural schools, the majority of teachers and students have the impression that classroom interaction is conducted in non-standard varieties; even in oral exams, the use of non-standard varieties seems to be quite common in rural schools.

With respect to notions of 'Standard German', the qualitative (cf. Buchner and Elspaß 2018) as well as the quantitative data reveal clear regional differences. In the

---

[22] For a positive correlation between nonstandard competencies and the acquisition of familiar foreign languages cf. Berthele (2008), Papapavlou and Phili (2009).

rural part of Salzburg, where dialects are still very much in use as the spoken every-day language, the standard language is considered primarily as the written language or even as the first L2. However, in the urban centre of the City of Salzburg, in particular, the concept of Standard German ranges from an 'exoglossic variety' to a 'variety of everyday interaction'. Common to all regions is, maybe not surprisingly, the notion of the standard as a variety with a high public prestige and an 'educated-sounding aura'.

With respect to terminology, it is noteworthy that teachers and students hardly use the terms "Standard" or "Standard German". Their lay concepts for spoken German basically comprise the two poles *Hochdeutsch* ('High German') and *Dialekt* ('(base) dialect'). Additionally, teachers use the term *gehobene Umgangssprache* – perhaps best translated as "more elevated colloquial language" – quite frequently in the interviews. In the interview data, this term is conceptually linked to formal contexts and situations that require a high degree of comprehensibility, thus contexts and situations which would elsewhere be reserved for 'the standard'. Since the interviewees repeatedly express that, for them, *Hochdeutsch* is an ideal, unattainable '(official) standard', the term *gehobene Umgangssprache* thus seems to represent the 'standard of usage' in formal contexts.

The analyses show that teachers and students alike have both very different and differentiated notions of '(official) standard' and 'standards of usage' at school. The notion of 'standards of usage' seems to be most closely associated with the concept of 'appropriateness', i.e. appropriate language use depending on the situational context at school. For the written language, the use of (written) Standard German remains unchallenged. For spoken interaction, however, a far wider range of varieties is employed and accepted. Close-to-standard varieties (such as *Hochdeutsch* or *gehobene Umgangssprache*) are considered more apt for formal situations in the classroom (e.g. presentations), whereas non-standard varieties (even dialect) appear to be appropriate for more conversational situations (e.g. during group work), and for many are even considered as the only acceptable varieties in informal conversations (e.g. during breaks). Again, regional differences apply.

To sum up, the data clearly indicate that the use of the standard language and non-standard varieties is viewed differently in urban and rural schools (and even by individual teachers) and with a high awareness of appropriateness for certain situations and requirements inside and outside the classroom. However, the assessment and handling of the different varieties in schools does neither follow any official guidelines that would be laid down in curricula or regulations (and which actually do not exist), nor pedagogical recommendations from the educational sciences. At large, it seems, teachers as well as students follow their own assessments and norms of usage, which have been negotiated over time in a quasi-autonomous way. At the same time, these reflect the kinds of language attitudes time and again elicited in

survey studies (e.g. Steinegger 1998; de Cillia 2018). However, whereas the majority of the teachers interviewed certainly appreciate this autonomy, certain teachers would find "positive guidelines" desirable. According to these teachers, language in education is too important to be allowed to be left to the whims of individuals. Given the variety of factors that can influence the choice of linguistic varieties and registers in class – the specific teaching situation, the composition of the class, etc. –, they would welcome few but consistent guidelines which can offer some orientation.

Our results make it very clear that teachers' and students' perceptions of and attitudes towards language use in Austrian schools differ from statements in official guidelines and curricula. Language variation (as well as multilingualism) has long been marginalised in the curricula of universities and teacher training institutes, so that teachers were and are often left to their own devices when confronted with language reality in class. The findings of our studies can therefore contribute to a differentiated picture of the language situation in schools in a country which is shaped not only by growing (external) multilingualism, but also by traditional and still very dynamic standard-dialect/non-standard constellations. In this respect, comparisons with other countries in Germanic-speaking Europe with similar constellations can be beneficial (cf. Ghyselen, Pharao, and Schmidlin in this volume).

On a more general note, the results from our study underline that a *practical* concept of 'standard language' has to take different perspectives into account. Like in our study on schools in Austria, data gained from questionnaires, ratings of audio stimuli and interviews with teachers and students can shed light on their perceptions of and attitudes towards standard and non-standard varieties, thus on their emic dimension of their relation. In order to get 'the full picture', these emic aspects would have to be complemented by the etic perspective. Thus, further studies, in our case recorded data from classroom interaction, will be needed.

REFERENCES

Ammon, U. 1995. *Die deutsche Sprache in Deutschland, Österreich und der Schweiz. Das Problem der nationalen Varietäten*. Berlin/New York: de Gruyter.

Anderson, B. 1983. *Imagined Communities. Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London/Brooklyn: Verso.

Auer, P. 2005. Europe's sociolinguistic unity, or: A typology of European dialect/standard constellations. In N. Delbecque, J. van der Auwera and D. Geeraerts (eds.) *Perspectives on variation*. *Sociolinguistic, Historical, Comparative*, Berlin: de Gruyter. 7–42.

Baquedano-López, P. and Kattan, S. 2008. Language Socialization in Schools. In N. H. Hornberger (ed.) *Encyclopedia of language and education*, Vol. 8. 2nd edition. New York: Springer. 2729–2741.

Barbour, S. and P. Stevenson. 1990. *Variation in German: A Critical Approach to German Sociolinguistics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Berend, N. 2005. Regionale Gebrauchsstandards – Gibt es sie und wie kann man sie beschreiben? In L. M. Eichinger and W. Kallmeyer (eds.) *Standardvariation: Wie viel Variation verträgt die deutsche Sprache? (IDS-Jahrbuch 2004). Berlin/New York: de Gruyter.*. 141–170.

Berthele, R. 2008. Dialekt-Standard Situationen als embryonale Mehrsprachigkeit. Erkenntnisse zum interlingualen Potenzial des Provinzlerdaseins. In K. J. Mattheier and A. Lenz (eds..) *Dialektsoziologie / Dialect Sociology / Sociologie du Dialecte*. (Special issue of *Sociolinguistica* 22). Tübingen: Max Niemeyer. 87–107.

BGBl II 2018 = *Bundesgesetzblatt BGBl. II* Nr. 230/2018. https://www.ris.bka.gv.at/eli/bgbl/II/2018/230/20180831 (March 1, 2022).

BMBWF. 2019. *Bildungssprache Deutsch*. [Online material provided by the Austrian Ministry of Education, Science and Research.] https://www.bmbwf.gv.at/Themen/schule/schulpraxis/ba/sprabi/bsd.html (March 1, 2022).

BMBWF. 2020. Minderheitenschulwesen. [Online material provided by the Austrian Ministry of Education, Science and Research.] https://www.bmbwf.gv.at/Themen/schule/schulpraxis/ba/sprabi/minderheitenschulwesen.html (March 1, 2022).

Buchner, E. and S. Elspaß. 2018. Varietäten und Normen im Unterricht – Wahrnehmungen und Einstellungen von Lehrpersonen an österreichischen Schulen. In M. Dannerer and U. Esterl (eds.) *Normen und Variation. Zur Rolle der Normierung in der mündlichen Sprachverwendung*. Special issue of *ide / informationen zur deutschdidaktik. Zeitschrift für den Deutschunterricht in Wissenschaft und Schule* 42, 4: 70–82.

Buchner, E., S. Elspaß and E. Fuchs. 2022. Innere Mehrsprachigkeit im Unterricht – Sprachnormerwartungen und Varietätentoleranz. In E. Stadnik (ed.) *Sprachenvielfalt und Mehrsprachigkeit im Unterricht. Linguistische, sprachdidaktische und bildungswissenschaftliche Beiträge zur sprachlichen Bildung* (Schriften der Kirchlichen Pädagogischen Hochschule Wien/Krems 24). Wien: LIT-Verlag. 23–38.

Budin, G., S. Elspaß, A. N. Lenz, S. M. Newerkla and A. Ziegler. 2019. The Research Project (SFB) 'German in Austria'. Variation – Contact – Perception. In L. Bülow, A. K. Fischer and K. Herbert (eds.) *Dimensionen des sprachlichen*

Raums: Variation – Mehrsprachigkeit – Konzeptualisierung. (Schriften zur deutschen Sprache in Österreich 45). Wien: Peter Lang. 7–35.

Clyne, M. 1989. Pluricentricity: National Variety. In U. Ammon (ed.) *Status and function of languages and language varieties*. Berlin/New York: de Gruyter. 357–371.

Coulmas, F. 1985. *Sprache und Staat. Studien zur Sprachplanung*. Berlin, New York: de Gruyter.

Cuonz, Ch. 2014. Was kann die diskursive Spracheinstellungsforschung (nicht)? Methodologische und epistemologische Überlegungen. In Ch. Cuonz and R. Studler (eds.) *Sprechen über Sprache. Perspektiven und neue Methoden der Spracheinstellungsforschung*. (Stauffenburg Linguistik 81). Tübingen: Stauffenburg. 31–64.

Dannerer, M. and U. Esterl (eds.). 2018. *Normen und Variation. Zur Rolle der Normierung in der mündlichen Sprachverwendung*. Special issue of *ide / informationen zur deutschdidaktik. Zeitschrift für den Deutschunterricht in Wissenschaft und Schule* 42, 4.

Davies, W. V. 2005. Deutschlehrer und Deutschlehrerinnen (in Deutschland) als Geber und Vermittler sprachlicher Normen. In W. Roggausch (ed.) *Germanistentreffen: Deutschland – Großbritannien – Irland. Dresden 2004. Tagungsbeiträge*. Bonn: DAAD. 323–338.

Davies, W. V. and N. Langer. 2014. Die Sprachnormfrage im Deutschunterricht: das Dilemma der Lehrenden. In A. Plewnia and A. Witt (eds.) *Sprachverfall? Dynamik – Wandel – Variation*. Berlin: de Gruyter. 299–321.

Davies, W. V. 2017. Gymnasiallehrkräfte in Nordrhein-Westfalen als SprachnormvermittlerInnen und Sprachnormautoritäten. In W. V. Davies, A. Häcki Buhofer, R. Schmidlin, M. Wagner and E. L. Wyss (eds.) *Standardsprache zwischen Norm und Praxis. Theoretische Betrachtungen, empirische Studien und sprachdidaktische Ausblicke*. Tübingen: Narr Francke. 123–146.

de Cillia, R. 2010. Mehrsprachigkeit statt Zweisprachigkeit. Argumente und Konzepte für eine Neuorientierung der Sprachenpolitik an den Schulen. In R. de Cillia, H. Gruber, M. Krzyzanowski and F. Menz (eds.) *Diskurs. Politik. Identität*. Tübingen: Stauffenburg Narr. 245–257.

de Cillia, R. 2018. Sprache(n) im Klassenzimmer. Varietätengebrauch und Spracheinstellungen in der Schule aus Sicht der Lehrer/innen und der Schüler/innen. In M. Dannerer and P. Mauser (eds.) *Formen der Mehrsprachigkeit. Sprachen und Varietäten in sekundären und tertiären Bildungskontexten*. Tübingen: Stauffenburg. 67–85.

de Cillia, R. and J. Ransmayr. 2019. *Österreichisches Deutsch macht Schule. Bildung und Deutschunterricht im Spannungsfeld von sprachlicher Variation und Norm*. Wien: Böhlau.

Dirim, I. 2018. Nationalstaatliche Normen, Mehrsprachigkeit und die Macht des didaktischen Essentialismus. In M. Dannerer and U. Esterl (eds.) *Normen und Variation. Zur Rolle der Normierung in der mündlichen Sprachverwendung*. Special issue of *ide / informationen zur deutschdidaktik. Zeitschrift für den Deutschunterricht in Wissenschaft und Schule* 42, 4: 21–30.

Duden Aussprachewörterbuch 2015 = Kleiner, S. and R. Knöbl. 2015. *Duden. Das Aussprachewörterbuch*. (Duden 6). 7th compl. rev. ed. Berlin: Dudenverlag.

Duden Zweifelsfälle-Wörterbuch 2016 = Hennig, M. (ed.). 2016. *Duden. Das Wörterbuch der sprachlichen Zweifelsfälle. Richtiges und gutes Deutsch*. (Duden 9). 8th compl. rev. ed. Berlin: Dudenverlag.

Durrell, M. 1999. Standardsprache in England und Deutschland. *Zeitschrift für germanistische Linguistik* 27, 3: 285–308.

Durrell, M. 2017. Die Rolle der deutschen Sprache in ideologischen Konstrukten der Nation. In W. V. Davies, A. Häcki Buhofer, R. Schmidlin, M. Wagner and E. L. Wyss (eds.) *Standardsprache zwischen Norm und Praxis. Theoretische Betrachtungen, empirische Studien und sprachdidaktische Ausblicke*. Tübingen: Narr Francke Attempto. 23–39.

Elspaß, S. Accepted. Pluriareal languages and the case of German. In R. Durgasingh and P. Meer (eds.) *Pluricentricity and Pluriareality: Dialects, Variation, and Standards*. Amsterdam, Philadelphia: Benjamins.

Elspaß, S. and P. Maitz. 2011. Sprache und Diskriminierung. Einführung ins Themenheft. In S. Elspaß and P. Maitz (eds.) *Sprache und Diskriminierung*. Special issue of *Der Deutschunterricht* 63, 6: 2–6.

Elspaß, S. and K. Niehaus. 2014. The standardization of a modern pluriareal language. Concepts and corpus designs for German and beyond. *Orð og tunga* 16: 47–67. https://timarit.is/page/6776632#page/n57/mode/2up (March 1, 2022).

Ender, A. and I. Kaiser. 2014. Diglossie oder Dialekt-Standard-Kontinuum? Zwischen kollektiver, individueller, wahrgenommener und tatsächlicher Sprachvariation in Vorarlberg und im bairischsprachigen Österreich. In D. Huck (ed.) *Alemannische Dialektologie: Dialekte im Kontakt* (ZDL-Beihefte 155). Stuttgart: Steiner. 131–146.

Fanta-Jende, J. 2020. Varieties in Contact: Horizontal and vertical dimensions of phonological variation in Austria. In A. N. Lenz and M. Maselko (eds.) *Variationist Linguistics meets Contact Linguistics* (Wiener Arbeiten zur Linguistik 6). Göttingen: Vienna University Press. 203–240.

Fuchs, E. N. and Elspaß, S. 2019. *Innere und äußere Mehrsprachigkeit an österreichischen Schulen: Ein Projektbericht zu Wahrnehmungen und Einstellungen*. Part I. University of Salzburg: ePLUS. https://eplus.uni-salzburg.at/obvusboa/download/pdf/4375948?originalFilename=true (March 1, 2022).

Garrett, P. 2005. Attitude Measurements / Messung von Einstellungen. In U. Ammon, N. Dittmar, K. J. Mattheier and P. Trudgill (eds.) *Sociolinguistics. An international handbook of the science of language and society*. Volume 2. 2nd compl. rev. and ext. ed. (Handbücher zur Sprach- und Kommunikationswissenschaft 3.2). Berlin, New York: De Gruyter Mouton. 1251–1260.

Gogolin, I. and I. Lange. 2011. Bildungssprache und durchgängige Sprachbildung. In S. Fürstenau and M. Gomolla (eds.) *Migration und schulischer Wandel: Mehrsprachigkeit.* Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften. 107–127.

Griesmayer, N. 2004. Zur Sprachauffassung im neuen Lehrplan Deutsch für Österreichs Schulen der Zehn- bis Achtzehnjährigen. *Trans. Internet-Zeitschrift für Kulturwissenschaften* 15. Nr., Juni 2004.
http://www.inst.at/trans/15Nr/06_1/griesmayer15.htm (March 1, 2022).

Herrgen, J. 2015. Entnationalisierung des Standards. Eine perzeptionslinguistische Untersuchung zur deutschen Standardsprache in Deutschland, Österreich und der Schweiz. In A. N. Lenz and M. Glauninger (eds.) *Standarddeutsch im 21. Jahrhundert. Theoretische und empirische Ansätze mit einem Fokus auf Österreich* (Wiener Arbeiten zur Linguistik 1). Göttingen: V&R. 139–164.

Kleiner, S. and R. Knöbl (collaborator). 2011ff. *Atlas zur Aussprache des deutschen Gebrauchsstandards (AADG).* http://prowiki.ids-mannheim.de/bin/view/AADG/ (March 1, 2022).

Knöbl, R. 2012. *Dialekt-Standard-Variation: Formen und Funktionen von Sprachvariation in einer mittelschwäbischen Schulklasse* (OraLingua1). Heidelberg: Winter.

Koch, P. and W. Oesterreicher. 2012. Language of Immediacy – Language of Distance: Orality and literacy from the perspective of language theory and linguistic history. In C. Lange, B. Weber and G. Wolf (eds.), *Communicative Spaces. Variation, Contact, and Change. Papers in Honour of Ursula Schaefer*. Frankfurt a.M. [etc.]: Lang. 441–473.

Koppensteiner, W. and A. N. Lenz. 2017. Theoretische und methodische Herausforderungen einer perzeptiv-attitudinalen Standardsprachforschung. Perspektiven aus und auf Österreich. In H. Sieburg and H.-W. Solms (eds.) *Das Deutsche als plurizentrische Sprache. Ansprüche – Ergebnisse – Perspektiven* (Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie, Sonderheft 136). 43–58.

Koppensteiner, W. and A. N. Lenz. 2020. Tracing a standard language in Austria using methodological microvariations of Verbal and Matched Guise Technique. *Linguistik Online* 102, 2: 47–82.

Lameli, A. 2010. Deutsch in Deutschland: Standard, regionale und dialektale Variation. In H.-J. Krumm, C. Fandrych, B. Hufeisen and C. Riemer (eds.) *Deutsch als Fremd- und Zweitsprache. Ein internationales Handbuch*. Vol. 1 (Hand-

bücher zur Sprach- und Kommunikationswissenschaft 35.1). Berlin, New York: De Gruyter Mouton. 385–398.

Lanwermeyer, M., J. Fanta-Jende, A. N. Lenz and K. Korecky-Kröll. 2019. Competing norms of standard pronunciation – Evidence from <-ig->-variation in Austria. *Dialectologia et Geolinguistica*, 123–141.

Lenz, A. N. 2019. Bairisch und Alemannisch in Österreich. In J. Herrgen and J. E. Schmidt (eds.) *Sprache und Raum. Ein internationales Handbuch der Sprachvariation.* Vol. 4: Deutsch. Unter Mitarbeit von Hanna Fischer und Brigitte Ganswindt (Handbücher zur Sprach- und Kommunikationswissenschaft. 30.4). Berlin & Boston: de Gruyter Mouton. 318–363.

Liebscher, G. and J. Dailey-O'Cain. 2014. Die Rolle von Wissen und Positionierung bei Spracheinstellungen im diskursiven Kontext. In C. Cuonz and R. Studler (eds.) *Sprechen über Sprache. Perspektiven und neue Methoden der Spracheinstellungsforschung*. Tübingen: Stauffenburg. 107–122.

Lippi-Green, R. 2012. *English with an Accent. Language, ideology, and discrimination in the United States*. 2nd edition. London, New York: Routledge.

Maitz, P. and S. Elspaß. 2011. "Dialektfreies Sprechen – leicht gemacht!" Sprachliche Diskriminierung von deutschen Muttersprachlern in Deutschland. In S. Elspaß and P. Maitz (eds.) *Sprache und Diskriminierung.* Special issue of *Der Deutschunterricht* 63, 6: 7–17.

Milroy, J. and L. Milroy. 1991. *Authority in Language. Investigating Language Prescription and Standardisation*. 2nd ed. London, New York: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Österreichisches Deutsch als Unterrichts- und Bildungssprache. 2014. Ed. by the Federal Ministry of Education and Women. Vienna: Federal Ministry of Education and Women.

Papapavlou, A. and A. Phili 2009. Childhood Bidialectism and Metalinguistic Awareness. *Selected papers on theoretical and applied linguistics* 18: 311–320.

von Polenz, P. 1989. Das 19. Jahrhundert als sprachgeschichtliches Periodisierungsproblem. In D. Cherubim and K. J. Mattheier (eds.) *Voraussetzungen und Grundlagen der Gegenwartssprache. Sprach- und sozialgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zum 19. Jahrhundert*. Berlin, New York: de Gruyter. 11–30.

von Polenz, P. 1999. *Deutsche Sprachgeschichte vom Spätmittelalter bis zur Gegenwart*. Vol. III: *19. und 20. Jahrhundert*. Berlin, New York: de Gruyter.

Redder, A. 2018. Mehrsprachige Wissensprozessierung in Schule und Hochschule. In M. Dannerer and P. Mauser (eds.) *Formen der Mehrsprachigkeit. Sprachen und Varietäten in sekundären und tertiären Bildungskontexten*. Tübingen: Stauffenburg. 265–285.

Salmons, J. 2018. *A History of German. What the Past reveals about today's language.* 2nd ed. Oxford: OUP.

Scheuringer, H. 1996. Das Deutsche als pluriareale Sprache: Ein Beitrag gegen staatlich begrenzte Horizonte in der Diskussion um die deutsche Sprache in Österreich. *Die Unterrichtspraxis/Teaching German* 29, 2: 147–153.

Scheutz, H. 1999. Umgangssprache als Ergebnis von Konvergenz- und Divergenzprozessen zwischen Dialekt und Standardsprache. In T. Stehl (ed.) *Dialektfunktionen – Dialektgenerationen – Dialektwandel*. Tübingen: Narr. 105–131.

Schmidlin, R. 2011. *Die Vielfalt des Deutschen. Standard und Variation: Gebrauch, Einschätzung und Kodifizierung einer plurizentrischen Sprache* (Studia Linguistica Germanica 106). Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter.

Schmidt, J. E. 1998. Moderne Dialektologie und regionale Sprachgeschichte. In W. Besch and H. J. Solms (eds.) *Regionale Sprachgeschichte*, special issue of *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie* 117: 163–179.

Schneider, J. G., J. Butterworth and N. Hahn. 2018. *Gesprochener Standard aus syntaktischer Perspektive. Theoretische Grundlagen – Empirie – didaktische Konsequenzen.* Tübingen: Stauffenburg.

Soukup, B. 2014. Konstruktivismus trifft auf Methodik in der Spracheinstellungsforschung: Theorie, Daten, Fazit. In C. Cuonz and R. Studler (eds.) *Sprechen über Sprache. Perspektiven und neue Methoden der Spracheinstellungsforschung* (Stauffenburg Linguistik. 81). Tübingen: Stauffenburg. 143–169.

Soukup, B. and S. Moosmüller. 2011. Standard language in Austria. In T. Kristiansen and N. Coupland (eds.) *Standard Languages and Language Standards in a Changing Europe*. Oslo: Novus Press. 39–46.

Statistik Austria. 2007. Bevölkerung mit österreichischer Staatsbürgerschaft nach Umgangssprache seit 1971.
http://www.statistik.at/web_de/static/bevoelkerung_mit_oesterreicher_staats
buergerschaft_nach_umgangssprache_022886.pdf (March 1, 2022).

Statistik Austria. 2020. Bevölkerung mit Migrationshintergrund seit 2008.
https://www.statistik.at/wcm/idc/idcplg?IdcService=GET_PDF_FILE&Revision
SelectionMethod=LatestReleased&dDocName=069443 (March 1, 2022).

Steinegger, G. 1998. *Sprachgebrauch und Sprachbeurteilung in Österreich und Südtirol. Ergebnisse einer Umfrage* (Schriften zur deutschen Sprache in Österreich 26). Frankfurt am Main et al.: Peter Lang.

Steiner, A. 2008. *Unterrichtskommunikation. Eine linguistische Untersuchung der Gesprächsorganisation und des Dialektgebrauchs in Gymnasien der Deutschschweiz.* Tübingen: Gunter Narr.

Variantengrammatik 2018 = *Variantengrammatik des Standarddeutschen.* 2018. An open access online reference work compiled by a team under the leadership of C. Dürscheid, S. Elspaß and Arne Ziegler.
http://mediawiki.ids-mannheim.de/VarGra (March 1, 2022).

Variantenwörterbuch 2016 = Ammon, U., H. Bickel and A. N. Lenz (eds.). 2016. *Variantenwörterbuch des Deutschen. Die Standardsprache in Österreich, der Schweiz, Deutschland, Liechtenstein, Luxemburg, Ostbelgien und Südtirol sowie Rumänien, Namibia und Mennonitensiedlungen*, 2nd rev. ed. Berlin: de Gruyter.

Vergeiner, P. C. 2019. *Kookkurrenz – Kovariation – Kontrast. Formen und Funktionen individueller Dialekt-/Standardvariation in Beratungsgesprächen* (Schriften zur deutschen Sprache in Österreich 44). Wien: Peter Lang.

Vergeiner, P. C., E. Buchner, E. Fuchs and S. Elspaß. 2019. Sprachnormvorstellungen in sekundären und tertiären Bildungseinrichtungen in Österreich. *Zeitschrift für Dialektologie und Linguistik* 86, 3: 284–330.

Wandruszka, M. 1979. *Die Mehrsprachigkeit des Menschen*. München: Piper.

Wiesinger, P. 1990. Standardsprache und Mundarten in Österreich. In G. Stickel (ed.) *Deutsche Gegenwartssprache. Tendenzen und Perspektiven.* Berlin, New York: de Gruyter. 218–232.

Wodak, R. 1994. Wir sind nicht Duden-Land. *Wiener Journal*. June 1994: 26–27.

Wyss, E. L. 2017. Sprachnormurteile im Dilemma. Deutschlehrerinnen und Deutschlehrer an Deutschschweizer Gymnasien beurteilen Sprachkompetenzen, Sprachgebrauch und Zweifelsfälle. In W. V. Davies, A. Häcki Buhofer, R. Schmidlin, M. Wagner and E. L. Wyss (eds.) *Standardsprache zwischen Norm und Praxis. Theoretische Betrachtungen, empirische Studien und sprachdidaktische Ausblicke*. Tübingen: Narr Francke Attempto. 147–188.

Standard variation and linguistic attitudes
in German-speaking Switzerland:
From the etic to the emic perspective

Regula Schmidlin

University of Fribourg, Switzerland

INTRODUCTION

The German standard language is used under different conditions in different parts of the German-language area. From the etic perspective (roughly referring to the objective perspective), these different sociolinguistic settings have led to structural differences between the varieties of standard German in the German-speaking countries on the lexical, phonological and grammatical levels, as documented in the *Variantenwörterbuch des Deutschen* (Ammon et al. 2004; Ammon, Bickel and Lenz 2016) as well as in the *Variantengrammatik* (Dürscheid, Elspaß and Ziegler 2018). The variation of standard German is lexicographically quite well researched and there is ample evidence of national and regional variants of standard German in text corpora. However, the influence of text genres on the frequency of variants and the individual speakers' perspective on the variants of standard German remain research desiderata. Based on the fact that public texts regularly contain variants of standard German, e.g. Helvetisms in Swiss texts, the question of how individual speakers react to such variants and use them in their own language production is of interest here. This chapter focuses on variation in standard German and speakers' attitudes towards languages and varieties in Switzerland. I begin by providing some essential facts and figures about the current situation of languages and varieties in Switzerland. By means of the re-analysis of an extensive corpus of public texts, which was used for the compilation of the *Variantenwörterbuch des Deutschen* (Ammon et al. 2004; Ammon, Bickel and Lenz 2016), I show the different distribution of variants in different text genres. I then turn to the question whether variation in standard German should be modelled as 'pluricentric' or as 'pluriareal' (these terms being defined further below). This question is a hot point of debate in German sociolinguistics. I argue that these two concepts are not incompatible. I then focus on the emic perspective (roughly referring to the subjective perspective), turning to the cognitive, emotive and conative dimensions of speakers' attitudes (Baker 1992; Kristiansen 2014) towards variants of standard German. These attitudes were analysed on the basis of data collected by means of an online questionnaire (Schmidlin

2011). In this questionnaire, 908 informants from all over the German-speaking area (Germany, Switzerland and Austria) and from different age-groups answered 85 questions concerning the choice of lexical and phonological variants in a written text, the standard or non-standard status of variants, and their knowledge about the German-speaking areas where particular variants are typically used. It can be shown that informants exhibit considerable variation with regard to these dimensions of attitudes. Furthermore, their attitudes vary depending on whether the items assessed in the questionnaire are phonological or lexical variants. In the case of Swiss standard German, the juxtaposition of an etic and an emic perspective on the variation of standard German shows that even variants that occur frequently in public texts and that are also codified in dictionaries are not always considered to be standard by the speakers in individual test situations.

LANGUAGES AND VARIETIES IN SWITZERLAND

The population of Switzerland is highly international and numbers about 8.5 million today, 25% of whom do not have Swiss citizenship. 20% of adult inhabitants say that they do not use any of the Swiss national languages, i.e. German, French, Italian or Romansh, as a dominant language in their everyday lives (Christen and Schmidlin 2019: 196; cf. Federal Statistical Office 2017).

Table 1: Permanent residents in Switzerland (N) and their dominant language(s) (in %) (Christen and Schmidlin 2019: 196; cf. Federal Statistical Office 2017; calculation on the basis of responses from 10,000 informants.).

	1970	1980	1990	2000	2015
Total population	6,011,469	6,160,950	6,640,937	7,100,302	8,131,033
(Swiss) German	66.1	66.5	64.6	64.1	63.0
French	18.4	18.6	19.5	20.4	22.7
Italian and Italian dialects spoken in the Ticino and the Grisons	11.0	9.6	7.7	6.5	8.1
Romansh	0.8	0.8	0.6	0.5	0.5
other languages	3.7	5.5	7.7	8.5	21.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	115.9*

*The total exceeds 100% because some individuals indicated multiple dominant languages.

Table 1 shows the distributions of the population's use of official languages in Switzerland over the past decades, which has been relatively stable. The French-speaking group has grown slightly since 1970, while the Italian-speaking group has lost some speakers, but has been growing again since 2000. Romansh speakers make up less than 1 percent. Finally, there has been a clear increase in languages other than the four national or official languages in Switzerland over the years.
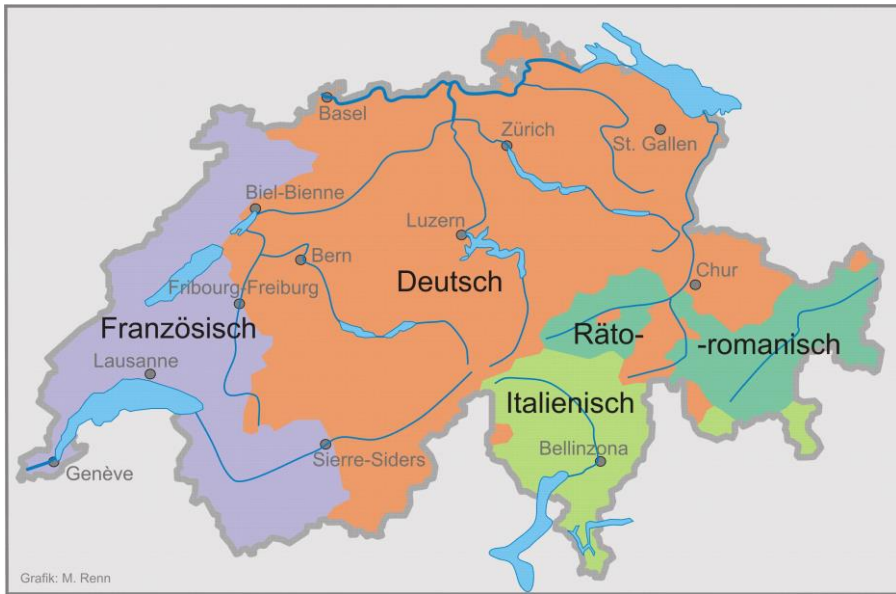

Figure 1: Linguistic map of Switzerland (from Christen, Glaser and Friedli 2013: 23).
['Französisch' = French, 'Deutsch' = German, 'Rätoromanisch' = Romansh, 'Italienisch' = Italian]

Figure 1 shows a map of the regional distribution of official languages. This situation has proved to be quite stable. The map shows that, in terms of languages used as official languages, Switzerland consists of largely monolingual territories. As to individual multilingualism, the Swiss speak about two languages in addition to their L1 on average (Schmidlin and Franceschini 2019: 1013; cf. Federal Statistical Office 2017). This figure is higher when only German speaking Swiss are considered, namely 2.2. The Swiss usually learn their additional languages at school and not through contact with their fellow citizens. The stability of Swiss multilingualism as an institutional phenomenon can at least be partially explained by the fact that it is protected by the federal constitution. Section 2 of Article 70 of the Swiss federal constitution states that "the Cantons shall decide on their official languages. In order to preserve harmony between linguistic communities, the Cantons shall re-

spect the traditional territorial distribution of languages and take account of indigenous linguistic minorities." It is this so-called principle of territoriality that has led to the stability of Swiss multilingualism.

Why start off a discussion of standard languages in Switzerland with facts and figures about Swiss multilingualism? First of all, the French-, German- and Italian-speaking parts of Switzerland are exposed to language contact with each other; some variants in Swiss standard French, Swiss standard German and Swiss standard Italian can be explained by this language contact. For instance, *attendre sur quelqu'un* ('to wait for someone') is a German loan construction (from 'auf jemanden warten') in Swiss French, corresponding with *attendre à quelqu'un* in French standard French. In Swiss standard Italian, *rolladen* ('roll shutter') replaces *tapparella* as used in standard Italian in Italy. There are also quite a few Helvetisms in Swiss standard German derived from French or Italian, e.g. *Trottoir* ('pavement'), *Peperoni* ('sweet pepper') and *Secondo/Seconda* (referring to people of the second generation of immigrant families). Furthermore, there are morphological variants in Swiss standard German that can possibly be explained by French and Italian equivalents, for instance *Reservation,* which is morphologically related to French *réservation* and Italian *riservazione* (for further examples and references cf. Schmidlin and Franceschini 2019).

Secondly, the common political system has led to some parallel terminology in the Swiss standard languages. A federal council is called *Bundesrat* in German, *consiglio federale* in Italian, *conseil fédéral* in French and *cussegl federal* in Romansh. The word for 'popular vote' is *Volksabstimmung* in German, *votation populaire* in French, *votazione popolare* in Italian and *votaziun dal pievel* in Romansh. This political terminology is very distinct when it comes to the description of Swiss standard German as a variety of standard German. Indeed, the fact that political terminology is a salient part of national variants is often used as an argument against models of national standard varieties, with critics claiming that this and other kinds of specific terminology constitute only a very marginal area of the lexicon (Besch 1990; Koller 1999; cf. Eichinger 2005 for a categorical analysis of variants). However, it remains unclear where the line is to be drawn between technical terms and other lexical items. Moreover, in modern democratic societies, the lexical fields of administration, law and institutional vocabulary are not marginal at all, both in terms of frequency, socio-politically and thus cognitively in the speakers' repertoire. The issue of how technical terms feature in standard varieties opens up the more general discussion about which variants are constitutive elements of a variety. Why wouldn't frequent lexical elements be included here, even if they are 'only' technical terms? The third reason why multilingualism matters when discussing concepts of standard languages in multilingual societies is that the different language groups have developed different attitudes towards their own standard

languages and their specific features. We could call this diversity of linguistic attitudes 'multiattitudinism'. For instance, a rather centralistic and normative French perspective on standard language in Swiss French speakers, which takes its cues from France, contrasts with a rather affirmative attitude towards linguistic variation in general and diglossia in particular in Swiss German speakers (Knecht and Py 1997; Pedretti 2000; Widmer et al. 2004) . These attitudes, referring to the speakers' own standard languages, tend to be transferred to the other standard varieties respectively. This is why it is typically difficult for the Swiss French to comprehend that Swiss Germans use a dialect as their everyday language. It is often ignored that these dialects have become *Ausbaudialekte* so that they can serve any communicative function in society, even formal ones, and that using a Swiss German dialect is not socially stigmatized, but is the default mode of communication in German-speaking Switzerland. From the French perspective, with its centralistic conception of linguistic norms, dialects can even be associated with a lack of education. Consequently, distinctive features of Swiss standard varieties, i.e. Helvetisms, are more likely to be perceived as dialect and thus generally viewed more critically by the French-speaking Swiss than by the German-speaking Swiss.

VARIANTS OF STANDARD GERMAN FROM THE ETIC PERSPECTIVE

From an etic ('objective') perspective, and due to (partially) independent political-historical developments, standard languages, in terms of national languages or official languages, have developed their own distinctive features. To a certain degree, this is true for all Swiss national languages (Haas 2006: 1777; Thibault and Knecht 2012). However, discussion about the normative autonomy of the standard varieties is more intense in the German-speaking area than in the Romance-speaking area. Compared to the French-speaking area, which is traditionally more oriented towards a uniform norm, the more federalist structure of the German-speaking area has generally led to more tolerance towards independent regional developments. This linguistic attitudinal contrast is also reflected in Switzerland.

Variants of standard German are not restricted to individual words. Very often, they consist of polylexical constructions, which are difficult to describe lexicographically. For instance, in Germany the construction *Anlieger frei* or *Anwohner frei* is used to express the traffic rule that residents of a street where there is a general driving ban are allowed to pass. In Austria, the construction *ausgenommen Anrainer* is used. In Switzerland, the most common construction is *Anwohner gestattet* (Ammon, Bickel and Lenz 2016: 40).

Yet, variation in the German standard language is not only structured along national borders, as is the case with *Abiturient* used in Germany, *Maturant* used in

Austria and *Maturand* used in Switzerland for a student who is completing grammar school. It is, in fact, quite rare that areas where certain linguistic variants are used are clearly defined by national borders (cf. Elspaß and Kleiner 2019). When this does happen, variants often refer to country-specific institutional terms (as already discussed above), such as variants referring to Swiss democracy and parliamentarism (Löffler 1997: 1859), e.g. *Stimmbürger* ('voter') and *Souverän* (referring to all inhabitants who are entitled to vote; 'electorate'). In the majority of cases, however, variants are used in regions straddling national borders. The word *allfällig* ('possible', 'possibly occurring') is used in Austria as well as in Switzerland. *Paprika* ('sweet pepper'), for which in Switzerland as well as South Tyrol *Peperoni* is used, is common in both Austria and Germany. At the same time, *Paprika* referring to the spice is used in the whole of the German-speaking area. Furthermore, many variants are relative rather than absolute in their distribution, in that they occur in various regions of the German-speaking area with different frequencies. For instance, the grammatical gender of *E-Mail* tends to be feminine in the North of the German-speaking area, whereas in the South both neuter and feminine are used (Niehaus 2017: 76). However, it may turn out that neuter is nevertheless perceived to be the prototypical gender for E-Mail in, for instance, Swiss standard German.

Lexicographically, the variants of standard German, be they national or regional, absolute or relative, are quite well documented, on the one hand in separate dictionaries of Helvetisms, Austriacisms or Northern German regional variants (Bickel and Landolt 2018; Ebner 2009; Meyer 2006; Seibicke 1983) and, on the other hand, by means of regional labels in general monolingual dictionaries, e.g. DUDEN *Universalwörterbuch* 2015, DUDEN *Grosses Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache* 1999, and dictionaries for German as a foreign language (e.g. Langenscheidt *Grosswörterbuch für Deutsch als Fremdsprache* 2003). The *Variantenwörterbuch des Deutschen* (Ammon et al. 2004; Ammon, Bickel and Lenz 2016) is the first to collect and comparatively represent standard German variants from the whole of the German-speaking area.

The corpus on which the *Variantenwörterbuch* is based consisted of more than 1,000 items: daily and weekly newspapers, journals, magazines, popular non-fiction books, literary texts, all dating from 1970-1995 (with the literary texts covering a longer period, some of them dating back to the 1950s). There were also brochures and official documents, e.g. public authority communication, included in the corpus. To determine the origin of the texts, attention was paid to the biographical origin of their authors and, where this was not possible, e.g. in the case of newspapers, to the place of publication. These texts were all triple-checked for variants of standard German in several readings by the teams in Austria (Innsbruck), Switzerland (Basel) and Germany (Duisburg).

The potential variants identified in this way were then compared with evidence in previous lexicography and subjected to a frequency analysis. The possibility of domain-specific queries in the World Wide Web was decisive (site:de for Germany, site:at for Austria and site:ch for Switzerland). Words that are not variants, such as *Baum* (tree)*, Mensch* (human) or *Tisch* (table), were distributed in a ratio of 80% to 10% to 10% among German, Austrian and Swiss websites. In the case of findings that deviated strongly from this ratio, the assumption was substantiated that these could be variants of standard German. Thus, almost 98% of the references of the Helvetism *Maturand* (grammar school student) were found on Swiss websites and only 1% on German and Austrian ones. After this frequency check, about 45% of the variants identified by the corpus readings remained as potential entries for the *Variantenwörterbuch*. For further information concerning the corpus and the empirical process behind the documentation of variants cf. Ammon et al. 2004: 911–939, Schmidlin 2011: 134–144, Schmidlin 2013: 26–27). With this approach, it was possible to map the overall frequency of variants, but not differentiated by text type.

In order to get a picture of this distribution in various text genres, I re-analysed a representative selection of 537 documents out of the *Variantenwörterbuch* corpus. The selection of 537 documents for the corpus re-analysis amounts to 48,379 pages. In the dictionary project database, I was able to trace back all comments on words considered to be potential variants by the members of the research group, and to identify all variants that, after the frequency analyses mentioned above, had actually ended up as entries in the *Variantenwörterbuch* (Schmidlin 2011: 147). This procedure makes it possible to identify the frequency of codified national and regional variants of standard German variants in various text genres from different time periods: German, Austrian and Swiss newspapers (local and supra-regional, tabloid and quality), literary texts, non-fictional prose. Different content domains, e.g. traffic, tourism, cookery, institutions, health etc., were also taken into account. There were two formats of texts considered in the data selection: books with an average page of around 200 words and newspapers with an average page of around 2,000 words. For reasons of scope, these average numbers were extracted via random sampling.

In one-way analyses of variance and correlation analyses, I studied the influence of the factors mentioned above on the density of variants in the selected German, Austrian and Swiss texts. The dependent variable was the number of national or regional variants of standard German that were discovered within 100 pages of each text and that were entered in the project database.

First of all, it can be stated that none of the texts considered in this analysis is free of regional or national variants of standard German. However, the analysis showed that the number of such variants occurring in a text depends on the origin and type or genre of the text. Swiss texts contain the most national and regional

variants (187 variants per 100 pages), followed by Austrian texts (116 variants) and German texts (48 variants). The national origin of the texts has a significant influence on the density of variants ($p < 0.01$). Not surprisingly, local newspapers contain more variants than supra-regional ones. However, it has to be noted that the supra-regional quality press – e.g. *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* (German), *Die Presse* (Austrian) and *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* (Swiss) – use national and regional variants of standard German, too. Literary texts contain the fewest variants. Furthermore, when comparing older texts, some of them dating back to the 1950s, with texts from around 2000, no clear diachronic development in the frequency of variants can be observed. Regional and national variants of standard German, on the one hand, and elements that are common to the whole German-language area, on the other hand, seem to be equally frequent, but sensitive to text genres. It can be concluded that the number of regional and national variants of standard German in public texts is small, but stable and salient (i.e. they were quite reliably identified by the members of the research group and passed the frequency tests).

Recent studies show that since 2000, lexical convergence between Austrian and German standard German has increased (Wiesinger 2015). Similarly, Bickel, Hofer and Suter (2015) state that, in the new edition of the *Variantenwörterbuch* from 2016, 68% of the lexical entries that, in the first edition, had been identified as German national or German regional variants of standard German and labelled as "increasingly used", are by now commonly used. Yet, 30% of the variants that had been documented as Helvetisms in the first edition have also become more common by now in the dictionary corpus, e.g. *Urnengang* ('round of vote / election') and *Schuldenbremse* ('debt ceiling / brake'). This could indicate that the lexical convergence of the variants of standard German consists not only of the process of adopting Northern German (regional) variants in the South of the German-speaking area or in Switzerland, but also of southern variants spreading to the whole of the German-speaking area.

Outside of the lexical, there are also phonological differences that differentiate the varieties of standard German. The majority of speakers of Swiss standard German produce phonological variants that are typical of Swiss standard German, using apical /r/ and not uvular /R/, using voiceless /s/ and not voiced /z/ in words like *Sonne*, and using non-reduced final syllables, for instance in words like *machen*. In Swiss standard German, intervocalic consonants tend to be longer, e.g. in *Watte*, final /r/ is usually not vocalized, e.g. *Mutter*, and there is no fricative in the suffix <ig>, e.g. in *König*. For further discussion of phonological variants see Guntern (in press); Hove (2002); Kleiner and Knöbl (2015); Krech et al. (2010); Ulbrich (2005). Although there are some tendencies of convergence towards German standard German pronunciation in some speakers, and although they might speak differently in different contexts (cf. Christen et al. 2010), the phonological variants of Swiss

standard German can currently still be observed in the majority of speakers. Remarkably, the increasing use of the standard language as a spoken language with allochthonous speakers, especially with German speakers from Germany, has so far not led to the levelling of national and regional phonological variants of the German standard language. Further systematic empirical studies of the Swiss pronunciation of standard German are actually a research desideratum.

