

## 26 Dialect vs. standard: a typology of scenarios in Europe

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### 1. Introduction

The European sociolinguistic landscape looks scattered when taking into account the manifold ways in which standard languages and dialects relate to each other. Although the tendency for fine-grained dialect differences to erode in favour of more standard-oriented regional varieties, and even in favour of one or more standard varieties, is dominant almost everywhere, the status of the standard varieties (in terms of prestige, situational usage and adequacy, and diffusion) varies as much as the status of the traditional and modern dialect varieties. Areas in which the use of the standard variety is almost restricted to writing and in which traditional dialects with a very limited regional reach are the dominant spoken varieties of everyday life, stand next to those in which the traditional dialects have completely disappeared and everybody uses the standard in oral communication. The strength (vitality) of the newly emerging regional varieties is sometimes superior to that of the standard varieties, and sometimes it is not. National standard varieties partly develop divergent internal tendencies (regional standards) and become "destandardised". In spite of this heterogeneity, this chapter intends to give evidence for a high amount of orderliness. After some terminological remarks on "standard" and "dialect", six (proto)typical scenarios of language-dialect contact will be presented which are able to cover almost all language situations in Europe.

In the second part of the paper, I will add a historical perspective to this typology. Contrary to the situation in other parts of the world which European languages have been exported to, the European dialects are the predecessors<sup>1</sup> of the standard languages. I will argue that the emergence of endoglossic standard varieties out of the older vernaculars follows a general line of development with five consecutive stages (types of repertoires). Variation between the European language repertoires is due to the fact that they may have reached different stages, or may have moved through these stages at different times in history (and therefore, under different his-

torical circumstances). In any case, the emergence of endoglossic standard varieties has had a massive impact on the structure, use, and status of the old dialects.

Due to limitations of space, no attempt will be made to cover the European situation exhaustively. Examples will mostly be drawn from the northern and central European area (but see Auer 2005a for a more detailed account).

## 2. Terminological preliminaries

It is obvious that the idea of a standard language is not reflected in lay metalinguistic ideologies across Europe. The term itself is a technical term used by linguists, while non-linguistic, private and public, talk about language is dominated by more evaluative terms (such as *Hochsprache* or *bon usage*), by terms that foreground one specific aspect of the standard language (such as in Dan. *rigsmål*), or by terms that highlight its function (as in Russ. *literatúrnyj jazyk*). Almost the same holds true for the dialectal end of the repertoire, where the term *dialect* is used as a lay term but competes with others (such as *patois*, *Platt*, *Mundart*, *accent*, etc). For the purposes of this typology, I have chosen a relatively narrow definition of a standard variety (see Ammon 2004 for a general discussion). It is based on three features: (a) a standard variety is a common language, i.e. one which (ideally) shows no geographical variation in the territory in which it is used; (b) a standard variety is an H variety, i.e. it has overt prestige and is used in situations which require a formal way of speaking (if a spoken standard exists at all), as well as in writing; and (c) a standard variety is codified, i.e. 'right' or 'wrong' plays an important role in the way in which speakers orient towards it. All three dimensions are gradual, i.e. the process of standardisation may be more or less advanced depending on how precisely the above criteria are met. In this sense, Standard Swiss German is less of a standard language than Standard German in Germany since it has less prestige, English is less standardized than French, since it is less codified, and German is less standardised than Danish since it shows more geographical variation within speech regarded as standard. My definition of a standard variety therefore differs both from purely normative approaches (which take a standard to be identical with a set of norms which may or may not be followed) and from broader definitions which do not require a standard to have prestige and/or show codification. If one were to follow the latter view, the typology presented below would not be valid any longer since common languages existed long before they were codified in some parts of Europe. The second criterion refers to the overt prestige of the standard while the non-standard varieties may show a certain degree of covert prestige (see Kristiansen and Jørgensen 2005). This overt prestige is enough to make the standard an H variety in the sense of Ferguson's original use of the term (Ferguson 1959).<sup>2</sup> The overt prestige of the standard varieties is due to the fact that they are symbols of national unity; the language ideology which lies at the heart of their his-

torical origin and present-day definition is part and parcel of the European national ideology. Although this ideology is typically linked to a nation state, statehood is no prerequisite for it: nations that do not form states (such as the Basque nation, or the Catalan nation) are nonetheless committed to the idea of a national standard language, which thereby assumes the prestige of an H variety. There are older standard languages such as Latin, Old Church Slavonic, or Arabic, which fall outside the scope of this paper (apart from their status as exoglossic standard varieties); unlike the national standard languages, they gained their overt prestige from their embeddedness into different ideologies (mainly religious ones).