CONCEPTUALISATIONS OF STANDARD GERMAN: PLURICENTRIC VS. PLURIAREAL

To recap so far, from the *etic* point of view, the variants of standard German are a fact for which there is empirical evidence, as my discussion has shown. Yet, in terms of types, national and regional variants of standard German constitute only a small proportion of the entire German lexicon – probably around 5% (Schmidlin 2013: 23). De Cillia (2015: 152) referred to Freud's "Narzissmus der kleinen Differenzen" ('narcissism of small differences') in order to describe the process whereby members of a nation try to establish differences between their own nation and another nation which is actually very similar to their own. Wardhaugh (1987: 31) referred to *flavor* rather than *substance* when describing the differences between the varieties of standard English. However, in terms of tokens, variants of standard German occur frequently enough in texts to be noticed by the readers especially from the allochthonous perspective (Schmidlin 2011: 299). Meanwhile, the national and regional variants of standard German have been described extensively in lexicography and most recently also in grammatography (see Dürscheid, Elspaß and Ziegler 2018). Nevertheless, teachers often correct variants for being non-standard, even if they are codified as standard in dictionaries (cf. Davies et al. 2017; see also further below).

From a theoretical point of view, there are two approaches within sociolinguistics in order to conceptualise variation in standard German: the pluricentric concept (for instance Ammon 1995; Clyne 1992; de Cillia 2015), which is sometimes (but not always) used synonymously with a plurinational concept, and the pluriareal concept (for instance Niehaus 2017; Scheuringer 1996). The pluricentric view assumes that there are varieties of German that are of equal value and that are influenced by state borders, similar to the difference between American and British English. In contrast to the pluricentric concept, the pluriareal (or pluriregional) concept refers to linguistic differences within Germany between North and South and within Austria between East and West (Greule 2002: 58), as well as the numerous commonalities across borders (cf. Budin et al. 2019: 31; Pickl et al. 2019 referring to differences within Austria and Bavarian-Austrian commonalities; Shafer

2018: 23–39 for a concise contrastive report of both the pluricentric and the pluriareal concepts; Scheuringer 2018: 222 for his biting criticism of the pluricentric concept from the Bavarian perspective). Pluriarealists argue against national borders as linguistic borders. Indeed, on the whole, trans-national and regional variants of standard German are more numerous than national variants (cf. Elspaß, Dürscheid and Ziegler 2017). However, certain semantic areas still prove to be especially productive of national variants. In the case of Swiss standard German, national (i.e. nation-specific) variants are quite frequent in a) public administration, law, institutions (see above) , b) as loan words, e.g. in sports terminology, c) as dialect words integrated into the standard language, d) as variants circulated by national and regional media as well as distributors of consumer products (Sutter 2017: 36f). Thus, depending on the semantic fields represented by the variants, both the pluricentric and the pluriareal concepts are applicable to model the varieties of standard German.

   A further argument used against pluricentricity is the fact that most variants are relative rather than absolute: variants may occur predominantly, but not exclusively, in a certain region. Many of them are used side by side with variants commonly used in the whole of the German-speaking area or even with variants typical of other regions. Yet this is actually not at all denied from the pluricentric perpective. Referring to variants of Swiss standard German, Haas used the term *Frequenzhelvetismus* to describe this phenomenon as early as 1982.

   Auer (2014) argues that the national interpretation of pluricentricity only dates back to the postwar period, whereas in earlier times the term had referred to regional varieties formed by dialect differences. But in its current cast, the national concept of pluricentricity endorses the ideology that every nation should have its own (standard) language, according to Auer (2014). This criticism seems justified. However, there are undeniably certain even historical grounds for a pluricentric notion in application to German-speaking Switzerland, at least. As far as the Swiss *Schreibsprache* ('written language') is concerned, the discussion of its individuality dates back at least to Bodmer and Breitinger (1746: Bd 2 S. 613), who criticised the "Tyrannie der Sachsen über den schweizerschen und alle andere Dialekten der deutschen Provintzen". Moreover, Switzerland was de facto separated from the *Deutsches Reich* in 1499, de jure in 1648. Furthermore, in comparison to the standard varieties in Germany and Austria, there seem to be more specific (i.e. national) variants in the Swiss standard variety (as per the number of entries in Ammon et al. 2004; Ammon, Bickel and Lenz 2016). Also, there is less intra-regional variation in Swiss standard German than in the German and Austrian varieties, which of course can be explained by the size of the language areas and a stronger historical interconnection between Germany and Austria. Consequently, on the whole, the pluricentric concept seems to be more adequate to describe the standard variety in Ger-

man-speaking Switzerland than in Germany and Austria, where there is a greater degree of intra- and transnational linguistic variation (for further references to historical aspects of pluricentricity cf. Durrell 2017; Fingerhuth 2019; Scheuringer 2018).

Niehaus (2017), when describing the compilation of the corpus on which the *Variantengrammatik* is empirically based, mentions that the regional subdivisions are mostly geopolitical, referring to *Bundesländer* or *Bezirke*. At this point, the question arises whether favouring the term *region* rather than *centre* – provided that *region* is not defined dialectologically but geopolitically – really solves the theoretical problem of defining what the core and periphery of a *centre* are (cf. Auer 2014; Wolf 1994). In a narrow sense, using the term pluri*areal* (or pluri*regional)* instead of pluri*centric* just shifts the theoretical problem of defining a linguistic area from one administrative level to another, lower, level. Interestingly, in both the pluricentric and pluriareal concepts, one might expect that institutional borders – even more than dialectological borders – have the potential to maintain or even reinforce differences between standard varieties. In the case of national borders, "national constructs" such as state schools, political constitutions, laws, public media etc. undoubtedly give rise to specific structures in a community of communication (cf. Bickel, Hofer and Suter 2015; Auer et al. 2015 on different phonological phenomena used on each side of the national border between Baden and Alsace; Brandner 2015 on syntactic phenomena in Alemannic which differ across the national border between Switzerland and Germany; Bülow and Kleene 2019 on distinctive variants at the Austrian-Bavarian border). Nevertheless, there are other fields of communication where the horizontal-areal (i.e. geographic) variation of the German standard language is confined by neither regional nor national borders.

Pertaining to the linguistic levels involved in geographical variation, phonological differences between the varieties of standard German can be conceptualised quite well from a pluricentric perspective – at least when speakers of the public service media, who are important authorities with respect to the phonological norms of a linguistic community, are compared with each other. Even Herrgen (2015), who is rather critical of the pluricentric approach, especially when varieties are conceptualised as national varieties, mentions that within public service radio and TV, the authorities responsible for phonological norms in the media are organised at the national level. Phonological norms used by professional speakers in Bavaria and Austria are still surprisingly distinct. As for German-speaking Switzerland, public service broadcasting still has a high share of the media market, with a radio market share of 60% and a TV market share of 40% (SRG SSR 2019), which is considerable, given that there are 25% foreign residents, most of whom do not speak German as a first language. The presence of public service broadcasting thus contributes to

the establishment of phonological norms (proto)typical of standard German in Switzerland.

In contrast to phonological variants of standard German in the public media, lexical and grammatical variants occurring in public texts show more heterogeneous patterns of variation: as mentioned earlier in this section, some of them are relative variants, i.e. they exist in the entire German-speaking area but occur much more frequently in one region than elsewhere, and many of them are used in several regions across national borders. These different types of variation are taken into account by both the pluriareal and the pluricentric perspectives. Thus, on the whole, the adequacy of the theoretical concepts discussed here, whether pluricentric or pluriareal, depends on which region of the German-speaking area is being considered, as well as on the linguistic level of variation (phonological, lexical or grammatical) that is of interest.

VARIANTS OF STANDARD GERMAN FROM THE EMIC PERSPECTIVE

After having discussed the frequency and the theoretical conceptualisation of the national and regional variants of standard German in the previous sections, I now turn to the perspective of speakers' attitudes towards variants of standard German in German, Austrian and Swiss texts. Given that national and regional variants of standard German are frequent in written language, what are the speakers' attitudes towards this kind of linguistic variation? In order to test speakers' attitudes to both national and regional variation of standard German, an internet questionnaire was used to collect data on the use of national and regional variants of standard German from speakers from the whole of the German-speaking area (for an extensive description of the methodology cf. Schmidlin 2011: 208–287). First, it was tested how loyal speakers from different regions are with respect to the variants typically used in their own region (according to the state of research presented in Ammon et al. 2004). Over 900 informants filled in the questionnaire. Their task was to choose from a series of standard German variants the ones they would most naturally use in order to complete some example sentences in the context of a letter or a school essay. For instance, they were asked whether they would rather use *Schuhbänder, Schuhbändel, Schnürsenkel* or some other variants for 'shoe laces' in order to complete the sentence "Er stolperte und bemerkte, dass seine ... offen waren" ('He stumbled and realized that his … were undone). For the example sentences, variants were chosen that according to the corpus research for the *Variantenwörterbuch* were particularly clear and frequent cases of national or regional variants of standard German. In order to analyse the answers statistically, the value 1 was set when informants exclusively used variants from other regions. From the southern German

(East and West), Swiss and Austrian perspectives, this type of answer mostly meant the choice of a North/Central German variant or of a so-called Teutonism. The value 2 was set when the informants chose a variant or variants from their own region as well as variants from other regions. The value 3 was set when the informants only chose variants from their own region or variants that are common in the whole of the German-speaking area, assuming they existed for the specific example sentence. Whether informants select or deselect "their own" variants depends on the informants' regional origin ($p < 0.01$). It could be shown that the informants from the northern and central regions of the German-speaking areas were most loyal and always chose the variants from their own regions. This might possibly be explained by the fact that, in the linguistically more uniform northern varieties of the German-speaking area, there are fewer variants in the linguistic repertoires at the speakers' disposal, compared to Southern Germany. However, even the informants who had grown up in the South East or South West of Germany were more loyal towards the variants of their own region than the Swiss informants. Whereas for Southern German informants, the southern variant *Schuhbändel* was the first choice, many Swiss informants chose the northern variant *Schnürsenkel.* Another example: even though the Swiss informants all learn the word *Vortritt* in their road safety education to denote the right to pass at a crossroad or a junction before another approaching vehicle, many of them chose the word *Vorfahrt* in the questionnaire in order to complete an example sentence (for further information on the study design cf. Schmidlin 2011: 337f). What is interesting here is that Swiss informants show significantly lower loyalty values than informants from South West Germany and Western Austria / Vorarlberg, even though all these regions are dialectologically related and all speakers use an Alemannic dialect in their everyday life and a standard variety with many variants. Despite the similar linguistic situations in these three regions, the speakers' attitudes towards national and regional variants of standard German differ considerably. The national border seems to function as a demarcation line for loyalty towards linguistic variants, with the following tendencies: in a situation similar to a test situation, when having to produce a sentence in standard German, informants from all over Germany choose lexical variants that are typical of their own region. Informants from the whole of Austria choose both their own and German German variants. In some cases, Swiss informants tend to prefer the German German variants to the Swiss variants. With respect to linguistic attitudes, the national borders prove to be cognitively relevant.

What is to be concluded from this with respect to the Swiss German informants? Although they read texts containing Helvetisms daily (see further above), when asked to select variants in a virtual situation of language production they choose these Helvetisms less often than, for instance, the Austrian informants choose Austriacisms. When in doubt, they tend to avoid Helvetisms in a situation which ap-

proximates a test situation. This result constitutes an interesting contrast to the frequent use of Helvetisms even in the quality press, but also to spontaneous individual language production. This also becomes evident in another section of the questionnaire, where the informants were asked whether selected variants in their view were dialectal, rather dialectal, rather standard or standard (cf. Schmidlin 2013: 37). Remarkably, even well-established Helvetisms, e.g. *besammeln* ('assemble', especially said of school children), are judged to be rather dialectal. In an individual test situation, the informants seem to conceive of the lexical variants of standard German as a socio-vertical type of variation, whereas in public texts lexical variants appear rather as an areal-horizontal type of variation (cf. Budin et al. 2019: 20).

As far as attitudes towards *phonological* norms are concerned, the national origin of the informants, which proved to be relevant when assessing lexical variants, seems less relevant here. Herrgen (2015: 155) was able to show that the German (i.e. bundesdeutsche) phonological norm is considered by speakers from all over the German-speaking area to be the one representing the standard pronunciation per se. In Schmidlin (2011: 271), it was also shown that the great majority of informants from all regions consider the standard German spoken in (Northern) Germany to be the 'best'. Herrgen argues that such attitudes are a sign of the de-nationalization of the pronunciation of the standard language. I do not quite agree with this view. I see rather an interesting difference between lexical and phonological variants of standard German and their etic development. The proportion of lexical variants in the varieties of standard German is quite stable, whereas there are some tendencies of speakers' convergence towards phonological norms that can be identified as (Northern) German, not de-nationalized ones. Kleiner (2015) also shows that some phonological variants that have been specific to the South East seem to be starting to disappear. Whereas southern lexical and grammatical variants are not simply continually replaced by northern variants, this seems to be different in the case of the phonological norms of standard German. Accordingly, informants judge phonological variants in a different way from lexical and grammatical variants, in that the pronunciation prestige seems to surpass all other levels of variation. Scharloth (2004) was able to show that, when lexical Helvetisms were pronounced by a Northern German speaker, they were considered to be standard language, whereas northern variants pronounced by a Swiss speaker were considered to be non-standard – purely based on the way they were pronounced. Thus, phonology weighs more than lexis and grammar in determining attitudes towards variants of standard German.

On the one hand, this can be explained by the fact that phonological variables have a higher frequency than lexical and grammatical ones, and on the other hand, possibly also by the fact that sound structures are at least partly based on the subjective recognition of the relationships between sound sensations, e.g. as *light* or *dark*

(Schmid 2010: 131), *soft* or *hard*. The perception of sound structures, which is also ontogenetically a primary area of speech perception, thus shapes the overall impression one has of a speaker, and for this reason may also be more important than the perception of grammar and lexis.

If, from a constructionist point of view (Soukup 2015: 76), a standard language is what people think it is (and not what linguists, based on empirical data, claim it is), these results raise many questions with respect to the definition of a standard language as well as to the teaching of German as L1 and L2 (Davies et al. 2017; Schmidlin 2018; Schmidlin 2019; Shafer 2018). Saying this, I am in no way trying to dismiss attitudes and perceptions of linguistic variation because they are inconsistent. It is much more about showing the modularity of speakers' attitudes and how they depend on the type of linguistic data presented. Herrgen (2015: 150), too, points out that, when presenting varieties as stimuli to informants, who then have to assess them on a scale between dialect and standard, one has to be careful to present the whole continuum, so that the rating scale is calibrated. Otherwise, if informants are confronted with a sample of spoken standard language produced by a professional German speaker next to an only slightly regionally identifiable standard language, they might evaluate the second sample as being very close to dialect. In my view, this is more than just a methodological problem that we have to be aware of in future studies on attitudes towards standard varieties. Peter (2017) justly points to the fact that the assessment of linguistic variants is not only an expression of linguistic attitudes, but also an expression of the informants' linguistic awareness or linguistic knowledge. The emotive and cognitive dimensions of linguistic attitudes cannot easily be separated from each other, as Herrgen's discussion of scale calibration and different judgments of dialectality shows. This is why Peter claims that if the assessment of linguistic variants is studied, we need to include data about the informants' linguistic knowledge. In my 2011 study of the assessment of national and regional variants of standard German, the informants did not hesitate to judge whether some variants were acceptable as standard or not, even if they said that they did not actually know these variants. Interestingly, Austrian informants tended to accept variants they did not know or hardly knew as standard, in contrast to informants from Germany, who tended to reject variants they did not know or hardly knew as non-standard. This difference may be explained by the non-dominant vs. dominant view of linguistic norms adopted by the individual members of the speech communities (Dollinger 2019; Muhr 2012).

Another example of the inconsistency of attitudes towards linguistic variation is given by Brumann 2014. She interviewed Swiss journalists who show a neutral or positive overt attitude towards Swiss German standard language but who, when confronted with particular Helvetisms, reject them, showing a negative covert attitude. Others show a critical attitude towards Swiss German standard language but

don't see any reason to reject the same series of Helvetisms rejected by the other group. This confirms the well-known phenomenon that general, stereotypical attitudes towards a linguistic variety may be contrary to the attitudes towards sample items of this variety.

This modularity of speakers' attitudes is also documented in yet another recent thesis submitted to Basel University (Gatta 2017), where it was shown that grammar-school teachers correct syntactic Helvetisms when marking students' texts, whereas they are more tolerant of lexical Helvetisms.

If speakers' attitudes are considered essential when it comes to the definition of standard languages, how do we deal with the fact that, as shown in this chapter, there is no de-nationalized, de-regionalized speaker perspective? And how do we deal with the fact that lexical, grammatical, and phonological variants are judged differently by speakers when they evaluate a linguistic variety as being standard or non-standard? The modularity of linguistic attitudes, as shown in this chapter, needs to be considered even more systematically in future research.

SUMMARY AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH: CORPUS DYNAMICS AND ATTITUDINAL DYNAMICS

The standard languages used in Switzerland have developed their own features, which differentiate them from standard French as used in France, standard Italian in Italy, and standard German, as used in Germany or Austria, respectively. The discussion of the autonomy of the German language in Switzerland dates back at least to the 17th century. This chapter brings together the *etic* and the *emic* perpectives on variation in standard German in Switzerland. It reports on an empirical analysis of the frequency of national and regional variants of standard German in public texts. This novel analysis was made possible by the re-analysis of an extensive corpus of public texts which had already been used for the compilation of the *Variantenwörterbuch des Deutschen* (Ammon et al. 2004; Ammon, Bickel and Lenz 2016). It could be shown that the distribution of national and regional variants of Standard German is highly variable depending on the text genre. I would like to call this the *corpus dynamics* of standard variation. It could also be shown that the Swiss texts analysed for the study contain most variants per page as compared to Austrian and German texts. Despite some tendencies of lexical convergence in the German-speaking area, the number of regional and national variants of standard German found in public texts has proved to be pretty stable over the last few decades. The fact that variants are also used in the quality press points to an areal-horizontal type of variation rather than a purely socio-vertical type of variation (cf. Budin et al. 2019: 20).

How can variation in standard German be conceptualised theoretically? Both the pluricentric concept and the pluriareal concept include variants by frequency, i.e. relative variants, in their model. Both models include variants which straddle national borders and regional variants. Both models can be applied to specific variational dimensions. Despite some tendencies of convergence towards (Nothern) German phonological norms, speakers of standard German can still be quite easily identified by nation. On the whole, the pluricentric concept has proved to be more adequate to describe the standard variety in German-speaking Switzerland than that in Germany and Austria, where there is a greater degree of intra- and transnational linguistic variation. Hence, this chapter argues that the pluriareal and the pluricentric concepts are not incompatible. Nevertheless, in sociolinguistic debates on pluricentricity vs. pluriareality (or pluriregionality), emotions often come into play, especially when the standard varieties in Austria and Bavaria are under consideration (cf. Dollinger 2019; Muhr 2012; Scheuringer 2018; Seifter and Seifter 2015). It seems to be a short step from the 'narcissism of small differences' to mutual recriminations, with 'pluricentrists' being accused of parochialism and of leaning towards conservative nationalism, while 'pluriarealists' are accused of considering standard variation purely along a stylistic-vertical dimension, thus ultimately coming close to an outdated standard ideology. One of the reasons for sometimes antagonistic discussions about varieties of standard German may be the fact that the pluriareal (or pluriregional) concept already allows for two interpretations and that it is not always clear which one is opposed to the pluricentric concept. On the one hand, the pluriareal concept can be interpreted in a way according to which variation in the standard language is located within a vertical continuum between dialect and standard. The pluriareal concept would then maybe describe regional everyday standard language, leaving out the upper end of the continuum, which would still be seen as homogeneous. On the other hand, the pluriareal concept can be interpreted as a sort of radical pluricentrism, which claims that there is an even broader range of variation in even smaller language areas, which would lead the discussion away from issues such as language hegemony, norm authorities and the question of what standard language is and what it is not (cf. Gloy 2010).

After discussing the frequency of national and regional variants of standard German from the *etic* perspective and issues surrounding their theoretical conceptualisation, this chapter reported on a second study dedicated to speakers' attitudes towards these variants. First of all, it could be shown that there is a discrepancy between the regular use of variants in public texts, on the one hand, and speakers' scepticism about their normative status when variants are presented to them in isolated sentences, on the other. It could be shown that the cognitive, affective and conative dimensions of linguistic attitudes towards varieties of standard German are not congruent. I would like to call this the *attitudinal dynamics* of standard varia-

tion. Data concerning attitudes towards national and regional variants of standard German in Germany, Austria and Switzerland were collected in the whole of the German-speaking area. Linguistic attitudes depend on speakers' origins and linguistic backgrounds; the assessment of whether certain variants are dialectal, rather dialectal, rather standard, or standard, depends on where the informants come from, their nationality even outweighing their regional origin. National borders tend to be attitudinal borders when standard varieties are assessed. For instance, informants from all six German regions assessed a selection of southern lexical variants as tending towards dialect, whereas Swiss and Austrian informants thought of the same variants as tending towards standard. What is surprising here is that the informants of South East and South West Germany shared their attitudes with their northern fellow citizens rather than with their fellow Alemanni or Bavarians. National borders seem to correlate with attitudinal borders. The attitudinal dynamics can also be shown with respect to the linguistic level of the variants. Phonological variants carry more weight than lexical and grammatical variants. Future research on linguistic attitudes needs to further consider the modularity of linguistic attitudes.

REFERENCES

Ammon, U. 1995. *Die deutsche Sprache in Deutschland, Österreich und der Schweiz. Das Problem der nationalen Varietäten*. Berlin: de Gruyter.

Ammon, U., H. Bickel, J. Ebner, R. Esterhammer, M. Gasser, L. Hofer, B. Keller-meier-Rehbein, H. Löffler, D. Mangott, H. Moser, R. Schläpfer, M. Schloßmacher, R. Schmidlin and G. Vallaster. 2004. *Variantenwörterbuch des Deutschen. Die Standardsprache in Österreich, der Schweiz und Deutschland sowie Liechtenstein, Luxemburg, Ostbelgien und Südtirol*. Berlin: de Gruyter.

Ammon, U., H. Bickel and A. N. Lenz. 2016. *Variantenwörterbuch des Deutschen. Die Standardsprache in Österreich, der Schweiz, Deutschland, Liechtenstein, Luxemburg, Ostbelgien und Südtirol sowie Rumänien, Namibia und Mennonitensiedlungen*. Berlin: de Gruyter.

Auer, P. 2014. Enregistering pluricentric German. In A. Soares da Silva (ed.) *Pluricentricity. Language Variation and Sociocognitive Dimensions*. New York: de Gruyter. 19–48.

Auer, P., J. Breuninger, D. Huck and M. Pfeiffer. 2015. Auswirkungen der Staatsgrenze auf die Sprachsituation im Oberrheingebiet (Frontière linguistique au Rhin Supérieur, FLARS). In R. Kehrein, A. Lameli and S. Rabanus (eds.) *Regionale Variation des Deutschen. Projekte und Perspektiven*. Berlin: de Gruyter. 323–347.

Baker, C. 1992. *Attitudes and Language*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Besch, W. 1990. Schrifteinheit – Sprechvielfalt. Zur Diskussion um die nationalen Varianten der deutschen Standardsprache. *German Life and Letters 43:2, January 1990*: 91–102.

Bickel, H. and C. Landolt. 2018. *Schweizerhochdeutsch. Wörterbuch der Standardsprache in der deutschen Schweiz*. 2nd ed. (ed. bySchweizerischer Verein für die deutsche Sprache). Berlin: Dudenverlag.

Bickel, H., L. Hofer and S. Suter. 2015. Variantenwörterbuch des Deutschen (VWN) NEU. In R. Kehrein, A. Lameli and S. Rabanus (eds.) *Regionale Variation des Deutschen. Projekte und Perspektiven*. Berlin: de Gruyter. 541–562.

Bodmer, J. J. and J. J. Breitinger. 1746. Der Mahler der Sitten. 2 Vols. Zürich: C. Orell.

Brandner, E. 2015. Syntax des Alemannischen. Tiefenbohrungen in einer Dialektlandschaft. In R. Kehrein, A. Lameli and S. Rabanus (eds.) *Regionale Variation des Deutschen. Projekte und Perspektiven*. Berlin: de Gruyter. 289–322.

Brumann, I. 2014. "Velo, Trottoir, zügeln – wie schweizerisch darf es tönen?" Das Plurizentrizitätsbewusstsein Deutschschweizer Journalisten, Redaktoren und Korrektoren. Master thesis, University of Basel.

Budin, G., S. Elspaß, A. N. Lenz, S. M. Newerkla and A. Ziegler. 2019. The Research Project 'German in Austria'. Variation – Contact – Perception. In L. Bülow, A. K. Fischer and K. Herbert (eds.) *Dimensions of Linguistic Space. Variation – Multilingualism – Conceptualisations. Dimensionen des sprachlichen Raums: Variation – Mehrsprachigkeit – Konzeptualisierung*. Berlin: Lang. 7–35.

Bülow, L. and A. Kleene. 2019. Lexical Variation in the Austro-German Border Region. In L. Bülow, A. K. Fischer and K. Herbert (eds.) *Dimensions of Linguistic Space. Variation – Multilingualism – Conceptualisations. Dimensionen des sprachlichen Raums: Variation – Mehrsprachigkeit – Konzeptualisierung*. Berlin: Lang. 61–85.

Christen, H. and R. Schmidlin. 2019. Die Schweiz. Dialektvielfalt in mehrsprachigem Umfeld. In R. Beyer and A. Plewina (eds.) *Handbuch des Deutschen in West- und Mitteleuropa. Sprachminderheiten und Mehrsprachigkeitskonstellationen*. Tübingen: Francke. 193–245.

Christen, H., E. Glaser and M. Friedli. 2013. *Kleiner Sprachatlas der deutschen Schweiz. Mit Karten und Grafiken von Manfred Renn*. Frauenfeld: Huber.

Christen, H., M. Guntern, I. Hove and M. Petkova. 2010. *Hochdeutsch in aller Munde. Eine empirische Untersuchung zur gesprochenen Standardsprache in der Deutschschweiz*. With contributions by M. Reçi. Stuttgart: Steiner (=Zeitschrift für Dialektologie und Linguistik, Beiheft 140).

Clyne, M. (ed.). 1992. *Pluricentric Languages. Differing norms in different nations*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Davies, W. V., A. Häcki Buhofer, R. Schmidlin, M. Wagner and E. L. Wyss (eds.). 2017. *Standardsprache zwischen Norm und Praxis. Theoretische Betrachtungen, empirische Studien und sprachdidaktische Ausblicke*. Tübingen: Francke.

de Cillia, R. 2015. Deutsche Sprache und österreichische Identität/en. In A. N. Lenz, T. Ahlers and M. M. Glauninger (eds.) *Dimensionen des Deutschen in Österreich. Variation und Varietäten im sozialen Kontext*. Frankfurt am Main: Lang. 149–164.

Dollinger, S. 2019. *The pluricentricity debate on Austrian German and other Germanic standard varieties*. New York: Routledge.

Durrell, M. 2017. Die Rolle der deutschen Sprache in ideologischen Konstrukten der Nation. In W. V. Davies, A. Häcki Buhofer, R. Schmidlin, M. Wagner and E. L. Wyss (eds.) *Standardsprache zwischen Norm und Praxis. Theoretische Betrachtungen, empirische Studien und sprachdidaktische Ausblicke*. Tübingen: Francke. 23–40.

Dürscheid, C., S. Elspaß and A. Ziegler. 2018. *Variantengrammatik des Standarddeutschen. Ein Online-Nachschlagewerk*. Open-Acces publication. http://www.variantengrammatik.net (March 1, 2022).

Ebner, J. 2009. *Wie sagt man in Österreich? Wörterbuch des österreichischen Deutsch*. Mannheim: Dudenverlag.

Eichinger, L.M. 2005. Deutsch in Österreich. *German as a foreign language*. 1/2005: 2–23.

Elspaß, S., C. Dürscheid and A. Ziegler. 2017. Zur grammatischen Pluriarealität der deutschen Gebrauchsstandards – oder: Über die Grenzen des Plurizentrizitätsbegriffs. *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie (136). Thematisches Sonderheft: Das Deutsche als plurizentrische Sprache. Ansprüche – Ergebisse – Perspektiven* (edited by H. Sieburg and J. Solms). Berlin: Erich Schmidt. 69–91.

Elspaß, S. and S. Kleiner. 2019. Forschungsergebnisse zur arealen Variation im Standarddeutschen. In J. Herrgen and J.E. Schmidt (eds.) *Sprache und Raum – Ein internationales Handbuch der Sprachvariation. Bd. 4. Deutsch / Language and Space – An International Handbook of Linguistic Variation. Vol. 4. German*. Berlin, Boston: de Gruyter Mouton, 159–184.

Federal Statistical Office. 2017. https://www.bfs.admin.ch/bfs/en/home.html (March 1, 2022).

Fingerhuth, M. 2019. Grammatische Variation im deutschen und schweizerischen Standarddeutsch des 20. Jahrhunderts. In L. Bülow, A. K. Fischer and K. Herbert (eds.) *Dimensions of Linguistic Space. Variation – Multilingualism – Conceptualisations. Dimensionen des sprachlichen Raums: Variation – Mehrsprachigkeit – Konzeptualisierung*. Berlin: Lang. 105–126.

Gloy, K. 2010. Varietäten in normentheoretischer Perspektive. In P. Gilles, J. Scharloth and E. Ziegler (eds.) *Variatio delectat. Empirische Evidenzen und theoretische Passungen sprachlicher Variation*. Frankfurt am Main: Lang. 29–43.

Gatta, A. 2017. Untersuchung des Korrekturverhaltens von Lehrpersonen auf der Sekundarstufe II in Bezug auf nationale Varianten der Schweizer Standardsprache. In W. V. Davies, A. Häcki Buhofer, R. Schmidlin, M. Wagner and E. L. Wyss (eds.) *Standardsprache zwischen Norm und Praxis. Theoretische Betrach-*

tungen, empirische Studien und sprachdidaktische Ausblicke. Tübingen: Francke. 359–392.

Greule, A. 2002. Deutsch am Scheideweg: National- oder Internationalsprache? Neue Aspekte der Sprachkultivierung. In R. Hoberg (ed.) *Deutsch - Englisch - Europäisch. Impulse für eine neue Sprachpolitik*. Mannheim: Dudenverlag. 54–66.

Guntern, M. in press. *Variables Schweizerhochdeutsch. Warum die Standardsprache in der Deutschschweiz wie gesprochen wird und wie sie gesprochen werden könnte*. Freiburg: Universität Freiburg.

Haas, W. 2006. Die Schweiz / Switzerland. In U. Ammon, N. Dittmar, K. J. Mattheier and P. Trudgill (eds.) Sociolin*guistics / Soziolinguistik. An International Handbook of the Science of Language and Society. Ein internationales Handbuch zur Wissenschaft von Sprache und Gesellschaft*. 2nd ed., vol. 3. Berlin: de Gruyter. 1772–1787.

Herrgen, J. 2015. Entnationalisierung des Standards. Eine perzeptionslinguistische Untersuchung zur deutschen Standardsprache in Deutschland, Österreich und der Schweiz. In A. N. Lenz and M. M. Glauninger (eds.) *Standarddeutsch im 21. Jahrhundert – Theoretische und empirische Ansätze mit einem Fokus auf Österreich*. Göttingen: Vienna University Press. 139–164.

Hove, I. 2002. *Die Aussprache der Standardsprache in der deutschen Schweiz*. Tübingen: Niemeyer.

Kleiner, S. 2015. 'Deutsch heute' und der Atlas zur Aussprache des deutschen Gebrauchstandards. In R. Kehrein, A. Lameli and S. Rabanus (eds.) *Regionale Variation des Deutschen. Projekte und Perspektiven*. Berlin: de Gruyter. 489–518.

Kleiner, S. and R. Knöbl. 2015. *Duden: Das Aussprachewörterbuch*. 7., komplett überarbeitete und aktualisierte Auflage. Berlin: Dudenverlag.

Knecht, P. and B. Py. 1997. Suisse romande. In H. Goebl, P. H. Nelde, Z. Starý and W. Wölck (eds.), *Kontaktlinguistik: Ein internationales Handbuch zeitgenössischer Forschung*. Berlin/New York: de Gruyter. 1862–1870.

Koller, W. 1999. Nationale Sprach(en)kultur der Schweiz und die Frage der "nationalen Varietäten des Deutschen". In A. Gardt, U. Haß-Zumkehr, Th. Roelcke (eds.) *Sprachgeschichte als Kulturgeschichte*, Berlin/New York: de Gruyter. 133–170.

Krech, E. -M., E. Stock, U. Hirschfeld and L. C. Anders. 2010. *Deutsches Aussprachewörterbuch*. Berlin: de Gruyter.

Kristiansen, G. 2014. Pluricentricity, language-internal variation and Cognitive Linguistics. In Augusto Soares da Silva (ed.) *Pluricentricity, Language Variation and Sociocognitive Dimensions*. Berlin: de Gruyter. 1–15.

Löffler, H. 1997. Deutsche Schweiz. In H. Goebl, P. H. N., Z. Starỳ and W. Wölck (eds.) K*ontaktlinguistik/ Contact Linguistics/ Linguistique de contact: Ein internationales Handbuch zeitgenössischer Forschung/ An international handbook of contemporary research/ Manuel international des recherches contemporaines*. Vol. 2. Berlin: de Gruyter. 1854–1862.

Meyer, K. 2006. *Schweizer Wörterbruch. So sagen wir in der Schweiz*. Frauenfeld: Huber.

Muhr, R. (ed.). 2012. *Non-dominant varieties of pluricentric languages. Getting the picture. In memory of Michael Clyne*. In collaboration with C. Norrby, L. Kretzenbacher and C. Amorós. Frankfurt am Main: Lang.

Niehaus, K. 2017. Die Begrenztheit plurizentrischer Grenzen: Grammatische Variation in der pluriarealen Sprache Deutsch. In W. V. Davies, A. Häcki Buhofer, R. Schmidlin, M. Wagner and E. L. Wyss (eds.) *Standardsprache zwischen Norm und Praxis. Theoretische Betrachtungen, empirische Studien und sprachdidaktische Ausblicke*. Tübingen: Francke. 61–88.

Pedretti, P. 2000. Die Beziehungen zwischen den schweizerischen Sprachregionen. In R. Schläpfer und H. Bickel (eds.) *Die viersprachige Schweiz*. Aarau: Sauerländer. 269–307.

Peter, K. 2017. Sprachwissen als Schlüsselfaktor beim Umgang mit sprachlicher Variation im Deutschunterricht. In W. V. Davies, A. Häcki Buhofer, R. Schmidlin, M. Wagner and E. L. Wyss (eds.) *Standardsprache zwischen Norm und Praxis. Theoretische Betrachtungen, empirische Studien und sprachdidaktische Ausblicke*. Tübingen: Francke. 333–357.

Pickl, S., S. Pröll, S. Elspaß and R. Möller. 2019. Räumliche Strukturen alltagssprachlicher Variation in Österreich anhand von Daten des "Atlas zur deutschen Alltagssprache (AdA)". In L. Bülow, A. K. Fischer and K. Herbert (eds.) *Dimensions of Linguistic Space. Variation – Multilingualism – Conceptualisations. Dimensionen des sprachlichen Raums: Variation – Mehrsprachigkeit – Konzeptualisierung*. Berlin: Lang. 39–59.

Scharloth, J. 2004. Zwischen Fremdsprache und nationaler Varietät. Untersuchungen zum Plurizentrizitätsbewusstsein der Deutschschweizer. In R. Muhr (ed.) *Standardvariationen und Sprachauffassungen in verschiedenen Sprachkulturen*. (= TRANS. Internet-Zeitschrift für Kulturwissenschaften 15/6.1).

Scheuringer, H. 1996. Das Deutsche als pluriareale Sprache: Ein Beitrag gegen staatlich begrenzte Horizonte in der Diskussion um die deutsche Sprache in Österreich. *Die Unterrichtspraxis / Teaching German* 29, 2: 147–153.

Scheuringer, H. 2018. Bayerisches Standarddeutsch. Des Faktischen normative Schwäche. *Jahrbuch der Johann-Andreas-Schmeller-Gesellschaft*: 213–228.

Schmid, S. 2010. Die Wahrnehmung der Sprachlaute. Wissenschaftsgeschichtliche Streiflichter auf Phonetik und Phonologie. In W. M. Egli, I. Tomkowiak (eds.) *Sinne*. Zürich: Chronos.

Schmidlin, R. 2011. *Die Vielfalt des Deutschen: Standard und Variation. Gebrauch, Einschätzung und Kodifizierung einer plurizentrischen Sprache*. Berlin: de Gruyter.

Schmidlin, R. 2013. Gebrauch und Einschätzung des Deutschen als plurizentrische Sprache. In K. Schneider-Wiejowski, B. Kellermeier-Rehbein and J. Haselhuber (eds.) *Vielfalt, Variation und Stellung der deutschen Sprache*. Berlin: de Gruyter. 23–41.

Schmidlin, R. 2018. Innere Mehrsprachigkeit an Deutschschweizer Schulen – Hochdeutsch und Dialekt im Unterricht. In M. Dannerer and P. Mauser (eds.) *Formen der Mehrsprachigkeit in sekundären und tertiären Bildungskontexten: Verwendung, Rolle und Wahrnehmung von Sprachen und Varietäten*. Tübingen: Stauffenburg. 27–46.

Schmidlin, R. 2019. Stand und Perspektiven linguistischer Plurizentrik und mögliche Konsequenzen für Deutsch als Fremdsprache. In E. Peyer, T. Studer and I. Thonhauser (eds.) *Tagungsbände der Internationalen Deutschlehrertagung in Fribourg/Freiburg 2017. Band 1: Hauptvorträge*. Berlin: Erich Schmidt. 35–47.

Schmidlin, R. and R. Franceschini. 2019. Komplexe Überdachung: Schweiz. In J. Herrgen and J. E. Schmidt (eds.) *Language and Space. An International Handbook of Linguistic Variation. Bd. 4: Areale Sprachvariation im Deutschen*. Berlin: de Gruyter. (=Handbücher zur Sprach- und Kommunikationswissenschaft 30(4)). 1012–1038.

Seibicke, W. 1983. *Wie sagt man anderswo? Landwirtschaftliche Unterschiede im deutschen Sprachgebrauch. Alsterwasser oder Radlermaß? Fleischer, Metzger oder Schlachter?* Mannheim: Bibliographisches Institut. (=Duden-Taschenbücher Series 15).

Seifter, T. and I. Seifter. 2015. Warum die Frage, ob sich "pfiati vertschüsst", keine linguistische ist. Zur Fundamentalkritik am "Österreichischen Deutsch". In H.-H. Lüger (ed.) *Beiträge zur Fremdsprachenvermittlung*. Landau: Verlag Empirische Pädagogik. 65–90.

Shafer, N. 2018. *Varietäten und Varianten verstehen lernen. Zum Umgang mit Standardvariation in Deutsch als Fremdsprache*. Göttingen: Universitätsverlag.

Soukup, B. 2015. Zum Phänomen 'Speaker Design' im österreichischen Deutsch. In A. N. Lenz and M. M. Glauninger (eds.) *Standarddeutsch im 21. Jahrhundert – Theoretische und empirische Ansätze mit einem Fokus auf Österreich*. Göttingen: V&R. 59–79.

SRG SSR (ed.). 2019. *Geschäftsbericht 2018*. Bern.

Sutter, P. 2017. *Diatopische Variation im Wörterbuch. Theorie und Praxis*. Berlin. (=Studia Linguistica Germanica 127).

Thibault, A. and P. Knecht. 2012. *Dictionnaire suisse romand. Particularités lexicales du français contemporain*. Geneva: Zoé.

Ulbrich, C. 2005. *Phonetische Untersuchungen zur Prosodie der Standardvarietäten des Deutschen in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, in der Schweiz und in Österreich*. Frankfurt am Main: Lang. (=Hallesche Schriften zur Sprechwissenschaft und Phonetik 16).

Wardhaugh, R. 1987. *Languages in Competition. Dominance, Diversity, and Decline*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Widmer, J., R. Coray, D. Acklin Muji and E. Hodel. 2004. *Die Schweizer Sprachenvielfalt im öffentlichen Diskurs: Eine sozialhistorische Analyse der Transformationen der Sprachenordnung von 1848 bis 2000: La diversité des langues en Suisse dans le débat public*. Bern: Lang.

Wiesinger, P. 2015. Das österreichische Deutsch in der globalisierten Umwelt. Wandlungen durch bundesdeutsche Einflüsse. In A. N. Lenz, T. Ahlers and M. Glauninger (eds.) *Dimensionen des Deutschen in Österreich. Variation und Varietäten im sozialen Kontext*. Frankfurt am Main: Lang. (=Schriften zur deutschen Sprache in Österreich 42). 91−122.

Wolf, N. R. 1994. Österreichisches zum österreichischen Deutsch. Aus Anlaß des Erscheinens von Wolfgang Pollak: Was halten die Österreicher von ihrem Deutsch? *Zeitschrift für Dialektologie und Linguistik* 61, 1: 66−76.

Measuring attitudes towards standard German and German dialects: Results of recent representative survey data from Germany

Albrecht Plewnia

The Leibniz Institute for the German Language, Germany

INTRODUCTION

Like all modern Western societies, Germany is a multilingual country. While German is the most widely spoken language, both as a first language and as an everyday language, residents who do not have German as their first language but another language (or several other languages) and/or who use another language (or several other languages) in their everyday life besides, are estimated to make up about 20 percent of the total population (Stickel 2012: 235). Reliable data on the languages spoken in Germany and the number of their speakers are not available because there is no language census in Germany.[1]

But even if a certain public awareness of the presence of other languages has developed in recent decades, primarily due to an increasing multilingualism resulting from various forms of migration (the autochthonous linguistic minorities are less significant in terms of numbers), Germany is still 'conceptually monolingual', meaning that the majority view of the language situation in Germany is shaped by the tradition of the European concept of the nation-state, where language and statehood are closely linked. In Germany, German is spoken, that is the consensus – even without a corresponding provision in the Constitution. There is also a consensus that the kind of German that is used in realms like administration, legal affairs, schooling, and the media, is the standard variety. Further, there seems to be a kind of pragmatic concurrence of opinion within the language community about what this standard variety is like, so that – apart from the spelling, for which there is an official regulation – a detailed definition of what is standard does not seem ideologically required. Although a certain amount of variation (pluricentric as well as pluriareal) has been attested within the standard – as documented, for example, by the Dictionary of Varieties (*Variantenwörterbuch*, Ammon, Bickel and Lenz 2016), the

---

[1] Since 2017, the microcensus has included a question on "language spoken predominantly in the household". However, the entire setting of the question has considerable methodological weaknesses, so that it does not generate meaningful data. On this problem, see Adler (2019).

Grammar of Varieties (*Variantengrammatik*, Dürscheid Elspaß and Ziegler 2018) or the Atlas for the Pronunciation of the German Usage Standard (*Atlas zur Aussprache des Deutschen Gebrauchsstandards*, Kleiner 2011 et seq.), this variation does not seem to call into question the hypostasized concept of a standard as such, in the common mind.

However, the subject of this article is not the issue of the (many) forms of the standard variety, but rather the question of what status this standard has regarding the reality of language use, and what attributions to it are made by speakers. The material this report is based on is a new nationwide representative survey; core information on the data set used is provided in the next section. Then the results of the survey are presented as they relate to the dialectal competence of the respondents and their everyday language use; the following section shows how standard German and some of the regional varieties of German are assessed by the respondents. The report concludes with a summary of findings.