At the opposite end, it is useful to reserve the term “(traditional) dialects” for the varieties under the roof (Kloss 1952) of a standard variety which preceded the standard languages and provided the linguistic material out of which the endoglossic standard varieties developed. Intermediate varieties between standard and dialect will be called “regional dialects (regiolects)” and “regional standards”.

### 3. The typology

The typology distinguishes between five dialect/standard constellations which can be summarised as follows:

Type Zero:	exoglossic diaglossia	(no endoglossic standard)
Type A:	(endoglossic) medial diglossia	(endoglossic standard only used for writing)
Type B:	(endoglossic) diglossia	(endoglossic standard also used in for speaking)
Type C:	diaglossia	(intermediate forms between standard and dialect, such as regiolects)
Type D:	dialect loss	(gradual dialect levelling or non-transmission)

The first type of repertoire to be considered is somewhat special and will therefore be called a Zero repertoire. In a Type Zero repertoire, there is no endoglossic<sup>3</sup> standard variety at all; rather, the standard variety is imported and not considered by its users to be a variety which is structurally related to the vernaculars. This was the case for of the most important pre-modern exoglossic European standard language – Latin – and of colonial exoglossic standards (such as English in Malta, Cyprus, Gibraltar at different stages of their history); it was also the case for minority languages within the European nation states before they introduced endoglossic standards which came to be used in addition to the exoglossic ones. Type Zero repertoires may be combined with endoglossic ones, i.e. transition from Type Zero to Type A (and from there to any further repertoire type) does not imply the loss of Type Zero but can lead to the addition of an endoglossic standard to the repertoire



**exoglossic standard**  
(spoken/written)

•

**vernacular varieties**  
(spoken/written)



Figure 1. Type Zero Repertoire

which coexists with the exoglossic one. Endoglossic standard/dialect repertoires may also turn into such dual standard repertoires later in their history, i.e. a new exoglossic standard may be added after the endoglossic standard has already been established.

In a somewhat simplistic but still useful graphical representation,<sup>4</sup> the exoglossic repertoire type can be represented by a dot hovering above a territory in which non-related vernaculars are spoken, here represented by a circle (see Figure 1). When representing a repertoire schematically as in Figure 1 – and all the following figures – it is important to keep in mind what the schema ignores. In particular, the graphical distance between the standard and the vernacular varieties can be understood in two ways: as a structural distance and as an attitudinal distance. In the following, the two will be collapsed for the sake of simplicity but a more realistic approach would need to measure and represent them independently. Another simplification is the representation of the vernacular area as a contiguous language space. In some cases, the area in which the standard language is valid is not contiguous; this holds for endoglossic standards but even more for exoglossic ones. A more realistic representation could therefore look as in Figure 2.

(exoglossic standard)

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X

**vernacular varieties**  
(spoken/written)

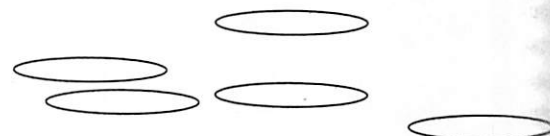


Figure 2. Type Zero Repertoire over a non-contiguous area. The distance between the dot and the circles represents the structural distance between standard language and vernacular varieties, the X the attitudinal distance. In this case, the exoglossic standard variety is structurally quite distinct from the vernaculars but its prestige is relatively low.

endoglossic standard (mainly written)

dialects (mainly spoken)