DATASET

One of the largest ongoing panel studies in Germany is the Socio-Economic Panel (SOEP) of the German Institute for Economic Research (DIW) in Berlin. The SOEP has been in existence since 1984 and is a survey of currently around 30,000 people in around 11,000 households, repeated annually. It focuses in particular on questions concerning the economic and social situation of the respondents, including matters of education, health and lifestyle, and similar topics of economic and social relevance in the broadest sense. The SOEP has a so-called 'innovation sample' (SOEP-IS) which offers external researchers the opportunity to contribute their own questions to SOEP in a competitive process. The Leibniz Institute for the German Language (IDS) participated in the 2017/18 survey round with its own IDS language module. The SOEP-IS of this survey round comprised 4,380 participants from 2,837 households, which is a very large sample for linguistic studies. The data are representative of the German resident population. A variety of socio-demographic information (including longitudinal data going back a long way and detailed information on, for example, spatial biography) is available on the respondents. Here, we have access to a data volume that is unprecedented in its size and depth.[2]

The IDS language module – hereinafter the *2017 Germany Survey* – consists of two parts: the first part is made up of face-to-face interviews (the practical handling

---

[2] After an embargo period, the SOEP-IS dataset is made available to all interested researchers via the SOEP infrastructure (cf. https://www.diw.de/de/diw_02.c.222843.de/formulare.html; March 1, 2022).

was carried out by Institut Kantar Public). Here, we asked questions about the language repertoire of the respondents (first language(s), foreign language skills, dialectal skills) and their attitudes towards languages and varieties of German. It should be noted that the data collected – as it is usual in panel surveys of this type – are always subjective data. By their very nature, attitudinal data cannot be checked by the interviewers; also in the case of the questions on language competence and dialect competence, the interviewers cannot conduct any tests or examinations with the interviewees. The second part of the IDS language module was designed as an online questionnaire for the respondents to complete; this questionnaire includes around forty questions with a very broad thematic spectrum ranging from questions on language accuracy assessments to questions on media use. Of course, these data are subjective data, too. In the following, only the first part of the IDS language module is reported.

REALITIES OF LANGUAGE USE

Dialect competence

Standard language is not an isolated concept that stands on its own. Being part of a linguistic diasystem, it is defined rather in distinction from other varieties. In the perception of most speakers, variation in German is primarily determined by area. Encounters with and use of dialectal speech play a relevant role in everyday reality. Many speakers have at least a rough idea of language areas for German, even if these ideas are typically rather vague in detail and do not always correspond with dialectological findings. Speakers also frequently associate stereotypical attributions, evaluations and attitudes with individual dialects. This includes a concern about the possible extinction of dialects, often articulated in lay-linguistic discourses, which is also reflected, for example, in the existence of numerous dialect associations whose aim is the promotion and preservation of local dialects.[3] On the other hand, during literacy education in schools at the latest, all speakers typically develop a concept of a standard variety (with certain regional characteristics), which they usually call "*Hochdeutsch*", 'High German'. In this context, the mental starting point for the ideas of what High German is, is usually the dialect. A typical example of such an approach is the explanation of meaning that the ten-volume *Duden* dictionary of the German language gives for the lemma "hochdeutsch". It is a classic

---

[3] The "Dialect Initiative" launched in 2019 by the Minister President of the German State of Baden-Württemberg, Winfried Kretschmann, to strengthen dialects in Baden-Württemberg is a case in point.

definition ex negativo, enriched by an element of obligation: "High German: [...] German as it corresponds not to the regional dialects or colloquial language, but to the generally binding German language (esp. with regard to dialect-free pronunciation)" (*Duden* 1999: 1836).[4] So if you want to learn about High German[5] from the speakers' point of view, you have to start with the dialects.

The above-mentioned everyday knowledge of linguistic laypersons does have some foundation in linguistic fact. The linguistic situation of German in Germany is generally described as a diasystem which is essentially characterised by diatopic variation. For most of Germany, a continuum is assumed whose poles are defined by the various dialects on the one hand and standard language on the other. In this model, the regional varieties with the smallest areal range are located towards the dialect pole, while the standard pole is taken up by a – largely hypostasized – standard variety of maximum areal range which (theoretically) has no characteristics of regional variation whatsoever. Between these poles, there is a broad transitional area with (depending on the direction) decreasing or increasing regionality. Within this transitional area, in turn, certain 'hot spots' can be observed (described in detail for the first time in Lenz 2003), which, however, do not play a major role in the awareness of the speakers. As a rule, linguistic laypersons conceive the space for varieties dichotomously (either dialect or High German)[6] – quite contrary to their everyday language practice. In fact, however, speakers have very individual competence levels and repertoires. How close to dialect or standard a certain way of speaking is considered to be has also to do with their own usage.[7]

In large parts of northern Germany, the situation is even more complex. Since the 16th century, there has been a change of language from Low German to High German, in the course of which Low German was first pushed back into the oral domains and then in many cases completely abandoned (v. Polenz 1994: 218–220). As a result, on the one hand, in those areas where Low German is no longer present, we find now only standard language forms, close to the standard pole of the continuum described above, which do not exhibit any strong regional characteristics. On the other hand, for the remaining speakers of Low German, diglossia with the two

[4] In the original: "hochdeutsch: […] deutsch, wie es nicht den Mundarten od. der Umgangssprache, sondern der allgemein verbindlichen deutschen Sprache entspricht (bes. in Bezug auf die dialektfreie Aussprache)".

[5] A note on terminology: The common term for the standard variety in everyday language is – as the *Duden* dictionary also shows – High German, "Hochdeutsch". In academic discourse, this term is usually avoided because it could be misunderstood as implying a valuation ("good German"). For linguistic laypersons, however, it is the normal term, which is why it was also used in this way in the questionnaire study reported in this chapter.

[6] For example, this is shown for the town Wittlich (West Middle German) by Lenz 2003: 341; for Vienna (East Upper German) by Glauninger 2011: 148.

[7] Cf. Kehrein 2012.

languages High German and Low German can be assumed. In terms of language structure, Low German can arguably be regarded as a language in its own right. In the minds of many speakers, however, it is conceived as part of the diasystem of German, i.e. Low German dialects are perceived as dialects of German (cf. Goltz and Kleene 2020: 188–190).

This describes the basic situation. However, as of today, little is known in detail about the quantitative distribution of dialects and standard language.[8] Just as there are no reliable census data on the languages spoken in Germany, there is no comprehensive survey of the number of speakers of the various regional varieties in Germany. Here, the *2017 Germany Survey* as a representative survey for the whole of Germany provides valuable new information.

The standard language as the language of schooling and norm variety of written media is now widespread. Regional pronunciation norms do not diverge very much, and the concept of a standard variety is not typically called in question. Therefore, it is not really possible to ask respondents about their standard German skills. A question such as "Do you speak standard German?" or "How well do you speak standard German?" is unlikely to produce negative answers, if only because of social desirability. Since surveying depends on the cooperation of the respondents, one must avoid giving them the impression of being tested.

But one can ask about the opposite pole, about dialect competence. The results of the *2017 Germany Survey* are shown in Figure 1. Around 41 per cent of those surveyed answered "yes" to the question of whether they speak a German dialect.[9] Around 59 per cent of those surveyed, however, declare that they do not speak a German dialect; this can be taken to mean that they indicate speaking (only) standard German or a variety close to standard German. The proportion of dialect speakers in the entire language community would then be only about two-fifths, which is not particularly high, considering that it was one hundred percent at the time of the surveys for the German Language Atlas (*Deutscher Sprachatlas*) at the end of the 19th century.[10]

---

[8] For an overview of various older surveys carried out as part of opinion polls, for example by the Institut für Demoskopie Allensbach, see Niebaum and Macha 1999: 143–150.

[9] Those respondents who answered "yes" were then asked what dialect they spoke. The question was formulated openly and therefore allows a mapping of the language area from the speakers' point of view; for details see Adler, Plewnia and Ribeiro Silveira (forthc.).

[10] Of course, these values are also influenced by the wording of the question. In the course of the *2008 Germany Survey*, we also asked about dialect competence. The wording at that time was: "Can you speak a German dialect or Platt?" 59.6 per cent of the respondents answered "Yes", 39.7 percent "No" (Gärtig, Plewnia and Rothe 2010: 135–149). As many other data collected both in 2008 and in 2017 have proven to be stable, the wording of the question is likely to play the decisive role here. On the problem of wording, see also Adler and Plewnia 2020: 18–19.
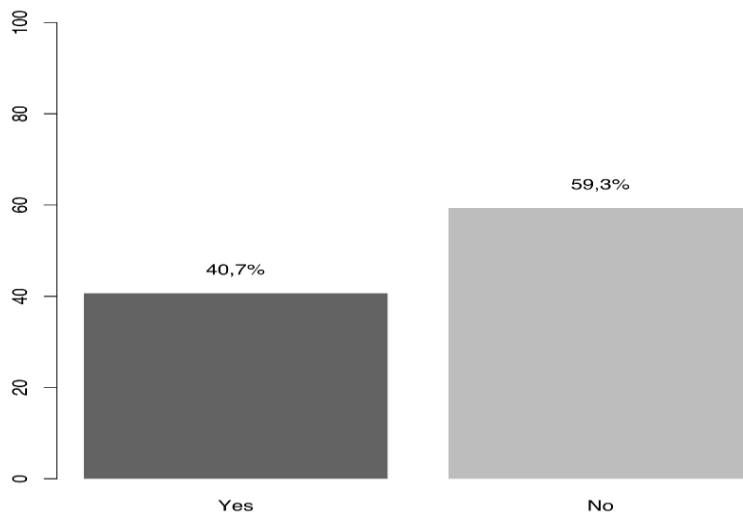
Figure 1: Claimed dialect competence
Question: "Do you speak a German dialect?"[11]

Figure 1 shows the results for the entire sample. However, considerable regional differences can be expected here. A topos in the everyday linguistic knowledge of linguistic laypersons is the fact that there is a south-north divide regarding dialect competence: In the south of Germany (and the German-speaking area in general), the dialects are generally more stable and vital than in the north. As expected, this finding is also reflected in the data of the *2017 Germany Survey*. Figure 2 shows the answers to the question of dialect competence broken down by language areas. Calculations based on previous surveys on this question are very rough, however, because no suitable spatial variables for areas were generally available.[12] For the *2017 Germany Survey*, we can now, for the first time, carry out an analysis along the different language areas with the help of a specially generated spatial variable. Thereby, it should come out whether the average level of competence indicated differs according to dialectal area.

---

[11] The German wording was: "*Sprechen Sie einen deutschen Dialekt?*"

[12] In the best case (as in the *2008 Germany Survey*) the German States were available as spatial variables. Even in Adler and Plewnia 2020, the data from the *2017 Germany Survey* were still presented at the level of the federal states, because only this spatial variable is easily available as a subset of data via the SOEP infrastructure. This makes sense as a first approximation but remains unsatisfactory because language area borders and political borders do not always coincide.
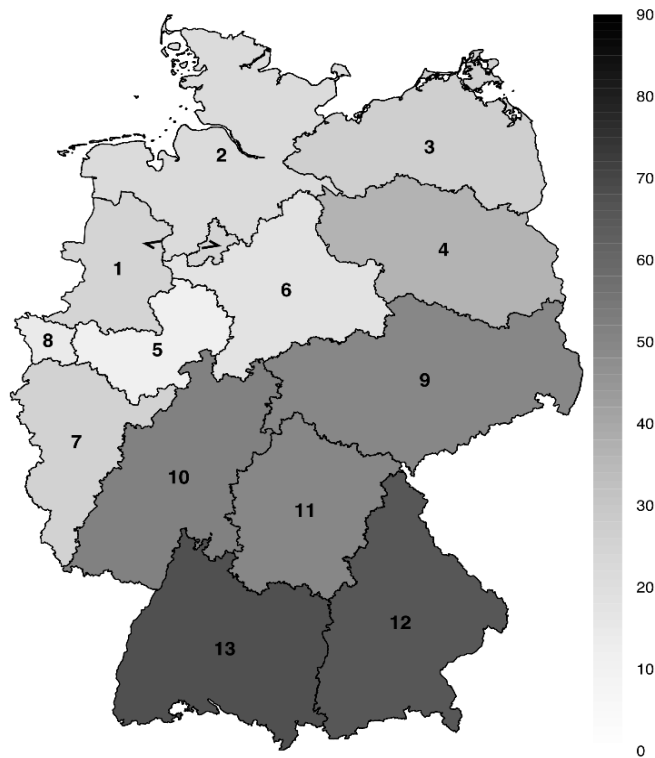
Figure 2: Claimed dialect competence (by language area)
Question as in Figure 1

Here, we follow the regiolectal division of the German language area (cf. Lameli 2013) established by Alfred Lameli on the basis of the Wenker data with statistical calculations.[13] The map shows the expected regional differences between North and South (the darker an area is coloured, the higher the average dialectal competence indicated). The individual language areas show fairly clear contours; the south-north divide described is clearly visible. The highest values are reported from the West Upper German and Bavarian regions; the lowest values are found in the Lower German regions, especially in Westphalia and Eastphalia.

---

[13] For this purpose, a corresponding spatial variable was created in cooperation with the German Institute for Economic Research (DIW) and all respondents were assigned to their respective language area. The language areas identified by Lameli are the following: West Low German (1), North Low German (2), Northeast Low German (3), Brandenburgisch (4), Westphalian (5), Eastphalian (6), Middle Franconian (7), Lower Franconian (8), East Middle German (9), West Middle German (10), East Franconian (11), Bavarian (12), West Upper German (13). – This spatial division (which is used here for the first time for the presentation of language attitude studies) is the basis for all the following maps.

Scalar dialect competence

Figure 1 gives a visual impression of the regional distribution of general self-reported dialect competence in Germany. It should be noted, however, that the mapped question is a yes-no question. This means that the figure says nothing about how well the dialects are claimed to be mastered in each case. The degree of competence was elicited in a follow-up question: All those who indicated that they speak a dialect were then asked how well they speak that dialect. The overall result for this group is shown in Figure 3.
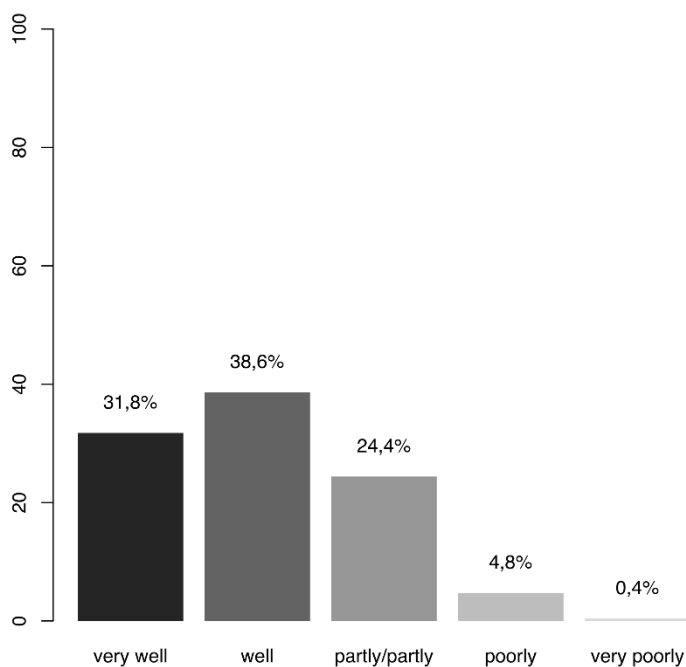

Figure 3: Claimed dialect competence (scalar)
Question: "And how well do you speak this dialect?"[14]

The result shows a certain linguistic self-confidence on the part of the respondents; 70.4 per cent of the respondents state that they speak their dialect well or very well, around a quarter answer more cautiously with "more or less well".

---

[14] The German wording was: "*Und wie gut sprechen Sie diesen Dialekt?*" with the answer options "*sehr gut – gut – teils/teils – schlecht – sehr schlecht*".

These data can also be presented broken down by language areas. A similar south-north divide as the yes-no question exhibited could be expected. This would mean that the respondents in the northern part of Germany who state that they do speak a dialect would rate their own dialect competence lower than those in the regions with strong dialects in the south. In fact, the map in Figure 4 shows a different picture.
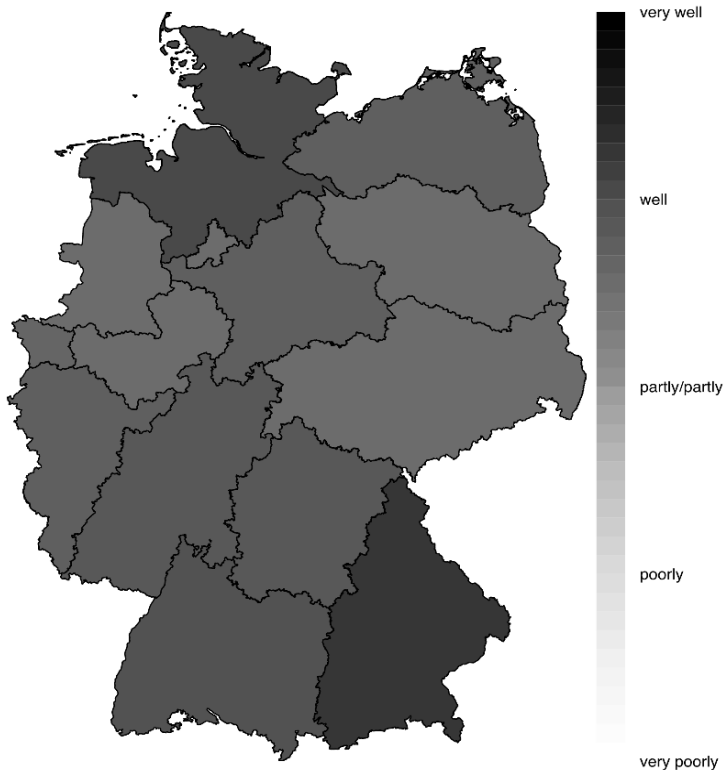

Figure 4: Claimed dialect competence (scalar, by language area)
Question as in Figure 3

It can be seen that the whole language area is more or less uniformly darkly coloured; in the area of Bavarian and North Low German the values are slightly higher, while in West Low German, Westphalian, Brandenburgisch and East Middle German they are slightly lower. However, the differences are not great overall, and in particular, unlike in Figure 2, there is no clear divide from south to north. This means that although the proportion of people who indicate speaking dialect varies regionally (more in the south than in the north), the self-declared competence of those who speak dialect does not vary much regionally (as well in the north as in the

south). To simplify matters a bit, one could say: Those who say they speak dialect, say they speak dialect well.

Everyday speech

However, the data on competence say little about the role of dialects on the one hand and standard language on the other hand in everyday language practice. In addition, one should not be deceived by the largely uniform dark colouring of Figure 4: Only the answers of those 41 percent of the respondents who state that they speak a dialect are included. One expectation, however, can certainly be formulated on the basis of the competence data: If, as Figure 2 shows, there are relatively fewer people in the northern parts of Germany who say they speak dialect at all, the standard language should have a greater significance in everyday language use there.

For this reason, one question in the *2017 Germany Survey* was aimed at the everyday speech situation of the interviewees; the wording of the question was, "How do you normally speak in everyday life?" The following five options were available as predefined answers: "only standard German/more standard German/standard German and dialect/more dialect/only dialect" (as well as the possibility of not answering). The question was presented to the entire sample. The answer options are worded in a rather general way to make it easier for the respondents to allocate themselves; a further differentiation, for example according to conversational partner or domain, proved to be not helpful in pre-tests and was rejected. The distribution of the answers within the overall sample is shown in Figure 5.

The data show very clearly the dominance of the standard language: Almost exactly two thirds of the respondents (66.6 per cent) state that they speak "only standard German" or "more standard German" in everyday life.[15] Around a quarter speak "standard German or dialect". Only 9 per cent (i.e. about one in eleven) say they speak "rather dialect" or "only dialect" in everyday life. It should be emphasized once again that these are self-assessments of the interviewees and not objective data. These figures are not based on any tests. And, of course, the rough answer scale contains a certain amount of imprecision. It is not possible to state exactly where – at the continuum between the dialect pole and the standard pole – each individual interviewee locates themselves in their everyday speech. Nor does it say anything about the actual proximity or distance to standard of each individual respondent. It also says nothing about the – undoubtedly existing – variation within the standard and nothing about the – undoubtedly divergent – level of 'tolerance'

---

[15] As mentioned above (footnote 4), for linguistic laypersons, High German, "Hochdeutsch", is the usual term for standard German in everyday language. Therefore, we also used it in this way in the questionnaire. Accordingly, "Hochdeutsch" is also mentioned in the diagrams and maps without implying any form of evaluation.
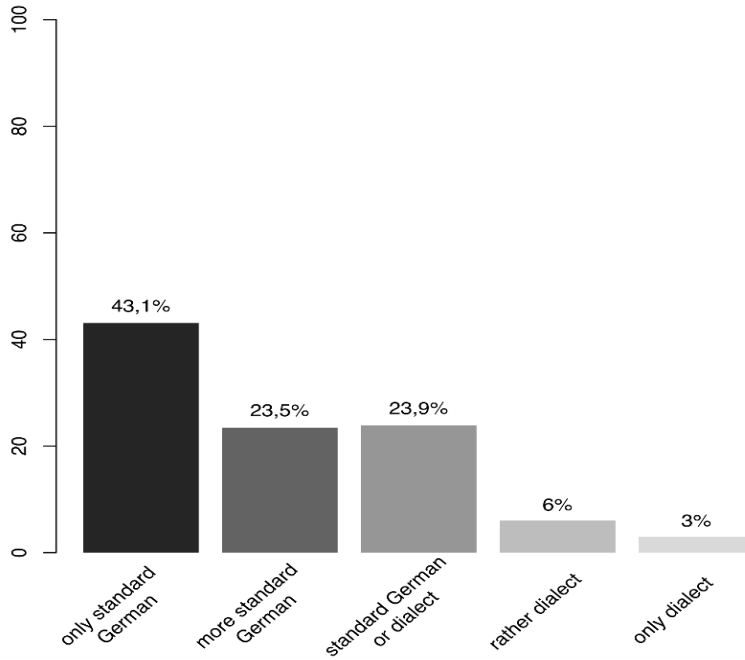
Figure 5: Everyday speech
Question: "How do you normally speak in everyday life?"[16]

towards variation by the speakers. What is important to note here, however, is that the concept of the standard variety as such seems to be uncontroversial. As a result, it can be said that the dialect – at least according to the perceptions and statements of a clear majority of the interviewees – only seems to play a very subordinate role in normal everyday speech.

Considering the data presented in Figure 2, it is helpful to apply a regional breakdown, by language area. In the following, such a cartographic representation is provided for each of the five answer options (Figures 6 to 10). In fact, in the synopsis of the maps, the expected north-south differences make a return appearance.

In the Lower German area, as mentioned above in the section concerning dialect competence, dialects have been completely abandoned in many places; in parallel to this, the highest values for the answer "only standard German" are found here (Figure 6). The darkest areas are the Eastphalian area with the large cities of Hannover and Braunschweig, which is often referred to in popular language discourses as a

---

[16] The German wording was: "*Wie sprechen Sie normalerweise im Alltag?*"

reference area for "good" or "pure" standard German. These are followed by North Low German, West Low German and North East Low German. It is noticeable that the area of Brandenburgisch (including Berlin) goes along with the more southern areas and reports only very low values.
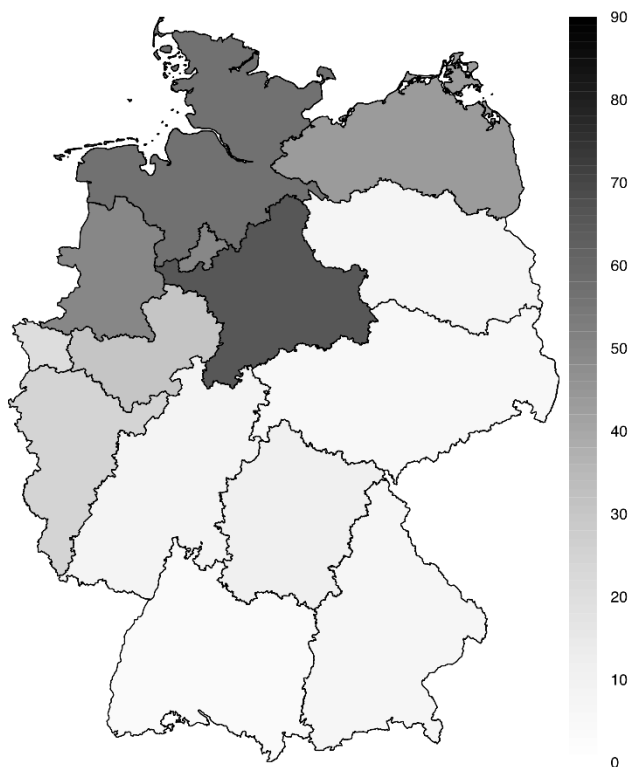

Figure 6: Everyday speech (by language area): only standard German
Question as in Figure 5

The answer "more standard German" is most frequently given in the north-eastern Lower German area and also in the Central Franconian area (Figure 7).

Figure 8 shows the regional distribution by language area for the answer "standard German and dialect". The values here are highest in eastern Middle Germany and in the Brandenburgisch region; medium values are obtained in the southern regions. This means that even in the regional strongholds of dialect, many people still indicate that they speak standard German regularly.
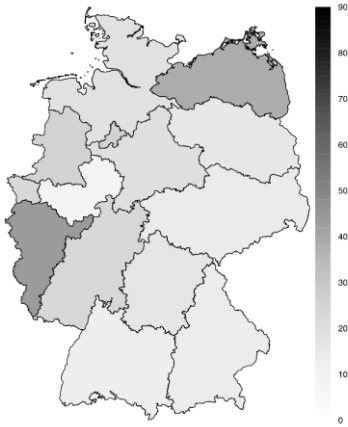
Figure 7:
Everyday speech (by language area):
more standard German

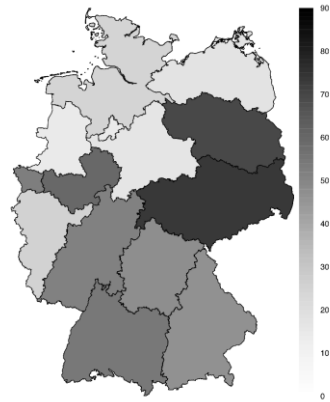Figure 8:
Everyday speech (by language area)
standard German and dialect
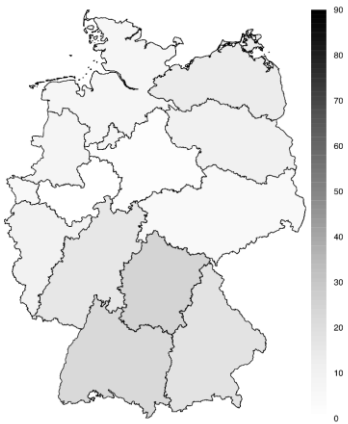
Question as in Figure 5

Figure 9:
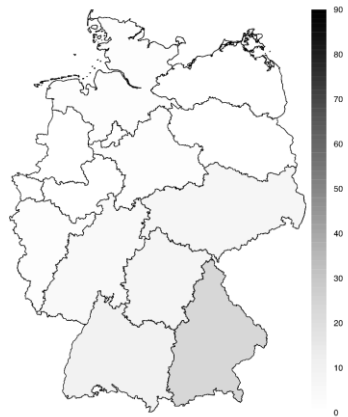Everyday speech (by language area):
more dialect

Figure 10:
Everyday speech (by language area):
only dialect

Question as in Figure 5

Dialect, on the other hand, is only rarely reported by the respondents as their predominant everyday form of speech. In the north and in the centre of Germany, this response practically does not occur at all; but even in the southern areas, dialects apparently play only a subordinate role as an everyday form of speech, as per self-reporting (Figure 9: "more dialect", Figure 10: "only dialect"). Both maps are, all in all, strikingly light in shade. Only the West Upper German, East Franconian and Bavarian areas are of slightly deeper colour (for the answer "more dialect"), and the Bavarian area (for the answer "only dialect").

Taken together, these five maps show two things: firstly, one can easily see the expected differences between the northern and southern regions, which are hidden in the values for the total sample as shown in Figure 5. This means that standard German is reported as even more dominant as an everyday language in the North than in the South. On the other hand, however – and this is what is important in this context – it is easy to see that even in the Middle German and Upper German regions, it is not the dialects but the standard variety that is said to constitute the everyday speech variety; overall, standard German clearly predominates everywhere in the responses.

Regional accent

The data presented so far aimed, on the one hand, at the dialect competence of the respondents, and, on the other hand, at the interplay between dialects and standard variety in everyday speech practice. The data clearly document the clear dominance of the concept of "standard German" in the language community. For the vast majority of respondents, standard German is said to be the predominant variety in everyday communication. It should be stressed again, however, that these are self-reports by the respondents, from which no assessment can be derived regarding the exact linguistic form of what is conceptualised as standard German in each case. What exactly each individual respondent holds to be 'standard German' cannot be said. Here – especially in the area of pronunciation – a certain variance can surely be expected, and not pronunciation without recognisable regional colouring, as is expected of professional speakers (at least of newscasters in public broadcasting).[17] In most regions of Germany, pronunciation norms have been established even for communication contexts in which the most standard forms of speech are required, which reveal certain regional characteristics, without this standing in the way of popular categorisation as standard German. However, this does not change the fact

---

[17] Newscasters are also reference speakers (and – in a slightly circular approach – target group at the same time) in the German Pronunciation Dictionary (*Deutsches Ausspra-chewörterbuch*) (Krech et al. 2009). The question of a standard pronunciation is a broad field of its own.

that the concept of standard German as such, even if its boundaries must remain blurred, obviously has a broad socio-cognitive validity.

But what about the speakers' awareness of this variance? How close to an idealised construct of accent-free standard German do the respondents see themselves? To find out, we asked them what degree of regional colouring they would ascribe to themselves (Figure 11).
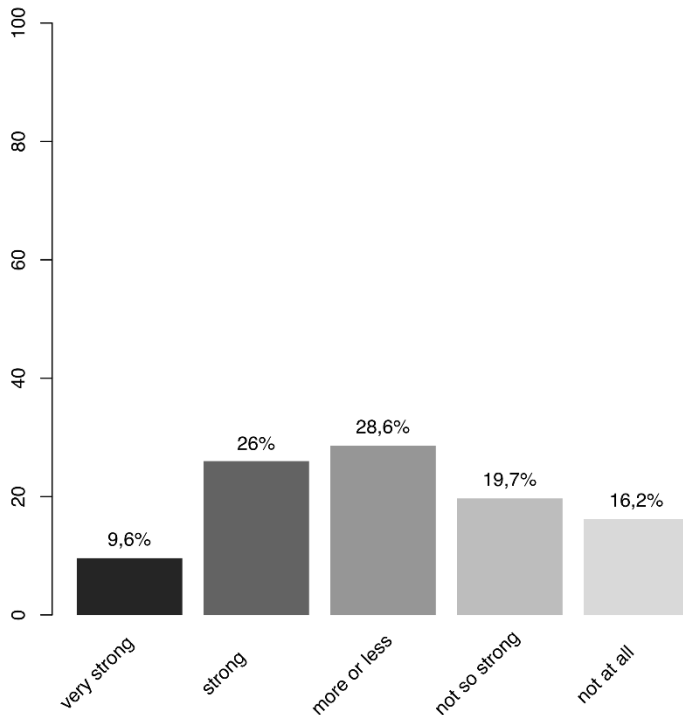
Figure 11: Regional colouring
Question: "When you speak standard German, how much do you think it is possible to tell from your pronunciation which region you come from?"[18]

The result is surprisingly balanced: just under 36 per cent of respondents profess themselves to have a strong or very strong regional accent; about the same number (just under 36 per cent) consider their linguistic provenance to be "not so strongly"

---

[18] The German wording was: "*Wenn Sie Hochdeutsch sprechen, was glauben Sie, wie stark kann man an Ihrer Aussprache erkennen, aus welcher Gegend Sie kommen?*"

or "not at all" recognisable, and 29 per cent answer with "more or less". Cross-relating this with the data presented in Figure 5 is revealing. If one takes into account that, on the one hand, 43.1 per cent of the respondents state that they normally speak "only standard German" in everyday life, and on the other hand only 16.2 per cent of the respondents claim that, when they speak standard German, one could recognise their regional origin "not at all", this could be taken to mean that the respondents themselves have a relatively high tolerance towards variation overall. It suggests that the fact that the regional origin remains recognisable may not be an obstacle to being classified as standard German. Apparently, standard German is a concept with blurred edges for the majority of speakers.

Now, one might expect that the question of whether someone ascribes a regional accent to himself or herself would be related to whether he or she declares speaking a dialect, or also to whether he or she lives in a region that is a dialect stronghold. Taking into consideration the south-north divide shown in Figure 2, one could certainly expect greater regional differences here. Figure 12 shows the mean values of the answers to the question about regional colouring, broken down by language area. The map shows surprisingly few regional differences. The West Upper German and Bavarian areas are coloured a little darker, the areas of West Low German, Lower Franconian and Middle Franconian as well as West and East Middle German are slightly lighter. Overall, however, there are no significant differences; in particular, it is striking that even the speakers in the 'dialect-weak' regions of Northern Germany do not claim greater standard proximity on average than in the rest of the area.[19]

Sometimes certain patterns become more visible when smaller groups are combined into larger ones. In Figure 13, the answers are therefore broken down according to the major linguistic regions (Low German, Middle German, Upper German). Middle German is slightly lighter than Low German, and the latter is slightly lighter than Upper German, but this figure also shows that the regional differences are not particularly pronounced. The speakers' self-assessment of whether or not their own standard German has a regional colouring is obviously not related to regional origin.

---

[19] Incidentally, this also corresponds with – not yet published – results of the *2016 Northern Germany Survey* (cf. Adler et al. 2018). In this representative survey conducted in the entire (formerly) Low German language area, we also asked, using the same wording, about one's own regional colouring. The valid answers for the entire survey area are distributed as follows: "very strongly": 15.9 per cent, "strongly": 41.4 per cent, "more or less": 22.1 per cent, "not so strongly": 12.1 per cent, "not at all": 8.5 per cent. Here, too, there are no noticeable regional differences.
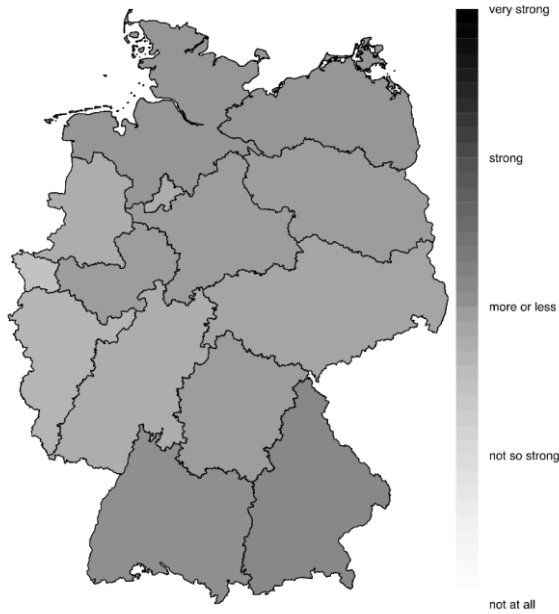
Figure 12: Regional colouring (by language area)
Question as in Figure 11
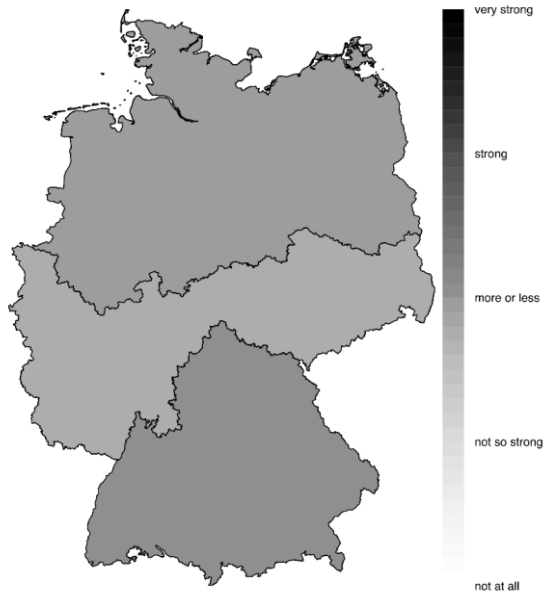
Figure 13: Regional colouring (by large areas)
Question as in Figure 11

The assumption that regional origin could play a role was based on the idea that there could be a connection between self-declared dialect competence – which is distributed differently from region to region – and regional colouring. The maps do not show such an effect. In order to verify whether there is nevertheless a connection, we crossed the stated dialect competence with the regional colouring (Figure 14).
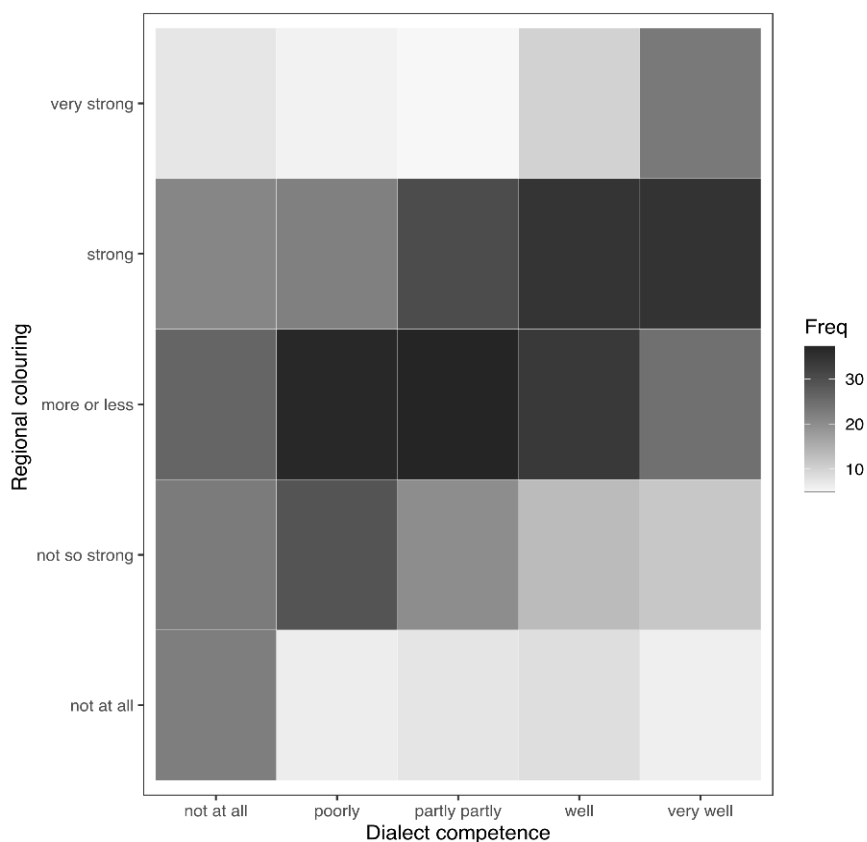
Figure 14: Regional colouring (by dialect competence)
Questions as in Figure 3 and Figure 11

Figure 14 should be read as follows: for each answer option to the question on dialect competence, the vertical bars indicate the answers by percentage to the question on regional colouring (the darker a field is, the higher the corresponding percentages). Accordingly, the sum of the vertical fields is always one hundred percent. Thus, the figure always shows the relative distribution of the answers to the question about regional colouring within each individual answer category of the question about dialect competence. On the left bar ("not at all") are entered the answers

of all those who state that they do not speak any dialect (i.e. the 59.3 per cent of respondents from Figure 1). The second bar from the left ("poorly"; in German: "schlecht") groups together those respondents who state that they speak dialect "poorly" or "very poorly" (i.e. the 5.2 per cent of respondents from Figure 3; for the original German wording cf. footnote 14). One can see a kind of diagonal from bottom left to top right. Those who say they speak dialect poorly tend to also say they have no regional colouring; and those who indicate speaking dialect very well tend to also profess a very strong regional colouring. The left bar, i.e. those who do not claim to speak dialect at all, is particularly noteworthy. Here, as expected, there is a large proportion of people who do not attest to any or no strong regional colouring (the lower fields in the left bar). However, there is also a considerable proportion of respondents who perceive a certain or strong regional colouring in themselves, even though they do not claim to speak a dialect themselves. Thus, in an idealised concept, the standard language is supposed to be free of regional influences; while in linguistic reality, standard German and regional colouring are by no means held to exclude each other.

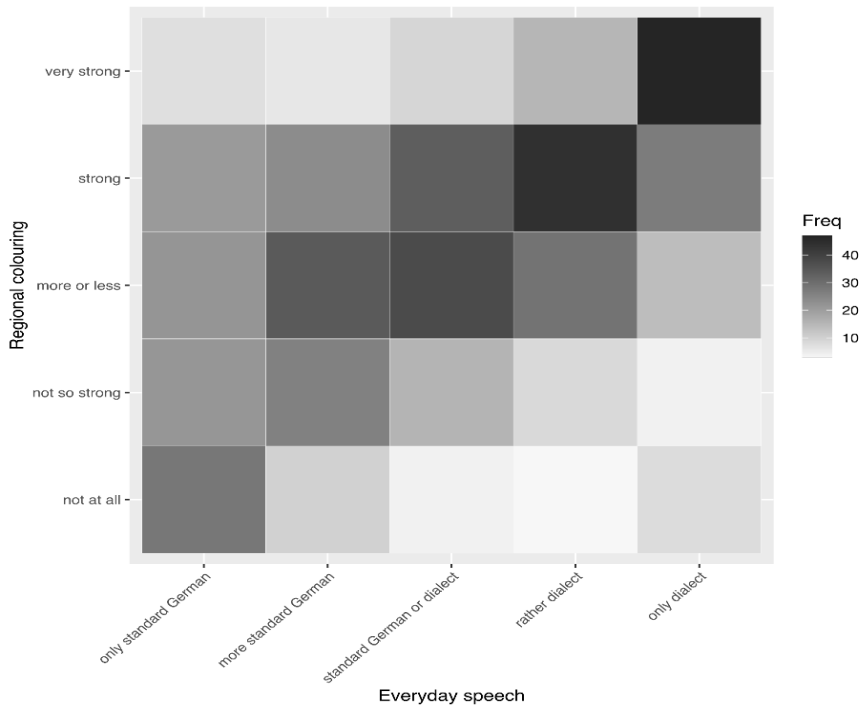
Figure 15: Regional colouring (by everyday speech)
Questions as in Figure 5 and Figure 11

We have also made such a crossing for everyday speech and regional colouring. (Figure 15). The figure works just as Figure 14: for the answers entered on the x-axis to the question about the everyday speech situation, the corresponding percentage values are visualised in the vertical bars for each field by the degree of colouring. Here, too, the diagonal is evident from the bottom left to the top right; and here, too, it is shown that the neighbouring fields are also coloured, especially to the left of and above this diagonal. Of those who claim to speak only standard German in everyday life, most say that they have no regional colouring at all. However, here, too, there is a relevant proportion of respondents who say that they have a certain or even a strong regional colouring. Roughly, it can be said that, if someone indicates speaking only or predominantly dialect in everyday life, he or she assumes to have a stronger regional colouring. The opposite is not true to the same extent: speaking only or predominantly standard German in everyday life does not prevent one from professing a regional colouring. Again, we see that standard German and regional colouring do not exclude each other in the responses.

EVALUATIONS OF SPEECH VARIETIES

Obviously, dialects are not the most common form of language for the majority of speakers in everyday speech. Nevertheless, as already indicated above, knowledge about areal variation is widespread. Typically, assessments and attitudes are also linked to expertise. We have extensively surveyed likeability of dialects in the *2008 Germany Survey* (cf. Gärtig, Plewnia and Rothe 2010: 155–167), and also – with a focus on Low German – in the *2016 North Germany Survey* (cf. Adler et al. 2018: 22–28). In the *2017 Germany Survey*, we also collected different representative data on attitudes towards dialects with the help of various questions (on the different instruments used, cf. Adler and Plewnia 2018: 69–89). In the following, we focus on direct questions regarding likeability ("Sympathie"). In the *2017 Germany Survey*, we recorded likeability in two formats: with an open and a closed question. For this purpose, the sample for the relevant question block was divided, i.e. half of the respondents received the open question and the other half the closed question. In the open format, the questions are asked without answer options, i.e. the respondents can and must word their answers themselves. Among other things, this has the advantage that only active knowledge is collected and that the respondents do not react to primes. However, the answers given are often very heterogeneous and are therefore difficult to evaluate. In the closed format, the respondents are offered a ready-made list of answers. This produces comparable answers and makes it possible, for example, to also have data evaluated that are less relevant to the respondents but are interesting for systematic reasons. (On the other hand, of course, only as-

sessments are obtained on the varieties the survey asks about. On the advantages and disadvantages of the two formats see Plewnia and Rothe 2012: 27–33). In the following, only the results of the closed question wording of the 2017 Germany Survey are presented (for the open question wording, cf. Adler and Plewnia 2020: 24–28).