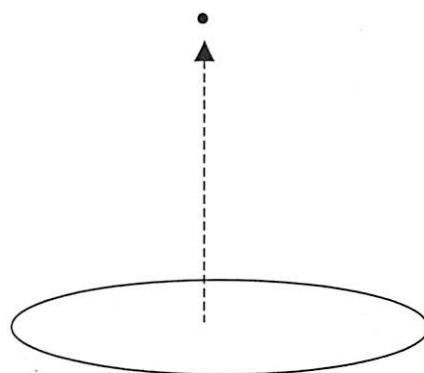


Figure 3. Type A repertoire – written diglossia

Whether a standard variety is endoglossic or exoglossic is largely an attitudinal (and ideological), not a structural question. While it may be difficult to define a completely unrelated language as the endogenous standard of a certain group of vernacular varieties (even under conditions of heavy borrowing from the exoglossic standard into the vernaculars, i.e. some kind of structural convergence), there are many cases in which the structural distance between the vernaculars and the standard is small but the latter is still considered to be exoglossic. Just take German as an exoglossic standard in Luxembourg, or Russian as an exoglossic standard in Belorussia; for further examples, see Trudgill (2004). At the same time, there are some examples in which the structural distance between the standard and the vernaculars is large enough to make them mutually incomprehensible but they are still considered to stand in an endoglossic relationship (for instance, Standard German is an endoglossic standard in the Low German and in the Bavarian dialect area). The tendency in present-day Europe seems to be to reduce the reach of the endoglossic standard languages, i.e. to regard them as exoglossic in areas where they used to be considered endoglossic. (As a consequence, the now exoglossic standard is often given up and an endoglossic one takes its place; cf. the situations in Belgium and Austria with regard to the Netherlands Dutch standard (Grondelaers and van Hout to appear) and the Germany-German standard respectively.)

The first endoglossic standard/dialect repertoire type (Type A) is shown in Figure 3. It differs from Type Zero in two ways. First, the standard variety is perceived to be related to the vernaculars for which it provides a roof, and which we can now call dialects. Second, although the relationship between standard and dialect remains diglossic, this diglossia assigns the varieties to different media: the endoglossic standard is used in the written medium, the dialects in the spoken medium. (For some qualifications of this statement, see below, section 4.)

Repertoires of this type are rare but existent in Europe today. Examples are German-speaking Switzerland and those parts of Norway in which Nynorsk is the

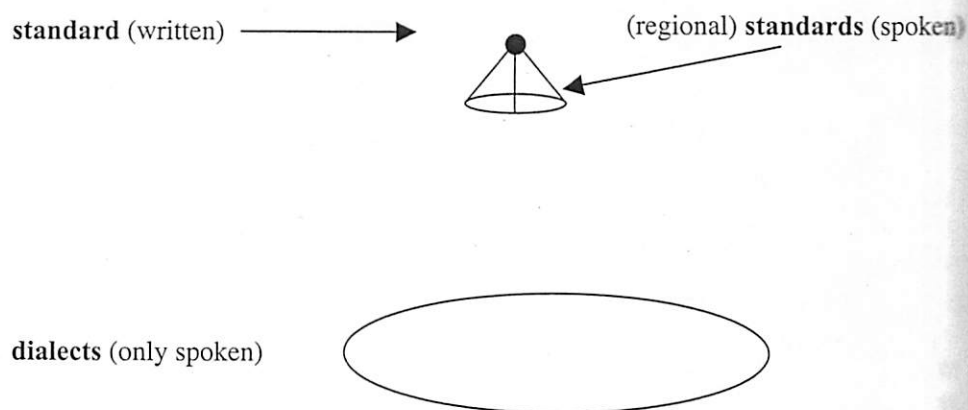


Figure 4. Type B Repertoires: spoken diglossia

overarching standard variety. Other examples come from language minority contexts in which standardisation has only set in a short while ago and in which the standard is mainly a written variety which is taught at school but not used much outside. (This applies, for instance, to Standard Irish (cf. ÓIfearnáin 2008) while Standard Welsh seems to be closer to Type B already.)

A second type of endoglossic standard/dialect repertoire is shown in Figure 4. The important difference is that here the standard variety is also spoken. We are still dealing with diglossia though, and the structural difference between standard and dialect is perceived as too large to be bridged by intermediate forms. The two varieties are kept apart in speaking, usually because they are subject to different usage norms. Code-switching between standard and dialect is possible but gradual transitions (code-gliding) are not. Dialect and standard are compartmentalised. Their features co-vary in two-sided co-occurrence restrictions (cf. Auer 1997), i.e. the realisation of a variable as dialectal within a word (or even clause) implies the dialectal realisation of all the other variables as well (and vice versa).

Like Type A, this type of repertoire is not particularly frequent in present-day Europe, although it has played an important role in language history. We still find it in recently standardised minority languages (such as Standard Welsh, Standard Basque) and in certain dialect areas of large nation states (such as the Low German area in Germany and the southern Italian dialects such as Sicilian or Neapolitan) which are characterised by a substantial structural distance between dialect and standard but in which the standard is nonetheless used as an oral variety in everyday life. The tendency here is to look upon the standard as an exoglossic standard, however, and to regard the dialect as a separate minority or regional language.

An important difference between Type A and Type B repertoires is that in the latter there is inevitably more variation within the standard. Type B standards usually show regional variation – to the degree that regional standards can be identified at least on the phonological and phonetic level.



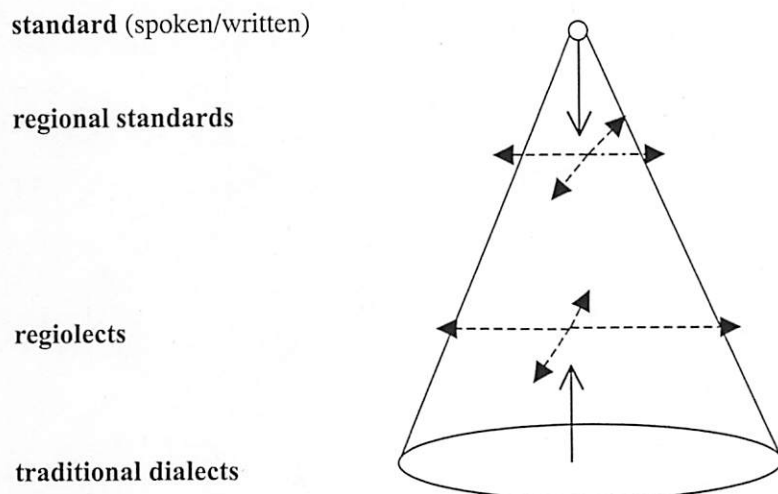


Figure 5. A diaglossic repertoire (Type C)

The most widespread standard/dialect repertoire type in Europe today is not diglossic, however, but diaglossic. This means that there are intermediate forms (layers of speech) between standard and dialect which 'fill up' the structural space between the two. Various terminologies have been used to refer to these intermediate structures, or subsets of them, among them *Umgangssprache*, *regional dialect*, *colloquial language*, *italiano popolare*, *tussentaal*, etc. A general representation of the diaglossic repertoire type is given in Figure 5.

Diaglossic repertoires typically show convergence between the traditional dialects, which is a by-product of dialect-to-standard advergence: the most dialectal ways of speaking (i.e. those with the smallest geographical reach) are given up by some speakers and in some situations in which the traditional dialects used to be spoken before, in favour of more widespread, 'regiolectal' ones. On the whole, the regiolects are always closer to the standard, both in structural terms and in terms of official (overt) prestige.<sup>5</sup> However, it is important to note that regional dialects cannot be explained fully as a product of dialect-to-standard advergence. New structures emerge, which are sometimes compromise forms conforming neither to the standard nor to the dialect and sometimes innovations. In the schematic representation in Figure 5 these dynamics are symbolised by the horizontal arrows which expand the regional dialects beyond the limits of the lines which link the standard to the traditional dialects.

Terms such as *regional dialect* or *regiolect* suggest that the intermediate layer of speech between dialect and standard has the status of a variety. This, however, is not necessarily the case, and careful empirical studies are necessary to establish variety boundaries (cf. Lenz 2003). Often, one-sided co-occurrence restrictions