We asked about the likeability of various given varieties on a scale of five (from "very likeable" to "very unlikeable"). Firstly, we selected those dialects that are known from previous surveys to have a certain prominence (Northern German, Low German/Platt German, Bavarian, Swabian, Saxon, Kölsch/Rhenish Platt, Berlin dialect, Hessian). Secondly, the survey asked about Austrian and Swiss German, whose dialects belong to the dialectal continuum of German, but which, from the point of view of many linguistic laypersons, are nevertheless perceived as foreign varieties. Thirdly, those respondents who stated that they speak a dialect were asked to rate their own dialect. And finally, all respondents were asked how they like standard German.[20]

Figure 16 shows the results for the entire sample (i.e. for all those who were asked this question; because of the methodological split, this was only half of the respondents). The mean values are shown in each case (the value "2" on the y-axis stands for "very likeable", the value "–2" correspondingly for "very unlikeable"). With the exception of Saxon, the ratings for all varieties are in the positive range.

The dialect speakers rated their own dialect most positively. The highest mean value across the entire sample (the question about one's own dialect could only be asked of the dialect speakers), however, is actually standard German (with a mean value of 1.13). This fits with findings from the *2008 Germany Survey* where the standard language was also rated very positively overall in response to various questions (cf. Gärtig, Plewnia and Rothe 2010: 17–47). Standard German, as shown in Figures 5 to 10, has a high reported social relevance for most respondents in everyday life. The fact that it is rated so clearly positively here can certainly be read as a sign of a stable linguistic self-confidence on the part of the respondents.

Northern German follows in the ranking (with a mean value of 0.71). This is followed by increments with very flat steps from Austrian to Hessian; the lowest likeability (as also documented in numerous other surveys) is accorded to Saxon. Unlike the other dialects listed here, Northern German is not a regionally clearly determined variety in terms of its linguistic features. It is more of a collective term for the various kinds of speech that are spoken in the (former) Low German language area, which have a certain regional character, but are characterised by a relatively high degree of standard proximity. This last aspect makes the positive evaluations

---

[20] Interestingly, the request to assess standard German – although the introductory question explicitly mentioned 'dialects' – did not lead to any irritation or even refusal to answer on the part of the respondents.

plausible: Northern German obviously benefits from its close proximity to standard German, which is assessed very positively overall, as we have seen.
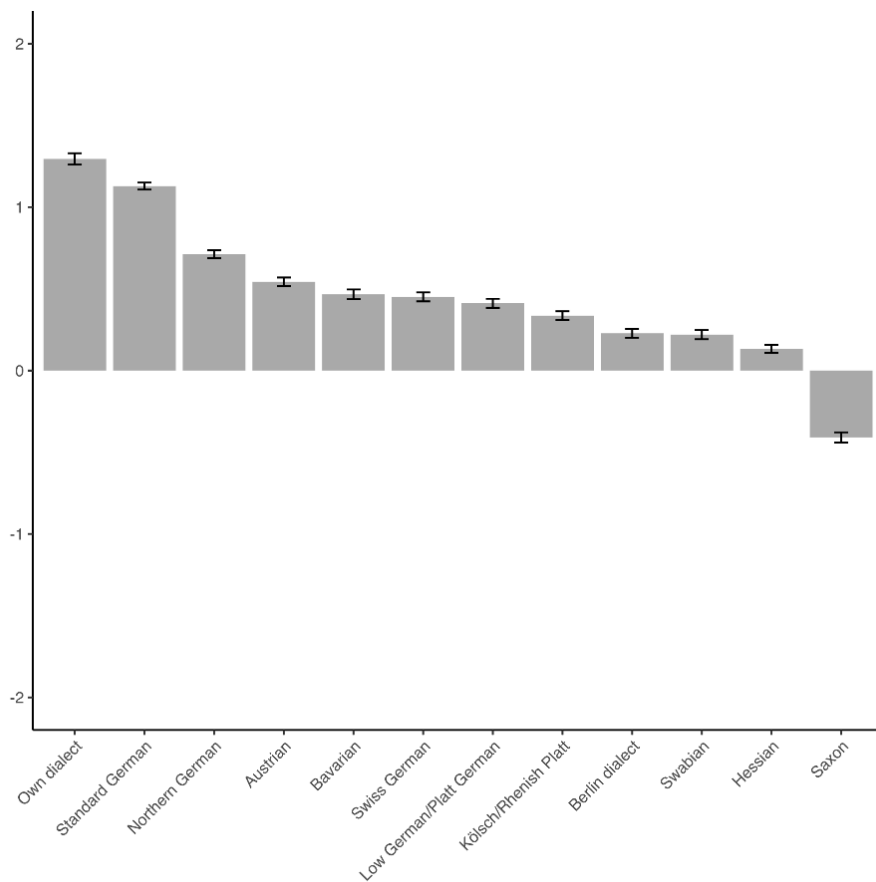
Figure 16: Likeability (closed; mean values)
Question: "In general, how do you like the following dialects?"[21]

---

[21] Answer options for each dialect: "very likeable – likeable – more or less likeable – unlikeable – very unlikeable". The order of the dialects was randomised, with "standard German" never being asked first and "Low German/Platt German" always having to be answered before "Northern German" was presented. The situation in the Northern German language area is complex; the mental maps of linguistic laypersons for "Northern German" and "Low German" are similar but not identical (cf. Plewnia 2013), so both varieties were surveyed separately.

The German wording of the question was: "*Wie sympathisch finden Sie ganz allgemein die folgenden Dialekte?*" with the answer options "*sehr sympathisch – sympathisch – teils/teils – unsympathisch – sehr unsympathisch*".

However, statements that refer to mean values of the total sample sometimes conceal certain differences within the sample. As the discussion of the cartographic representation above has shown, regionality is an important factor here. The individual language areas sometimes behave very differently, sometimes strikingly similarly. In the following, therefore, the regional breakdown by language area is also presented for three of the varieties asked about. Figure 17 shows the mean values of the ratings of standard German by language area: the higher the mean value in an area, the more darkly the corresponding area is coloured.
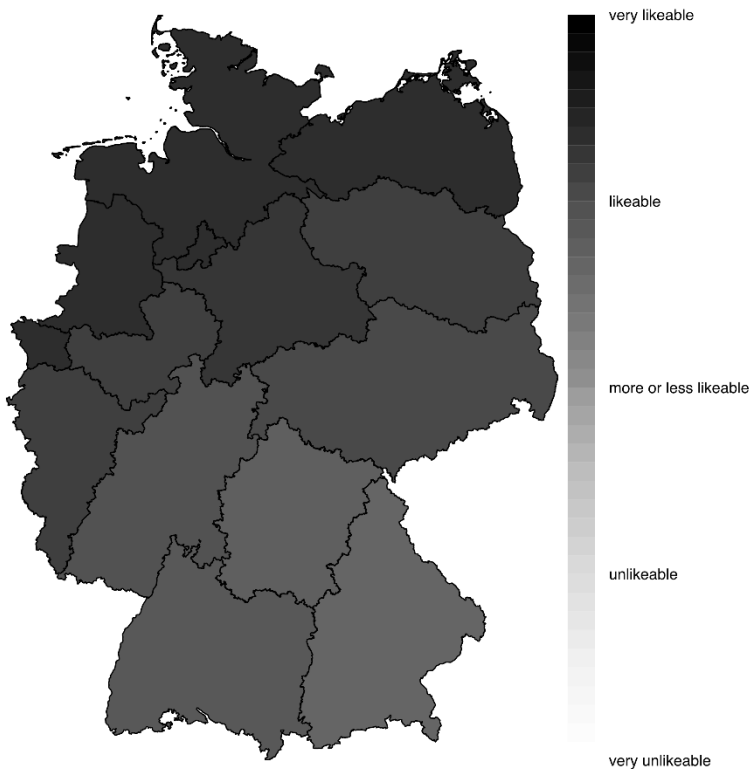
Figure 17: Likeability: standard German (by language area)
Question as in Figure 16

The colour differences in Figure 17 are quite small. This matches the overall mean values from Figure 16; since the values are quite high overall, only small deviations within the regional subsamples are to be expected. At most, a slight north-south divide can be seen; the Bavarian and East Franconian regions are coloured somewhat lighter, the Northern German regions somewhat darker. Overall, however, it

can be stated that the standard variety, as it is also established everywhere, is met with great liking across Germany.

The situation is quite different for the other dialects surveyed. Self-assessments tend to be more positive than assessments by others; this effect can be seen in all dialects. Figure 18 shows an example of the values of likeability for Bavarian broken down by language area.
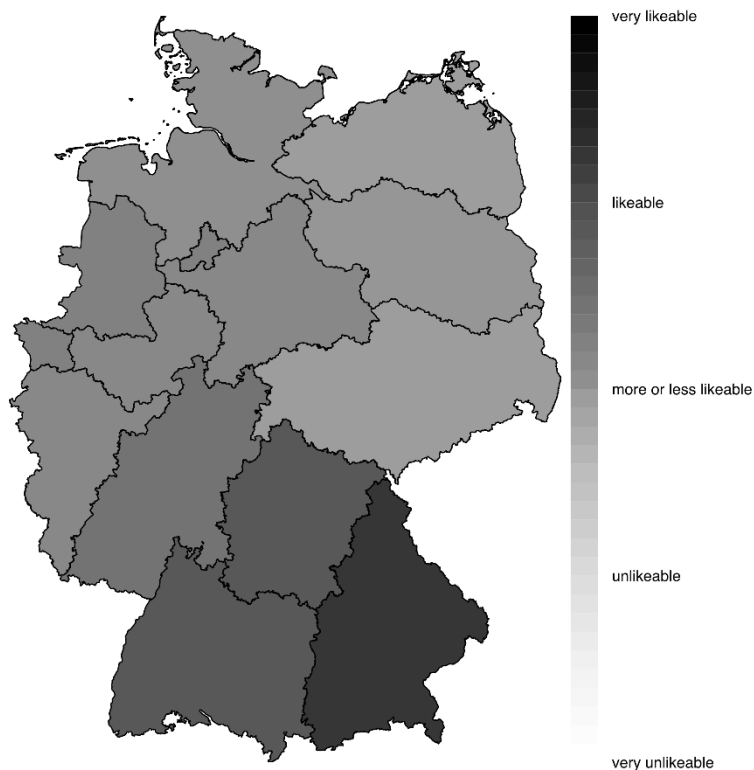
Figure 18: Likeability: Bavarian (by language area)
Question as in Figure 16

Bavarian is clearly in the positive range on average in the overall sample (cf. Figure 16), with an overall mean value of 0.47. However, Bavarian obviously benefits considerably from the positive self-assessments in the Bavarian region. The two neighbouring areas of West Upper German and East Franconian still have above-average positive evaluations, while further north the areas become visibly lighter; the values of likeability for Bavarian are lowest in East Middle Germany.

This effect of positive self-assessments is more or less pronounced for all the varieties surveyed (for Saxon, which finds very little sympathy nationwide, the map

image is clearly lighter overall, but even here the East Middle German region is clearly the darkest). This effect is least evident in the case of Northern German, which is undoubtedly related to a widely perceived closeness of Northern German to standard German, which is, after all, rated very positively. The slight north-south divide in the evaluation of standard German shown in Figure 17 can also be interpreted in this sense. It is not surprising, then, that standard German receives even higher likeability ratings than the overall average, especially in Northern Germany, with which standard German is often associated.

The final map is intended to show that evaluations of this kind have a lot to do with social constructions and stereotypes and not merely with the actual linguistic spatial circumstances. Figure 19 shows the mean values of likeability for Austrian, broken down by language area.
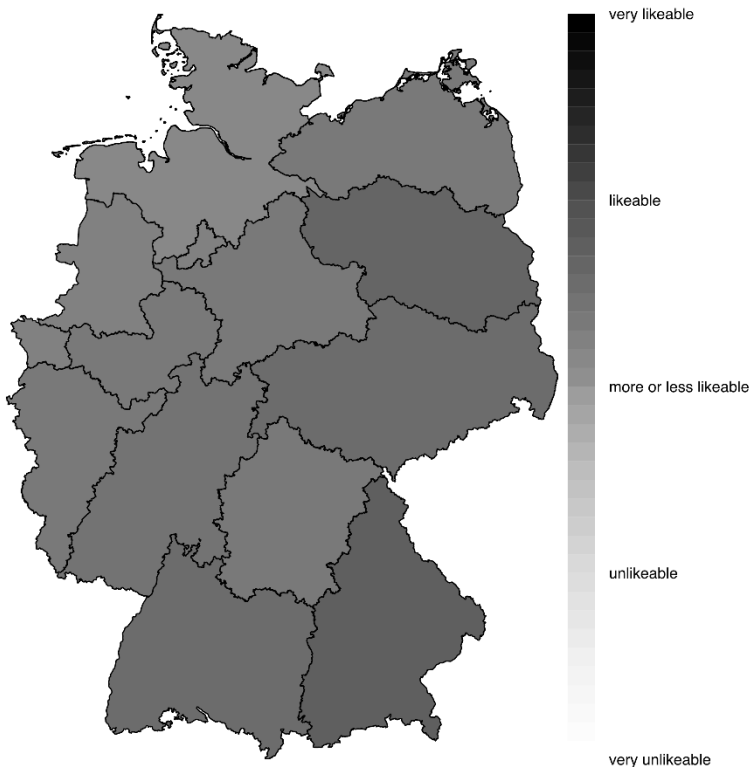

Figure 19: Likeability: Austrian (by language area)
Question as in Figure 16

Bavarian and Austrian belong to the same dialectal continuum. For speakers from other large language areas, it will be difficult to assign people who speak a Bavarian

dialect to the correct geographical region. Nevertheless, Bavarian and Austrian are attributed very differently from region to region. While Bavarian has a clear spatial pattern with very positive self-assessments in the Bavarian area and positive assessments in neighbouring areas, this is not the case with Austrian. In the case of Austrian, regional differences are much smaller. Austrian is apparently interpreted as an exogenous variety that can be liked more easily than other German dialects. Remarkably, this is apparently also true from a Bavarian perspective. In the Bavarian area, Austrian does not achieve the high values of likeability of Bavarian by far, i.e. it is obviously evaluated as a foreign variety. Incidentally, the same effect is seen with regard to Swiss German: The map for Swabian (an Alemannic dialect like Swiss German) has a similar structure to the map for Bavarian, i.e. with very positive self-ratings in the West Upper German region; the map for Swiss German looks almost exactly like the map for Austrian, i.e. with only very slight regional differences. In Germany, obviously, Swiss German is predominantly treated as an exogenous variety, so that there are only minor regional differences in sympathy ratings. This example shows once again that the language attitudes of linguistic laypersons are not exclusively linked to real linguistic circumstances, but are also subject to other influences.

CONCLUSION

In general, standard language and dialects are conceptualised together. In fact, in a vertically conceived variety space, they form the poles of a continuum. However, linguistic laypersons usually conceptualise this variety space in binary terms. In this sense, the standard is the counterpart to the dialect; standard language and dialects are, so to speak, two sides of the same coin. Attitudes towards the standard language cannot therefore be meaningfully examined without also looking at attitudes towards dialects. The data from the *2017 Germany Survey*, which the IDS was able to conduct within the framework of the SOEP-IS, provide us with new information about the status and evaluations of the different varieties in Germany from the speakers' point of view. In particular, new insights have been gained with regard to the current status of the standard variety.

How are these findings to be interpreted? First of all, it should be noted that there are certain limitations resulting from the method used and the nature of the data collected. The central point is certainly that the data reported here – as has already been emphasised several times – are always personal statements by the respondents, i.e. they are subjective data. It is not objective data in the sense that examinations or tests of their dialectal knowledge were carried out with the respondents. However, that was not the aim of this survey. The aim was to find out something about the social relevance of the standard and the dialects in the minds of

the speakers, and that is precisely what this subjective data is important for. Of course, there are also practical limitations due to the way of collecting the data. The number of possible questions is limited because question time is expensive. The number of answer options must also be limited so that the data set can still be analysed. The terminology must not be complicated, and it is not possible to 'calibrate' the terms in conversation with the respondents, even though it may not be possible to be completely sure that all respondents understand exactly the same thing by "speaking dialect" or by "High German", for example, always and everywhere. This also applies to the evaluation of regional varieties; linguistic laypersons can also have stable opinions about dialects that they do not allocate consistently.[22] In any case, such assessments say nothing about the dialects themselves, but only about the stereotypes that speakers associate with them. This is especially true with regard to the question of which forms of standard German the interviewees individually have in mind when they make their assessments. Of course, these will be very different ideas in each individual case. However, this does not invalidate the overall findings here.

Summarising the results, the following points should be emphasised:

– About two-fifths of the respondents state that they speak a dialect. Inversely, this means that for about three-fifths of the respondents, their individual linguistic scope is limited to the standard or near-standard language or, at best, regional colloquial languages. The relevance of small-scale areal varieties should therefore not be overestimated. Not only is the standard language widespread and anchored throughout the whole language area; for the vast majority of respondents, it is even the variety that represents the competence basis of normal linguistic action.

– As expected, there is a south-north divide in relation to (self-reported) dialect competence; fewer people indicate speaking dialect in the north than in the south of Germany. The scalar question on competence, on the other hand, shows only very slight regional differences. Those who say they speak dialect say they speak it well, regardless of what dialect it is.

– In reports of actual everyday speech, the standard language continues to dominate to a large extent. This is even more evident in the north than in the south (most strongly in the Eastphalian region in southern and eastern Lower Saxony). Dialects play only a very subordinate role here. Whereas at the beginning of the 20th century dialects were still the normal and usual form of language practical-

---

[22] In general, knowledge is not a necessary condition for opinions. Knowledge of dialectology is not necessary to have attitudes towards dialects. Linguist laypersons do evaluate dialects and express sympathy or antipathy even if they cannot localise them. Adler and Plewnia 2012 show this for a sample with pupils and for a sample with students. Cf. also Hundt 2017.

ly everywhere, according to our informants, the standard language has taken over this role in large parts today.

–   On the other hand, most respondents attribute a more or less pronounced regional colouring to their own standard German. The respondents thus indirectly show a considerable degree of tolerance towards variation in their concepts of standard language; speaking standard German while conveying a regional linguistic recognisability is not seen as a contradiction.

–   Most of the varieties are regarded with liking (only Saxon is rated negatively on average), whereby the self-assessments are always much more positive than the assessments by others. Standard German is seen as particularly likeable. This is the case throughout the entire area. Here, too, the stable anchoring of the standard language is evident, which enjoys great sympathy regardless of the dialect region.

What should be noted as the main finding of the *IDS 2017 Germany Survey* is that the standard variety is of great importance in everyday language throughout Germany, and that it garners high sympathy everywhere.

REFERENCES

Adler, A. 2019. Sprachstatistik in Deutschland. *Deutsche Sprache* 19, 1: 197–219.

Adler, A. and A. Plewnia. 2012. Sprache – Einstellungen – Regionalität. In L. M. Eichinger, A. Plewnia, D. Stahlberg, C. Schoel, Christiane (eds.) *Sprache und Einstellungen. Spracheinstellungen aus sprachwissenschaftlicher und sozialpsychologischer Perspektive. Mit einer Sprachstandserhebung zum Deutschen von Gerhard Stickel.* (Studien zur deutschen Sprache 61). Tübingen: Narr. 9–118.

Adler, A. and A. Plewnia. 2018. Möglichkeiten und Grenzen der quantitativen Spracheinstellungsforschung. In A. N. Lenz and A. Plewnia (eds.) *Variation – Normen – Identitäten.* (Germanistische Sprachwissenschaft um 2020 4). Berlin/Boston: de Gruyter. 63–98.

Adler, A. and A. Plewnia. 2020. Aktuelle Bewertungen regionaler Varietäten des Deutschen. Erste Ergebnisse der Deutschland-Erhebung 2017. In M. Hundt, A. Kleene, A. Plewnia and V. Sauer (eds.) *Regiolekte. Objektive Sprachdaten und subjektive Sprachwahrnehmung*. (Studien zur deutschen Sprache 85). Tübingen: Narr. 15–35.

Adler, A., A. Plewnia and M. Ribeiro Silveira. (forthc.). *Dialekte in Deutschland. Aktuelle Daten zu Kompetenz und Gebrauch*. Mannheim: Institut für Deutsche Sprache.

Adler, A., C. Ehlers, R. Goltz, A. Kleene and A. Plewnia. 2018. *The current status and use of Low German. Initial results of a representative study.* Bre-

men/Mannheim: Institut für niederdeutsche Sprache and Institut für Deutsche Sprache.

Ammon, U., H. Bickel and A. N. Lenz. 2016. *Variantenwörterbuch des Deutschen. Die Standardsprache in Österreich, der Schweiz, Deutschland, Liechtenstein, Luxemburg, Ostbelgien und Südtirol sowie Rumänien, Namibia und Mennonitensiedlungen.* 2., völlig neu bearbeitete und erweiterte Auflage. Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter.

Duden. 1999. *Das große Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache. In zehn Bänden.* 3., völlig neu bearbeitete und erweiterte Auflage. Herausgegeben vom Wissenschaftlichen Rat der Dudenredaktion. Bd. 4: Gele – Impr. Mannheim/Leipzig/Wien/Zürich: Dudenverlag

Dürscheid, C., S. Elspaß and A. Ziegler. 2018. *Variantengrammatik des Standarddeutschen. Ein Online-Nachschlagewerk.* http://mediawiki.ids-mannheim.de/VarGra/index.php/Start (March 1, 2022).

Gärtig, A.-K., A. Plewnia and A. Rothe. 2010. *Wie Menschen in Deutschland über Sprache denken. Ergebnisse einer bundesweiten Repräsentativerhebung zu aktuellen Spracheinstellungen.* Mannheim: Institut für Deutsche Sprache.

Glauninger, M. M. 2011. Wien(erisch) zwischen Wunschbild und Wirklichkeit. "Dialekt" im Wienerlied und im Wiener Sprachalltag. In Österreichisches Volksliedwerk (ed.) *Jahrbuch des Österreichischen Volksliedwerkes.* Band 60. Wien: Mille Tre Verlag. 142–153.

Goltz, R. and A. Kleene. 2020. Niederdeutsch. In R. Beyer and A. Plewnia (eds.) *Handbuch der Sprachminderheiten in Deutschland*. Tübingen: Narr. 171–226.

Hundt, M. 2017. Struktur und Komplexität des linguistischen Laienwissens. In M. Hundt, N. Palliwoda, S. Schröder (eds.) *Der deutsche Sprachraum aus der Sicht linguistischer Laien. Ergebnisse des Kieler DFG-Projektes.* Berlin/Boston: de Gruyter Mouton. 121–160.

Kehrein, R. 2012. *Regionalsprachliche Spektren im Raum – Zur linguistischen Struktur der Vertikale.* (Zeitschrift für Dialektologie und Linguistik, Beihefte 152). Stuttgart: Steiner.

Kleiner, S. 2011ff. *Atlas zur Aussprache des deutschen Gebrauchsstandards (AADG).* Unter Mitarbeit von R. Knöbl.
http://prowiki.ids-mannheim.de/bin/view/AADG/ (March 1, 2022).

Krech, E.-M., E. Stock, U. Hirschfeld, L. C. Anders. 2009. *Deutsches Aussprachewörterbuch.* Mit Beiträgen von Walter Haas, Ingrid Hove, Peter Wiesinger. Berlin: de Gruyter.

Lameli, A. 2013. *Strukturen im Sprachraum. Analysen zur arealtypologischen Komplexität der Dialekte in Deutschland.* (Linguistik Impulse & Tendenzen 54). Berlin/Boston: de Gruyter..

Lenz, A. 2003. *Struktur und Dynamik des Substandards. Eine Studie zum Westmitteldeutschen (Wittlich/Eifel).* Stuttgart: Steiner (ZDL-Beihefte 125).

Niebaum, H. and J. Macha. 1999. *Einführung in die Dialektologie des Deutschen.* (Germanistische Arbeitshefte 37). Tübingen: Niemeyer..

Plewnia, A. 2013. Norddeutsch – Plattdeutsch – Friesisch. Der norddeutsche Sprachraum aus der Sicht linguistischer Laien. In G. Albert and J. Franz (eds.) *Zeichen und Stil. Der Mehrwert der Variation.* Festschrift für Beate Henn-Memmesheimer. (VarioLingua 44). Frankfurt am Main: Lang. 43–62.

Plewnia, A. and A. Rothe. 2012. Sprache – Einstellungen – Regionalität. In L. M. Eichinger, A. Plewnia, C. Schoel and D. Stahlberg (eds.) *Sprache und Einstellungen. Spracheinstellungen aus sprachwissenschaftlicher und sozialpsychologischer Perspektive.* (Studien zur deutschen Sprache 61). Tübingen: Narr. 9–118.

v. Polenz, P. 1994. *Deutsche Sprachgeschichte. Vom Spätmittelalter bis zur Gegenwart. Volume II: 17. und 18. Jahrhundert.* Berlin/New York: de Gruyter.

Stickel, G. 2012. Deutsch im Kontext anderer Sprachen in Deutschland heute: Daten und Einschätzungen. Unter Mitarbeit von Julia Weinheimer. In L. M. Eichinger, A. Plewnia, C. Schoel and D. Stahlberg (eds.) *Sprache und Einstellungen. Spracheinstellungen aus sprachwissenschaftlicher und sozialpsychologischer Perspektive.* (Studien zur deutschen Sprache 61). Tübingen: Narr. 227–321.

Attitudinal and perceptual research as part of the methodological toolbox to define standard languages: Advances, issues and perspectives in research on Belgian Dutch

Anne-Sophie Ghyselen

Ghent University/Research Foundation Flanders, Belgium[1]

INTRODUCTION

In many (European) countries, standard languages are observed to be undergoing clear changes, influenced by societal changes such as immigration, globalisation, democratisation and informalisation (cf. Coupland and T. Kristiansen 2011; Ghyselen, Delarue and Lybaert 2016). In Denmark, for instance, which is generally acknowledged as a nation where the standard language still holds a strong position, the standard Danish variety has, over the past decades, continually incorporated features which used to be associated with low-status ('popular') Copenhagen speech (see also Pharao's contribution to this volume). Similarly, in Belgian Dutch, non-standard elements are increasingly heard in situations where standard Dutch is generally considered the norm. The reported changes usually affect the uniformity, and in that way, also the standardness of the languages in question, often leading to concern and controversy among language users:

> Some refer to the decreasing level of education, others to spelling mistakes, there is controversy about what the norm should be, and about the fact that nobody abides by that norm, there is resistance against the influx of English loan words, there are complaints about sloppy pronunciation, about the fact that young people no longer read books, about the fact that fewer newspapers are being read, that text messaging style is on the increase, and that the tolerance against linguistic variation has gone too far. Everywhere in Europe, interestingly, the same issues are being mentioned (Van der Horst 2008: 14; translated in Grondelaers and T. Kristiansen 2013: 9).

Among linguists, concern also exists (see e.g. Absillis, Jaspers and Van Hoof 2012 for a discussion on ideological debates in Flanders), but this concern generally loses ground to a scientifically driven interest in the ongoing changes and the mechanisms steering them. A question which often emerges is whether the standard language as such is losing ground (a scenario of *destandardisation*), or whether what is considered to be standard is changing (usually described as demotisation, cf. Coupland and T. Kristiansen 2011). The distinction between these two types of change seems straightforward at first sight, but when studying standard language dynamics empirically, it is often difficult to distinguish between the two. The challenging issue here is to determine the boundaries of standard languages: in order to ascertain whether the standard language in a specific speech community is weakening or whether there is rather a change occurring within the standard language, one has to know how to delineate the concept of a standard language. Given its centrality in studies on standard language change, this chapter will address the delineation issue, tackling the question of how standard languages can be defined and demarcated using Belgian Dutch as a case-study.

The Dutch language offers an interesting case for studies on standard language dynamics, firstly, because it is a pluricentric language (with the Netherlands, Belgium and Suriname as normative centres), and each of its normative centres seems to be subject to different standard language dynamics. For reasons of scope, this chapter will zoom in on the Belgian Dutch situation. Secondly, the Dutch language area is also interesting because the language repertoires in the area would be largely *diaglossic* (especially in the Netherlands and Belgium), meaning that there is a continuum of intermediate forms in between the local dialects and the standard language (Auer 2005; Grondelaers and Van Hout 2011). In such repertoires, the delineation of varieties, such as standard varieties, is especially challenging. When does standard language usage contain too many non-standard features to no longer be considered standard, but rather become 'intermediary' or 'non-standard'? I address this question in the present chapter. After introducing the standard language situation in Flanders in the section below, I outline the problems arising when various stakeholders (laypersons, linguists, decision-makers) define or apply the concept of standard language. This discussion highlights that attitudinal and perceptual research is indispensable in attempts to define and demarcate standard language varieties, but that such research at the same time also poses methodological and conceptual challenges. By means of illustration, the following section offers an overview of the existing attitudinal and perceptual research on Belgian Standard Dutch, deliberating the pros and cons of the different methodological approaches (questionnaires, interviews, free response tasks, social psychological attitude measurements, societal treatment methods, etc.), and especially discussing the consequences for the concept of Belgian Standard Dutch. This discussion will lead to the

conclusion that an adequate theoretical framework on the relation between language production and perception is needed if advances are to be made in research on standard language dynamics. I subsequently suggest a usage-based approach that might form the basis for such a framework and that also has clear consequences for standard language research, which are considered in the final section of this chapter.

THE STANDARD LANGUAGE SITUATION IN FLANDERS

Belgium has three official languages: Dutch, French and German. Dutch is spoken in the northern, Flemish part of the country, French in the southern, Walloon part, and German in a small eastern area, the so-called 'East Cantons', which became part of Belgium in the aftermath of World War I. Belgium's capital Brussels is an officially bilingual (French-Dutch) 'island' within officially monolingual, Dutch-speaking Flanders. Dutch only gained rights as an official language in Flanders in the course of the 19th century, after centuries of foreign rule, during which French was the primary language of government, culture and education.

Whereas in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the south of the Dutch language area played a central role in the early development of a Dutch standard language (especially the Flemish dialects[2] in the fifteenth century and the Brabantic dialects in the sixteenth century), things changed drastically at the end of the 16th century (Willemyns 2003). In 1585, the revolt of the seventeen Provinces or the Habsburg Netherlands[3] against their sovereign, the catholic Philip II of Spain, led to a split of the Dutch language area into an independent northern republic (which is now the Netherlands) on the one hand, and the Spanish and later Austrian Netherlands on the other hand, which remained under foreign rule until 1830. After 1585, the centre of gravity of the standardisation of Dutch shifted from south to north (Willemyns 2003: 95). In the north, the 17th century became an era of economic, cultural and political prosperity, the ideal background for the further standardisation of Dutch, now with the Hollandic dialects as most important breeding ground. For the south, 1585 marked the beginning of a long period of 'Frenchification' (with 1815-1830 as an intermezzo). In this period of Frenchification, Dutch in the southern area is generally assumed to have been no more than a 'concatenation of dialects', 'inappropri-

---

[2] Here I use 'Flemish' not in its political meaning to refer to the northern, Dutch-speaking part of Belgium, but rather in its dialectological sense, to refer to the area where the West, East, French, and Zealand Flemish dialects are spoken. This dialect area coincides with the old county of Flanders and comprises the western part of northern Belgium, northern France, and the southwest of the Netherlands.

[3] This roughly covered the Low Countries, i.e. what is now Netherlands, Belgium, and Luxembourg, and also most of the modern French department of Nord-Pas-de-Calais.

ate for supra-regional use' (Grondelaers and Van Hout 2011: 203), though recent historical sociolinguistic research challenges this assertion, suggesting the existence of normative traditions (especially in writing) in the southern area in the 16th-18th century (cf. Vosters, Rutten and Van der Wal 2010).

It was, however, only in the course of the 19th century that cultural and linguistic rights for Dutch speakers were explicitly fought for in what was since 1830 Belgium. In the context of this 'battle', waged by the so-called 'Flemish movement', an increasingly strong need was felt for a standard Dutch variety in Belgium. After some debate on how this standard should take shape – adopting the standard Dutch variety developed in the Netherlands versus developing an own 'Flemish' Dutch standard variety – the integrationist ideology prevailed, and the exoglossic Netherlandic Dutch standard (*'Algemeen Beschaafd Nederlands'*) was actively propagated as the language of culture and civilisation. As many Flemings were unfamiliar with this exoglossic standard, large-scale, propagandistic, scientifically supported and highly mediatised initiatives were organised from the 1950s to the 1980s – which Jaspers and Van Hoof (2013: 331) describe as an era of *hyperstandardisation* – to ensure the dissemination of standard Dutch through Flemish society.

The result of the described standardisation process is a highly uniform Belgian Dutch standard, which corresponds in large measure to the Dutch (to be understood as 'Netherlandic') Dutch standard (especially in its written form, cf. Grondelaers and Van Hout 2011), but also deviates from it morphologically, lexico-semantically, syntactically, and especially phonetically (cf. Grondelaers et al. 2001; Van de Velde et al. 2010; Vandekerckhove 2005). It is the language which is codified in the *Algemeen Nederlandse Spraakkunst* (Haeseryn et al. 1997), *Van Dale Groot Woordenboek der Nederlandse taal* (den Boon and Geeraerts 2005), the *Woordenlijst der Nederlandse Taal* (also known as *het Groene Boekje*, 'the little green book') and Blancquaerts *Practische Uitspraakleer* (1934).[4] In its spoken form, Belgian Standard Dutch is sometimes referred to as *VRT-Nederlands* ('VRT-Dutch', Geeraerts 1998) or *Journaalnederlands* ('newscast Dutch', Plevoets 2008), as the language of news broadcasters and presenters of the *Vlaamse Radio- en Televisieomroep* (VRT) – the Flemish public broadcaster – is considered to have an exemplary function.

While the fairly elaborate codification of the (Belgian) Dutch standard might create the impression that there is a clearly delineated norm, there is still debate on what does or does not constitute standard Belgian Dutch. Since a few decades, the original monocentric approach to the standardisation of Dutch in Flanders – aiming

---

[4] The spelling is the only aspect of Standard Dutch that is officially regulated. The other named codifying works do not have an official norm-giving authority – the *Algemeen Nederlandse Spraakkunst* and *Van Dale* are in the first place intended to be descriptive – but they are nonetheless often experienced as normative.

at a standard norm that approached the Netherlandic Dutch one as closely as possible – has been replaced by a more pluricentric one, in which differentiation between Belgian and Netherlandic standard norms is now considered inevitable. The pluricentric approach, however, raises questions on what does or does not constitute standard Belgian Dutch, especially because the standard-dialect constellation in Flanders is *diaglossic*, meaning that a continuum of intermediate variations[5] can be observed in between the spoken standard language and the local dialects, and that it is utterly difficult in such a constellation to determine which features are 'standard' enough to be part of the Belgian Dutch standard norm. The delineation problem has been signalled on the level of both the written and spoken Belgian Dutch standard. In the context of an ongoing revision of the *Algemeen Nederlandse Spraakkunst,* Dhondt et al. (2020), for instance, raise the question how the pluricentric concept in Dutch linguistics can be translated into an empirical approach allowing to decide which 'Flemish' grammatical variants should be included in the description of Standard Dutch and which should not. The case studies they present mainly focus on variation observed in written Dutch, but the problems discussed also apply to spoken Dutch. Actually, delineation is even more challenging when it comes to spoken Standard Dutch, as VRT-Dutch – contrary to the written standard, which is widely used in Flanders – is often said to be a mainly virtual variety, desired by the authorities, but rarely spoken in practice (De Caluwe 2009: 19). Many Flemings seem to experience the official VRT-Dutch norm as too foreign or unnatural (cf. Geeraerts 2001). Instead, in daily life, non-standard language is ubiquitous. While the traditional, local dialects are increasingly subject to dialect levelling and shift (cf. Ghyselen and Van Keymeulen 2014), a functional elaboration of *tussentaal* (increasingly also labelled Colloquial Belgian Dutch, cf. Geeraerts and Van de Velde 2013) has been observed. *Tussentaal,* literally 'in-between-language', is the umbrella term for the regionally coloured intermediate variations in between the standard language and the local, traditional dialects. The functional elaboration of these 'variations' is not only the result of dialect loss and shift; *tussentaal* is also increasingly used in domains where the official (spoken) standard language used to be the norm (cf. Grondelaers and Van Hout 2011; Ghyselen, Delarue and Lybaert 2016).

Interestingly, the functional elaboration of *tussentaal* has provoked much debate in Flanders, which has to be ascribed to the strong ideological sensitivity of language norms in Flanders.[6] Among linguists, there is disagreement as to the question whether the elaboration signals *destandardisation*, whereby 'the established stand-

---

[5] I prefer the term 'variations' here over 'varieties', as it is not clear to what degree *tussentaal* is actually a variety or a combination of varieties.

[6] As Jaspers and Van Hoof (2013: 331) point out, the Flemish *hyperstandardisation* has "thoroughly ideologised language use in all corners of Flemish society".

ard language loses its position as the one and only "best language"' (Coupland and T. Kristiansen 2011: 28) – or rather *demotisation*, whereby "the 'standard ideology' as such stays intact, while the valorisation of ways of speaking changes" (Coupland and T. Kristiansen 2011: 28). As pointed out above, *tussentaal* is a 'mixed' variety with elements from the standard language and local dialects, showing extensive regional variation. Yet, there are studies listing a number of 'stable' non-standard features that are either shared by most regional manifestations of *tussentaal* or expanding their use into regions in which they do not occur in the local dialects, and which allegedly constitute the heart of a homogenizing tendency (De Decker and Vandekerckhove 2012; Ghyselen 2015; Rys and Taeldeman 2007; Taeldeman 2008). This homogenisation, along with the observed functional elaboration of *tussentaal* at the expense of both standard language and dialect usage, is analysed in different ways by different researchers (Ghyselen, Delarue and Lybaert 2016). While some argue that *tussentaal* is the new endoglossically developed spoken standard in Flanders (cf. Cajot 2010), Grondelaers, Van Hout and Speelman (2011) suggest a scenario of *destandardisation,* as they conclude from a speaker evaluation experiment that neither accented Dutch nor *tussentaal* function as prestige norms. Jaspers and Van Hoof (2015: 35), to the contrary, argue that "the tension between standardizing and vernacularizing forces is intensifying and their relationship becoming more complex", and interpret this as *late standardisation* or *restandardisation*, rather than as *destandardisation*, since VRT-Dutch clearly retains its social prestige in Flanders.

THE PROBLEM OF DEFINING STANDARD LANGUAGES

The conflicting interpretations of ongoing standard language change in Flanders can be traced back to varying views on what a standard language is and how it should be delineated. The debate ties in with a broader theoretical discussion on the possibility of delineating linguistic varieties (cf. Geeraerts 2010; Ghyselen and De Vogelaer 2018; Lenz 2010), in which diverse theoretical and methodological stances can be distinguished. Especially when it comes to defining and delineating standard languages, multiple approaches have been introduced.

Traditionally, in definitions of standard languages, linguistic uniformity is named as a defining characteristic. Auer (2012), for instance, describes a standard language as a variety which "ideally shows no variation in the territory in which it is used because all community members prefer the same (standard) variants". The addition of the hedge *ideally* in Auer's description is crucial: though the idea of uniformity is firmly rooted in language users' conceptualisations of standard languages, it is illusory in everyday language use (cf. Geeraerts, 2010). Linguistic variation is every-

where, also in standard languages (cf. also Grondelaers, Van Hout and Van Gent 2016). Though, from a diachronic perspective, increasing or decreasing linguistic homogeneity – as for instance observable in changing variance between or within language users (cf. Ghyselen 2015) – is a valuable index of standard language change, linguistic uniformity can hardly be used as a criterion for the empirical delineation of standard languages.

A more interesting perspective on standard language delineation is offered by the idea that standard languages are used in formal situations (Auer 2011: 490). Building on this idea, production data collected in formal settings are often consulted to determine what functions as standard language in a specific speech community. The Dutch language advice website *Taaladvies.net*, for instance – which was developed by the *Taalunie* ('Language Union')[7] and judges the standardness of specific language variants on demand – does not only consult reference works, but also checks the frequency of these variants in newspaper databases (Caluwé and Verreycken 2012: 174–179). Similarly, the German *Variantengrammatik des Standarddeutschen* (Dürscheid and Elspaß 2015) describes all variants which occur regularly in formal written genres, such as newspapers, as standard, even when these variants are traditionally classified as non-standard in reference works (Dürscheid and Elspaß 2015: 563). In the same vein, Grondelaers, Van Hout and Van Gendt (2016: 139–140) argue for replacing the criterion of codification by public media licensing as the 'referee of right and wrong in standard languages'. In their view, the variation observed in the speech of, for instance, radio presenters can be seen as part of the spoken standard, even when variants occur which are described as non-standard in reference works. Grondelaers, Van Hout and Speelman (2011: 217–218) apply a similar logic, but combine two necessary features for standardness: wide usage in formal settings and prestige associations. They come to the conclusion that Flanders is marked by a "standard language vacuum", lacking a "vital standard variety of Belgian Dutch", given that VRT-Dutch is not widely spoken in formal settings in Flanders, while accented Standard Dutch or *tussentaal* are not generally deemed prestigious.

While the approach of studying language variation in formal settings is certainly valuable in the empirical quest to lay bare standard language norms, there are a few difficulties to bear in mind. Firstly, the question arises how frequent a linguistic variant has to be in a 'more formal setting' for it to be considered part of the standard language. *Taaladvies.net* uses 50% as the benchmark for standardness (variants with relative frequencies in between 5% and 50% are labelled 'status unclear'), but Dhondt et al. (2020) pertinently point out the arbitrariness of such benchmarks.

---

[7] The *Taalunie* is an international regulatory institution that governs issues regarding the Dutch language. It was founded in 1980 by the governments of the Netherlands and Belgium. Suriname has been an associate member of the *Taalunie* since 2004.

Secondly, the concept of formality is fraught with difficulties, especially when applied to speech settings. Discussion is, after all, possible on which situations qualify as formal. Formality can be seen as the macro result of an interplay of multiple factors, such as place, time, participants, subject, function and medium of the interaction. As a result, formality is a continuous rather than a binary variable, which can gradually shift, even within one setting. For instance: a court setting is typically conceived of as formal, but when watching actual court recordings – for instance in the Flemish documentary series *De Rechtbank* – continuous fluctuations in the degree of (in)formality can be observed. The correlation between formality and standard language is equally problematic: in the current Late Modern age, which is marked by an 'informalisation' of public life (Giddens 1991), the occurrence of language variants in a situation that is generally perceived as formal does not necessarily have to lead to the conclusion that these variants are then part of the standard language. The researcher must also consider the option of (i) *destandardisation,* i.e. that the standard language is not deemed essential anymore in all formal contexts and the standard language ideal is hence crumbling, or (ii) that the speaker is *stylizing* his or her speech, i.e. knowingly deploying "culturally familiar styles and identities that are marked as deviating from those predictably associated with the current speaking context" (Coupland 2001: 345). Jaspers and Van Hoof (2015: 34) similarly stress that a quantitative increase in nonstandard language should not be seen as "an undiluted sign of the dwindling hold of standardization on the public mind"; they argue that a limited use of a certain type of language does not necessarily have to lead to the conclusion that this language variety is no longer standard (Van Hoof and Jaspers 2012). The only way to disentangle *stylisation* or *destandardisation* from other types of standard language dynamics is in my view by looking at language attitudes and perceptions.

For the purpose of the present discussion, languages attitudes can be defined as the "evaluative judgements people have about (speakers of) their own language and other languages" (Grondelaers 2013). Generally, it is assumed that standard languages are 'high' (Ferguson 1959) or prestige varieties (cf. Auer 2011; Ferguson 1959). Hence, to know what functions as standard language in a speech community, the researcher can study which types of language use the members of the speech community perceive as prestigious, e.g. which language is evaluated as attesting to intelligence or wealth (cf. Grondelaers and Van Hout 2010). A complementary approach consists of studying language perceptions, i.e. the way in which language users recognise and categorise language variation (cf. Preston 1989). The Dutch language advice website *Taaladvies.net*, for instance, consults 'language professionals' (teachers, journalists, writers, …) to assess the standardness of language variants which, on the basis of their relative frequency in a newspaper corpus, received the label 'status unclear' (Caluwé and Verreycken 2012: 174–179). The idea

here is that, if the standardness of a certain feature is uncertain, one might as well just ask the language user. Of course, language perceptions and attitudes are closely intertwined.