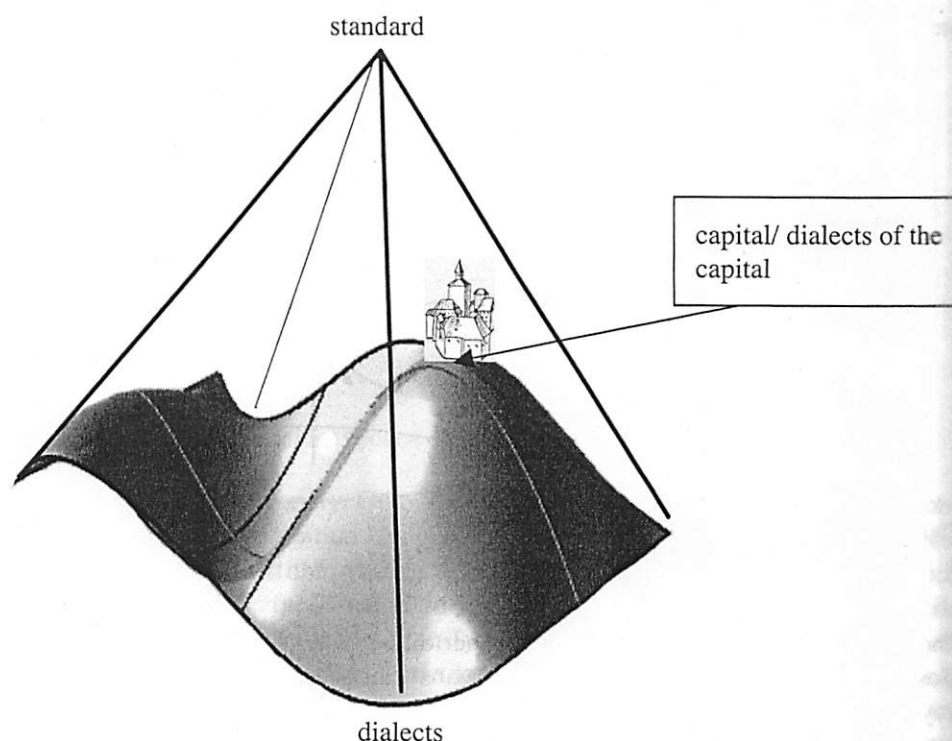


Figure 6. The structural distance between the standard variety and the dialectal varieties is not the same across the language territory.

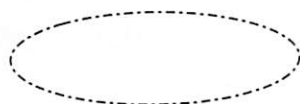
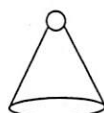
hold (Auer 1997), which leave space for gradual shifts from a more dialectal to a more standard-like way of speaking, and vice versa.

Another point needs to be brought home here, which could also be made with respect to Figure 3 and 4, i.e. A and B repertoires. The structural distance between the dialects and the standard variety often is not the same across the dialectal territory. Some dialects (often those of or around the capital) are closer to the standard than others since the standard language was formed on the basis of these dialects (see below). Once more, the schematic representation hides this important detail: it is therefore more adequate to use a representation such as in Figure 6.

In the extreme form, the variety spoken by the elites of the capital can be identical with the standard (as it is claimed for older, upper middle class Copenhagen Speech, cf. Kristiansen 1998, and for Paris). In this case, the top of the pyramid is identical with one point in the area which forms its base. In other cases, it is closer to certain dialects than to others (e.g. Bokmål – one of the Norwegian standards – to the Eastern Norwegian dialects; Standard Swedish to the dialects of the Stockholm area; Standard British English to those of the Southeast of England; Standard Finnish to the western Finnish dialects; Standard Dutch to the Randstad dialects; Standard Irish



**standard** (written and spoken)



**former dialects**

Figure 7. Type D/2 (dialect loss) repertoires

to the Connemara dialect, etc.). The base of the 'pyramid' is then not a flat but a curved plane, some of parts of which approach the standard (top) more than others.

The last type of repertoire is one in which there are no dialects (Type D). This is typically the case after the traditional dialects have been lost. Only in the case of Iceland there is a standard language with no dialectal predecessors, or at least we have no evidence for the existence and levelling out of the primordial dialects (Árnason 2003). Type D repertoires have a variable standard language, whose variability may be a consequence of regional accents or regional standards, usually on the level of phonetics and/or vocabulary, or of destandardisation and the developments of substandards which are not geographically located. There are two pathways towards this stage: from Type B repertoires (diglossia) and from Type C repertoires (diaglossia). In the first case (D/2, cf. Figure 7), the dialects are no longer transmitted from one generation to the next. Since there are no intermediate forms of speech, this means that the entire L-section of the repertoire is lost, often in a short period of time. Typical examples are the Low German dialects, which died out in such a way in most parts of the former Low German dialect area in the course of just a few decades in the middle of the last century.

Another scenario which may eventually lead to the same result but through a prolonged stage of dialect levelling by dialect-to-standard advergence takes as its starting point a diglossic repertoire. This repertoire gradually shrinks since the most dialectal forms are gradually replaced by less regional ones (cf. Figure 8, Type D/1). The process may stop at a point in which the traditional dialects have disappeared but strong regional dialects have established themselves (such as, in Germany, in the Ruhrgebiet or Lower Saxony). However, it may also proceed beyond this stage towards the loss of these regional dialects (as presumably was the case in Denmark). Typically, dialect loss in a diglossic repertoire type proceeds at a different pace in various parts of a language area; it shows age grading and the usual distribution of gender patterns (with young women leading the change). It is also linked to urbanisation and its concomitant migration movements.