Language attitudes and perceptions are key to understanding what standard languages are and how they function (cf. T. Kristiansen and Coupland 2011), but they are difficult to operationalise as empirical criteria for standardness. The first and biggest problem is that both attitudes and perceptions are cognitive entities, which the researcher can only access indirectly. In the past, several methods have been introduced to uncover attitudes and perceptions, both in sociology and linguistics, but each of these methods has limitations; and they often lead to conflicting results. I address this problem more elaborately in the subsequent section of this chapter. Secondly, when using 'prestige' as a criterion for standardness, the decision has to be made which type of prestige is deemed necessary to grant a language variety standard status. Grondelaers, Van Hout and Van Gent (2016: 132–135) argue that standardness studies should not only focus on traditional prestige (defined in terms of e.g. intelligence, wealth and education), but also on what they call 'new' or 'modern' prestige:

> In traditional sociolinguistic nomenclature, this 'new' prestige would be labelled 'covert', but we prefer to regard the difference between traditional and modern prestige in the less hierarchical terms of relocation from top-down prestige attribution by the socio-cultural and educational establishment to multiple forms of status designation, including (internet) community-based peer evaluation. This relocation involves an extension of traditional status sources – birth, education, professional competence, income, and social success – to include (digital) media credibility and cool as prestige determinants (T. Kristiansen 2001, 2009). More particularly, new prestige forms pertain to the dynamism of media personalities such as DJs on media channels geared towards a younger audience, in short, personalities for whom it is more important to project a cool and streetwise, rather than a traditionally prestigious (authoritative, educated, or competent) image (Grondelaers, Van Hout and Van Gent 2016: 132).

In their view, modern prestige attributes are nowadays, in Late Modern Europe, equally important as traditional prestige as determinants of standard language dynamics. The distinction between traditional and modern prestige is interlaced with another distinction that also complicates the application of attitudinal studies for standard language identification: the contrast between *overt* or *explicit* and *covert* or *implicit* attitudes. While it is highly unclear how these concepts can be defined, whether they correspond to a cognitive reality, and if so, how they should be measured, the *implicit*, *covert* or *deep* evaluations are often assumed to be key in under-

standing standard language change (Rosseel and Grondelaers 2019: 2). T. Kristiansen (2016), for instance, explains the increasing success of features which used to be associated with low-status ('popular') Copenhagen speech in standard Danish by highlighting that these features are evaluated differently on different levels of awareness, with the traditional low-status associations reproduced only in consciously offered attitudes (e.g. in response to questions about language regard), not in subconsciously offered attitudes (e.g. in matched-guise experiments). He concludes that "only subconsciously offered evaluations are relevant to elucidating the current status of the 'best language' idea" (T. Kristiansen 2016: 93). The here declared supremacy of covert attitudes has, however, been questioned (cf. Rosseel and Grondelaers 2019). We return to this issue in the penultimate section of this chapter; for now, it suffices to remember that the issue of the consciousness of attitudes further complicates the definition of standard languages.

To conclude, the question arises whose attitudes or perceptions should be focused on when using attitudes or perceptions to uncover standard language norms. While Caluwé and Verreycken (2012: 179) prefer to study 'professional' language users of Dutch, as these are supposed to have "clearer consciousness about norms than the average language user" (own translation ASG), De Schryver (2012: 152–153) and Dhondt et al. (2020) remark that professional language users in Flanders might be too influenced by the former monocentric language policy, yielding a too conservative image of (Belgian) Dutch standard norms. If one at all agrees with the idea that the language use and perceptions of a norm-imposing establishment should be central when describing standard language norms (a view for instance held by the *Taalunie*[8]), debate is possible on who constitutes this establishment. Though traditionally professional language users may be regarded as central, one might also argue that the language use of economic elites, which is known to be more variable than that of cultural elites (Plevoets 2013), should also be considered. In line with the increasing attention for modern prestige in present-day standard language research – a type of prestige which is not the exclusive domain of cultural or economic elites – a case can, to conclude, also be made for extending the scope to the language use, attitudes and perceptions of *all* language users.

---

[8] Cf. https://taaladvies.net/taal/advies/tekst/85/wat_is_standaardtaal_algemeen/ (March 1, 2022).

PERCEPTUAL AND ATTITUDINAL RESEARCH ON BELGIAN STANDARD DUTCH

To uncover standard language attitudes and to delineate standard norms in Flanders, a diverse range of studies has been conducted. It is beyond the scope of this chapter to offer a full overview of attitudinal research in Flanders (see Grondelaers 2013 for a more elaborate description); the aim here is rather to identify general patterns in methodological approaches, and highlight both the advances made and the issues and challenges met. The next subsection reviews the main methodological approaches taken in existing research. Results are discussed separately thereafter.

Methodological diversity

One strand of studies adopts a **direct approach** to unveil attitudes towards and perceptions of Belgian Dutch, i.e. by explicitly asking language users how they evaluate or categorise specific language varieties or variants. Lybaert (2014; 2017), for instance, reports the results of an attitudinal study among 80 Flemings who were asked about their language attitudes and perceptions in a one-on-one interview with the researcher, with samples of spontaneously spoken VRT Dutch and *tussentaal* as input. The informants were asked, among other things, (i) to label or categorise the language used in the speech samples, (ii) which language variants struck them, and (iii) whether they deemed the language used as suitable for formal communication. A similar direct approach is reported in Rosseel (2017: 77–108), who did not focus on 'fully-fledged' *tussentaal* (deviating from the standard morpho-syntactically, phonologically and lexically), but rather on standard language with a regional accent. As the benchmark for the Implicit Association Test (IAT) she applied (see also below), she asked 161 respondents from Limburg, the easternmost province of Flanders, in an online survey which variety (a 'Limburgian accent' vs. a 'neutral' VRT-Dutch accent, as represented by speech samples) they preferred in informal contexts ('at the dinner table with friends or family') and formal contexts ('a news broadcast'). These forced-choice questions were followed by two absolute rating scales in which the participants could evaluate each variety independently of the other variety in both contexts. Ghyselen (2016) combined a production and perception design, recording 30 Flemish speakers in a diversity of situations (e.g. conversations with local and non-local friends, and a sociolinguistic interview with an unknown interviewer), and subsequently asking these speakers to categorise their own speech in the diverse settings and to evaluate the suitability of the discussed types of speech in a wide range of situations.

A separate type of direct approach is the **free response design**, in which respondents are asked to return as quickly as possible the first keywords (generally

adjectives) coming to mind in reaction to a language label (e.g. 'Standard Dutch' or '*tussentaal*') or a speech sample. The imposed time pressure is supposed to restrain the respondents from overthinking their answers (avoiding societally desired behavior), while the open answer format has the advantage that the respondent is not confined to a restricted number of attitudinal or perceptual scales predefined by the researcher. The open answer format is, however, at the same time also an important reason why the free response technique has up till now not been widely applied in language attitudinal research: the diversity of keywords returned by the respondents complicates quantitative and qualitative analysis. Grondelaers et al. (2020), however, successfully demonstrate – on the basis of free response data from 211 native speakers of Belgian Dutch responding to eight language (variety) labels[9] – how valence information combined with big data-based distributional analysis allows discovering structures in the obtained 'bags of words', and as such make it possible to unveil existing linguistic value systems.

Direct methods like those just discussed – in which the informants are well aware of the fact that they are evaluating language – have been criticised for being unable to lay bare covert attitudes. Respondents supposedly hide their 'true' attitudes when these are societally generally unaccepted, would miss the meta-skills to describe them accurately, or would be too unaware of their own attitudes (hence the term 'covert') to communicate about them. Therefore, indirect methods have been proposed for attitudinal research in which the respondent is supposedly unaware of the object of the study. The most well-known indirect method in linguistics is undoubtedly the **speaker evaluation paradigm** (cf. Lambert et al. 1960), which was introduced in Belgium in the early eighties (see Grondelaers 2013 for a historical overview). In a speaker evaluation experiment, respondents are asked to evaluate speakers – as represented by sound clips – on a number of scales (e.g. intelligence, financial wealth, trustworthiness and kindness). In these sound clips, different languages or language varieties are represented, and the assumption is that the speaker evaluations reflect attitudes towards the languages or language varieties spoken. To maximise this effect, the content of the samples, the voice quality of the speakers and the degree of fluency is generally kept as stable as possible throughout the experiment, guaranteeing that differences in the evaluations of the different speakers can be related to differences in attitudes towards the languages used. In the matched-guise variant of the speaker evaluation experiment, one speaker records multiple fragments, in different languages or language varieties, thus minimizing

---

[9] 'Hollands', 'Dutch with a West Flemish accent', 'Dutch with a Ghent accent', 'Dutch with an Antwerp accent', 'Dutch with a Limburgian accent', 'Dutch with a Moroccan accent', 'Dutch as spoken on VRT news broadcasts', and 'Dutch as spoken in soap operas such as *Thuis* or *Familie*'.

the potential influence of voice- and speech-style characteristics on the evaluation of the speakers.

Concerning Belgian Dutch, Vandekerckhove and Cuvelier (2007) and Cuvelier (2007) report a 'semi-matched guise study' in which respectively 281 and 222 student listener-judges evaluated Standard Dutch, dialect, and *tussentaal*, as produced by actors in three situations differing in degree of formality. Similarly, Impe and Speelman (2007) report a 'mixed-guise' experiment in which 301 adolescent Limburgish and West-Flemish respondents evaluated samples of Belgian Standard Dutch and Brabantic, Limburgian, and West-Flemish *tussentaal*. These designs are labelled 'mixed' or 'semi-matched guise', because some, but not all, speakers in the experiment produced multiple fragments. In Ghyselen (2009), a similar 'mixed-guise' approach is adopted to not only study the attitudes towards Brabantic-coloured *tussentaal* of 149 West Flemings in five age groups (ranging from 11 years old to 80 years old), but also to isolate attitudes towards single language features (in this case: non-standard definite and indefinite article forms in Flanders), and to study the impact of the frequency of a non-standard feature on the evaluation of a speaker. In a follow-up study, Ghyselen and De Vogelaer (2013) focused on the attitudes of 165 West Flemings (in two age groups) who evaluated standard Dutch, Brabantic *tussentaal* and West Flemish *tussentaal*. Grondelaers, Van Hout and Speelman (2011) shift the focus from *tussentaal* to Standard Dutch with a regional accent: they report on a speaker evaluation experiment in which 100 Flemings evaluated eight speech samples, all with standard Dutch morphology, syntax and lexis, but differing from the 'strict' VRT norm because of a recognizable Brabantic, East-Flemish, West-Flemish or Limburgian accent. Their research was driven by the question of whether regional accents are allowed within the standard language norm in Flanders. In a follow-up study, Grondelaers and Speelman (2013) did not only include regionally accented standard Dutch, but also, similarly to Ghyselen's (2009) endeavour to isolate attitudes towards single language variants, speech samples with some recurrently reported phonological, lexical and morpho-syntactic features of *tussentaal*. Finally, De Vogelaer and Toye (2017) adopt a developmental perspective in their speaker evaluation research, investigating how attitudes towards standard Dutch and regionally coloured language[10] change in Flemish children between 8 and 18 years of age.

While many speaker evaluation attempts have been undertaken to uncover standard language norms, the method also has clear shortcomings (cf. Garrett 2010: 57–59; Knops 1983). Firstly, it is difficult to control non-variety related factors in

---

[10] The experiment included four non-standard varieties: one from Kluisbergen (the local variety for the respondents), one from West-Flanders (a neighbouring area), one from Ghent (the province capital), and one from Brabant (an economically dominant area with a supposedly prestigious dialect).

the speech stimuli (e.g. the speech topic and the number of hesitations), while at the same time avoiding that the samples sound contrived or unspontaneous. Already in the early days of speaker evaluation studies, researchers questioned the degree to which the used speech samples are representative of the language varieties under study (cf. Deprez 1984). This critique still applies to many studies today. Secondly, as the number of factors that are controlled for increases, it becomes doubtful whether the participant is still truly unaware of the actual interest of the researcher (i.e. the participant's language attitudes), thus questioning the indirectness of the approach. Thirdly, the artificiality of the experimental task – having to judge people solely on the basis of their speech – has raised concerns about the external validity of the technique (cf. Fasold 1984: 147–179). There is also the risk of presenting language varieties incongruously with the speech topic, which might trigger negative attitudes not representative for the attitudes towards the language variety in question (cf. Agheyisi and Fishman 1970: 146), but rather based on topic mismatch. Finally, the researcher has to define evaluative scales in advance, and might hence "miss out on aspects of the social meaning of a language (variety) that were not known or suspected to be relevant beforehand" (Rosseel 2017: 14).

Recently, in an attempt to introduce methodological innovation in language attitudinal research, linguists have been experimenting with **reaction-time based social psychological attitude measurement** techniques (see Rosseel 2017 for an internationally oriented overview). These techniques build on the assumption that participants can fulfill tasks in line with their language attitudes faster than tasks that are incongruent with their attitudes. The big advantage of these techniques is, supposedly, that they capture implicit, automatic associations between attitude objects and their evaluations. In the Belgian Dutch context, application of three different reaction-time based attitudinal techniques has been reported: affective priming (Speelman et al. 2013), implicit association testing (Rosseel 2017; Rosseel, Speelman and Geeraerts 2015; 2019a), and the relational responding technique (Rosseel, Speelman and Geeraerts 2019b). Auditory affective priming was applied by Speelman et al. (2013) to study attitudes towards words pronounced with a Standard Dutch, West-Flemish or Antwerp accent. They selected connotatively neutral existent and nonsense cognate words recorded in the named varieties of Dutch, and played these words as primes, before their 33 respondents had to classify pictures as positive or negative. The technique builds on the idea that the respondents will be faster to classify affectively polarised pictures (target stimuli) that are preceded by affectively congruent prime stimuli, than affectively polarised pictures that are preceded by affectively incongruent prime stimuli (Speelman et al. 2013: 83). Using the same audio stimuli as Speelman et al. (2013), Rosseel (2017: 49–76) experiments with the implicit association testing to study attitudes towards Standard Belgian Dutch, an Antwerp accent and a West-Flemish accent. An IAT measures the

association between a binary target concept (e.g. a language variety: Antwerp accent vs. Standard Dutch accent) and a binary attribute concept (e.g. valence: good vs. bad) by comparing reaction times in a number of computer categorisation tasks. Contrary to an affective priming experiment, in which the respondent only classifies attribute stimuli, the respondent in an IAT has to categorise stimuli for both target and attribute concepts as quickly as possible, e.g. choosing between the categories 'Antwerp accent' and 'neutral accent' for speech clips and between the categories 'I like' or 'I do not like' for pictures of pleasant and unpleasant 'things'. Throughout the different 'blocks' of the experiment, target and attribute stimuli and categories are combined in several ways. In one block, one categorisation button might contain both the labels 'I like' and 'Antwerp accent' and the other button both 'I do not like' and 'a neutral accent', whereas in other blocks the target and attribute concepts are combined differently (see Rosseel 2017: 24–28 for a more detailed description). The idea is that informants will be able to categorise the stimuli faster if the responses mapped onto the same button are congruent with their attitudes. By comparing the reaction times between different experimental blocks, the association between target and attribute concepts is measured. Interestingly, Rosseel (2017: 49–76) did find significant differences in reaction times, indicating an overall appreciation of the standard variety. However, as the IAT is often criticised for presenting stimuli that are too decontextualised to be able to lead to valid results, Rosseel (2017) designed a follow-up IAT study (see also Rosseel, Speelman and Geeraerts 2019a), in which an attempt was made to include context in the experiment. At the end of this new study on standard Belgian Dutch and Limburg accented Dutch, she, however, reaches the conclusion that "including context in a linguistic version of the P-IAT is not straightforward and further research or methodological improvement is warranted if sociolinguists intend to begin using the measure to study the influence of context on language attitudes" (Rosseel 2017: 78). A third reaction-time based technique that has been tested in the Belgian Dutch context is the Relational Responding Task (RRT), applied by Rosseel, Speelman and Geeraerts (2019b) to measure implicit beliefs associated with Standard Belgian Dutch and Brabantically coloured *tussentaal* (labelled Colloquial Belgian Dutch in their study). In RRT, participants categorise a number of statements (e.g. 'Standard Belgian Dutch sounds more clever than Colloquial Belgian Dutch') as being true or false, not based on what they think themselves, but answering as if they adhered to a belief, imposed on them by the researcher (Rosseel, Speelman and Geeraerts 2019b: 2). The idea is that if the imposed belief matches their own belief, they will categorise the statements faster than when this is not the case.

While the design of reaction-time based attitudinal experiments is undoubtedly clever, there are a few issues which complicate their usefulness for language attitudinal research. There are in my view four major limitations (see Rosseel 2017 for a

more in-depth discussion). Firstly, the reliance on reaction times makes the methods very delicate and prone to unwanted noise, caused e.g. by distractions on the side of the respondent or unforeseen order or training effects. Secondly, the language stimuli used are necessarily short and generally presented contextless, making it difficult to fathom what the respondents are actually evaluating. Related to this shortcoming, there is thirdly the theoretical uncertainty about what the measured associations actually reflect: the 'covert' evaluations of the respondents themselves, or rather societal stereotypes they are aware of but not necessarily support? Fourthly, the number of evaluative scales that can be included is generally low (except in RRT), e.g. compared to a speaker evaluation experiment or a free response task, and, as a consequence, the attitudinal image that emerges is quite 'flat'. The question arises whether the serious time and brain effort needed to craft a decent reaction-time based experiment is sufficiently compensated by the advantages it is supposed to have over the other techniques discussed in this section.

Attitudes, to conclude, can also be studied by analyzing the way in which languages or language varieties are treated in public life. This approach – which has been labelled the **societal treatment method** (Garrett 2010) – has been used by several researchers in Belgium. Jaspers and Van Hoof (2013), for instance, analyze the way in which discourses about language standardisation in Flanders, as documented by journal articles, opinion pieces, pamphlets, TV shows and pedagogical material in the 1950s through the 1980s, reflect Flemish language ideologies. Delarue (2016) and Van Lancker (2017) focus on education, analyzing not only policy documents, but also the way in which teachers and students deal with and reflect on language variation in everyday school contexts. Similarly, studies have been devoted to language variation in advertisement (Van Gijsel, Geeraerts and Speelman 2004; Van Gijsel, Speelman and Geeraerts 2008), radio plays for children (Jacobs, Marzo and Zenner 2021), child-directed speech in a home context (Van de Mieroop, Zenner and Marzo 2016; Zenner and Van de Mieroop 2021), all with the aim of unveiling sociolinguistic norms in Flanders.

Results, issues and challenges

What do the studies introduced above teach us about standard language norms in Flanders? Firstly, all evidence points towards a strong standard language ideology in Flanders: independent of whether attitudes are measured directly or indirectly, experimentally or via societal observation, researchers generally reach the conclusion that VRT-Dutch, as represented by audio stimuli or labels such as 'Standard Dutch', is preferred in formal contexts (Delarue 2016; Ghyselen 2016; Rosseel 2017; Rosseel, Speelman and Geeraerts 2019b) and considered highly prestigious (Cuvelier 2007; Ghyselen and De Vogelaer 2013; Impe and Speelman 2007; Jacobs,

Marzo and Zenner 2021; Jaspers and Van Hoof 2013; Vandekerckhove and Cuvelier 2007; Van de Mieroop, Zenner and Marzo 2016). Qualitative analyses of sociolinguistic interviews, however, also indicate that the abstract standard language ideal often makes way for a more pragmatic attitude when it comes to actual speech settings (Delarue 2016; Lybaert 2017). In the research of Delarue (2016), for instance, teachers supported the idea that standard Dutch should be the medium of instruction; but as soon as concrete educational settings were discussed, they often indicated that standard use is not always feasible or even desirable. This ambiguity can also be related to the fact that VRT Dutch is not only deemed prestigious, but often also artificial and unnatural (Delarue 2016; Ghyselen 2016; Lybaert 2017).

Tussentaal, on the other hand, while in attitudinal experiments generally downgraded on traditional prestige scales such as intelligence and wealth (Grondelaers et al. 2020; Impe and Speelman 2007; Vandekerckhove and Cuvelier 2007), is often associated with spontaneity and authenticity (cf. Van Gijsel, Speelman and Geeraerts 2008) or solidarity (being friendly, understanding or trustworthy) and dynamism (being cool, modern or trendy) (Impe and Speelman 2007; Rosseel, Speelman and Geeraerts 2019b). Attitudes towards *tussentaal* have, however, been observed to vary (especially in experimental settings) depending on the regional 'flavouring' of the presented *tussentaal* fragments, the degree of dialectality and the region of origin of the respondents (Ghyselen and De Vogelaer 2013; Impe and Speelman 2007). It is difficult to assess the exact influence of each of these factors, as they are hard to isolate in experimental designs. Controlling for the degree of dialectality, for instance, when varying the regional flavouring of presented *tussentaal* stimuli, is anything but self-evident, especially when the aim is to make the speaker sound as spontaneous as possible. In studies with open format questions (e.g. Grondelaers et al. 2020; Lybaert 2017), *tussentaal* is generally less downgraded (e.g. in terms of prestige), and more often characterised as a quite neutral and even desirable variety, or the informal lingua franca. This especially seems to be so among young people: Grondelaers et al. (2020) observed generational change in the registered free responses towards *tussentaal*, with "a growing conceptual proximity between VRT-Dutch and Tussentaal in the younger perceptions" (Grondelaers et al. 2020). Concerning the acquisition of attitudes, De Vogelaer and Toye (2017) attested that, as Flemish children grow older, they become more sensitive to the correlation between language variation and societal prestige, and to "the 'covert prestige' of, especially, the local variety, which is increasingly evaluated as indexing integrity and as a means towards social and/or in-group success" (De Vogelaer and Toye 2017: 117). Their study reveals "significant parallels between sociolinguistic and psychosocial development, including 11-12-year-olds' tendency to think in terms of 'perceived popularity' (…), and the peak around the age of 16 in conventional and social-clique dominated reasoning about friendship" (De Vogelaer and Toye 2017: 117).

To determine the 'boundaries' of the standard language in Flanders, attitudes have also been studied towards regionally accented Standard Dutch, which is different from what we have labelled '*tussentaal*' in that it does not have any dialectal morphosyntax or lexicon. Firstly, the available evidence indicates that accented standard Dutch is generally not considered 'beautiful' or prestigious in Flanders (Grondelaers, Van Hout and Speelman 2011). Secondly, there seems to be quite some interpersonal variation in the attitudes towards regionally accented Dutch, not only determined by the regional background of the respondent (Grondelaers, Van Hout and Speelman 2011; Rosseel 2017: 49–76; Speelman et al. 2013), but also by other respondent-related factors, which are difficult to identify (Ghyselen 2016). Of course, the type of regional accent also plays a role: Grondelaers, Van Hout and Speelman (2011) for instance observed that Brabantic and East-Flemish accents were generally rated as more prestigious or dynamic than the peripheral West-Flemish and Limburgian accents, though clear regional bias was found in these attitudinal data and the question also emerges to what degree differences in accent strength influenced their results. Overall, the available data seem to indicate that regional accents are not generally accepted as being part of the standard language norm, though more research is necessary to pinpoint the influence of accent strength and the region of origin of a speaker. Speaker evaluation experiments attempting to isolate attitudes towards single *tussentaal* features, such as non-standard diminutives or articles (Ghyselen 2009; Grondelaers and Speelman 2013), turned out to be complicated or even compromised by the artificiality of the stimuli: the presentation of non-standard features in an otherwise standard Dutch context often implies a violation of 'normal' covariance patterns (cf. Ghyselen and Van Keymeulen 2016), which might also explain the consistently negative attitudes observed in both Ghyselen (2009) and Grondelaers and Speelman (2013).

There are many snippets of information available about standard language attitudes in Flanders, but it is at the moment still difficult to integrate these into a coherent overview. While many studies lay bare a strong Standard Language Ideology, it is still unclear how far the boundaries of this standard stretch. Complicating factors are not only the methodological issues inherent in the different measuring techniques, but also the low comparability of existing studies, partly due to the heterogeneity of presented language stimuli (differing in degree of dialectality, regional provenance, sociolinguistic profile of the speaker, content, context, etc.). Vandekerckhove and Cuvelier (2007: 253) pertinently point out that *tussentaal*, for instance, is "very hard to operationalise, as it may cover virtually the entire continuum between dialect and standard language", and that "the question which part of the continuum one selects as a target is a very tricky one". With large-scale triangulation, systematic replication and careful controlling of the involved experimental variables, however, this problem can to a large degree be solved. The question is,

however, if we were to have a more complete image of language attitudes in Flanders, how this image would then have to be interpreted in terms of standard language boundaries. Which of the criteria discussed further above – vitality in production, overt prestige, covert prestige – should receive what weight? To answer this question, we need a more encompassing theoretical framework regarding the relations between language production and perception in general (cf. also Rosseel 2017: 165–178 who calls for such a theoretical model). In what follows, I discuss a usage-based approach that might form the basis for such a framework.

TOWARDS A USAGE-BASED MODEL OF LANGUAGE VARIETIES IN PRODUCTION AND PERCEPTION

To offer an insightful definition of standard languages, it is essential to first reflect on the hypernymous concept of a *language variety* (or *language system*). Within usage-based approaches and sociolinguistics, the traditional concept of a language variety as an *independent*, *homogeneous* set of language features shared within the speech community – cf. de Saussure's (1916) idea of a *langue* – has been discarded as a mere theoretical or socio-political construct (cf. Makoni and Pennycook 2007). After all, as soon as we look at actual language use, homogeneity does not exist (see my arguments further above). Geeraerts (2010) as well as Ghyselen and De Vogelaer (2018) offer an in-depth discussion of this 'variety problem', pleading for a different conceptualisation of the notion of a variety. These discussions adopt a cognitive, usage-based perspective, assuming that linguistic systematicity or structure should not be hypostasised as an independent entity, but that it only arises in the process of social interaction and is hence always dependent on individual usage events. In interaction, members of a speech community (or a community of practice)[11] seek effective communication and social cohesion within the group, which

---

[11] The usefulness of the concept of a speech community has been questioned in the context of present-day 'superdiversity' (cf. Blommaert and Backus 2013: 23). In a plea against too crude abstraction of social groups and language from the social practices that produce their particular forms, Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (1992) suggest focusing on 'communities of practice' rather than speech communities. They define a community of practice as "an aggregate of people who come together around mutual engagement in an endeavor" (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 1992: 464). While it is indeed valuable to focus on language norms arising at this level of interaction, the concept of a speech community is in my view still relevant given that language structures, norms and values are also shared among larger speaker groups. A speech community, however, does not have to be seen as a fixed entity, but rather as a 'group of people' defined on either of many levels of abstraction: the community of students in school *x* of village *y,* the community of school *x* in village *y*, the community of village *y,* the community of country *z*, etc. The higher the level of abstraction, the vaguer the mutual engagements and the interactional opportunities of its group members.

generally also involves distancing from other individuals or groups; and this results in mutual adaptations of the language behavior towards each other within the group, centripetally creating regularities. These regularities can be interpreted as varieties, now defined as sets of language variants strongly correlating in their socio-situative usage (cf. Berruto 2010; Ghyselen and De Vogelaer 2018; Schmidt and Herrgen 2011; Weinreich, Labov and Herzog 1968). These varieties should not only be seen as entities interesting for linguistic analysis; I will argue below that they are also cognitive realities. As regularities arise at different levels of abstraction, e.g. at the level of the individual, of multigroup settings or of larger-scale speech communities (cf. Campbell-Kibler 2016: 123), lects or varieties can be defined or described at these multiple levels of abstraction (cf. terms such as idiolect, style, regiolect, socio-lect, genderlect and language).

There are two important corollaries to this usage-based conceptualisation of va-rieties (and languages). Firstly, it implies that varieties are per definition to some degree heterogenous. Speech community membership is generally fluid, with lan-guage users engaging 'within a broad variety of groups, networks and communities' (Blommaert and Backus 2013: 2), and as such, when systems emerge interactional-ly, they are never perfectly homogeneous (cf. Geeraerts 2010: 239). The degree of covariance and homogeneity, and the level at which it is found, determine the 'strength' of a variety or lect: the higher the level of analysis where co-variation patterns are found, and the stronger the covariation is, the stronger the evidence for the existence of a linguistic system (Ghyselen and De Vogelaer 2018: 16). Second-ly, varieties are in this usage-based view inherently dynamic: as language users engage in more and new usage events, existing regularities are constantly reconfig-ured.

How do attitudes and perceptions fit into this usage-based conceptualisation of varieties? Geeraerts (2010: 238) points out that varieties are not merely social facts reflected in language production, but also cognitive facts, as "members of the com-munity have an internal representation of the existing regularities (the system)". These internal representations are – just as the regularities observable in production – dynamic, never fully homogenous within a speech community, and distinguisha-ble at different levels of abstraction. On the basis of lower-level schemata, e.g. pertaining to the language use of a single speaker, language users generalise higher-level schemata, concerning the language use of larger social groups or of specific situations (Kemmer and Barlow 2000). These schemata are key to understanding how language variation is intricately imbued with social meaning. As we perceive and store instances of language usage, we also store social information about the participants in the interaction, as such creating associative links between language variants and social information (cf. Campbell-Kibler 2016: 140; and the concept of '1st order indexicality' in Silverstein 2003). The described 'storage' process aligns

with an exemplar-based view on language processing, which assumes that linguistic experiences ('exemplars') are stored in memory along with information on the linguistic and social context in which it was experienced. Contrary to a 'full' exemplar theory of language, however, in which little or no abstraction is assumed to take place across the stored exemplars (see Divjak and Arppe 2013: 253 for more information), the usage-based approach suggested here assumes that the links between language *variants* and social information can, via processes of abstraction, lead to associative links between *varieties* and social information. As such, not only individual variants can be associated to for instance a certain gender, but also clusters of language variants, creating schemata at multiple levels of abstraction. This is why Auer (2007: 12) argues for a holistic approach to the concept of style; in his view, "the social meaning of linguistic heterogeneity does not (usually) reside in individual linguistic features but rather in constellations of such features which are interpreted together".

The link between language variants or varieties and social categories can subsequently metonymically (cf. G. Kristiansen 2008) open the door – but this is not necessarily always the case – to a wide range of other, often evaluative associations (cf. the concept of 'second order indexicality', as described by Silverstein 2003). For instance: the observation that men have more recourse to regional dialects than women in Flanders (cf. Ghyselen and Van Keymeulen 2014), may not only lead to dialect being associated with 'being male', but also with characteristics ascribed to males, such as masculinity, toughness or strength. This is where another view of language attitudes, beyond mere evaluative (good/bad-polarity) responses, comes into play. Attitudes, in this view, are situated (re-)constructions of symbolic meaning (cf. Purschke 2015: 46; Soukup 2013). Of course, social categorisation of language users covers a wide range of factors, relating to gender, education, region, leisure activities and many other parameters. As a consequence, the meanings associated with language variants and varieties are inherently multidimensional (Campbell-Kibler 2016: 128), and dependent on the context in which the variants or varieties are produced. Regional dialect in Flanders might index toughness, but also, as it is spoken more by elderly people, authenticity, or, given its correlation with lower educated speakers, ignorance. Following Eckert (2008), we can state that the meanings of variables or varieties are not precise or fixed, but that they rather constitute an *indexical field* of potential meanings. An advantage of this usage-based reasoning is that it allows studying attitudes integrating insights from both traditional social psychology and more constructivist traditions, as it accounts on the one hand for the systematicity often found in language attitudes, but at the same time also highlights that attitudes are inherently dynamic and dependent on contextual and interactional factors (see Purschke 2015; Rosseel 2017 and; Soukup 2015 for a more in-depth discussion). When specific social meanings of language varieties are

repeated and shared widely within a speech community, an ideology can be said to have emerged, i.e. a bundle of broadly shared attitudes which as a whole leads to a hierarchisation in the way individuals think about language and society (cf. Woolard and Schieffelin 1994).

A tough question is which role consciousness plays in the processes described above (cf. Campbell-Kibler 2016; Pantos 2012; Rosseel 2017: 167–168). Addressing this question involves three subquestions:

(i)   How aware are language users of what we have called the 'internal representations of existing regularities'?

(ii) Does a language user have to be aware of existing regularities for social meaning to be able to emerge?

(iii) How aware are language users of existing social meanings?

Let us first focus on what we do know about these questions. Concerning the first question, which mainly pertains to what we have called 'perceptions', sociolinguistic research has shown that speakers are more aware of some variationist patterns than of others. Labov (1971), for instance, distinguishes between (1) *stereotypes,* which are variables which have risen to overt social consciousness, (2) *markers,* which can be manipulated stylistically, but are not often subject to metalinguistic comments, and (3) *indicators,* i.e. language variables which show social differentiation, but are not open to manipulation. Pertaining to question two, Labov's classification of language variation seems to imply that awareness about language features and their social distribution is a precondition for manipulation and the emergence of social meaning. This is actually an assumption often recurring in research on language variation and change (cf. also Trudgill 1986). Preston (2017), however, remarks that 'imbuing' variants (or – at a higher level – varieties) with social meaning is also possible without classification or even noticing: if a variant or variety "is imbued so often with a certain belief (…) it may directly trigger it" (Preston 2017: 3). Language users might hence also evaluate language variation without being consciously aware of existing sociolinguistic regularities. Question 3, to conclude, touches upon an issue I already discussed further above: the distinction between *overt/explicit* and *covert/implicit* attitudes. In an attempt towards a 'cognitively realistic model of sociolinguistic variation', Campbell-Kibler (2016) suggests, on the basis of available cognition research, that social meaning does not necessarily have to be conscious. She highlights that some language processing is probably carried out fast, effortlessly and without introspective awareness, whereas other processes would be rather slow and available to introspection and conscious control. In a similar vein, Pantos (2012: 432–433) distinguishes between automatic associative mental processes and conscious propositional mental processes in language

attitude formation. In Pantos' view (2012: 433), these processes operate distinctly – both the associatively created implicit attitude and the propositionally created explicit attitude can be held concurrently by the individual – but not mutually independently: "propositional processes influence affective reactions when propositional reasoning activates new evaluative associations or particular associations in memory", whereas "[a]ffective reactions influence propositional processes by typically forming the basis of evaluative judgements" (Pantos 2012: 433). Preston (2017) equally stresses that conscious and non-conscious modes of 'language regard' might interact.

The models of both Pantos (2012) and Campbell-Kibler (2016) underline the usefulness of a distinction between *implicit* and *explicit* attitudes – defined in these models in terms of both automaticity and conscious control – but they still leave a number of questions unanswered. Firstly, Rosseel (2017: 167–168) raises the pertinent question to what degree conscious awareness correlates with automaticity. Are these manifestations of the same thing? Secondly, it is unclear which associative links between language variants and social information (be it of the first or a higher indexical order) are processed automatically and/or without conscious awareness and which ones also propositionally and/or consciously. Building on the insights of cognitive linguistics, we could suppose that the frequency with which variationist patterns (including aspects of social meaning) are realised will impact the probability that it becomes the object of an individual's conscious awareness. What the exact role of frequency is, is however difficult to state. On the one hand, we could hypothesise that a higher frequency of a variationist form-meaning pattern will strengthen the mental representation of that pattern and stimulate its salience. On the other hand, however, contrast can also be expected to play an important role in the awareness of a variationist form-meaning pattern, and this factor might counteract the influence of frequency. For instance: low-frequent form-meaning pairs deviating clearly from 'routinised' practices (cf. Jaspers 2006: 135), might stand out and hence attract more conscious attention than patterns that are repeated a lot and require lower processing costs (cf. Blommaert and Backus 2013: 7). This issue clearly requires more research.

If we were able to fathom when/which sociolinguistics patterns are processed consciously and when/which unconsciously, the next question would then be what impact the type of processing has on language production. This brings us to the relation between production and perception and the question of speaker agency. In a usage-based model of language variation, the link between production and perception is essentially of a dialectic nature: regularities arising in linguistic behavior – "by cooperative imitation and adaptation, and in some cases by opposition and a desire for distinctiveness" (Geeraerts 2010: 238) – are also represented in cognition; and these cognitive representations form the point of departure for new language

usage. According to Campbell-Kibler (2016), every individual has a self-regulation system operating alongside a socially embedded language processing system. This self-regulation system is described as being slightly comparable to the idea of a *sociolinguistic monitor* (Labov et al. 2011), but it is in Campbell-Kibler's view not necessarily language-specific and would allow language users to control their speech production, perception and attitudes. Third-wave sociolinguistics emphasises that variation does not merely reflect social meaning or static social identities, but in fact construes it (Eckert 2012; Coupland 2007; Schilling-Estes 2002). In this social constructionist view, language users are active agents who constantly create new social meanings and identities by means of language variation. In this view, a style-shift, for instance, which we can define in a usage-based way as a language user's alteration of his or her covariance patterns during a speech act[12], is not only a response to a change in speech context (speech subject, speech partner, location, …), but also a means to create and manipulate the context. While this social constructionist approach, with its emphasis on speaker agency and creativity, might at first sight seem difficult to reconcile with the fairly mechanistic reasoning of the usage-based approach, it can also be seen as compatible with it. We already indicated above that, as speech styles are repeated, mental representations of existing regularities occur. These representations create expectations within a speech community, which an individual speaker can decide to reenact or break away from. In the latter case, the speaker is *stylizing* his or her behavior, knowingly deviating from predictable patterns to create new social meanings (see further above). Following Silverstein (2003), we can state that a variant or variety with an indexical value (the so-called n^{th} order usage) can always be reinterpreted and acquire an $n+1^{st}$ indexical meaning in the course of interaction. The question is of course what the limits are to an individual's agency in this regard. In her description of the individual's self-regulation system, Campbell-Kibler (2016: 142) remarks that the constructs which are capable of being monitored are limited in both number and complexity. Here again, the issue of consciousness barges in, as consciousness might be a precondition for monitoring. Onysko (2019: 36) assumes that some language production requires little conscious metalinguistic awareness – maybe language usage not devi-

---

[12] In sociolinguistic research, style-shifting has often been distinguished from code-switching. Giacalone-Ramat (1995: 46), for instance, defines the latter as the switching between varieties or languages, whereas the first would involve a change of formality levels within the same variety or language. The usage-based approach I describe here complicates a strict distinction between style-shifting and code-switching (cf. also Milroy and Gordon 2003: 198–222), as it denies the existence of strict boundaries between varieties and languages. The difference between style-shifting and code-switching seems to be in essence a matter of degree, depending on how abrupt the change in covariance patterns is, though it is at this point very unclear how similar the cognitive processes involved in 'prototypical' style-shifts are to those involved in the code-switching of 'prototypical' multilingual speakers.

ating from existing patterns? – whereas other language usage would involve searching for and comparing linguistic features in the language user's repertoire. Once more, however, we cannot but highlight that the exact role of consciousness in language production is as yet contested. The complex relationship between conscious awareness, automaticity, social meaning and language production (and language change, cf. Rosseel 2017: 168) is definitely in need of more research and theoretical reflection, and it is probably the key issue to crack in the quest for a convincing and comprehensive cognitive model of language variation.

What we do know at this point, however, is that a usage-based perspective can account for the structure attested in language production, perception and attitudes, while also bearing in mind the dynamic, heterogenous and interactive nature of language variation. Returning to the central question of this section – how the concept of a 'language variety' should be modelled theoretically – varieties can be defined as dynamic, never fully homogenous sets of variants which covary in their socio-situative behavior and exist cognitively as mental schemata through which they can become associated with a theoretically indefinite set of social meanings. The attitudes isolated in attitude experiments are contextualised constructions of such (evaluative) social meaning. Varieties can be found at different levels of social granularity and vary in homogeneity, relative to the strength of the observed covariance. In everyday language practice, an individual can adhere to existing structures to varying degrees, on the basis not only of his or her social group membership, but also of the social meanings he or she wants to express or avoid.

That adherence to existing structures is a matter of degree complicates the categorisation of specific instances of language use as representative for one or another variety. As suggested by e.g. Geeraerts (2010), Rosseel (2017: 169) and Ghyselen and De Vogelaer (2018), prototype theory offers interesting perspectives here: by conceiving of variety categories as prototypes, which typically show graded membership (with central and peripheral members), variety categories can display smooth and gradual transitions into one another (cf. G. Kristiansen 2008).[13] While some might argue that this prototype approach is at odds with the exemplar view introduced above, the two approaches are not necessarily mutually exclusive or irreconcilable. Following Divjak and Arppe (2013: 224), it can be assumed that prototypes "emerge from repeated exposure to and abstraction over exemplars". An account of varieties as prototypes explains why language users tend to perceive different varieties in a more or less uniform way, but, depending on the circumstances, boundaries between categories may also be relatively fluid, and certain

---

[13] In a similar vein, Marzo, Zenner and Van De Mieroop (2019) propose integrating the insights of prototype theory in the study of social meaning: the indexical field of social meanings would also be structured prototypically, with salient and less salient meanings, and fuzzy boundaries between meanings.

instances may be ambiguous as to the category under which they can be subsumed. This conceptualisation of varieties has clear implications for standard language research, which I discuss in the next section.

PERSPECTIVES FOR STANDARD LANGUAGE RESEARCH

If varieties are dynamic, never perfectly homogenous bundles of features correlating in their socio-situative behavior, that are associated with diverse, sometimes con-flicting social meaning, how do we define *standard* varieties then? Bearing in mind the criteria discussed further above and the idea that varieties in everyday usage are represented by prototypical and more 'borderline' instances, prototypical standard language can be defined as a set of features that are covarying as they are typically used in formal settings, and that are as such imbued with indexical meanings asso-ciated with formality, such as prestige (including competence, intelligence and education), but potentially also artificiality and snobbishness and numerous other social meanings. However, as formality has to be conceived of as a multidimen-sional concept (determined by not only medium, place and time but also the partici-pants and the goal of the interaction), multiple standard language prototypes might exist within one speech community, e.g. one for writing, one for court and one for educational settings. These prototypes will share some features (which are then prototypical of all prototypes), but might diverge at some points. The standard lan-guage is then the conglomerate of these prototypes. Each language user has a men-tal representation of these prototypes and their social meanings, though they may not be able to consciously access all aspects of these mental form-meaning schema-ta. The close connection between usage events, mental representations and social meanings implies that in defining and studying standard language, the perceptual and attitudinal perspective cannot be dissociated from the actual usage events. Vi-tality in production, overt and covert prestige should in this view be attributed equal weight as criteria for standardness. It is up to the researcher to lay bare covariance patterns in production and the mental schemata with which these patterns are asso-ciated, identifying both prototypical and borderline instances of standard language. As standard languages are inherently dynamic, there is continuous change in what is (considered to be) prototypical standard language. Building on this definition of standard varieties, three methodological recommendations for standard language research can be formulated.

Firstly, careful **triangulation of different types of data** is required. On the pro-duction level, the covariance criterion in a usage-based definition of a standard variety implies empirical study of the systematic co-occurrence of groups of lin-guistic features, with formality as independent variable (cf. Geeraerts and G. Kristi-

ansen 2015: 380). In this context, multivariate statistical techniques – such as factor analysis (Nerbonne 2006; Pickl 2013), multidimensional scaling (Ghyselen, Speelman and Plevoets 2020; Ruette and Speelman 2012; 2013), correspondence analysis (Geeraerts 2010; Ghyselen, Speelman and Plevoets 2020; Plevoets 2008) and cluster analysis (Ghyselen, Speelman and Plevoets 2020; Lenz 2006; Nerbonne et al. 2008) – which allow the simultaneous analysis of multiple dependent variables – are indispensable. A big advantage of these techniques is that they are in essence descriptive, and as such allow discovering structures bottom-up, similar to the way structure is assumed to arise in usage-based approaches. In contrast to hypothesis-testing techniques such as logistic regression, the researcher does not need pre-existing hypotheses on categories that might be relevant. The disadvantage is, however, that the named multivariate techniques generally offer little insight into the statistical significance of observed patterns; hence, complementation with hypothesis-testing techniques is appropriate once structures have been detected. Covariance patterns are moreover ideally studied at different loci of abstraction, such as the individual language user, communities of practice, more abstract social groups – defined in terms of e.g. occupation, region, education level – and the entire speech community. Bearing in mind that the structures detected in corpus research are abstractions and that individuals in everyday usage can follow, but also break away from existing patterns, quantitative analyses should be complemented with qualitative studies into the multidimensionality of the standard language's social meanings.

To lay bare the cognitive dimension of the regularities observed in usage, perception and attitudinal research is needed. As already indicated, the ideal perceptual or attitudinal technique does not exist, and hence a mixed-method approach is the only solution, carefully controlling the involved experimental variables to ensure comparability of the different results (cf. Soukup 2015). By varying the experimental conditions in subsequent replications, it should be possible to sketch a thorough picture of standard language attitudes and perceptions and the social and contextual factors influencing them. Ideally, these experiments build on the correlations detected in production studies. For instance: in Ghyselen and Van Keymeulen (2016), implicational patterning was detected in the use of nine non-standard features by ten highly educated West Flemish speakers. These implicational scales provide an interesting starting point for attitudinal studies looking for the boundaries of standard language, enabling an experimental design in which respondents rate stimuli at different points of the implicational hierarchy. At which degree of dialectality are stimuli no longer deemed prestigious or representative of the standard? In any case, it is important that the language stimuli presented in attitudinal research match the results of production research, presenting language usage in a

natural context, with a task reflecting or at least simulating everyday evaluative practice (cf. Purschke 2015: 50).

Secondly, standard language research should pay more attention to the ***degree* of covariance** in production, perception and attitudes. A usage-based conceptualisation of language variation stresses that varieties can be 'stronger' or 'weaker', depending on the degree of covariance and the social level – compare e.g. the individual to a specific community of practice or to a larger social group – at which it is found. Researchers hence should focus on the degree of covariance not only between language variants, but also between language users. Importantly, this should not only happen in analyses of language production, but also in attitudinal and perceptual research, e.g. by focussing on fixed-effect estimate sizes and the size of the random effects in logistic regression modelling (allowing insight into the variance between individuals). The larger the fixed effects and the lower the random speaker effects, the stronger the position of the standard language within the community.

Finally, if we want to map changes in standard languages, e.g. *destandardisation* or *demotisation*, it is important to focus on **real or apparent time data** that can indeed demonstrate such change (again: both in production, perception and attitudes), for example unveiling increasing or decreasing covariance over time. This seems quite self-evident, but in my view, especially bearing the Flemish context in mind, statements of *destandardisation* are often made on the basis of intuitions, not of actual data showing that people did indeed speak more standard or evaluated the standard differently in the past. On the basis of new speech corpora, clear progress has been achieved in studies focussing on production (see e.g. Ghyselen 2016; Plevoets 2008; Van Hoof 2013), but when it comes to language perceptions and attitudes, it remains very difficult to ascertain whether attitudes and beliefs were indeed different or more homogenous in the past. A stronger emphasis on apparent or real time data seems to be in order.

CONCLUSION

Focussing on the Belgian Dutch language situation, this chapter has highlighted how challenging it is to define and delineate standard languages. Multiple defining criteria have been advanced in the past, such as linguistic uniformity, functionality in formal settings, prestige attributes and language users' categorisations, but each of these criteria was shown to be to some degree problematic, and it is also difficult to determine which criterion should receive what weight. In Flanders, for instance, focusing on the language spoken in formal settings leads to the conclusion that a number of features previously considered to be non-standard now seem to have become standard, whereas a focus on language attitudes generally contradicts this

claim, laying bare very strong prestige associations for VRT-Dutch, the traditional spoken standard. In this light, I made the suggestion that adopting a usage-based perspective can greatly advance our understanding of the functioning and categorisation of (standard) language varieties. While it is still a thorny issue how and to what degree conscious awareness plays a role in language production and the imbuing of language variation with social meaning, the described usage-based model does account for the structure attested in language production, perception and attitudes, while also bearing in mind the dynamic, heterogeneous and interactive nature of language variation. Perceptions and attitudes are here seen as arising in the course of social interaction and influencing new usage events. A corollary of this reasoning is that in defining standard languages, perceptual and attitudinal criteria cannot be dissociated from language production data: all perspectives have to be considered and integrated. By applying prototype theory to variety categories, a cognitive model can explain why language users perceive varieties in a more or less uniform way but boundaries are at the same time fluid, and certain instances of language use are ambiguous as to the category under which they can be subsumed. On the basis of these insights, I argued that standard language research has to focus on describing prototypical and less-prototypical instances of standard language usage, combining research into language production, perception and attitudes. Careful triangulation of different types of data is of the essence (bearing in mind the shortcomings of, for example, different attitude measurement methods) with attention for covariance patterns in production, perception and attitudes. Where or how do language users converge; where can we observe variation among language users? As standardness is not a binary feature, but a matter of degree, these are essential questions. Adding a diachronic perspective, *destandardisation* or *demotisation* can only be said to have occurred if covariance patterns are shown to have changed over time, again taking both production, perception and attitudes into account. This is of course no small undertaking, which is, in my view, only possible when multiple researchers join forces and share experimental stimuli, research designs and datasets, allowing careful replication and comparison across studies. Let's get to work!

REFERENCES

Absillis, K., J. Jaspers and S. Van Hoof. 2012. Inleiding. In K. Absilis, J. Jaspers and S. Van Hoof (eds.) *De manke usurpator. Over Verkavelingsvlaams.* Gent: Academia Press. 3–38.

Agheyisi, R., and J. Fishman. 1970. Language Attitude Studies: A Brief Survey of Methodological Approaches. *Anthropological Linguistics* 12: 137–157.

Auer, P. 2005. Europe's sociolinguistic unity, or: A typology of European dialect/standard constellations. In N. Delbecque, J. van der Auwera and D. Geeraerts (eds.) *Perspectives on variation.* Berlin/New York: Mouton De Gruyter. 7–42.

Auer, P. 2007. Introduction. In P. Auer (ed.) *Style and Social Identities. Alternative Approaches to Linguistic Heterogeneity.* Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Auer, P. 2011. Dialect vs. standard: A typology of scenarios in Europe. In B. Kortmann and J. Van der Auwera (eds.) *The languages and linguistics of Europe. A comprehensive guide.* Berlin: De Gruyter. 485–500.

Auer, P. 2012. Sprachliche Heterogenität im Deutschen. Linguistik zwischen Variation, Varietäten und Stil. *Zeitschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Linguistik* 42, 166: 7–28.

Berruto, G. 2010. Identifying dimensions of linguistic variation in a language space. In P. Auer and J.E. Schmidt (eds.) *Language and Space, Part I: Theories and Methods. An International Handbook of Linguistic Variation.* Berlin/New York: Walter de Gruyter. 226–241.

Blancquaert, E. 1934. *Practische Uitspraakleer van de Nederlandsche Taal.* Antwerpen: De Sikkel.

Blommaert, J., and A. Backus. 2013. Repertoires revisited: 'Knowing language' in superdiversity. *Working Papers in Urban Language & Literacies* 67: 1–26.

Cajot, J. 2010. Van het Nederlands weg? De omgangstaal in Vlaanderen. *Ons Erfdeel* 1: 14–25.

Caluwé, D., and V. Verreycken. 2012. Standaardtaal en tussentaal in de taaladvisering. In K. Absillis, J. Jaspers and S. Van Hoof (eds.) *De manke usurpator: over verkavelingsvlaams.* Gent: Academia Press. 167–185.

Campbell-Kibler, K. 2016. Towards a cognitively realistic model of meaningful sociolinguistic variation. In A.M. Babel (ed.) *Awareness and Control in Sociolinguistic Research.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Coupland, N. 2001. Dialect stylization in radio talk. *Language in Society* 30, 3: 345–375.

Coupland, N. 2007. *Style. Language Variation and Identity.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Coupland, N., and T. Kristiansen. 2011. SLICE: Critical perspectives on language (de)standardisation. In T. Kristiansen and N. Coupland (eds.) *Standard Languages and Language Standards in a Changing Europe.* Oslo: Novus Press. 11–35.

Cuvelier, P. 2007. Standaardnederlands, tussentaal en dialect in Antwerpen. De perceptie van jonge moedertaalsprekers en taalleerders. In P. Cuvelier, R. Rymenans, D. Sandra and P. Van Peteghem (eds.) *Tussen Taal, Spelling en Onderwijs.* Gent: Academia Press. 39–57.

De Caluwe, J. 2009. Tussentaal wordt omgangstaal in Vlaanderen. *Nederlandse Taalkunde* 14: 8–28.

De Decker, B., and R. Vandekerckhove. 2012. Stabilizing features in substandard Flemish: The chat language of Flemish teenagers as a test case. *Zeitschrift für Dialektologie und Linguistik* LXXIX, 2: 129–148.

de Saussure, F. 1916. *Cours de linguistique générale.* Paris: Payot.

De Schryver, J. 2012. Het einde van de tussentaal en de Vlaamse standaardtaaldiscussie. In K. Absilis, J. Jaspers and S. Van Hoof (eds.) *De manke usurpator. Over verkavelingsvlaams.* Gent: Academia Press. 141–165.

De Vogelaer, G., and J. Toye. 2017. Acquiring attitudes towards varieties of Dutch. A quantitative perspective. In G. de Vogelaer and M. Katerbow (eds.) *Acquiring Sociolinguistic Variation.* Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company. 117–154.

Delarue, S. 2016. 'Bridging the policy-practice gap. How Flemish teachers' standard language perceptions navigate between monovarietal policy and multivarietal practice'. Universiteit Gent.

den Boon, T., and D. Geeraerts. 2005. *Groot Woordenboek van de Nederlandse Taal.* Utrecht/Antwerpen: Van Dale Lexicografie.

Deprez, K. 1984. Why do Antwerpians consider Netherlandic language varieties as 'cultured', 'pleasant', 'beautiful', 'rich'? In K. Deprez (ed.) *Sociolinguistics in the Low Countries.* Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company. 237–287.

Dhondt, A., T. Colleman, J. de Caluwe, and G. Delaby. 2020. Naar een pluricentrische *Algemene Nederlandse Spraakkunst*: het gebruik van productiedata voor de beschrijving van nationale variatie. *Handelingen van de Koninklijke Zuidnederlandse Maatschappij voor Taal- en Letterkunde en Geschiedenis* LXXIII: 85–134.

Divjak, D., and A. Arppe. 2013. Extracting Prototypes from exemplars. What can corpus data tell us about concept representation? *Cognitive Linguistics* 24, 2: 221–274.

Dürscheid, C., and S. Elspaß. 2015. Variantengrammatik des Standarddeutschen. In R. Kehrein, A. Lameli and S. Rabanus (eds.) *Regionale Variation des Deutschen. Projekte und Perspektiven.* Berlin/Boston: de Gruyter. 563–584.

Eckert, P. 2008. Variation and the indexical field. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 12, 4: 453–476.

Eckert, P. 2012. Three Waves of Variation Study: The emergence of meaning in the study of variation. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 41: 87–100.

Eckert, P., and S. McConnell-Ginet. 1992. Communities of practice: Where language, gender, and power all live. In K. Hall, M. Bucholtz and B. Moonwomon (eds.) *Locating Power, Proceedings of the 1992 Berkeley Women and Language Conference.* Berkeley: Berkeley Women and Language Group. 89–99.

Fasold, R. 1984. *The sociolinguistics of society.* Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Ferguson, C., A. 1959. Diglossia. *Word* 15: 325–340.

Garrett, P. 2010. *Attitudes to language.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Geeraerts, D. 1998. VRT-Nederlands en Soap-Vlaams. *Nederlands van nu* 4: 75–77.

Geeraerts, D. 2001. Een zondagspak? Het Nederlands in Vlaanderen: gedrag, beleid, attitudes. *Ons Erfdeel* 44, 3: 337–344.

Geeraerts, D. 2010. Schmidt redux: How systematic is the linguistic system if variation is rampant? In K. Boye and E. Engeberg-Pederson (eds.) *Language Usage and Language Structure.* Berlin/New York: De Gruyter Mouton. 237–262.

Geeraerts, D., and G. Kristiansen. 2015. Variationist linguistics. In E. Dabrowska and D. Divjak (eds.) *Handbook of Cognitive Linguistics.* Berlin/Boston: Walter de Gruyter. 366–381.

Geeraerts, D., and H. Van de Velde. 2013. Supra-regional characteristics of colloquial Dutch. In F. Hinskens and J. Taeldeman (eds.) *Language and Space. An International Handbook of Linguistic Variation. Volume 3: Dutch.* Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter. 532–556.

Ghyselen, A.-S. 2009. Ne zelfzekere leraar of gewoon nen enthousiaste mens? Een matched-guise onderzoek naar de attitude tegenover tussentaal bij West-Vlamingen. *Taal en Tongval* 61: 83–113.

Ghyselen, A.-S. 2015. Stabilisering van tussentaal? Het taalrepertorium in de Westhoek als casus. *Taal & Tongval* 67, 1: 43–95.

Ghyselen, A.-S. 2016. 'Verticale structuur en dynamiek van het gesproken Nederlands in Vlaanderen: een empirische studie in Ieper, Gent en Antwerpen'. Universiteit Gent.

Ghyselen, A.-S., and G. De Vogelaer. 2013. The impact of dialect loss on the acceptance of Tussentaal: the special case of West-Flanders in Belgium. In S. Grondelaers and T. Kristiansen (eds.) Experimental studies *of changing language standards in contemporary Europe.* Oslo: Novus Press. 153–170.

Ghyselen, A.-S., and G. De Vogelaer. 2018. Seeking Systematicity in Variation: Theoretical and Methodological Considerations on the 'Variety' Concept. *Frontiers in Psychology* 9 (art 385): 1–19.

Ghyselen, A.-S., S. Delarue, and C. Lybaert. 2016. Studying standard language dynamics in Europe: advances, issues and perspectives. *Taal & Tongval* 68, 2: 75–91.

Ghyselen, A.-S., D. Speelman, and K. Plevoets. 2020. Mapping the structure of language repertoires: on the use of sociolectometric methods. *Zeitschrift für Dialektologie und Linguistik. Special issue on lectometry* 87, 2: 202–249.

Ghyselen, A.-S., and J. Van Keymeulen. 2014. Dialectcompetentie en functionaliteit van het dialect in Vlaanderen anno 2013. *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandse Taal- en Letterkunde* 130, 2: 117–139.

Ghyselen, A.-S., and J. Van Keymeulen. 2016. Implicational scales in colloquial Belgian Dutch. *Dialectologia et Geolinguistica. Journal of the International Society for Dialectology and Geolinguistics* 24, 1: 62–82.

Giacalone Ramat, A. 1995. Code-switching in the context of dialect-standard language relations. In L. Milroy and P. Muysken (eds.) *One speaker, two languages: cross-disciplinary perspectives on code-switching.* Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press. 45–67.

Giddens, A. 1991. *Modernity and Self-Identity: Self and Society in the Late Modern Age.* Cambridge: Polity.

Grondelaers, S. 2013. Attitude measurements in the Low Countries. In F. Hinskens and J. Taeldeman (eds.) *Language in Time and Space: Dutch.* Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Grondelaers, S., and T. Kristiansen. 2013. On the need to access deep evaluations when searching for the motor of standard language change. In T. Kristiansen

and S. Grondelaers (eds.) *Language (De)standardisation in Late Modern Europe: Experimental Studies.* Oslo: Novus Press. 9–52.

Grondelaers, S., and D. Speelman. 2013. Can speaker evaluation return private attitudes towards stigmatised varieties? Evidence from emergent standardisation in Belgian Dutch. In T. Kristiansen and S. Grondelaers (eds.) *Language (De)standardisation in Late Modern Europe: Experimental Studies.* Oslo: Novus Press. 171–191.

Grondelaers, S., D. Speelman, C. Lybaert, and P.V. Gent. 2020. Getting a (big) data-based grip on ideological change. Evidence from Belgian Dutch. *Journal of Linguistic Geography* 2020: 1–17.

Grondelaers, S., H. Van Aken, D. Speelman, and D. Geeraerts. 2001. Inhoudswoorden en preposities als standaardiseringsindicatoren. De diachrone en synchrone status van het Belgische Nederlands. *Nederlandse Taalkunde* 6: 179–202.

Grondelaers, S., and R. Van Hout. 2010. Is Standard Dutch with a regional accent standard or not? Evidence from native speakers' attitudes. *Language Variation and Change* 22: 221–239.

Grondelaers, S., and R. Van Hout. 2011. The Standard Language Situation in the Low Countries: Top-Down and Bottom-Up Variations on a Diaglossic Theme. *Journal of Germanic Linguistics* 23, 3: 199–243.

Grondelaers, S., R. Van Hout, and D. Speelman. 2011. A perceptual typology of standard language situations in the Low Countries. In T. Kristiansen and N. Coupland (eds.) *Standard Languages and Language Standards in a Changing Europe.* Oslo: Novus Press. 199–222.

Grondelaers, S., R. Van Hout, and P. Van Gent. 2016. Destandardization is not destandardization. Revising standardness criteria in order to revisit standard language typologies in the Low Countries. *Taal & Tongval* 68, 2: 119–149.

Haeseryn, W., K. Romijn, G. Geerts, J. de Rooij, and M.C. Van den Toorn. 1997. *Algemeen Nederlandse Spraakkunst.* Groningen/Deurne: Martinus Nijhoff/Wolters Plantyn.

Impe, L., and D. Speelman. 2007. Vlamingen en hun (tussen)taal: een attitudineel mixed guise-onderzoek. *Handelingen van de Koninklijke Maatschappij voor Taal- en Letterkunde en Geschiedenis* LXI: 109–128.

Jacobs, C., S. Marzo, and E. Zenner. 2021. Sociale betekenis en taalvariatie in luisterverhalen voor Vlaamse kinderen. *Nederlandse Taalkunde*.

Jaspers, J. 2006. Stylizing Standard Dutch by Moroccan boys in Antwerp. *Linguistics and Education* 12, 2: 131–156.

Jaspers, J., and S. Van Hoof. 2013. Hyperstandardisation in Flanders: extreme enregisterment and its aftermath. *Pragmatics* 23, 2: 331–359.

Jaspers, J., and S. Van Hoof. 2015. Ceci n'est pas une Tussentaal: Evoking Standard and Vernacular Language Through Mixed Dutch in Flemish Telecinematic Discourse. *Journal of Germanic Linguistics* 27, 1: 1–44.

Kemmer, S., and M. Barlow. 2000. Introduction: a Usage-Based Conception of Language. In M. Barlow and S. Kemmer (eds.) *Usage-based Models of Language Use.* Stanford: CSLI Publications. VII-XXVIII.

Knops, U. 1983. Meet- en manipulatietechnieken in taalattitude-onderzoek. *Gramma* 7: 281–307.

Kristiansen, G. 2008. Style-shifting and shifting styles: A socio-cognitive approach to lectal variation. In G. Kristiansen and R. Sirven (eds.) *Cognitive Sociolinguistics.* Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter. 45–88.

Kristiansen, T. 2001. Two standards: One for the media and one for the school. *Language Awareness* 10, 1: 9–24.

Kristiansen, T. 2009. The macro-level social meaning of late-modern Danish accents. *Acta Linguistica Hafniensia* 41, 1: 167–192.

Kristiansen, T. 2016. Contemporary Standard Language Change: weakening or strengthening? *Taal en Tongval* 68, 2: 93–117.

Kristiansen, T., and N. Coupland (eds.). 2011. *Standard Languages and Language Standards in a Changing Europe.* Oslo: Novus Press.

Labov, W. 1971. The study of language in its social context. In J.A. Fishman (ed.) *Advances in the Sociology of Language.* Den Haag: Mouton. 152–216.

Labov, W., S. Ash, M. Ravindranath, T. Weldon, M. Baranowski, and N. Nagy. 2011. Properties of the sociolinguistic monitor. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 15, 4: 431–463.

Lambert, W., R.C. Hodgson, R.C. Gardner, and S. Fillenbaum. 1960. Evaluational Reactions to Spoken Language. *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology* 60, 1: 44–51.

Lenz, A. 2006. Clustering linguistic behaviour on the basis of linguistic variation methods. In M. Filppula, J. Klemola, M. Palander and E. Penttilä (eds.) *Topics in Dialectal Variation.* Joensuu: Joensuu University Press. 69–98.

Lenz, A. 2010. Emergence of varieties through restructuring and reevaluation. In P. Auer and J.E. Schmidt (eds.) *Language and Space. An International Handbook of Linguistic Variation.* Berlin/New York: De Gruyter. 295–315.

Lybaert, C. 2014. 'Het gesproken Nederlands in Vlaanderen. Percepties en attitudes van een spraakmakende generatie'. PhD Dissertation, Universiteit Gent.

Lybaert, C. 2017. A direct discourse-based approach to the study of language attitudes: The case of *tussentaal* in Flanders. *Language Sciences* 59: 93–116.

Makoni, S., and A. Pennycook. 2007. Disinventing and Reconstituting Languages. In S. Makoni and A. Pennycook (eds.) *Disinventing and Reconsituting Languages.* Clevelang/Buffalo/Toronto: Multilingual Matters LTD.

Marzo, S., E. Zenner, and D. Van de Mieroop. 2019. When sociolinguistics and prototype analysis meet: The social meaning of sibilant palatalization in a Flemish Urban Vernacular: Placing Usage, Meaning and Mind at the Core of Contact-Induced Variation and Change. In E. Zenner, A. Backus and E. Winter-Froemel (eds.) *Cognitive Contact Linguistics.* De Gruyter Mouton. 127–156.

Milroy, L., and M. Gordon. 2003. *Sociolinguistics: Method and Interpretation.* Wiley.

Nerbonne, J. 2006. Identifying linguistic structure in aggregate comparison. *Literary and Linguistic Computing* 21: 463–476.

Nerbonne, J., P. Kleiweg, W. Heeringa, and F. Manni. 2008. Projecting Dialect Distances to Geography: Bootstrap Clustering vs. Noisy Clustering. In C.

Preisach, H. Burkhardt, L. Schmidt-Thieme and R. Decker (eds.) *Data Analysis, Machine Learning and Applications.* Berlin/Heidelberg: Springer. 647–654.

Onysko, A. 2019. Reconceptualizing language contact phenomena as cognitive processes. In E. Zenner, A. Backus and E. Winter-Froemel (eds.) *Cognitive Contact Linguistics. Placing Usage, Meaning and Mind at the Core of Contact-Induced Variation and Change.* Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter Mouton. 23–50.

Pantos, A.J. 2012. Defining the cognitive mechanisms underlying reactions to foreign accented speech. An experimental approach. *Review of Cognitive Linguistics* 10, 2: 427–453.

Pickl, S. 2013. Verdichtungen im sprachgeografischen Kontinuum. *Zeitschrift für Dialektologie und Linguistik* LXXX, 1: 1–35.

Plevoets, K. 2008. 'Tussen spreek-en standaardtaal. Een corpusgebaseerd onderzoek naar de situationele, regionale en sociale verspreiding van enkele morfosyntactische verschijnselen uit het gesproken Belgisch-Nederlands'. Katholieke Universiteit Leuven.

Plevoets, K. 2013. De status van de Vlaamse tussentaal. Een analyse van enkele socio-economische determinanten. *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandse Taal- en Letterkunde* 129, 3: 191–233.

Preston, D. R. 2017. The cognitive foundations of language regard. *Poznan Studies in Contemporary Linguistics* 53, 1: 17–42.

Preston, D. R. 1989. *Perceptual Dialectology. Nonlinguists' Views of Areal Linguistics.* Dordrecht: Foris Publications.

Purschke, C. 2015. REACT - A constructivist theoretic framework for attitudes. In A. Prikhodkine and D. Preston (eds.) *Responses to Language Varieties. Variability, processes and outcomes.* Amsterdam: John Benjamins. 37–54.

Rosseel, L. 2017. 'New approaches to measuring the social meaning of language variation. Exploring the Personalized Implicit Association Test and the Relational Responding Task'. PhD Dissertation, KU Leuven.

Rosseel, L., and S. Grondelaers. 2019. Implicitness and experimental methods in language variation research. *Linguistics Vanguard* 5, 1: 1–6.

Rosseel, L., D. Speelman, and D. Geeraerts. 2015. Can social psychological attitude measures be used to study language attitudes? A case study exploring the Personalized Implicit Association Test. *Proceedings of the 6th conference on Quantitative Investigations in Theoretical Linguistics*.

Rosseel, L., D. Speelman, and D. Geeraerts. 2019a. Measuring language attitudes in context: Exploring the potential of the Personalized Implicit Association Test. *Language in Society* 48, 3: 1–33.

Rosseel, L., D. Speelman, and D. Geeraerts. 2019b. The relational responding task (RRT): a novel approach to measuring social meaning of language variation. *Linguistics Vanguard* 5, 1: 1–13.

Ruette, T., and D. Speelman. 2012. Applying Individual Differences Scaling to the measurement of lexical convergence between Netherlandic and Belgian Dutch. *Proceedings of the 11th International Conference on Textual Data Statistical Analysis*: 883–895.

Ruette, T., and D. Speelman. 2013. Transparent aggregation of variables with Individual Differences Scaling. *Literary and Linguistic Computing* 29, 1: 89–106.

Rys, K., and J. Taeldeman. 2007. Fonologische ingrediënten van Vlaamse tussentaal. In D. Sandra, R. Rymenans, P. Cuvelier and P. Van Petegem (eds.) *Tussen taal, spelling en onderwijs. Essays bij het emeritaat van Frans Daems.* Gent: Academia Press. 1–8.

Schilling-Estes, N. 2002. Investigating Stylistic Variation. In J. Chambers, P. Trudgill and N. Schilling-Estes (eds.) *The Handbook of Language Variation and Change.* Malden/Oxford: Blackwell. 375–401.

Schmidt, J. E., and J. Herrgen. 2011. *Sprachdynamik. Eine Einführung in die moderne Regionalsprachenforschung.* Berlin: Erich Schmidt.

Silverstein, M. 2003. Indexical order and the dialectics of sociolinguistic life. *Language & Communication* 23: 193–229.

Soukup, B. 2013. The measurement of 'language attitudes' - a reappraisal from a constructionist perspective. In T. Kristiansen and S. Grondelaers (eds.) *Langauge (De)Standardisation in Late Modern Europe: Experimental Studies.* Oslo: Novus Press. 251–266.

Soukup, B. 2015. Mixing methods in the study of language attitudes: Theory and application. In A. Prikhodkine and D.R. Preston (eds.) *Responses to langauge varieties: Variability, processes and outcomes.* Amsterdam: John Benjamins. 55–84.

Speelman, D., A. Spruyt, L. Impe, and D. Geeraerts. 2013. Language attitudes revisited: Auditory affective priming. *Journal of Pragmatics* 52: 83–92.

Taeldeman, J. 2008. Zich stabiliserende grammaticale kenmerken in Vlaamse tussentaal. *Taal & Tongval* 60: 26–50.

Trudgill, P. 1986. *Dialects in Contact*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Van de Mieroop, D., E. Zenner, and S. Marzo. 2016. Standard and Colloquial Belgian Dutch pronouns of address: A variationist-interactional study of child-directed speech in dinner table interactions. *Folia Linguistica* 50, 1: 31–64.

Van de Velde, H., M. Kissinge, E. Tops, S. Van der Harst, and R. Van Hout. 2010. Will Dutch become Flemish? Autonomous developments in Belgian Dutch. *Multilingua. Journal of Cross-Cultural and Interlanguage Communication* 29, 3/4: 385–416.

Van der Horst, J. 2008. *Het einde van de standaardtaal. Een wisseling van Europese taalcultuur.* Amsterdam: J.M. Meulenhof.

Van Gijsel, S., D. Geeraerts, and D. Speelman. 2004. A functional analysis of the linguistic variation in Flemish spoken commercials. In G. Purnelle, C. Farion and A. Dister (eds.) *Le poids de mots. Proceedings of the 7th International Conference on the statistical analyses of textual data.* Louvain-la-Neuve: Presses Universitaires de Louvain. 1136–1144.

Van Gijsel, S., D. Speelman, and D. Geeraerts. 2008. Style shifting in commercials. *Journal of Pragmatics* 40: 205–226.

Van Hoof, S. 2013. 'Feiten en fictie. Een sociolinguïstische analyse van het taalgebruik in fictieseries op de Vlaamse openbare omroep (1977-2012)'. PhD Dissertation, Universiteit Antwerpen.

Van Hoof, S., and J. Jaspers. 2012. Hyperstandaardisering. *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandse Taal- en Letterkunde* 128, 2: 97–125.

Van Lancker, I. 2017. 'Een linguïstisch-etnografische analyse van het hedendaags gesproken Nederlands in een Oost-Vlaamse secundaire school'. Universiteit Gent.

Vandekerckhove, R. 2005. Belgian Dutch versus Netherlandic Dutch: New patterns of divergence? On pronouns of address and diminutives. *Multilingua* 24: 379–397.

Vandekerckhove, R., and P. Cuvelier. 2007. The perception of exclusion and proximity through the use of standard Dutch, "tussentaal" and dialect in Flanders. In T. du Plessis, P. Cuvelier, M. Meeuwis and L. Teck (eds.) *Multilingualism and Exclusion. Policy, practice and prospects.* Pretoria: Van Schaik. 241–256.

Vosters, R., G. Rutten, and M. Van der Wal. 2010. Mythes op de pijnbank. Naar een herwaardering van de taalsituatie in de Nederlanden in de achttiende en negentiende eeuw. *Verslagen en Mededelingen van de Koninklijke Academie voor Nederlandse Taal- en Letterkunde* 120, 1: 93–112.

Weinreich, U., W. Labov, and M. Herzog. 1968. Empirical foundations for a theory of language change. In W.P. Lehmann and Y. Malkeil (eds.) *Directions for historical linguistics: A symposium.* Austin: University of Texas Press. 95–188.

Willemyns, R. 2003. Dutch. In A. Deumert and W. Vandenbussche (eds.) *Germanic standardization: Past to present.* Amsterdam: John Benjamins. 93–125.

Woolard, K.A., and B.B. Schieffelin. 1994. Language Ideology. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 23.

Zenner, E., and D. Van de Mieroop. 2021. The alternation between standard and vernacular pronouns by Belgian Dutch parents in child-oriented control acts. In A. Ghimenton, A. Nardy and J.P. Chevrot (eds.) *Sociolinguistic Variation and Language Acquisition across the Lifespan.* Amsterdam: Benjamins.

Perceptions of non-standardness
in an assumed 'Standard' English variety[1]

Chris Montgomery

University of Sheffield, UK

INTRODUCTION

This chapter considers the noticeability of features in two samples of speech from a variety of English popularly considered to be 'Standard' or unmarked compared to other regional varieties. First, I discuss definitions of spoken 'Standard English', before introducing the methods and data of this study. Using a real-time methodology that allows respondents to identify features of interest in a spoken guise and then report on which features they identified, I explore the relationship between 'Status' ratings and feature recognition, and go on to examine counterintuitive patterns with respect to 'Status' ratings and the noticeability of regional (non-standard) features. The chapter closes with a recap and an assessment of the methodology used and the patterns found for the empirical study of linguistic 'standardness' on a general level.

Spoken 'Standard English' in England

Spoken 'Standard English' is a contentious topic. Although there is a widespread folk-linguistic view (perhaps most notoriously articulated by Honey 1997) of 'Standard English' as the 'best' and 'most educated' form of English, linguists have struggled to provide a definition on which they all agree. There is agreement that spoken and written 'Standard English' are not the same, and most serious debates relate to the former. Crowley states that using the term "to refer to both writing and speech, without clarification, is a common error" (Crowley 1999: 272). Despite this, Trudgill defines 'Standard English' as follows:

---

[1] The work presented here is the result of a collaboration with Professor Emma Moore (University of Sheffield, UK). Our collaborative work is cited extensively here; and although she is not a co-author for this chapter, the data I present in this piece would not exist without the research that we have jointly engaged in.

> Standard English is that variety of English which is usually used in print, and which is normally taught in schools and to non-native speakers learning the language. It is also the variety which is normally spoken by educated people and used in news broadcasts and other similar situations (Trudgill 1995: 5)

Despite running close to Crowley's 'common error', this definition highlights the link between 'Standard English' and notions of 'educatedness' which is central to the popular understanding of the concept. As Snell (2018: 370, with reference to Crowley 2003: 126) puts it, there have been "discursive processes" at play "through which spoken 'standard English' in England came to be defined, not in linguistic terms, but in terms of the social characteristics of a privileged group of speakers, as the language of 'the educated' and the 'civilised'". This social definition of spoken 'Standard English' is one of the reasons for debates about the concept in England (Crowley 2003: 259); and it is also one of the reasons why, after Bex and Watts (1999), I have chosen to use capitalisation and inverted commas for 'Standard English'. This reflects its status for some as a variety of English and others as a "social myth constructed for ideological purposes" (Bex and Watts 1999: 9).

Trudgill (1999) defines spoken 'Standard English' according to what it is not – which is, not a language, register, style or accent. He claims that it is instead a dialect of English, and a "purely social dialect" (1999: 124) at that, defined by its grammatical idiosyncrasies. Milroy also assesses what spoken 'Standard English' is not, based on a reading of folk linguistic research that aims to understand what non-linguists perceive about language variation. This results in an accent- and dialect-based definition that Crowley (2003: 260) characterises as "residual":

> […] spoken Standard English might […] be described as what is left after we remove from the linguistic bran-tub Estuary English, Brummie, Cockney, Geordie, Scouse, various quaint rural dialects, London Jamaican, transatlantic slang and perhaps even conservative RP […] (Milroy 1999: 174)

I am concerned here with non-specialist understandings. Specifically, this chapter addresses perceptions of non-standardness in a variety of English that is perceived as 'Standard'. In this way, I deal with Milroy's 'bran-tub' of accent variation and the way in which this is understood in opposition to 'Standard English'. This might seem a relatively straightforward exercise, but it is complicated by the social understandings of 'Standard English'. To illustrate this, the remainder of this chapter will explore the (non-standard) variety of English spoken on the Isles of Scilly, which has a strong folk ideological association with standardness.

'Standard English' and the Isles of Scilly

It is not unexpected to find that residents of a particular location view their own variety as the 'best' or most 'correct' when compared with other varieties (e.g. Preston 1999). What is perhaps less typical is external evaluation of a variety that echoes (or reinforces) internal pride in the local dialect; yet this is what can be seen in relation to Scillonian English, spoken on the Isles of Scilly, which is the focus of this chapter.
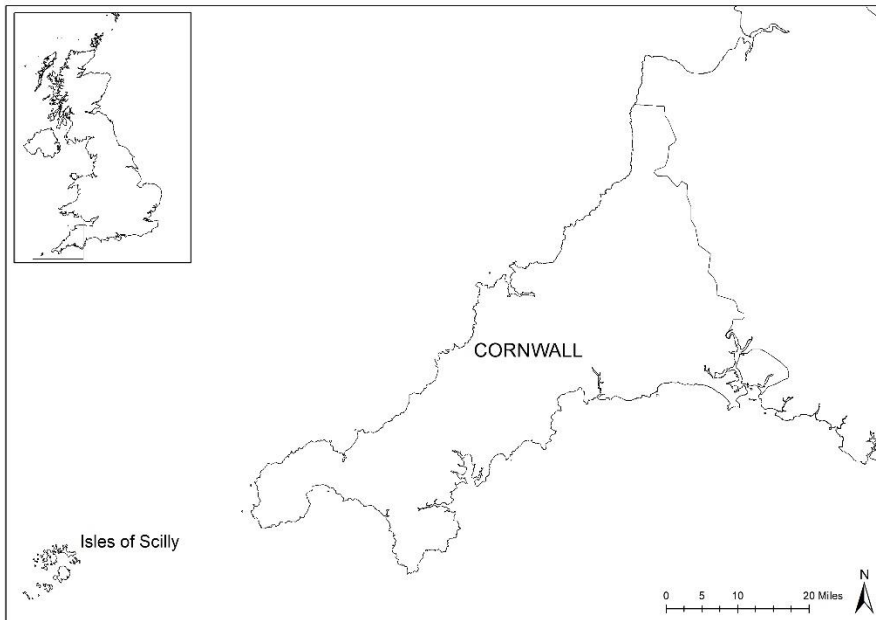
Figure 1: Location of Cornwall and the Isles of Scilly[2]

The Isles of Scilly are a group of islands off the South West coast of England, the location of which is shown in Figure 1. The islands have an interesting history, being leased from the Crown from 1571 to 1920 by a number of 'governors', the first of which came from the Godolphin family. It is suggested by Bowley (1964: 69) that the Godolphins effectively repopulated the islands, and that many of the current residents of Scilly can trace their lineage to the early time of the governorship. In 1834 the islands were leased by Augustus Smith, who is generally credited

---

[2] Contains National Statistics data © Crown copyright and database right (2020), NRS data © Crown copyright and database right (2020), OS data © Crown copyright [and database right] (2020). Source: NISRA: Website: www.nisra.gov.uk.

with instituting widescale improvements in the material and social fabric of the Isles of Scilly (Vyvyan 1953: 35). Compulsory education, for example, was introduced on Scilly before other areas of the country. Such innovations, as well as the islands' atypical system of governance and their island status, mean that Scilly is viewed as quite different to its nearest mainland neighbour, the county of Cornwall[3]. This has been reflected with regard to language for many hundreds of years, for example:

(1) …the Language of Scilly refines upon what is spoken in many Parts of Cornwall; probably from the more frequent Intercourse of the Inhabitants, some more than others, with those who speak the Standard English best… (Heath 1750: 436)

(2) The Islanders are remarkable for speaking good English–far preferable, at least, to what is generally heard amongst the humbler classes of any county, at some distance from the metropolis… (Woodley 1822: 105)

(3) [t]he accent of the county of which electorally they [Scillonians] form a part [i.e. Cornwall] is entirely wanting on their tongues (Banfield 1888: 45)

(4) The English spoken today (1979) by natives of the Isles of Scilly … is scarcely removed from Standard (southern) English, using a slightly modified 'received pronunciation' (R.P.) as of educated persons. (Thomas 1979: 109)

The use of terms such as 'best', 'good English', and 'educated', as well as references to 'Standard English' in these quotations are typical of the ideas associated with standardness that I discussed above. What is also notable is the assertion, especially by Banfield and Thomas, that Scillonian speech is unmarked (i.e. not non-standard) or very similar to "Standard (southern) English" (Thomas 1979: 109). This establishes Scillonian speech in the popular imagination as a 'standard' variety, despite its proximity to Cornwall (itself a heavily stereotyped variety) and distance from the "metropolis" (i.e. London) (Woodley 1822: 105).

Despite this folk perception of standardness (still present in contemporary popular commentary on the variety, e.g. Taylor 2016) there is linguistic evidence that the variety is not as regionally unmarked as the commentaries suggest. Moore and Carter (2015; 2017; 2018), for example, detail numerous non-standard features in this 'standard' variety. This raises an important question about the disconnect be-

---

[3] Despite the inclusion of the Isles of Scilly in the ceremonial county of 'Cornwall and the Isles of Scilly'.

tween the folk perceptions of the variety and the features that linguists have demonstrated that it actually exhibits.

Linking attitudes and features

In the conclusion of their conceptual attitudes study of British accents[4], Bishop, Coupland and Garrett (2005: 152) state that using "real speech data" is vital. Doing so allows an assessment of the extent to which underlying conceptualisations of dialect variation express themselves when spoken data are encountered. This is important in the context of Giles' (1970) early work which found that vocal stimuli were more poorly rated than conceptual stimuli, suggesting that listeners do not simply reproduce their underlying attitudes when they hear speech, but instead judge it based on what they have heard. Bishop, Coupland and Garrett (2005: 152) also point to the need for researchers to understand what it is about a voice that listeners use to categorise or judge it, a point also noted by Campbell-Kibler (2006: 64), who states that "it can be difficult to establish which aspects of the speech trigger which aspects of the evaluation" in traditional attitudes studies.

More recent research has demonstrated that what listeners hear is influenced by what they think they are listening to. Numerous studies have shown that people process speech signals differently based on a number of social factors such as perceived age, gender, and class (e.g. Niedzielski 1999; Hay, Nolan and Drager 2006; Hay and Drager 2010). Similar findings have come out of research that has investigated the social meaning of variation. Campbell-Kibler (2009; 2010) found that listeners' perceptions of speakers' backgrounds (region and class) strongly conditioned the correlation between high use of (-ing) and attributions of high intelligence/education levels (Campbell-Kibler 2009: 141–4). In a similar fashion, D'Onofrio's (2015) study that invoked the 'Valley Girl' persona type showed that listeners who believed a speaker to be a 'Valley Girl' would be more likely to expect the speaker to exhibit TRAP backing (a feature associated with that persona type). Studies like these provide strong evidence that listeners' prior perceptions and stereotypes in relation to geography, class, and persona type can influence reactions to vocal stimuli.

Many of these studies (i.e. Niedzielski 1999; Hay, Nolan and Drager 2006; Hay and Drager 2010; Campbell-Kibler 2010; D'Onofrio 2015) have examined phonetic features in isolation. Whilst this is no doubt useful for examining the ways in which social information interacts with linguistic information, it is not how listeners encounter language in the real world. Therefore, whilst permitting researchers to be

---

[4] Concept(ual) studies provide respondents with only variety labels as stimuli, and do not play recordings of speakers to their listeners.

more forensic about what they examine, such work does not address how, when, and why listeners attend to specific features as they hear them in natural speech.

In recent years, there have been efforts to examine both the impact of and the attention paid to individual features embedded in longer stimuli. Labov et al.'s (2011) work examining the 'sociolinguistic monitor', for example, looked at the impact of varying amounts of non-standard -ing tokens on ratings of a 'trainee newsreader', showing that small numbers of non-standard tokens would result in lower professionalism ratings. Pharao et al. (2014) showed that fronted (s) in 'Modern Copenhagen' speech indexed femininity and gayness. Both studies were able to tie the ratings that listeners gave to samples to the presence of specific features, with the conclusion that listeners were sensitive to them. Pharao and Maegaard (2017) took this further, investigating the impact of two features on the reactions of listeners. This work points to important ordering effects.

Pharao and Maegaard's (2017) findings also point to the need to understand clusters of features, adding weight to Soukup's (2011: 350) observation (following Auer (2007)) that we need to understand "what constellations of […] distinctive features listeners take to collectively index, and thus constitute, a particular stylistic category". New methodologies are needed in order to address this challenge, which demands some element of tracking 'on the fly' noticing amongst listeners in order to provide a fuller account of the link between the realisation of features and the reactions that they provoke.

Watson and Clarke (2013) designed a method to address this real-time perception in order to examine the salience of the NURSE-SQUARE merger in Liverpool English, something which results "in homophonous pairs of words such as her–hair; fur–fair; stir–stare; purr–pair" (Watson and Clark 2013: 298). Their method included a web-based interface that used a slider that could be controlled by a mouse button. Listeners were instructed to listen to a voice sample and move the slider left or right as the sample progressed in order to indicate how 'posh' they considered the speaker to be. By aggregating slider movements, Watson and Clark were able to examine the correlation between significant changes in the slider value and the location of tokens of merged NURSE-SQUARE vowels, finding that tokens of NURSE were sometimes judged differently from SQUARE words, as well as that NURSE-SQUARE appeared to be a salient feature of English in north-west England.

The use of Watson and Clark's real-time method to examine the impact of one feature (the NURSE-SQUARE merger) on perceptions meant that it was possible to examine if single features mapped on to real-time shifts in evaluation. As well as this, the authors also suggested that the method was well-suited "to any research questions for which fine-grained, timed responses from listeners are required" (Watson and Clark 2013: 321). This meant that it could be used to address another challenge posed by Soukup (2011: 350) "…to elicit listeners' perceptions via natu-

rally occurring, rather than manipulated, speech samples". Watson and Clarke (2015) did just this in their examination of real-time reactions to samples of unmanipulated speech from five (English speaking) locations in the British Isles. Results from this study were less conclusive than in their (2013) paper, with the inevitable clustering of features present in unmanipulated speech making results difficult to interpret. Such difficulties in tying reactions to features led to the method used in Montgomery and Moore (2018) and Moore and Montgomery (2018), which provides the data I will discuss in this chapter. I introduce this method in the next section.

METHODS AND DATA

As noted above, this chapter uses the same method employed in Montgomery and Moore (2018) and Moore and Montgomery (2018). This method was developed in ignorance of Soukup's (2011) work, which used a method that was similar in key respects[5]. The dataset discussed here is the same as that used in these papers, although the analysis I present is a departure from previously published work. The method had three objectives:

i. to develop an interface that permitted swift reactions to speech phenomena
ii. to address the problem of tying reactions to specific features
iii. to deploy the test via a web browser in order to collect as large a dataset as possible

The method that was used to gather the data discussed here used a tool that ran in a web browser and presented listeners with four voice samples (see below for further details) and a 'calibration test' voice sample. At its heart was a simple 'click task' that enabled the collection of swift reactions to specific points in the speech sample. This task used a screen in the web browser, shown in Figure 2, with a 'play' button that listeners clicked to play the voice sample, the length of which was indicated with a soundwave. Beneath the soundwave there was a large green button marked 'Click'. Listeners used a mouse button to click on this button after reading the following instructions: "listen out for anything in the way this person sounds which makes you wonder where he is from (or confirms where you already think he is from) … When you hear something that sounds distinctive, please click the button

---

[5] This method (see Soukup 2011: 350–353) asked respondents to listen to 12 samples of Austrian German speech and to use a transcript to underline any words or passages 'where they hear dialect/non-standard'. It is therefore a paper-based equivalent of the web-based task reported on here.

below the sound wave straightaway". When listeners had finished listening to a voice sample and making 'clicks' at self-selected points, they were then invited to review all of their click reaction data. To do this, they were presented with fragments of the transcript of the guise +/- 3 seconds from the point of each click and were able to play the audio that accompanied the transcript fragment. For each click, listeners were asked to provide a reason for their click or had the option to check a box indicating that they made mistake and didn't mean to click where they did, or that they didn't know why they had made their reaction.