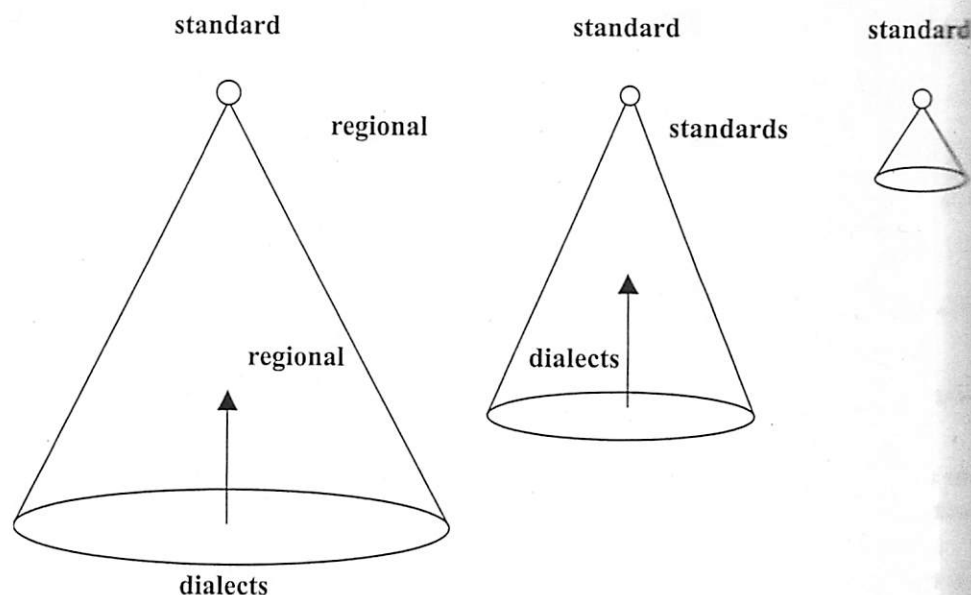


Figure 8. From Type C (diaglossia) to Type D/1 (dialect loss)

#### 4. A historical perspective: the emergence of endoglossic standard varieties

The typology sketched out in section 3 can be used in order to classify the European dialect/standard repertoires. However, it can also be used to describe the diachrony of these repertoires, i.e. in order to answer questions such as: How did the European endoglossic standard varieties emerge? How have they affected the traditional dialects over their history? And how can endo- and exoglossic standard varieties be combined? The typology suggests the following development:

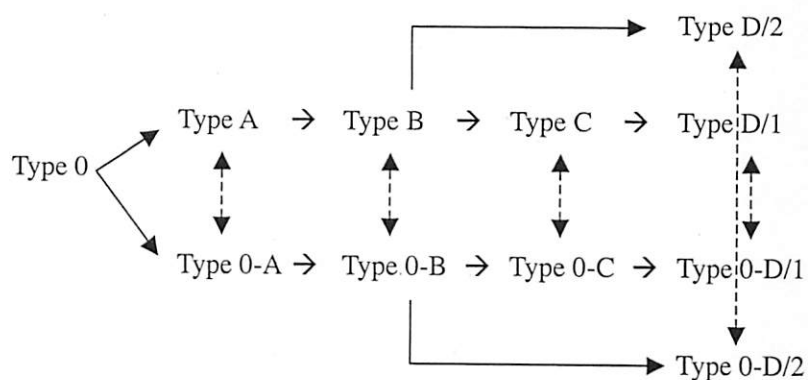


Figure 9. European standard/dialect repertoire developments

The European language development from Type 0 to Type D as shown in Figure 9 is an empirical generalisation, not a sociolinguistic universal. It is driven by non-linguistic forces which are intimately tied to the developments of the European nation states. The transitions from one repertoire to the next are partly reversible. For instance, it is not rare that an endoglossic standard is lost and replaced by an exoglossic one when a group of speakers migrates out of its nation state territory (cf. some of the German language enclaves in eastern Europe and worldwide) or when state borders are redrawn (cf. standard German in the Alsace). Sometimes, the transition from B to C is reversed when a standard variety is spoken less and less (as happened in the case of the German standard variety in German-speaking Switzerland during the last century). Whether dialect loss is reversible by dialect revitalisation is an open question. These reversals are, however, marked developments, which occur rarely and/or under special circumstances.