The Voices Project

Voice sample 1

For the next task, listen to the voice sample again and listen out for anything in the way this person sounds which makes you wonder where he is from (or confirms where you already think he is from). This might include the way he pronounces certain words or phrases, the quality of his voice (its speed, loudness or pitch) or the words he uses. When you hear something that sounds distinctive, please click the button below the sound wave straightaway. You can do this by hovering your mouse over the green button and left clicking. This will record the exact point in time where you reacted to the sound clip. You may hear the same distinctive feature of language multiple times and you can click as many times as you like.

You will only hear the voice sample once, so don't think too much about what it is that made you feel this way. Just click straightaway whenever you hear something which triggers these feelings. Don't worry if you miss something or click accidentally. You can correct any mistakes in the next section.
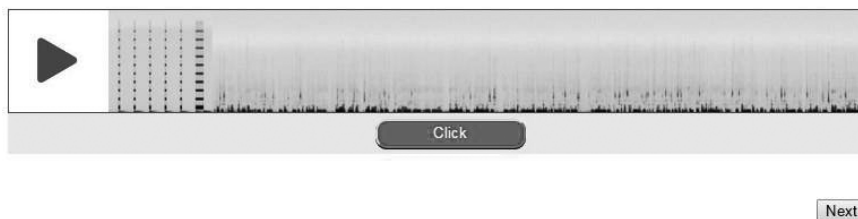
Figure 2: The 'click task' interface

Prior to the 'click task', listeners heard each voice sample once and completed some more traditional language attitudes tasks. The complete set of tasks that listeners engaged in were as follows:

1) Calibration test[6], constructed from the speech of a 65-year-old male from the East End of London[7]

---

[6] The calibration test used the same interface to be used in the test proper, but required listeners to react to instances of *th*-fronting in the sample. The calibration test therefore had two purposes: to ensure that respondents knew how to use the interface that allowed them to react

2) Collection of respondent demographic information: (including travel history and residence)

For each guise (four in total), a two-stage listening task, involving:

3a) First listening stage: general evaluation of the speaker and the completion of attitudes ratings scales[8]

3b) Second listening stage: Click reaction task and click review stage

The four guises were all constructed from longer narratives spoken by male speakers over the age of 60. The second and fourth guises were samples from a corpus of Isles of Scilly speech (Moore 2014), produced by the same speaker. The other two guises, which served as distractor samples, were taken from corpora of recordings from two other British varieties of English, Stoke-on-Trent (a city in Staffordshire in the North-West Midlands region) and Barnsley (a town in Yorkshire, in the north of England)[9].

The Scilly guises

One of the aims of this research was to assess the extent to which listeners would be able to perceive regionality in naturalistic Scillonian speech, thus rising to Soukup's (2011: 350) challenge relating to the use of unmanipulated data in perception tasks. A further aim was to test the effects of discourse and topic on perception. To this end the Scilly guises were created by editing a single speaker's interview from the 'Scilly Voices' corpus (Moore 2014). The guises were edited using Praat (Boersma and Weenick 2019) in order to produce roughly equal length samples (48 and 49 seconds). The two guises were constructed so that they would contain a similar number of traditional Scillonian features (based on findings from, e.g., Moore and Carter 2015), and in order that they would include different topics and location cues. The first Scillonian guise (henceforth, the 'Farmer' guise) discusses farming topics. The second Scillonian guise (termed the 'Islander' guise), saw the speaker discussing Scillonian traditions and summer events. The full text of the two Scillonian guises can be found in the Appendix. The traditional Scillonian features pre-

---

in real-time to speech, and to provide baseline reaction times for each respondent to known features.

[7] Thanks to Sue Fox for supplying this sample.

[8] These scales were typical of those used in language attitudes research, as follows: 'educated ~ uneducated', 'ambitious ~ unambitious', 'articulate ~ inarticulate', 'confident ~ shy', 'friendly ~ unfriendly', 'reliable ~ unreliable', 'talking to best friend ~ talking to stranger', 'laid back ~ uptight', 'fast talker ~ slow talker', 'broad dialect ~ not broad dialect'

[9] Thanks to Hannah Leach and Kate Burland for supplying these samples.

sent in the guises are shown in Table 1 below, categorised according to Wells' (1982: xviii) lexical sets for vowels (a heuristic commonly used to study variation in English, subsuming words that typically exhibit the same vowel into groups designated by a prototypical keyword).

Table 1 shows that the same realisations of each variable do not occur at the same rate in each guise, and that there are some features for which one variant realisation is present only in one guise. This was due to the aim of testing the extent to which listeners would be able to perceive regionality in naturalistic speech.

Table 1: Accent features in the two Scillonian guises[10]

Feature	Traditional Scillonian pronunciation	'Farmer' guise	'Islander' guise
BATH	[aː]	plant, last	class, last
CHOICE	[ɔɪ]	joined, boiler	boys
GOAT	[oʉ] *[oʊ]* **[ɛʊ]**	broke, *show*	only, *go, go*, only, **boat**, going
MOUTH	[ɛ̈ʉ] *[əʉ]*	*out*, out, *house*, down	*around*, down, *down*, now, out
PALM	[a(ː)]	father, father	can't
PRICE	[ɑɪ] *[oɪ]*	life, carbide, carbide, prize, nine, time	*time, off-islands*, by, quite, *off-islands*, Isles, lie
STRUT	[ʌ]	bull, bull	up
TRAP	[a(ˑ)]	An<u>z</u>acs, An<u>z</u>acs, *back, that*	Samson, Samson
rhoticity	[ɹ]	started, there, World, War, father, sorts, farmhouse, there, carbide, where, remember, first, or	year, sports, there, were, there, there, weather

___

[10] This table details the realisations of features present in the guises. The traditional Scillonian realisations for each key word is presented in column 2, with standard, bold, underlined, and italicised text used to indicate the words in which these realisations were found in each guise. For example, the [ɛʊ] realisation of GOAT was only found in the word 'boat' in the Islander guise.

Respondents and final dataset

Data collection began in May 2014 and lasted for six weeks. Respondents were contacted via social media and were asked to complete and share the survey. Over this time, 113 respondents completed the tasks. 10 respondents supplied incomplete data (for either the reactions or biographical data elements of the survey) and were removed from the dataset. This resulted in a final dataset that includes data from 103 participants[11]. 76 respondents were female and 27 were male. The mean age of participants was 32, with a highest age of 72, and lowest age of 16 (standard deviation=13.6). Respondents generally had a good amount of travel experience, measured by asking them which of 10 regions they had visited (based on the Regions of England [ONS Geography 2010] plus the Isle of Wight and the Isles of Scilly), and had visited seven of the regions on average. Respondents lived in 44 of the 124 postcode areas in the UK, and had lived in an average of 3.2 places in the country. Table 2 summarises the biographical data of the respondents, showing numbers for gender, age group, region, and status (either Isles of Scilly resident, someone who had visited the Isles of Scilly, or someone who has not ['Other']).

Table 2: Biographical details of the 103 participants discussed in this chapter

Gender	n	Status	n	Age group	n	English region/UK country	n
Female	76	Other	90	16-20	28	Yorkshire and The Humber	28
Male	27	Resident	7	21-28	25	South West	14
		Visitor	6	29-41	28	North West	12
				42+	21	Scotland	12
						East Midlands	9
						London	8
						West Midlands	6
						South East	5
						East of England	4
						North East	3
						Wales	2

---

[11] This is a slightly smaller number of respondents than those included in Montgomery and Moore (2018) and Moore and Montgomery (2018), where the tolerance for some elements of missing biographical data was higher than in this chapter. The result of this is that some of the figures in this chapter are slightly different to those reported in those publications.

The 'click and review' data collected from respondents were coded according to Wells' (1982) lexical sets for vowels, and by consonantal feature if appropriate. Each review comment was coded by two separate linguists, with disagreements flagged and resolved (further details are available in Montgomery and Moore 2018).

For each Scillonian guise, there were three sets of data: ratings data; time-aligned click data; coded click data. In order to analyse the ratings data, Principal component analysis (PCA) was undertaken on the ten ratings dimensions. This identified three main factors (cf. Kristiansen, Garrett and Coupland 2005: 16). Maximum-likelihood factor analysis identified which dimensions should be grouped within factors. Following the initial analysis in Montgomery and Moore (2018: 636), the three factors are named 'Status', 'Solidarity' and 'Dynamism'[12], and I consider the link between the 'Status' factor and recognised features in this chapter. I turn to the analysis of these data in the following sections.

RESULTS

Predictions

This chapter seeks to examine the link between a concept of 'Standardness' and the features noticed by participants in the two Scillonian guises. This analysis makes an assumption that 'Standardness' and the 'Status' factor calculated from the ratings task are analogous. I do not believe that this equation is particularly problematic, given lay concepts of what spoken 'Standard English' is (see above). Nevertheless, I do accept that these two concepts are not precisely the same, although they do share many features (e.g. 'educatedness', and a lack of 'regionality').

Assuming that the two concepts are closely enough related to produce meaningful results, the prediction that I seek to test here is that more features will be recognised if 'Status' ratings are lower (due to link between perceptions of standardness and perceptions of 'correctness'). This prediction can be examined by guise and would involve a greater number of features being recognised for the guise that has a lower 'Status' rating. It can also be examined within guise, with listeners who provide lower scores for the guise attending to more features. The following sections examine these links, starting with between-guise data.

---

[12] The factors included the dimensions as follows: 'Status' = 'ambitious ~ unambitious', 'articulate ~ inarticulate', 'educated ~ uneducated', 'reliable ~ unreliable' , 'confident ~ shy'; 'Solidarity' = 'friendly ~ unfriendly', 'talking to best friend ~ talking to stranger', 'laid back ~ uptight', 'broad dialect ~ not broad dialect'; Dynamism = 'fast talker ~ slow talker'.

Guise status and feature recognition

Table 3 shows the results of the attitudes ratings task and shows that ratings for all three attitude components show significant differences. This means that we can be confident that listeners were not able to recognise that the speaker was the same in both guises[13]. The 'Farmer' guise scored more highly for 'Solidarity', whereas the 'Islander' guise has higher scores for the 'Status' and 'Dynamism' factors[14]. Britain has suggested that people's interpretation of non-urban locations is conditioned by "circulating social ideologies about the countryside" (Britain 2017: 174–175), one of which is the view of "the rural as backward, conservative, boring, dangerous, threatening, uncultured and uneducated" (Britain 2017: 174). Given this, is not surprising that the 'Status' and 'Dynamism' scores for the 'Farmer' guise are significantly lower than those for the 'Islander' guise.

Table 3: The two Scilly guises, mean ratings on the three attitude components, and results of paired t-tests[15]

	'Farmer'	'Islander'	*p*
Solidarity	**2.48**	2.26	***
Status	2.38	**2.55**	***
Dynamism	1.29	**1.51**	***

In the 'click task' there were marginally more clicks for the 'Farmer' guise, which received 814 total clicks versus the 'Islander' guise's 810 clicks. This is a very small difference and appears to show no relationship between guise and clicked features. However, it should be noted that these are raw and un-coded data. The figures therefore include all the clicks made by respondents, whether they justified them in a meaningful fashion or not, as well as instances marked as 'don't know' by listeners, along with instances in which features were reported when they were not actually present in the recordings (e.g. 'h-dropping' where there was none). The coded data, summarised in Table 4, demonstrate a quite different picture.

---

[13] Either this, or some listeners could recognise that they were listening to the same speaker, but provided different ratings none the less (see Soukup 2013).

[14] Note that in Table 3, ratings data have been transformed in order that higher scores equal 'more favourable' ratings. During data collection, scales of 1–5 were constructed with values on the left-hand side of the screen (i.e. closer to 1) representing the most positive score.

[15] It can be observed that the mean scores for the two guises are relatively low (i.e., in the lower half of the 1-5 scale used). These data should be considered in the context of the use of the scales overall. Across the four guises that respondents heard, the extremes of the scales were rarely used, with respondents selecting either '1' or '5' only 12.6% of the time.

Table 4: Coded clicks, possible clicks, and the proportion of clicks for each guise[16]

	'Farmer'	'Islander'
Coded clicks	593	566
Possible clicks	5040	4134
Proportion	0.12	0.14

The coding process provided an indication of the features that could have been reacted to by listeners, which in turn permits a proportion of 'successful' possible clicks to be calculated. Table 4 shows these proportion data, revealing a difference by guise and a higher proportion of coded clicks for the 'Islander' guise. A two-proportions z-test reveals a significant difference between the proportions of clicks for the two guises ($z=2.7620$, $p=<0.01$). This means that there is no relationship between a lower 'Status' rating and a greater recognition of regional features when measured between guise. Indeed, not only is there no support for the hypothesis that lower 'Status' ratings would result in higher recognition of regional features, the data show that respondents were significantly more likely to click and provide reasons for their responses for the 'Islander' guise, which was rated more highly on the 'Status' factor. I will return to the implications of this finding after considering the within-guise reactions in the next section.

Within-guise ratings and feature recognition

Not only did the ratings data for each guise differ, but the features identified by respondents also did (as reported in Montgomery and Moore 2018) when considering features common to both guises. Table 5 shows these data, and the outcome of repeated measures logistic regression for each feature using the {lmer4} package in R (Bates, Maechler and Bolker 2011), with speaker as a fixed effect and listener as a random effect.

The data in Table 5 represent 91.5% of all coded click data, with the other 8.5% of the coded data not included as they referred to features not common to both guises. In the following analyses, I work with these common features and attempt to draw conclusions both within and between guises. First, I will discuss the relationship between clicks and 'Status' ratings, before moving on to consider the relationship between clicks, ratings, and other social factors.

---

[16] The 'Possible clicks' figure was arrived at by summing all of the features that had received at least one click and multiplying this by the number of respondents.

Table 5: Differences between recognition of features common to both guises.
Bold font indicates higher level of recognition by guise

Feature	'Farmer' % clicks	'Islander' % clicks	p
BATH	8.4	**30.4**	***
CHOICE	3.3	**11.2**	**
GOAT	5.6	**9.8**	N/S
MOUTH	6.3	**17.8**	***
PALM	**30.4**	7.5	***
PRICE	**17.9**	8.4	***
STRUT	**6.1**	1.9	N/S
TRAP	**13.8**	1.4	***
rhoticity	16.0	**25.8**	***

Clicks and grouped 'Status' ratings

To recap, my hypothesis was that listeners who provided lower attitudinal scores for a guise would attend to more features in the click task. This was not the case when considering the whole respondent cohort and the global rating for each guise, although breaking respondents into ratings groups offers the possibility of looking more closely at the relationship between ratings and feature recognition. This should show that higher ratings groups show fewer clicks for individual features, and that lower ratings groups provide a greater number of clicks. To this end, I divided listeners into quartiles based on their 'Status' ratings for each guise, per Table 6.

The 'Status' rating quartile groups represent different ratings scores for each guise, and the groups for each guise contain different numbers of respondents. This reflects both the different ratings for each guise, and the fact that respondents reacted to the guises differently. It was not possible to place participants into one rating group for both guises, as in only 39% of cases was there a match between ratings groups for both guises. Figures 3 and 4 show simple dot plots for the two guises, for the 'Farmer' guise, and 'Islander' guise, respectively. These plots display mean proportion of clicks by attitude group for each of the common features listed in Table 5. These plots show features that received a higher proportion of clicks with a dot further to the right, so, for example, for 'rhoticity' in Figure 3 respondents in ratings group 3 had the highest proportion of clicks for this feature.

Table 6: Classification of quartile ratings groups, based on 'Status' scores per guise, with number and proportion of respondents in each rating group, by guise

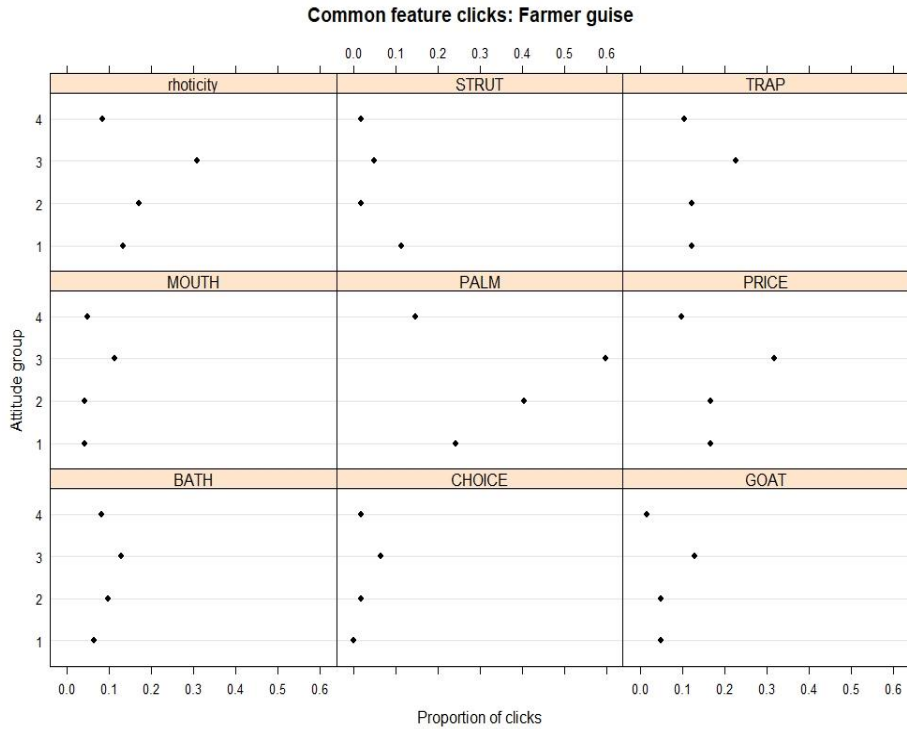| | Rating group | Classification | | n and % in each rating group | | | |
| | | 'Status' ratings | | Farmer guise | | Islander guise | |
		Farmer guise	Islander guise	n	%	n	%
Low ratings	1	Below 1.2	Below 1.2	31	27.68	36	32.14
	2	1.3-2.0	1.3-2.2	27	24.11	26	23.21
↓	3	2.3-2.4	2.3-2.6	28	25.00	16	14.29
High ratings	4	2.6-2.8	2.7-2.8	17	15.18	25	22.32

Figure 3: Proportion of coded clicks for features common to both guises, by 'Status' attitude group (1= lower ratings, 4=higher ratings), 'Farmer' guise data
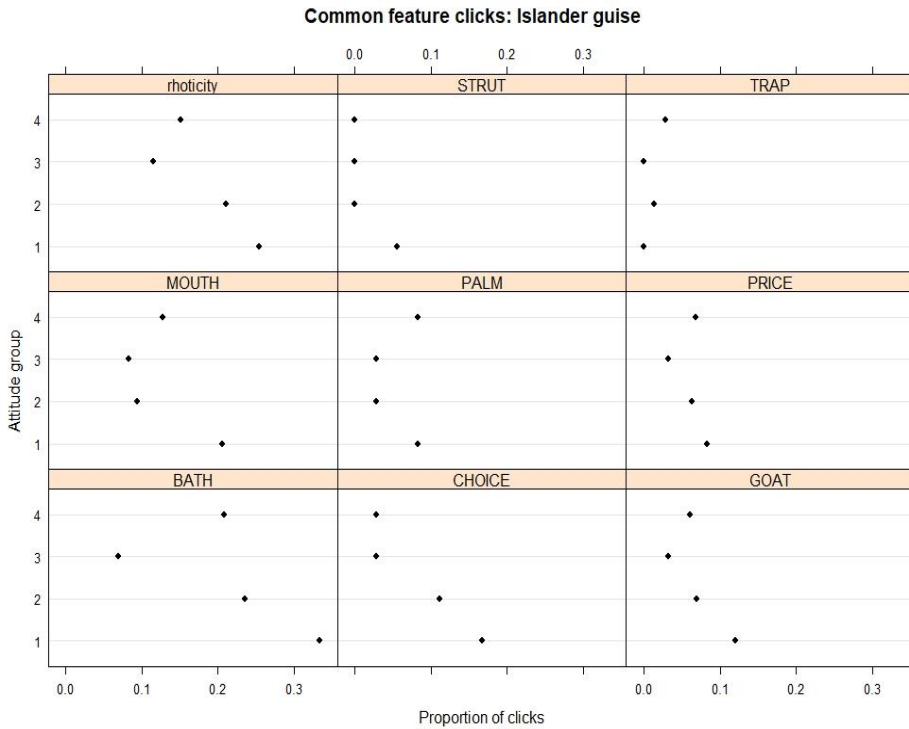
Figure 4: Proportion of coded clicks for features common to both guises, by 'Status' attitude group (1= lower ratings, 4=higher ratings), 'Islander' guise data

It should be noted that Figures 3 and 4 represent proportions data calculated in some cases from quite small numbers of respondents. This means that the data are quite volatile, with one or two clicks for some features having a dramatic impact on the calculation. The patterns in Figures 3 and 4 should therefore be looked at quite conservatively.

Turning first to Figure 3, the patterns present in relation to the 'Farmer' guise do not appear to support my hypothesis that lower ratings will result in a greater number of clicks for features. Instead, most features appear to show indicative patterns which suggest the opposite to my hypothesis (i.e. that features are more likely to be clicked and commented on amongst respondents giving the guise a higher rating), at least when considering groups 1-3. Respondents in the highest rating group (group 4) were less likely in nearly all cases to click and comment on features, potentially showing weak support for the hypothesis.

Figure 4 demonstrates more of the expected pattern. For most features (TRAP and STRUT excepted), there is a slight decrease in the proportion of clicks and comments as 'Status' ratings for the guise become higher, although again, we must

be cautious about these patterns. As with the 'Farmer' guise, the group of respondents who gave the guise the highest ratings disrupted a smooth pattern to some extent. This can be seen in the panels for GOAT and rhoticity, for example, where the respondents in group 4 noted a higher proportion of these features than respondents in the second highest 'Status' rating group.

Overall, the relationship between ratings for the guises and the features clicked and commented on is not a straightforward one. For the 'Farmer' guise, which it should be noted was the guise that scored less highly on the 'Status' component, listeners were more likely to respond to features the higher they scored the guise on the 'Status' component, up to and including the second highest-scoring group. The 'Islander' guise showed a less unexpected pattern, with respondents who gave lower scores for the 'Status' component appearing to recognise a higher proportion of features than those who provided the speaker with higher scores.

Subdividing respondents into ratings groups permitted examination of the relationship between ratings scores and feature recognition, but the resulting small numbers of clicks does make the data somewhat volatile. In order to understand the data further, I ran linear mixed effects regression analysis, with significant effects found only for the PALM and TRAP vowels and ratings groups for the 'Farmer' guise. The 'Islander' guise showed no significant effects. The lack of significant findings via these analyses is most likely due to the problem of small numbers. Ratings data are not the only way to subdivide the respondents, and I examine the effect of social factors on feature recognition in the next section.

Clicks and social factors

This section presents some exploratory analysis of the effects of social and geographical factors on the likelihood of respondents clicking for specific features. I use linear mixed effects regression analyses in order to understand these relationships, although the analyses should again be treated cautiously due to the small number of respondents (and clicks) involved. Tables 7 and 8 show summary results from a series of linear mixed effects regression analyses run on the click and comment data for the 'Farmer' and 'Islander' guises, respectively. Only social/geographical factors that demonstrated significant results (i.e. $p<0.05$) are included in the tables.

Table 7: Summary of results of linear mixed effects regression analysis run on the 'Farmer' guise social and click data.

	rhoticity	STRUT	TRAP	MOUTH	PALM	PRICE	BATH	CHOICE	GOAT
Gender (Male)						**			
Age 21-28	***				*		**		
Age 42+		*							
North West			*						
West Midlands	**								
Resident					*				
Visitor			*						

Table 8: Summary of results of linear mixed effects regression analysis run on the 'Islander' guise social and click data.

	rhoticity	STRUT	TRAP	MOUTH	PALM	PRICE	BATH	CHOICE	GOAT
East of England									**
Scotland									**
South West					*				
Resident	**				*				

Tables 7 and 8 reveal more significant effects for the 'Farmer' guise. This is interesting as it was the least well-regarded sample in terms of the 'Status' attitude component and suggests that respondents who had different social backgrounds reacted to the sample in quite different ways. The 'Islander' guise data suggest a more uniform response to the speaker, with three features showing different reactions. Whereas gender, age, geography, and residence status (i.e. resident on or visitor to Scilly) play a role in the recognition of features for the 'Farmer' guise, only geography and residence status were important in respect of the 'Islander' guise.

It is difficult to make too many generalisations about the patterns shown in Tables 7 and 8, but they do suggest some potentially interesting avenues for further research. In particular, the role of age and recognition of features for the 'Farmer' guise is interesting. This suggests that one of the younger age group (21-28) was particularly sensitive to rhotic variants, and the PALM and BATH variables, at least compared to other age categories. The relative lack of importance of geography in the recognition of features is interesting, as it would be a reasonable expectation that specific features that are diagnostic of 'other' areas would be in some way

salient to listeners. That this was not the case can perhaps tell us something instructive about the perception and meaning of individual features. I return to this topic in my conclusion below.

SUMMARY

The results that I presented show that my assumptions about 'Status' ratings and feature recognition were largely wrong. I made two predictions: firstly, that the guise with the lower 'Status' rating would attract more clicks; the second was that, when examining reactions to individual guises, higher ratings would result in fewer clicks for individual features.

In respect of my first prediction, although the total number of clicks was similar for both guises, the proportion of clicks was significantly higher for the 'Islander' guise. As the 'Islander' guise scored more highly on the 'Status' component, this was the precise opposite of my hypothesis. For the second prediction, the data were slightly less clear-cut than for the first, and the proportion of clicks by 'Status' rating group were not the same for both guises. The 'Farmer' guise data showed the opposite pattern to what I expected, whereas the 'Islander' guise demonstrated patterns that could be considered more in keeping with my hypothesis. Even so, this was only a weak pattern, and only for certain variables. Added to this, in nearly all the cases that the pattern seemed to hold, the highest ratings group behaved in an unexpected fashion.

This leaves some unanswered questions: why did listeners not behave as expected and click and comment for fewer features if they regarded the sample as more statusful? Why were there different patterns for the two guises in terms of the relationship between status ratings and clicks for features? Why did the higher ratings group behave so differently to the other ratings groups for the 'Islander' guise? What do these data mean for the way in which we understand how individual features convey meaning? I address these questions in my conclusion.

CONCLUSION

The aim of this chapter was to examine the extent to which the presence of regional (non-standard) features would be noticed in a variety widely considered to be 'Standard' and unmarked. In this sense, folk understanding of the Scillonian variety of English conforms to Milroy's (1999: 174) 'residual' type of spoken 'Standard English'. Of course, the linguistic reality of the variety is far removed from its popular imagining, as shown in Moore and Carter's (2015; 2018) work. It is therefore

unsurprising that respondents had no difficulty in hearing features in the guises that they considered to be regional. That they were then able to provide justifications for the features that they had clicked that often tallied with their fellow respondents demonstrates that there are some features which many non-linguists agree are noticeable due to their regionality (demonstrated in comment data), even in these examples of Scillonian speech.

This seems to suggest that regional features are not generally incompatible with notions of 'Status' for the respondents who took part in this research. Although a conflation of 'Status' and 'Standardness' is not one that was made by respondents, it seems reasonable to view these two concepts as closely related, given the way in which the accent label *A standard accent of English* was judged as highly prestigious (i.e. statusful) in Coupland and Bishop (2007), for example. The patterns in the data are clear: the 'Islander' guise was rated more highly on the 'Status' component; yet despite this, the proportion of listeners' click and comment data for that guise was significantly higher than for the 'Farmer' guise. This underscores the finding that notions of 'Status', and therefore also perhaps Standardness', do not necessarily depend on a lack of identifiable regional features.

Why should this be? In Montgomery and Moore (2018), alongside my co-author in that paper, I argue that the content of a guise is particularly important in determining what listeners pay attention to. The data in Table 5 show the effect of the guise on the features attended to, making it clear that listeners were heavily impacted by the context in which they encountered features. The 'Farmer' guise clearly evokes (negative) rural stereotypes and rated less highly on the 'Status' component. This lower 'Status' rating might lead us to assume that listeners might be predisposed to identify regional features in the 'Farmer' guise, although this was not the case. Contrasting the 'Farmer' guise reactions to the 'Islander' guise reveals that it is the latter guise that has the greater proportion of attention to features. Montgomery and Moore (2018) rely on Rácz's (2013) notion of 'surprisal' (i.e. a feature's unexpectedness) to explain the differential levels of attention given to features between the guises. This means that, because the 'Islander' guise did not prime listeners to think about rurality through its content, when they encountered certain regional features in this guise listeners were more likely to pay attention to them. Montgomery and Moore (2018: 649–653) discuss the differential attention paid to variants of the same lexical set in their paper, but the new analysis here suggests that overall it was more likely that listeners would perceive regional features in the 'Islander' guise. This seems to underscore the importance of 'surprisal' (Rácz 2013) and highlights the contribution of guise content in cueing up stereotypes by which listeners judge speakers and hear regional features, in a similar way to what more controlled studies (e.g. Campbell-Kibler 2010; D'Onofrio 2015) have shown. This

is reflected in the different ratings for the two guises, and the different levels of attention paid to features present within them.

Despite the different content of the two guises, and the different overall 'Status' scores, respondents did not all rate them in the same way. The level of variability in scores was almost identical for each guise (the standard deviations were 0.85 and 0.84 for the 'Farmer' and 'Islander' guises, respectively), pointing towards similar levels of disagreement amongst respondents for each guise. Dividing the listeners into quartiles based on their 'Status' ratings permitted me to examine the proportion of features attended to by listener group. These data demonstrated unexpected patterns for the 'Farmer' guise, with fewer features noticed amongst lower ratings groups, with a more expected pattern for the 'Islander' guise where listeners amongst the lower ratings groups attended to a larger proportion of features. For the 'Islander' guise, listeners in the highest ratings group typically attended to proportionally more features than in the second highest ratings group. Again, I believe that 'surprisal' (Rácz 2013) plays a large role in explaining this: if listeners consider a guise to be more statusful (in this case, possibly due to the topic), they will be more surprised to encounter non-standard features, and more likely to pay attention to them.

So far in this conclusion I have focussed on the general patterns in the data, looking for overall patterns in relation to attitude groups and likelihood of paying attention to specific features. It has not escaped my notice that this is somewhat removed from the task that listeners were asked to engage in, which was to note when they heard a feature of note, and to justify their reaction. The data collected in this manner therefore have the ability to tell us something about the 'social salience', or "relative availability of a form to evoke social meaning" (Levon and Fox 2014: 185) of particular features. Given that this chapter has focussed on the more general patterns in the data, I refer readers to the different analysis of the data in Montgomery and Moore (2018) which deals with the potential social meanings of the features present in the guises. In brief, the findings in that paper showed that features realised in a fashion readily indexical of 'Cornish English' (i.e. the vowels in PALM, PRICE, and TRAP) were noticed significantly more frequently in the 'Farmer' guise than the 'Islander' guise. Other features that were either generally non-standard or realised according to Scillonian norms (the vowels in CHOICE and MOUTH, for example) were significantly more frequently recognised in the 'Islander' guise. Rhoticity was a special case, as it was very frequently noted in both guises but significantly more so in the 'Islander' guise. Given rhoticity's strong associative link with farming, and farming's stereotypical link with the South West of England, Montgomery and Moore state that the higher rate of noticing in the 'Islander' guise is due to 'surprisal' (Rácz 2013) as the more general topic in this guise contained fewer stereotypical indexes of place, unlike the 'Farmer' guise.

To this brief summary, I add the following observations about the task that respondents engaged in and what it can tell us about how specific linguistic features are attended to by non-linguists. The first is that everything occurs somewhere, in a (social and linguistic) context. As I think my analysis has demonstrated, this context affects how listeners will react, from the global rating they might give to a voice, to the attention paid to features within that voice. This is not a new finding (see, for example, Hay and Drager 2010; Hay, Drager and Gibson 2018), but is important to bear in mind as we attempt to uncover how listeners deal with and understand variability as they encounter it in speech. My second observation relates to the ability to understand precisely which feature(s) result in particular types of reaction in non-experimental settings. Real-time tasks have the ability to begin to shed some light on this, but often have hard-to-interpret results, either due to the method (e.g. Watson and Clark 2015) or (as in this work) the ways in which multiple features of note may occur in quick succession. My final observation concerns the utility of methods such as the one I have discussed here in generating hypotheses for later testing in more controlled, experiment, settings. Grounding the selection of features for further analysis in the findings of research such as this means that the temptation of testing what researchers think 'should' have an impact on listeners is lessened.

I will finish this chapter with some reflections on the methodology and the data. Although the ability of the tool to capture listeners' justifications for the features they had clicked on is a positive feature, it relies to a large extent on respondents' ability to put this into words. If listeners were not able to translate their thoughts into words, they could have not provided information, or selected the 'don't know' option. Even if listeners were able to write something for their click data, this then needed to be coded, and could have been removed from the dataset at that stage as irrelevant or ambiguous. This is a particular problem for features that might be important to listeners in the moment but which are less amenable to easy classification (e.g. a vocalic feature might be quite easy for a listener to account for and to be coded, but something like intonation would be very difficult to report on for non-linguists, and then to code for in a systematic fashion). A potential complication of the work is the task that listeners were asked to undertake, which was to "listen out for anything that makes you wonder where the speaker is from, or confirms where you already think he is from"[17]. This was not the same as monitoring the samples for non-standardness, although I have equated regionality and non-standardness here. However, it is still the case that had listeners been asked to listen for 'non-standard', or 'incorrect' features the results might have been different in important

---

[17] As well as this instruction, in the ratings element of the task, respondents were asked to select where they thought the speaker was from, from a list of locations as well as adding a specific location in a text box. Respondents were more able to correctly identify the 'Farmer' guise speaker than the 'Islander' guise (in both the location selection and free text tasks).

respects. Finally, it is important to note that although ratings data were sought from respondents, the data here do not represent evaluations in real-time, but assessments of regionally indexed features in real-time.

Despite these methodological observations, I hope to have demonstrated here that non-linguists are sensitive to regional features, even in samples of speech that are deemed to come from a 'Standard English' variety. Furthermore, I have shown that context is particularly important in determining the level of sensitivity that listeners will have towards particular features, which is important when reporting on people's perceptions of 'varieties' of a language as monolithic entities. Lastly, I have shown that the presence of regional features is not incompatible with high 'Status' ratings.

This has important implications for how we undertake research into notions of linguistic 'standardness', as well as for our understandings of standard (British English) language. That listeners can hear samples that contain some regional features and still consider them to be to some extent 'standard' suggests that accent is not the only or even most important aspect of the standard. Methodologically, because I have shown that recognition of regional and/or non-standard features do not negatively impact on listener judgements of status and that context plays a large role in the recognition of these features it is imperative that researchers take this into account when designing experiments that examine speech perception. It seems clear that the same feature will be differently reacted to depending on where (and when) it occurs, and stimuli should be designed with this in mind. Free-choice tasks of the type described in this chapter (either web-based or using a paper-based approach seen in Soukup's (2011) work) can help to identify candidate features to be used in manipulated stimuli, or free-choice tasks themselves can be used to assess the role of contextual factors. This could open up a new and exciting field of research in the perception of language variation in order to assess the role of single features, co-occurring features, and constellations of features and the ways in which they interact with listener attributions of standardness.

REFERENCES

Auer, P. 2007. Introduction. In P. Auer (ed.) *Style and Social Identities: Alternative Approaches to Linguistic Heterogeneity*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter. 1–21.

Banfield, F. 1888. The Scillonians. *The Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. CCLXV. London: Chatto & Windus.

Bates, D., M. Maechler and B. Bolker. 2011. lme4: Linear mixed-effects models using S4 classes. http://CRAN.R -project.org/package=lme4 (March 1, 2022)

Bex, T. and R. J. Watts. 1999. Introduction. In T. Bex and R. J. Watts (eds.) *Standard English: The widening debate*. London, New York: Routledge. 1–10.

Bishop, H., N. Coupland and P. Garrett. 2005. Conceptual Accent Evaluation: Thirty years of accent prejudice in the UK. *Acta Linguistica Hafniensia* 37: 131–154.

Boersma, P. and D. Weenick. 2019. Praat: doing phonetics by computer. http://www.praat.org/ (March 1, 2022).

Bowley, R. L. 1964. The Fortunate Islands: A History of the Isles of Scilly. 2nd edn. Bowley Publications Ltd.

Britain, D. 2017. Which way to look?: Perspectives on "Urban" and "Rural" in dialectology. In C. Montgomery and E. Moore (eds.) *Language and A Sense of Place*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 171–187.

Campbell-Kibler, K. 2006. *Listener Perceptions of Sociolinguistic Variables: The case of (ING).* PhD thesis, Stanford University.

Campbell-Kibler, K. 2009. The Nature of Sociolinguistic Perception. *Language Variation and Change* 21, 1: 135–156.

Campbell-Kibler, K. 2010. The Effect of Speaker Information on Attitudes Toward (ING). *Journal of Language and Social Psychology* 29, 2: 214–223.

Crowley, T. 1999. Curiouser and Curiouser: Falling standards in the standard English debate. In T. Bex and R. J. Watts (eds.) *Standard English: The widening debate*. London, New York: Routledge. 271–282.

Crowley, T. 2003. *Standard English and the politics of language*. 2nd ed. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Coupland, N. and H. Bishop. 2007. Ideologised values for British accents. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 11, 1: 74–103.

D'Onofrio, A. 2015. Persona-based information shapes linguistic perception: Valley Girls and California vowels. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 19, 2: 241–256.

Giles, H. 1970. Evaluative Reactions to Accents. *Educational Review* 22. 211–227.

Hay, J. and K. Drager. 2010. Stuffed Toys and Speech Perception. *Linguistics* 48, 4: 865–892.

Hay, J., K. Drager and A. Gibson. 2018. Hearing r-sandhi: The role of past experience. *Language* 94, 2: 360–404.

Hay, J., A. Nolan and K. Drager. 2006. From Fush to Feesh: Exemplar Priming in Speech Perception. *The Linguistic Review* 23, 3: 351–379.

Heath, R. 1750. *A Natural and Historical Account of the Islands of Scilly; Describing their Situation, Number, Extent, Soil, Culture, Produce, Rareties, Towns, Fortifications, Trade, Manufacture, Inhabitants. Their Government, Laws, Customs, Grants, Records, and Antiquities*. London: R. Manby & H. S. Cox.

Honey, J. 1997. *Language is Power: The story of Standard English and its enemies*. London: Faber & Faber.

Kristiansen, T., P. Garrett and N. Coupland. 2005. Introducing Subjectivities in Language. *Acta Linguistica Hafniensia* 37: 9–35.

Labov, W., S. Ash, M. Ravindranath, T. Weldon, M. Baranowski and N. Nagy. 2011. Properties of the sociolinguistic monitor. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 15. 4: 431–463.

Levon, E. and S. Fox. 2014. Social Salience and the Sociolinguistic Monitor: A Case Study of ING and TH-fronting in Britain. *Journal of English Linguistics* 42, 3: 185–217.

Milroy, L. 1999. Standard English and language ideology in Britain and the United States. In T. Bex and R. J. Watts (eds.) *Standard English: the widening debate*. London: Routledge. 173–206.

Montgomery, C. and E. Moore. 2018. Evaluating S(c)illy Voices: The effects of salience, stereotypes, and co-present language variables on real-time reactions to regional speech. *Language* 94, 3: 629–661.

Moore, E. 2014. Scilly Voices. Scilly Voices: Language and oral history on the Isles of Scilly. http://scillyvoices.wordpress.com/ (March 1, 2022).

Moore, E. and P. Carter. 2015. Dialect contact and distinctiveness: The social meaning of language variation in an island community. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 19, 1: 3–36.

Moore, E. and P. Carter. 2017. 'The Land Steward Wouldn't Have a Woman Farmer.' In C. Montgomery and E. Moore (eds.) *Language and a Sense of Place: Studies in Language and Region*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 258–280.

Moore, E. and P. Carter. 2018. Natural phonetic tendencies and social meaning: Exploring the allophonic raising split of price and mouth on the Isles of Scilly. *Language Variation and Change* 30, 3: 337–360.

Moore, E. and C. Montgomery. 2018. The dialect of the Isles of Scilly: Exploring the relationship between language production and language perception in a Southern insular variety. In L. Wright (ed.) *Southern English Varieties Then and Now*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter. 39–73.

Niedzielski, N. 1999. The Effect of Social Information on the Perception of Socio-linguistic Variables. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology* 18, 1: 62–85.

ONS Geography, ons geography@ons gsi gov uk. 2010. Regions (Former GORs). Text. Office for National Statistics. http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/guide-method/geography/beginner-s-guide/administrative/england/government-office-regions/index.html (March 1, 2022).

Pharao, N. and M. Maegaard. 2017. On the influence of coronal sibilants and stops on the perception of social meanings in Copenhagen Danish. *Linguistics* 55, 5.

Pharao, N, M. Maegaard, J. Spindler Møller and T. Kristiansen. 2014. Indexical meanings of [s+] among Copenhagen youth: Social perception of a phonetic variant in different prosodic contexts. *Language in Society* 43, 1: 1–31.

Preston, D. R. 1999. A Language Attitude Approach to the Perception of Regional Variety. In D. R. Preston (ed.) *Handbook of Perceptual Dialectology*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. 359–375.

Rácz, P. 2013. *Salience in sociolinguistics: A quantitative approach*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Snell, J. 2018. Critical reflections on the role of the sociolinguist in UK language debates. *Language in Society* 47, 3: 368–374.

Soukup, B. 2011. Austrian listeners' perceptions of standard-dialect style-shifting: An empirical approach. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 15, 3: 347–365.

Soukup, B. 2013. On matching speaker (dis)guises – revisiting a methodological tradition. In T. Kristiansen and S. Grondelaers (eds.) *Language (De)standardisation in late Modern Europe: Experimental Studies.* Oslo: Novus. 267–285.

Taylor, C. 2016. *The Life of a Scilly Sergeant.* Century.

Thomas, C. 1979. A glossary of spoken English in the Isles of Scilly. *Journal of the Royal Institute of Cornwall* 8: 109–147.

Trudgill, P. 1995. *Sociolinguistics: An introduction to language and society*. London: Penguin.

Trudgill, P. 1999. Standard English: what it isn't. In T. Bex and R. J. Watts (eds.) *Standard English: the widening debate*. London: Routledge. 117–128.

Vyvyan, C.C. 1953. *The Scilly Isles*. London: Robert Hale Ltd.

Watson, K. and L. Clark. 2013. How salient is the nurse~square merger? *English Language and Linguistics* 17, 02: 297–323.

Watson, K. and L. Clark. 2015. Exploring listeners' real-time reactions to regional accents. *Language Awareness* 24, 1: 38–59.

Wells, J. C. 1982. *Accents of English 1: An introduction*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Woodley, G. 1822. *View of the Present State of the Scilly Islands: Exhibiting their Vast Importance to the British Empire*. London: Longman and Co.

APPENDIX: FULL TEXT OF THE SCILLY GUISES

'Farmer' guise

[Six seconds of beeps]...So he started to make a life out there. World War One broke out he joined the Anzacs and he got wounded at Gallipoli, came back to the UK to recuperate. Father went into pigs and all sorts of green crops and that you know the farmhouse up there had carbide gas there was a little carbide plant in where the boiler house used to be. I also remember, must have been the last one they did but they used to have an agricultural show as well, father used to take his bull down and cos he used to keep a bull here then – registered bull. He usually won first prize with his, must have been eight or nine at the time.

'Islander' guise

[Six seconds of beeps]...I mean the only time we met up with the off-islands was one day a year. Occasionally they came to Samson picnic with us, Samson picnic was funded by May Day. The top class of the boys would go around with collecting tins and we quite often had a sports day with them as well er the last one was down one of the long fields down there. When we were kids we could go to one of the off-islands and be the only one there or one of the Eastern Isles and be the only one there. I mean you can't even do that in the middle of the week now, everybody's got a boat, and the other thing - kids - we used to lie in bed and listen to, every evening, a weather plane going out.