Apart from the usual processes of standardisation (cf. Haugen 1966) and dialect attrition, the pathway from Type 0 to Type D is essentially intertwined with two major linguistic issues: bilingualism and medium allocation (spoken/written).

The emergence of endoglossic standard varieties is always preceded by a phase in which an exoglossic standard is used. This situation implies bilingualism in the highest strata of society. This bilingualism may be replaced by monolingualism once the endoglossic standard is established but usually this is a long process (cf. the gradual decline of Latin as a European exoglossic standard language, of Swedish as a standard language in Finland after the establishment of the Finnish standard in the 19th century, or of German after the standardisation of Czech in the 19th century, etc.); often, bilingualism persists (cf. the use of English after the establishment of modern Standard Irish in the mid-20th century, the use of Standard French and Standard German after the establishment of the Lëtzebuergish after it became a national language in the same period, or the use of the majority language in all minority language contexts). Exoglossic standards may also be introduced into a repertoire after the endoglossic standard has been established (cf. the use of French in Germany, Russia, etc. in the 17th-18th century).

The first transgression of the medial boundary between spoken and written language occurs when an endoglossic standard is established as a written variety (Type A repertoires). This written standard is formed in some way or other out of the vernacular varieties which it comes to roof but if these are purely spoken, standardisation involves more than the selection and codification of single features from the vernacular forms; a wholesale reorganisation of the language is involved. Often, the relevant structural changes and *Ausbau* processes borrow from the exoglossic standard or (particularly in more recent, 'constructed', i.e. synthetically coined standards) from older written documents of the vernacular varieties, if they exist (as in the case of Finnish, Irish, or Czech).

There are two exceptions from the generalisation that endoglossic standard varieties always appear in writing before they are spoken. The first exception are



repertoire splits from Type B or C repertoires, i.e. one part of a territory leaves the roof of a written and spoken standard language and establishes a slightly different one on the basis of the vernaculars spoken in this territory but also on the basis of the already existent standard variety; examples are the emerging Belgian Dutch standard (Grondelaers and van Hout 2009), the emerging Austrian German standard variety, or the 'new' (or better, re-established<sup>6</sup>) standard languages of Croatia, Serbia, Bosnia. In these cases, the split applies to the written as well as to the spoken standard varieties (even though the norms of the new standard are usually reinforced in writing before they are reinforced in speaking). The second exception are standard varieties which are identical with the variety spoken in the capital (or at the court); candidates are French, Danish, and perhaps Swedish (*Kort Svenska*); for the (usually quite small) group of people who lived in these areas and were part of the relevant social groups, the transition was merely that from a spoken to a written variety.

This transition from Type A to Type B is the second case in which the medium (speaking/writing) is reallocated but this time in the opposite direction: A spoken version of the standard evolves from the written standard and gradually spreads to all layers of society – a process which has only recently come to completion in some European nation states and is far from being completed in others. Mattheier (1997) uses the term "demotisation" to refer to this appropriation of a variety the norms of which were defined by a small sector of the well-educated classes by the whole society; he points out how such an appropriation can challenge these norms.<sup>7</sup> The spoken standard, which in the beginning is only an articulated version of the written standard, is now made suitable for spoken, face-to-face interaction, also by less educated speakers. This weakens the norms and inevitably leads to a multi-stylistic standard and hence to variability (one form of destandardisation), and sometimes also to standard language change (another form of destandardisation).

At the same time, the transition into B (and even more, C repertoires) weakens the traditional dialects: They are now no longer markers of the geographical origin of the speaker alone but take on a social value, i.e. that of the lower classes. If the gap between this standard and the old dialects is perceived as too wide to be bridged by its speakers, the consequence is that the acquisition of the standard by those who are in a social position to acquire it results in a diglossic repertoire, which almost inevitably leads to dialect loss in the long run (repertoire D/2). The best protection of the traditional dialects is therefore a weak or non-existent spoken standard variety (as is indeed the case in German-speaking Switzerland and Nynorsk Norway). In most cases, however, the result is different: Speakers develop intermediate forms, which results in the emergence of new ways of speaking that avoid the negative social prestige now attached to the dialects but nonetheless display regional identity (i.e. a diaglossic repertoire emerges). The regional dialects which now come into being have their own (second order) norm centres, usually

large cities. They may be more numerous in decentralised, large nation states and less numerous in centralised, smaller nation states but little is known about these correlations.

The details of the emergence of regional forms of speech seem to vary from one language area to the next. Variation includes their historical depth, their co-extension with the old dialect groups, their location on the dialect/standard continuum, and their status as structurally defined varieties. Compared to the traditional dialects, they are the most dynamic but also the least researched part of the sociolinguistic history of Europe over the last 100 years.

## 5. Where are we heading?

The present-day situation in Europe seems to be characterised by the following tendencies. First, the idea of the European nation state which is symbolically defined by its 'language' (by which its protagonists usually understood the standard language) is not dead. On the contrary, cases in which standard languages and nation states have not coincided tend to be more and more resolved (cf. Auer 2005b). The standard languages do not expand regionally across state borders; rather, former common standards dissolve by repertoire splits (Belgium/Netherlands, Austria/Germany, Croatia/Serbia, etc.). This tendency, which strengthens the nation state, is counteracted by the fact that today almost all European minority languages have their own standard, which is tolerated to a greater or lesser degree by the state to which the minority group belongs. This weakens the idea of 'one language = one nation state'. One should note, however, that very few of these standardised minority languages reach out across two or more states (an example are the Sami standard varieties). The number of officially accepted (autochthonous) minority and regional languages has been increasing steadily. Indirectly, however, some of these minority languages even strengthen the nation state since they avoid the roof of a neighbouring standard language to be extended onto their territory (cf. the case of Galician whose recognition as a regional language in Spain keeps it from being considered a dialect of Portuguese).

Second, internal variability within the European standard varieties has been increasing over the last decades. This includes a tolerance for regional accents co-occurring with standard morphology and syntax but also for grammatical deviations from traditional standard norms. Only few of them are due to dialectal substrate influence, though. As a rule, these deviations introduce new forms, sometimes leading to language change or at least a relaxation of the codified norms. In addition to regional accents, the standard varieties have also come to be stratified in social, stylistic, and ethnic<sup>8</sup> terms. The emerging new substandards are not differentiated on the geographical level any longer. They also incorporate elements which arise out of language contact and multilingualism due to immigration. The

standard is fully demoticised and many speakers no longer have a dialectal way of speaking at their disposal. Therefore, the standard has to be able to provide the full range of expressive resources the speakers need.

Third, there is a strong tendency to turn endoglossic repertoires into bilingual repertoires in which an exoglossic standard language (English) complements the endoglossic one. For ethnic groups, additional exoglossic standards (such as Standard Turkish) may play a role.

Fourth, the traditional dialects are dying out but regional dialects have often taken over their function as a marker of regional belonging and identity.

See also the following chapters in this volume: 29 by Darquennes, 33 by Pahta/Taavitsainen and 44 by Wright.

### Notes

- 1 This is not to say that the developments of endoglossic standards only set in when the local vernaculars (dialects) had already assumed their modern shape. Particularly in the East Slavic part of Europe, dialect formation by divergence was still taking place while the first endoglossic standard languages appeared in addition to exoglossic Old Church Slavonic (Old Bulgarian).
- 2 This does not mean, however, that Ferguson assumes that H varieties are not acquired as first languages. Today, the standard variety has increasingly come to be the first language of many speakers.
- 3 The terms *endoglossic* and *exoglossic* correspond with Kloss' *Außendiglossie* vs *Binnendiglossie* (Kloss 1976).
- 4 To my knowledge, this type of graphic representation of a repertoire was first used by Moser (1950). It has gained some currency due to its use in Trudgill (1986).
- 5 It is true that the prestige of the traditional dialects usually increases proportionally with their loss. Their social interpretation then changes, and they are seen less as markers of social position (lower class) but more as folkloristic markers of local identity. This prestige is different from that of the standard variety, of course.
- 6 Serbian and Croatian had already begun to be standardized before the 'invention' of Serbo-Croatian as the Yugoslavian national standard language.
- 7 The term was used before Mattheier by Maas (1985) to refer to the spread of literacy as a mass phenomenon.
- 8 As Cheshire et al. (2008) show, speakers of an immigrant background do not usually acquire and use dialectal features but create their own, (poly-)ethnic ways of speaking.



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