Understanding standard language:
A psycholinguistic look at Danish regional and casual speech variation

Nicolai Pharao

University of Copenhagen, Denmark

Written language is standardised to a high degree in many countries across the world. Aspects of spelling, grammar and lexis are officially normed at the national level as in France or Denmark, or through widespread accepted use of a particular dictionary as the prescriptive norm, as in Austria or the United Kingdom. Few countries (if any) have a similarly codified norm for spoken language, particularly for native speakers, but norms for proper and correct ways of speaking still exist in most (if not all) speech communities, and are enforced among members of the speech community whether explicitly or implicitly. This is certainly the case in Denmark; and the norms for standard speech in Denmark are the focus of this chapter. A series of comprehensive studies of language attitudes among Danes conducted by Tore Kristiansen and colleagues provide a detailed look at the ideologies surrounding regional speech variation. These studies are briefly reviewed here, as they provide an important background for the method I propose and exemplify in this chapter: the use of psycholinguistic tools to study standard language. Building on a small number of studies of word recognition (Ernestus , Bayeen and Schreuder 2002; Floccia et al. 2006; Sumner et al. 2014), I examine both regional variation in Danish as well as reduction that is the result of spontaneous speech processes, presumably common to all varieties of Danish. Reduction of words, such as the weakening or lack of segments as compared to a distinct pronunciation, e.g. vocalisation or even complete loss of post-vocalic /l/ in words like *whole, feel, mile*, has received some attention in experimental phonetics and psycholinguistics. However, reduction is rarely the explicit object of study in language attitude studies, and has not been purposely included in the Kristiansen studies, which focus on regional variation. But reduction in general is a part of the debate about proper speech in Denmark, or rather about 'bad' speech, as commentaries and debates almost invariably focus on speakers whose Danish is "bad" or "ugly". A common criticism in these proscriptive debates is that the speech of certain groups is "sloppy and indistinct" and "difficult to understand" because sounds or syllables "get swallowed". (Regional variation is also sometimes criticised for being difficult to understand, of course, but not necessarily because they are perceived as sloppy.) Therefore, both reduction and regional variation may be considered as relevant dimensions in what constitutes the

norm for standard spoken Danish; and the proposal in this chapter is that, by study-
ing both at the same time, we may gain better insight into implicitly held norms
than by continuing the tradition of studying either spontaneous speech process or
regionally based variation.

LANGUAGE ATTITUDES IN DENMARK

In a series of studies, Tore Kristiansen and colleagues have studied the language
attitudes of Danish speakers in five different locations in Denmark (summarised, in
greater detail than is possible here, in Grondelaers and Kristiansen 2013 and in even
greater detail in Kristiansen 2009). A notable feature of this series of studies is that
both methods involving direct measures of language attitudes as well as methods
using indirect measures are used. Because the two methods reveal a fundamental
difference in the patterns with striking consistency across locations, this has led
Kristiansen to posit the existence of both an overt and covert norm for speech varia-
tion in Denmark.

According to the results of the direct method of a Label Ranking Task, in which
15 – 16 year old participants were presented with a list of names of Danish 'ways of
speaking' (including *rigsdansk* as the name for the 'Standard' together with dialect
names covering the whole country) and were asked to rank them in order of the best
kind of Danish to the worst kind of Danish, participants across the five locations
consistently rated their own local accent or that associated with the nearest city as
the best. Overtly then, young Danes prefer their own local variety.

However, in the Speaker Evaluation Experiments, a different pattern emerges.
The same participants who had performed the Label Ranking Task in the five loca-
tions were presented with approximately 30 seconds of speech produced by (1) two
male and two female speakers of conservative Copenhagen-based Danish, (2) two
male and two female speakers of modern Copenhagen-based speech, and (3) two
male and two female speakers of their own local accent. Where the conservative
and modern accents differ in segmental properties (mainly vowel qualities) the local
accents differ from the Copenhagen-based accents mainly in terms of prosodic
features. So the set of Copenhagen-based stimuli was identical in all five locations,
but the stimuli with local speech varied between locations. The design was a verbal
guise experiment, with all stimuli containing descriptions of what it means to be a
good teacher. Participants were asked to rate each speaker on a set of eight scales
representing personality traits commonly used in language attitudes research (for
details see Grondelaers and Kristiansen 2013; Kristiansen 2009). Again, with strik-
ing consistency, Kristiansen and colleagues found that the speakers representing the
local accent are rated the lowest on all of the eight scales in all five locations. This

of course means that Copenhagen-based speech is consistently rated the highest. Further, the conservative variety is rated higher on semantic differential scales which may be classified as traits of superiority (such as being goal-directed or conscientious) and the modern variety is rated highest on scales which can be classified as traits relating to dynamism (such as fascinating and cool). Covertly, then, young Danes have a higher regard for speakers from Copenhagen than for speakers from their own area.

Thus, if 'standard Danish' is to be defined in terms of what seems – on empirical grounds – to count as 'best language', as argued by Kristiansen, the answer to the question what is standard Danish is not a straightforward one. In overt discourse about language, the results suggest a preference for local varieties of speaking, suggesting the existence of multiple local or regional standard Danishes. But in terms of the evaluation of speakers, Copenhagen-based language always wins out. This is interesting in the present context because, as Kristiansen has argued and as supported by a large-scale study of language change in real time reported in Maegaard et al. (2013), the covert norm is predictive of language change across several regional speech communities, whereas the overt norm is not.

These studies all look directly at the ideological dimensions of speech variation to assess what for language users themselves counts as the best language, and thus what may be deemed standard Danish in the minds of Danes. The link to language change is particularly important, because it suggests a link between attitudes and language use.

In this chapter, I present the results of a series of psycholinguistic experiments that explore the implications of the existence of such evaluations of different ways of speaking for how listeners understand spoken words. Understanding is meant here in the sense of the (so-called) low level process of recognising and hence decoding spoken words (rather than the more complex process of comprehension of the content). A small body of recent studies in psycholinguistics have examined such processing of spoken words and found a benefit for distinct and standard word forms: they are recognised faster and may even facilitate recognition of the same word pronounced with reduced segments or regional segmental variants (Sumner and Samuel 2005, 2009). That is, language users do not simply prefer some variants of word forms over others in the sense that they hold speakers who use them in higher esteem, but they also find them easier to recognise. This is in spite of the fact that in language use, distinct word forms are not the most common forms encountered in everyday interaction, nor do speakers of regional accents encounter speakers of the standard variety most often.

The series of psycholinguistic studies reported here are based on the design in Sumner and Samuel (2009) in their study of U.S. English. Here, I use Danish to explore the role of 1) reduced segments, 2) regional segmental variation and 3)

regional prosodic variation in the recognition of spoken words by the same groups of listeners. By including easiness of recognition as a criterion for defining the standard variety, and examining all of these three aspects of speech variation and their effect on the same listener population, we get a more nuanced picture of what counts as standard for Danes, and what the implications may be in everyday interaction.

LEXICAL DECISION TASKS INVOLVING REDUCTION, REGIONAL VARIATION AND PROSODY

To study the role of variation in immediate decoding of the speech signal in terms of both distinctness and regional variation, lexical decision tasks involving two segmental variables in Danish were conducted in sequence. The reduction of intervocalic /g/ and the realisation of the suffix /əð/ were used as variables. Intervocalic /g/ may be realised as either a stop or an approximant, e.g. the word /lɔgə/ *lukke* ('close' vb.) has the distinct realisation [lɔg̊ə] and the reduced realisation [lɔɥə]. The reduced realisation of intervocalic /g/ is more frequent than the distinct variant in running speech (Pharao 2011). I will therefore refer to intervocalic /g/ as the reduction variable, because the variation concerns levels of distinctness in spontaneous speech, which are relevant in all varieties of Danish. Note that it is not because [ɥ] is an approximant, that it is classified as reduced, but because it is an approximant *that is a variant of a stop*. The classification thus rests on segmental typologies in phonetics and phonology where segments are described as weaker the more sonorous they are, but crucially in this context when they are more sonorous than the corresponding segment in the word form they can reasonably be argued to be derived from within the same variety. In other words, this classification rests on the assumption that the segment [ɥ] is part of the inventory of allophones in Danish but not a phoneme in the language and that the form with [g̊] is the canonical (or underlying) form. One purpose of the experiments reported here is to study how this conceptualisation of the representation of word forms relates to the way in which listeners process these word forms. Given that the reduced variant is the more frequent one in disyllabic words of the type used in this experiment, a usage-based approach would predict that [lɔɥə] would be recognised either quicker than or as quickly as [lɔg̊ə].

The realisation of the suffix /əð/ is conditioned by region: it is realised as [əð̞] in Copenhagen Danish, but variably as either [əð̞] or [əd̞] in Aarhus Danish, a regional variety of Danish spoken in western Denmark. For example, /hʌbəð/ *hoppet* 'jumped' is realised as [hʌb̥əð̞] in Copenhagen Danish, but as [hʌb̥əd̞] in Aarhus Danish (Jensen and Maegaard 2012). I will refer to this as the regional variable,

because the variants are associated with the two regions represented here. No claim is made about reduction with respect to this variable, i.e. the Copenhagen variant [əð] is not hypothesized to be weaker than the Aarhus variant [əḍ], because the approximant is not a variant of an underlying /d/ (outside of hyper-distinct pronunciations as discussed above). Indeed, from a usage-based perspective, the variant [əḍ] should take longer to process for listeners from Copenhagen than the variant [əð] because it does not occur in their variety.

Experimental design

Participants

Two groups of listeners were recruited for the experiment: 32 from Copenhagen (mean age 22.6; 11 male, 21 female) and 32 from Aarhus (mean age 24.9; 11 male and 21 female). All listeners in the Copenhagen group were born and raised in Greater Copenhagen and lived in Copenhagen at the time the study was conducted. For the Aarhus group, all were born and raised in Eastern Jutland, where Aarhus is the biggest town, and 20 of the participants lived in Aarhus at the time of the study. The remaining 12 had moved to Copenhagen to go to university, but had only lived in Copenhagen for 18 months or less. Including two groups of listeners allowed us to test whether regular exposure to the regional variant facilitates recognition of spoken words containing this variant.

Stimuli

The stimuli for the first phase of the experiment were produced by two female speakers, one from Copenhagen and one from Aarhus. Since the purpose was to test the effect of the segmental variation alone, the tonal stress group pattern had to be kept constant in the regional variable, as the tonal stress group patterns differ between Copenhagen and Aarhus Danish, and the regional segmental variant only occurs in Aarhus Danish, at least outside of hyper-distinct "spelling pronunciation" which occurs rarely and is outside the style of speech that the experiment is attempting to study. Note that for some speakers in Copenhagen, the suffix can be realised with a stop if the stem contains and intervocalic /ð/. For example, the word /bæːðə/ (bathe) in the preterite takes the suffix /əð/. This may be realised as either [bæːḍð] (with schwa-assimilation to the approximant) or [bæːḍəḍ] where the approximant of the suffix is dissimilated from the approximant of the stem. Because the realisation with a stop is still an option (although probably mostly prevalent among older speakers in Copenhagen), words containing /ð/ in the stem were not included as stimuli.

For the reduction variable, listeners heard tokens produced in their own accent, i.e. Copenhagen listeners heard them with a Copenhagen-based tonal contour and Aarhus listeners heard them with an Aarhus-based tonal contour. Again, this was done to focus on the segmental variation for each group of participants. As a consequence of this, the first phase of the experiment was divided into two blocks, one for each segmental variable. Accent differed between the two blocks for Copenhagen participants, but remained the same for Aarhus participants.

Procedure

For the first phase of the experiment, participants simply conducted a lexical decision task involving either reduction or regional variation. The stimuli were blocked by variable, that is, participants first heard a block of 22 items involving reduction (interspersed with 30 fillers and 30 non-words, randomised for each listener) and then a block of 22 items involving regional variation (again interspersed with 30 fillers and 30 non-words, randomised for each listener). The order of the two blocks was reversed for half of the participants in each group to control for order effects. All critical items and fillers were matched for word frequency in running speech in Danish (i.e. they all fell within the mid-frequency range of words in running speech as assessed using the LANCHART corpus of sociolinguistic interviews, cf. Pharao 2011). Stimuli were presented auditorily over headphones via a laptop running the software Zep (Veenker 2018). In the beginning of the experiment, on-screen written instructions asked participants to listen to a series of words and nonsense words, and for each one to press the key on the keyboard labelled green, if they thought it was a word in Danish, and to press the key labelled red if they thought it was a nonsense word. Stimuli were presented only once and with an inter-stimulus interval of 3000 milliseconds. The experiment began with a set of 12 unrelated items to familiarise participants with the task.

Results of the lexical decision tasks

Response times were measured from stimulus offset. Raw response times to real words were analysed after removing all data points more than two standard deviations from the mean in order to reduce skew, thereby allowing for the use of mixed effects linear regression models in the analysis of the data.[1]

---

[1] It should be noted that for all of the statistical tests reported in this chapter, the regression models were also fit to log transformed response times, which further reduces skewness in the data. No significant differences were found between these model fits and those fit to raw response times, so the results for the raw response times are reported here, as they are more directly interpretable.

The reduction variable: Intervocalic /g/

A full model including variant and listener origin as predictors as well as presentation order, word frequency and hand preference (whether the participant was left-handed or right-handed) as fixed effects and individual listener as random effect was fit to the response time data for the critical items of the reduction variable. Only items that received a correct response were included. This full model was then stepped down, and only the significant factors are reported in the final model summary.

Table 1: Model summary for the reduction variable.

Factor	Estimate	Std. Error	t value	Pr(>/t/)
(Intercept)	455	30.5	14.8	0.0019 **
Variant: reduced	98	10.1	9.6	<2e-16 ***

Table 1 shows that, for the reduction variable, only the factor 'variant' emerged as significant ($p < 0.001$), with the reduced variant having an estimate of 98 (std. error 10.1), i.e. listeners on average took 98 milliseconds longer to recognise reduced word forms as compared to distinct word forms. Note that this holds for participants from both locations, as listener origin did not emerge as a significant factor. The error rates for words with the reduction variable also show a small but significant effect of variant ($p < 0.001$), with words with reduced /g/ having an error rate of 15% as compared to 2% for words with distinct /g/. In summary, listeners took longer to recognise words with reduced /g/ and were also more likely to classify them as non-words than when they heard them with distinct realisations of /g/. The fact that this pattern holds across listener groups suggests that the 'distinct standard' is shared at a supra-regional level.

The regional variable: The suffix /əð/

As for the reduction variable, a full model including variant and listener origin as predictors as well as presentation order, word frequency and speaker handedness as fixed effects and individual listener as random effect was fit to the response time data for the critical items of the regional variable. This model was also stepped down, and only the significant factors are reported in the final model summary.

Table 2: Model summary for the regional variable.

Factor	Estimate	Std. Error	t value	Pr(>/t/)
(Intercept)	453	23.9	18.9	<2e-16 ***
Listener: Copenhagen	61	26.4	2.3	0.024 *

There was no effect of variant ($p = 0.75$), but, as Table 2 shows, there was an effect of listener origin ($p = 0.024$), with an estimate of 61 (std. error 26.4) for Copenhagen listeners. This means that listeners are equally fast at responding to Aarhus and Copenhagen forms of a word, but Copenhagen listeners are generally slower than Aarhus listeners. Recall that Copenhagener listeners were presented with items in a less familiar accent (the Aarhus tonal contour), which may explain the general increased lag. We return to this latter finding in the analysis of the prosodic pattern below. What is interesting to note here is that the segmental regional variation did not inhibit word recognition for either group. The error rates for words with the regional variable show no effect of listener origin ($p = 0.66$), but there is a general effect of variant ($p < 0.001$), with an error rate of 14% for words with the Aarhus variant as compared to 6% for the Copenhagen variant. In summary, regionally specific segmental variation does not slow down the recognition process, but more mistakes are made, meaning more words with the Aarhus variant are classified as non-words.

Regional prosody

As noted previously, the 32 Copenhagen listeners were presented with stimuli in two different tonal contours: the reduction variable stimuli were presented with a Copenhagen based tonal contour, where the tone on the stressed syllable is low and then followed by a rise to the posttonic syllable. This may conveniently be abbreviated as an L*H pattern (following conventions from the ToBI framework – Beckman, Hirschberg and Shattuck-Hufnagel 2005). The Aarhus variable was presented in the Aarhus based tonal contour, where the tone is high on the stressed syllable and followed by a fall to the posttonic, a pattern that may be abbreviated as H*L. The Aarhus listeners heard all stimuli in an H*L pattern, and, therefore, there is no tonal difference to compare for their responses. But for the Copenhagen listeners, it is possible to examine response times to items that were segmentally possible in either variety and thus mainly differ in tonal contour. I say mainly, because the segmental match between conditions is not as neat as in the two previous analyses. The previous comparisons involved essentially "free variation" in one segment, whereas here the comparison is of disyllabic words with entirely different phonemes, e.g. the response time to [lɔǧə] *lukke* ('close' vb.) and [hʌɓəð] *hoppet* ('jumped'). Importantly, however, response times to [lɔɥə] are excluded, because they inhibit processing, and response times to [hʌɓəɖ] are also excluded, because they would be unfamiliar to Copenhagen listeners in that they would have had relatively little exposure to such forms and they would not ever have used such forms themselves. In this sense, the analysis presented here is an analysis of the effect of prosody, specifically the tonal stress group pattern. The effect of this tonal stress group pattern is interesting not only because a difference was found between Aar-

hus and Copenhagen listeners, but also because these particular tonal stress group patterns have been shown to be important in the identification of speaker regional origin by Danish listeners (Kristiansen, Pharao and Maegaard 2013; Tøndering and Pharao 2020).

A mixed-effects regression model with speaker accent as well as presentation order, word frequency and speaker handedness as fixed effects and individual listener as random effect was fit to the raw response time data for critical items with intervocalic /g/ realised as [g̊] and the suffix realised as [əð̥]. The full model was stepped down and the final model including only the factors that emerged as significant is shown in Table 3.

Table 3: Model summary for regional prosody

	Estimate	Std. Error	t value	Pr(>/t/)
(Intercept)	476	13.7	34.5	< 2e-16 ***
Tone: L*H	-59	11.4	-5.2	2.94e-07 ***

The model summary shows that tonal contour is a significant predictor of response times for the Copenhagen participants ($p < 0.001$) with an estimate of -59 (std.error 11.4 when response times to L*H items is compared to response times for H*L contours, meaning that the Copenhagen listeners here were on average 59 milliseconds faster at recognising words in their own L*H accent than in the less familiar H*L accent.

Summarising the results of the lexical decision experiments, we saw that segmental reduction caused inhibition for listeners from both Aarhus and Copenhagen, whereas regional segmental variation did not affect response times for any of the two groups. At the segmental level, then, we may say that deviation from the distinct form has processing costs, whereas regional variation is accepted by the processing system. However, the result from the effect of the difference in tonal contour between the two regional accents for the Copenhagen listeners showed inhibition. This suggests that a more global feature of a regional accent may incur a processing cost to listeners with a different accent. These processing patterns tell us about the implications of standardness at the level of immediate processing, when spoken words are encountered as sound signals and decoded to be matched with lexical items in memory. But how does variation affect the link between variable forms in memory? Is it the case that while (as we have seen) some types of word forms are more easily recognised than others, multiple forms are still stored in memory, and, if so, to what degree are they connected to each other? To study this, we must look at the results from the second phase of our series of lexical decision experiments.

Representation of variable forms: Long-term form priming

In addition to the two blocks of lexical decision tasks that were reported above, the same listeners also participated in a second phase of the experiment, so-called long-term priming tasks with the same variables. This consisted of another series of lexical decision tasks in which the critical items from the first phase served as primes for the critical items in this second phase (as in Sumner and Samuel 2005; 2009). Stimuli for the second blocks were produced by two male speakers, one from Copenhagen and one from Aarhus. Again, speakers were instructed to produce distinct and reduced variants of words with the reduction variable and only the Aarhus speaker produced the stimuli for the regional variable. Speaker gender was changed between the two phases to avoid long-term form priming effects due to voice alone (cf. Goldinger 1996).

In other words, the two new blocks of stimuli were: reduction again and regional again. As before, the order was reversed for half of the participants in each location. Whereas the first two blocks (from phase 1) consisted of 82 trials each, the blocks in phase 2 consisted of 104 trials, as the controls in the long-term form priming condition consisted of words which had not been presented in the first block. It is the difference in response times in phase 2 to these 22 new items compared to the previously encountered items (i.e. the stimuli that constitute the long-term form priming condition), that measures long-term form priming: if response times to these new items are statistically significantly longer than response times to the previously presented items, this means that long-term form priming has occurred. In other words, this would mean that the previous presentation has facilitated the recognition of the repeated word.

Results for long-term form priming

The results of the long-term priming conditions in the lexical decision tasks will reveal to what extent the various forms are stored in the mental lexicon and linked to each other. We begin by looking at the long-term priming results for the reduction variable. Each critical item in these blocks was coded for whether the listener had been presented with an identical target in the first block, a related target or whether this was the first presentation. Using the word /lɔgə/ *lukke* ('close' vb.) as an example we can illustrate the different types of stimuli in the following way for the second phase of the experiment: if a participant has heard the form [lɔɰə] in the first phase, this form will be an identical target in the second phase, and the form [lɔg̊ə] will be a related target, because it is a variant form of the same word. This enables us to analyse differences in response times using the last condition, unprimed targets, as the reference level for the regression analysis. To use the previous example as illustration: if only the identical condition is statistically significantly

different from the unprimed condition, this must mean that only reduced word forms can prime reduced word forms. If the related target condition is also statistically significantly different from the unprimed condition, this can be interpreted as a long-term form priming effect of the reduced form [lɔɥə] on the recognition of the distinct form [lɔg̊ə].

Preliminary regression analyses showed a simple main effect of listener origin for both variables, which revealed that the Copenhagen listener group had longer response times than the Aarhus listener group overall. Since the effect did not interact with other factors, the results for each group will be presented separately. The data were again analysed by fitting mixed effects linear regression models to the raw response times with outliers removed (as before, comparison with the results for log transformed response times revealed no significant differences and therefore the raw response times are shown here). Fixed effect factors were: prime-target combination, order of presentation, word frequency of the target and hand preference. Individual participant was included as a random effect.

The reduction variable

For the Copenhagen listeners there was a main effect of prime-target combination only, and both levels emerged as significantly different from the unprimed condition for both the distinct and the reduced variant. The effect is illustrated in Figure 1
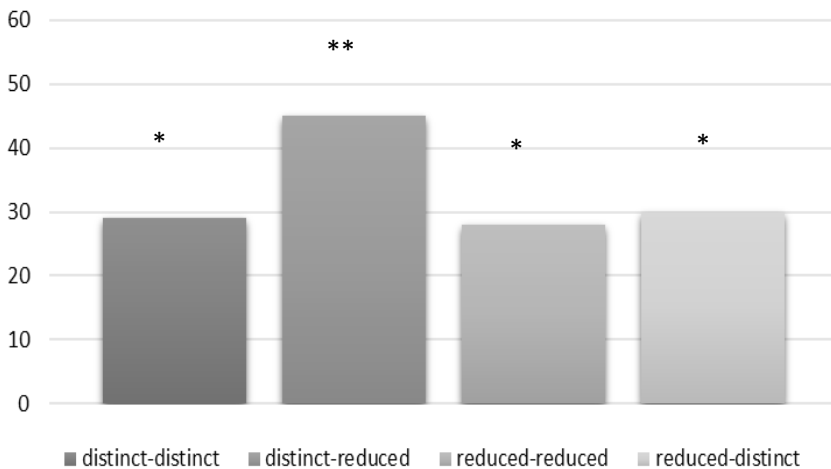

Figure 1: Differences in response times for each of the four priming conditions, intervocalic /g/ – Copenhagen listeners

The unit for the y-axis is milliseconds, and each of the bars represents a priming condition as labelled on the x-axis: the first term in a pair indicates the nature of the prime, whether distinct or reduced, and the second term in the pair indicates the nature of the target, whether distinct or reduced. The height of the bar indicates the mean difference in response times to targets in the given priming condition as compared to the same type of target in the unprimed condition. So the first bar shows that respondents were 29 msec faster to respond to a distinct word form when they had been primed with a distinct form (i.e. repetition priming) as compared to their response time to a distinct word form they had not previously encountered. The second bar shows that listeners were 45 msec faster to respond to a reduced word form when they had been primed with the distinct form of that word as compared to the unprimed condition for the reduced form, etc. All four conditions show a statistically significant difference from the unprimed conditions, meaning that there is repetition priming for both distinct and reduced forms but also that distinct forms can prime reduced forms and reduced forms can prime distinct forms ($p < 0.05$ for all conditions).

The same model was fit to the data from the Aarhus listeners. Again, only prime-target combination emerged as significant. The effect is shown in Figure 2.
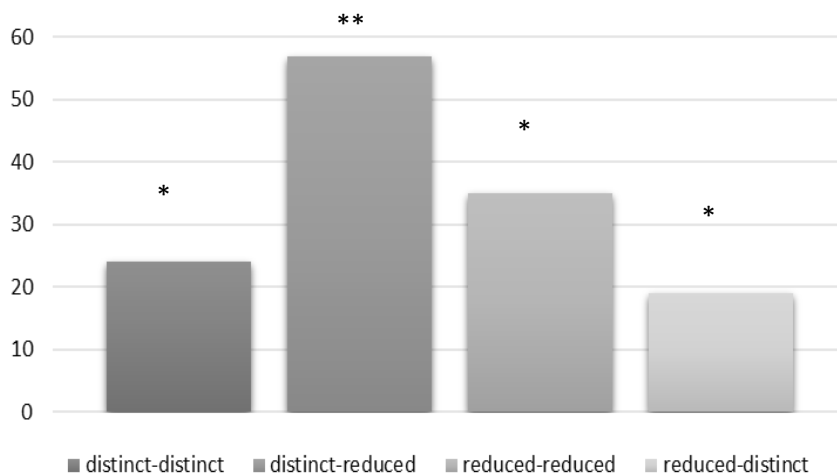

Figure 2: Differences in response times for each of the four priming conditions, intervocalic /g/ – Aarhus listeners

Priming conditions are shown in the same order as in Figure 1 and reveal the same basic pattern as before. Once more, the difference in response times is statistically

significant from the unprimed condition in all four priming conditions; and as for the Copenhagen listeners, the priming effect is strongest for the combination of reduced targets with the distinct primes ($p < 0.05$ in all conditions). The responses to the reduction variable in the long-term priming condition were also analysed for error rates. A mixed-effects logistic regression model was fit to the data with listener origin, prime-target combination and variant as fixed effects and participant as random effect. There was no effect of listener origin ($p = 0.52$) or priming ($p = 0.63$), but only a slight effect of variant as before ($p = 0.031$), with an error rate of 4% for the words with reduced variants, compared to just 1% for words with the distinct variant. This effect of variant also holds for the subset of unprimed stimuli, and the overall improvement in accuracy can therefore not be attributed to priming itself, but is perhaps due to a more general learning effect of participating in the experiment. This means that Aarhus and Copenhagen listeners were equally good at correctly identifying real words, even though Copenhagen listeners were slower. So priming did not improve accuracy on its own, even though the error rate for words with reduced variants was somewhat reduced compared to the results from the first phase of the experiment.

The regional segmental variable

Next, we look at the long-term priming results for the regional variable. As before, response times were generally longer for the Copenhagen listeners than for the Aarhus listeners, and therefore the regression models were fit to the two datasets separately. Again, targets were coded for priming condition, so that using the unprimed condition as the reference level for each variant would reveal whether response times in the individual priming conditions are statistically significantly different from those in the unprimed conditions. The same mixed-effects models as for the reduction variable were fit to raw response times with outliers removed.

For the Copenhagen listeners, none of the factors emerged as significant, including the priming conditions. This means that for the Copenhagen listeners, not even repetition priming occurred for the segmentally Copenhagen forms ($p = 0.24$), and therefore the differences in response times for the priming conditions are not shown. This result is surprising, but recall that stimuli for the regional variable were always produced by speakers from Aarhus, and thus realised with the regional H*L stress group pattern. The results suggest that the stress group tonal pattern alone blocks the possibility for priming for listeners who do not produce this pattern themselves.

The same model was fit to the data from the Aarhus listeners. Here, the priming condition emerged as statistically significant. The effect for the Aarhus listeners is shown in Figure 3. Note that the only statistically significant effect is the repetition priming for the Aarhus form. In other words, for the Aarhus listeners, only the Aar-

hus form can prime the Aarhus form and neither variant primes the Copenhagen form. This result is somewhat surprising, as in this case listeners are familiar with the intonation pattern of the stimuli and use it themselves.
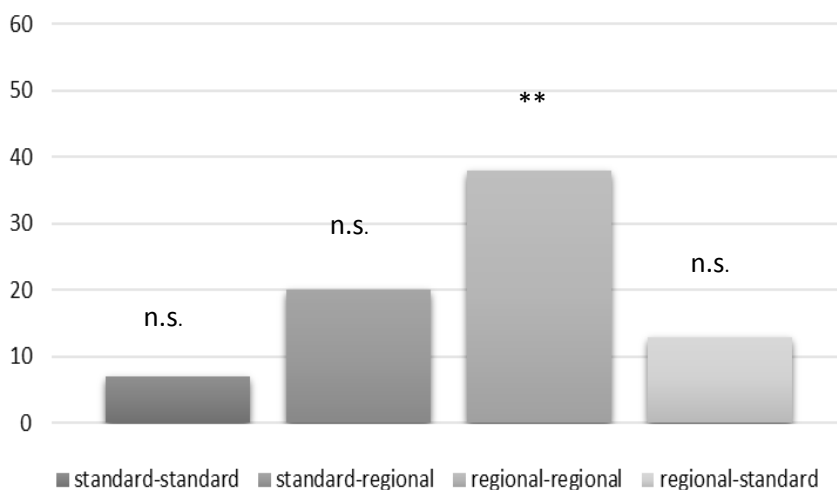

Figure 3: Differences in response times for each of the four priming conditions, /əð/ – Aarhus listeners

As for the error rates for the regional variable, there was no effect of listener origin ($p = 0.25$) or variant ($p = 0.48$) but there was a slight yet statistically significant effect of priming on the error rates, with words with the Copenhagen variant having an error rate of only 1% when they had been primed with the Copenhagen variant, as compared to the unprimed words with Copenhagen variants, which had an error rate of 3%.

Taken together, the results for both variables suggest that intonation patterns play a significant role in processing and particularly storage of spoken words. Recall that the stimuli for the reduction variable were always presented to listeners in the tonal pattern they were familiar with and use themselves. This is possible because the distinct and reduced variants of /g/ occur in both varieties of Danish. In other words, both variants are associated with both stress group patterns in speech production. This is not the case for the regional variable, since one of the segmental variants only occurs with Aarhus intonation. The results suggest that there is a strong association between the Aarhus segmental variant and the Aarhus stress group pattern, and that such an association is needed in order for priming to obtain.

This association is also there for the reduction variable, as shown by the long-term priming effects for listeners in both groups; and since both distinct and reduced variants may occur with both types of tonal contour, links appear to exist between both types of segmental forms, although the priming effect of distinct forms on reduced forms was stronger overall, again suggesting a processing preference for distinct forms.

To examine the effect of the tonal pattern on lexical storage in more detail, we may again confine ourselves to the data from Copenhagen participants, who were exposed to both their own L*H contour and the H*L contour. By looking at what we have been calling segmentally Copenhagen forms only, we can analyse the response times in terms of tonal contour alone. It is only possible to examine repetition priming here because of course the stimuli in the two different contours were not related in any way segmentally. When the same model as before is fit to this subset and stepped down, we only find a significant long-term priming effect for the L*H items ($p < 0.01$), never for H*L items ($p = 0.3$). This is to be expected from the results presented above, and this additional analysis simply supports the interpretation that the prosody must be not only familiar to the listener in order for priming to obtain, but the prosody should also be associated with the segmental variant. In other words, less familiar prosodic patterns appear to block the formation between variable lexical items in memory.

STANDARD DANISH IN THE MINDS OF LISTENERS

For intervocalic /g/, it was found that reduced forms inhibited word recognition for all listeners, but also that both distinct and reduced forms could induce priming, indicating that both forms are stored in the mental lexicon. However, the priming effect was stronger for distinct forms. Taken together, this suggests that distinct forms are more strongly encoded in the mental lexicon than their reduced counterparts. For the regional variable, the suffix /əð/, no difference was found in terms of immediate processing of the segmental content, since Copenhagen and Aarhus forms were recognised at the same speed for both groups of listeners. However, regional prosodic variation affected response times for the Copenhagen listeners who were less familiar with the tonal contour in the regional items and both segmental and prosodic regional variation severely influenced long-term priming. There was no long-term priming for the Copenhagen listeners at all for the regional variable and only repetition priming for the Aarhus variant for the Aarhus listeners, who use the variant themselves in combination with the stress group pattern that the regional variable stimuli contained. As shown by the relatively low error rates, it is of course not the case that words with phonetic features typical of Aarhus cannot be

recognised by listeners from Copenhagen. But it appears that the tonal contour incurs a cost in immediate processing and also blocks the formation of links between variable forms in memory. It is not possible to tell from this dataset whether the effect of the tonal contour is due to it being less familiar to the listeners, as we do not have comparable data from the Aarhus group. A follow-up experiment is needed to gain further insight into the role of exposure for how prosodic differences influence lexical processing.

What do these findings tell us about the status of standard Danish in terms of the mental processing and representation of variable forms? If we look at the results together, they would appear to indicate that overt attitudes towards speech variation shape lexical processing. In terms of distinctness, we only have knowledge of overtly offered attitudes in public debates about proper ways of speaking Danish. People express difficulty in understanding what they experience as speech with reduced forms, and not a few find such speech aesthetically unpleasing. The results show that processing of reduced forms is in fact more difficult in the sense that it takes longer and more often leads to errors. We cannot know from the data currently available whether this processing cost is caused by some phonetic property of reduced forms, e.g. less variability in terms of the stream of acoustic cues in the reduced word forms, that makes them more difficult to recognise, or whether the negative attitudes towards the reduced forms cause a delay in the processing system. A more direct investigation of the link between attitudes and word recognition is therefore an important avenue for future research. But the findings for the reduction variable do show that exposure alone cannot explain the path of processing, since reduction of intervocalic /g/ is more common in running speech than non-reduction. Word recognition cannot therefore simply be a matter of matching the most frequently occurring phonetic pattern to word forms stored in memory. I would suggest that the results are best understood in terms of a privileged role of the less frequent distinct forms in the memory of speakers (as also suggested in the model proposed in Sumner et al. 2014). As such these distinct forms can be viewed as the standard forms in the minds of the language users as well as in the prescriptive norm advocated for public speaking (although these are mostly notable in complaints about "sloppy speech" in news reports and films, or in guidelines for journalists working in broadcast media). In other words, the results for the reduction variable support an interpretation where an explicit evaluation that shows preference for distinct forms matches the "preference" for the implicit and automatic processing system in the minds of the language users that allows them to recognise and therefore understand spoken word forms. However, as will be discussed more extensively below, it is important to keep in mind that this finding is based on results obtained for words presented in isolation, a task that is not straightforwardly related to the recognition of words in the speech stream of everyday conversation.

The findings for regional variation are more complex. We know from the language attitude studies reviewed above that Danes overtly prefer their own local variety, but covertly prefer Copenhagen-based speech. Looking at the findings for segmental variation alone, it would appear that neither of these preferences play a role in processing, as word forms with segmental variants particular to the Aarhus region [əd] were recognised as fast as word forms with segmental variants that also occur in Copenhagen-based speech [əð̞]. This might suggest the existence of regional standards that allow for socially stratified variation while still privileging distinct forms. But what about the finding that Copenhagen listeners took longer to process words with Aarhus tonal patterns, both as compared to the Aarhus listeners and compared to their own performance with words with the Copenhagen tonal pattern? Add to this the complete lack of priming for Aarhus forms in the Copenhagen listeners, and the findings certainly show that regional varieties do not enjoy the same status (in processing terms) across speech communities in Denmark. I suggest that these findings taken together with those from the Aarhus listeners do argue in favour of the existence of regional standard Danishes.

The findings from the reduction variable have already called into question the role of exposure in the processing of variable forms. The same can be said for the findings concerning the regional segmental variable, although with a different effect: while the realization [əd̞] does occur in the speech of Aarhus speakers, it is not the dominant form (Jensen and Maegaard 2012). Yet words ending in [əd̞] are recognised as quickly as the same word ending in [əð̞] by both groups of listeners. If exposure played a role in recognition, there ought to have been a difference for both groups of listeners. Additionally, we might have expected this effect to be additive for the Copenhagen listeners. Instead, regionally based segmental variation seems to be tolerated by the processing system.

The finding for the tonal patterns might suggest a role for exposure and/or familiarity, but we may also interpret this with reference to the overtly offered language attitudes found in the label ranking tasks conducted by Kristiansen: all participants, including those from Copenhagen and those from Odder (a town just to the south of Aarhus), indicated a preference for their own local way of speaking. As previous studies have shown, the tonal stress group pattern plays a significant role in the identification of a speaker's regional origin. It seems plausible, then, that the delay in recognition associated with the Aarhus tonal pattern for Copenhagen listeners may be due to the additional task of identifying the speaker as being from a different region than themselves. Once this identification is accomplished, segmental variants are accepted without processing costs. In this sense, language users appear to accept the existence of different regional standards. But upon encountering reduced variants, which are associated with any and all regional varieties, the same language users are challenged in their recognition of spoken words.

This series of studies is only a first step in understanding the role of standards of spoken Danish in everyday communication. As is so often the case with psycholinguistic studies, the interpretations presented here and their association with talk in interaction outside an experimental setting rest on the assumption that language users do not have separate processing systems for different contexts, one for the lab and one for the home, as it were. While this seems to me to be incontrovertible, we must still acknowledge that the recognition of spoken words in isolation is a different task than recognising and decoding words in running speech, as most contextual cues are removed in the lexical decision task. Findings from other languages (e.g. Tucker 2011), as well as a pilot study using the same Danish stimuli as were used here for the reduction variable but presenting them in utterances, suggest that context does not ease the processing of reduced forms: words with distinct segmental variants are still recognised more quickly. Further experiments studying the processing of words in context would help shed light on the preference for distinct forms found here. It would also be useful to study in greater detail the attitudes towards reduced variants held by Danes. While the interpretations presented here suggest that overtly offered attitudes are most closely aligned with the mechanisms of the processing system, studies involving the evaluation of (speakers using) word forms with reduced variants would be able to shed further light on how the difference observed here between the two types of segmental variation is shaped by covertly held attitudes towards speech variation. In spite of these shortcomings, I hope to have shown how the use of psycholinguistic tools can provide a more nuanced understanding of the standard.

There is a wealth of studies that take an evaluative approach to the question of the standard language and how to define it in a given context. In most cases, overtly codified prescriptive norms refer only to written language, e.g. official standard dictionaries or particular guides on usage and style in writing. Norms for spoken language also exist and can be studied in terms of shared ideologies within speech communities. Such community level standards can be passed on from generation to generation along with the variable speech patterns that the standard proscribes against. In other words, a language user learns what counts as the best or even correct way of speaking is, whether this is in terms of syntax, morphology or accent, but does not necessarily adhere to this standard, certainly not across all social contexts. In other words, while attitudes towards different ways of speaking may influence language change, speakers can still choose not to follow the community norm when they talk. This is why including data on how variable word forms are processed is interesting when we want to understand the standard. The mechanisms of the processing system and in particular the speech perception and comprehension systems are automatic and very difficult if not impossible for the language user to control (e.g. we cannot decide not to hear words, and in many so-called slips of the

ear, words are misinterpreted as other words, not as nonsense). So the listener cannot choose to find some forms easier to recognise than others. Therefore, preference for one form over another or indeed as here a lack of any clear preference can be taken as evidence for what counts as the standard spoken language in the mind of the individual listener. It is not a given that words with intervocalic stops should be more easy to recognise than words with intervocalic approximants, but the patterns in response times found here shows that this is so for Danish listeners. In this sense, the distinct forms are the standard forms in spoken Danish – not because 'expert orators' have decided that it should be so or because generations of parents have taught their children this, but because distinct forms make word recognition easier. It is important to keep in mind that the findings presented here are based on words presented in isolation. In such a situation, the listeners are left without contextual cues as to the meaning of the words and non-words that are presented to them. The recognition of the meaning is crucial to the task they are performing, and it is possible that the lack of contextual cues lead to a greater reliance on canonical forms. That is to say, we cannot conclude from the results reported here that distinct forms will *always* be easier to recognise than reduced forms: this may depend on the context and it may certainly also be related to the evaluations of speech containing distinct forms, although this remains to be investigated directly. The results for the regional variable reported here suggest that we should not expect to find a direct link between processing and implicit evaluation. Instead, it may well be that there is a national ideology in which one particular accent is the preferred or standard accent (and in Denmark that would be the Copenhagen-based accent), but that this does not affect the processing system. In other words, language users may be able to handle a variety of regional standards, even if the community they belong to only officially have one standard language.

* The data used in this chapter was collected by Mia Ridder Malmstedt for her MA thesis in Linguistics under my supervision. The analyses reported here are all new.

REFERENCES

Beckman, M., J. Hirschberg and S. Shattuck-Hufnagel. 2005. The original ToBI system and the evolution of the ToBI framework. In S.-A. Jun (ed.) *Prosodic models and transcription: Towards prosodic typology*. Oxford University Press: UK. 9–54.

Ernestus, M., R. H. Bayeen and R. Schreuder. 2002. The recognition of reduced word forms. *Brain and Language* 81: 27–41.

Floccia, C., J. Goslin, F. Girard and G. Konopczynski. 2006. Does a regional accent perturb speech processing? *Journal of Experimental Psychology: Human Perception and Performance* 5: 1276–1293.

Goldinger, S. D. 1996. Words and Voices: Episodic Traces in Spoken Word Identification and Recognition Memory. *Journal of Experimental Psychology Learning Memory and Cognition* 22, 5: 1166–1183.

Grondlaers, S. and T. Kristiansen. 2013. On the need to access deep evaluations when searching for the motor of standard language change. In T. Kristiansen and S. Grondelaers (eds.) *Language (De)standardisation in Late Modern Europe: Experimental Studies*. Oslo: Novus. 9–52.

Jensen, T. J. and M. Maegaard. 2012. Past participles in Jutland Danish: A real time study of regionalization and standardization. *Nordic Journal of Linguistics* 35, 2: 169–195.

Kristiansen, T. 2009. The macro-level social meanings of late-modern Danish accents. *Acta Linguistica Hafniensia* 41: 167–192.

Kristiansen, T., N. Pharao and M. Maegaard. 2013. Controlled manipulation of intonational difference: An experimental study of intonation patterns as the basis for language-ideological constructs of geographical provenance and linguistic standardness in young Danes. In T. Kristiansen and S. Grondelaers (eds.) *Language Destandardisation in Late Modern Europe: Experimental Studies*. Oslo: Novus. 355–374.

Maegaard, M., T. J. Jensen, T. Kristiansen and J. N. Jørgensen. 2013. Diffusion of language change: Accommodation to a moving target. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 17, 1: 3–36.

Pharao, N. 2011. Plosive reduction at the group level and in the individual speaker. *Proceedings of the 17th International Congress of Phonetic Sciences.* Hong Kong, China. 1590–1593.

Sumner, M. and A. G. Samuel. 2005. Perception and representation of regular variation: The case of final /t/. *Journal of Memory and Language* 53, 2: 322–338.

Sumner, M. and A. G. Samuel. 2009. The role of experience in the processing of cross-dialectal variation. *Journal of Memory and Language* 60: 487–501.

Sumner, M., S. K. Kim, E. King and K. McGowan. 2014. The socially-weighted encoding of spoken words: A dual-route approach to speech perception. *Frontiers in Psychology* 4: 1–13.

Tucker, B. V. 2011. The effect of reduction on the processing of flaps and /g/ in isolated words. *Journal of Phonetic* 39: 312–318.

Tøndering, J and N. Pharao. 2020. Recognising regional varieties of Danish. *Linguistics Vanguard* s1 https://www.degruyter.com/view/j/lingvan.2020.6.issue-s1/lingvan-2019-0020/lingvan-2019-0020.xml (March 1, 2022).

Veenker, T.J.G. 2018. The Zep Experiment Control Application (version 2.2.2) [software]. Beexy Behavioral Experiment Software. Retrieved from www.beexy.org/zep/.