

Peter Auer

Enregistering pluricentric German

Abstract: The notion of pluricentric languages as introduced by Heinz Kloss and made popular by Michael Clyne and (for German) by Ulrich Ammon is usually defined with reference to the codified standard varieties of a language which are said to differ in the various states in which the language is used. According to this definition standard German doubtlessly is a pluricentric language. However, as shown in this paper, the number of Teutonisms is huge, but there are only comparatively few Austriacisms and Heleviticisms since most of the candidate features are also found in the southern part of Germany. This raises the interesting question of how Austrian and Swiss standard German become enregistered (Agha) as distinct varieties. The paper discusses several examples of how this is done.

Keywords. German, pluricentricity, enregisterment, Swiss German, Austrian German

1 Introduction

A pluricentric language is typically defined as one which has more than one normatively installed national standard variety. When applied to German, this definition leads to the rather uncontroversial conclusion that German is a pluricentric language. In this paper I raise the question of whether such a simple definition is useful. I will suggest that it neglects some of the more interesting questions. They become visible once we look under the surface of definitional matters and ask what Standard German (henceforth: StdG) means for speakers in Germany, Austria and Switzerland, i.e. once we look into the ideological construction of (varieties of) StdG in public and private discourse. I will use Agha's notion (2003) of enregisterment to refer to these processes and will show on the basis of some examples how certain linguistic features are enregistered as part of Austrian, German and Swiss StdG – independent of their areal distribution.

According to Geeraerts, Kristiansen, and Peirsman (2010: 9), cognitive sociolinguistics is centrally concerned with the “study the meaning of variation, i.e. the way in which language users make sense of linguistic variation, the way in which linguistic variation is meaningful to them”. This also implies that linguistic variation can be meaningful in different ways to different people, since the same linguistic facts can be perceived differently. In this sense, the following remarks are a part of cognitive sociolinguistics. I am interested in the way in which individual variable features within German are constructed as belonging together, as being part of one variety which, as an ideological construct, is exclusively linked to one German-speaking nation and perceived as typical of it (irrespective of the factual distribution of the variable). It will be

argued that this type of “enregisterment” lies at the heart of present-day constructions of German as a pluricentric language.

2 What are pluricentric languages?

The term “pluricentric languages” is probably due to William Stewart, an American sociolinguist who used it in an article published in 1968 (but circulated earlier) on bilingual repertoires. Heinz Kloss made the term popular in his 1967 article on “Abstand Languages and Ausbau Languages”. In this influential paper, Kloss (1967) juxtaposes *Ausbau* languages (standardised literary languages) and variants of a pluricentric language: in the absence of a clear linguistic *Abstand* (structural differences), pairs of languages can oscillate between these two possibilities, as his example of Romanian vs. Moldavian illustrates.

Both for Stewart (1968) and for Kloss (1967), the term “pluricentric” was not restricted to languages with more than one standard variety used in different nation-states. Their examples include Serbo-Croatian (with Serbian and Croatian variants of the standard language which were both, at that time, used in the same nation-state), and even Nynorsk and Bokmål in Norway (which are also standard varieties of the same nation). However, in the 1978 edition of *Die Entwicklung neuer germanischer Kultursprachen seit 1800* (the first edition from 1952 does not yet mention the term), Kloss restricts the focus to national standard varieties:

Particularly standard languages are frequently pluricentric, i.e. they show several variants of equal standing (*gleichberechtigte Spielarten*), if they are the official and administrative languages of several larger, independent states, such as Portuguese in Portugal and Brazil, German in the Federal Republic, the Democratic Republic, Switzerland, Austria, Dutch in the Dutch Kingdom (“Dutch”) and in Belgium (“Flemish”)” (Kloss 1978: 67, translation P.A.)

In the more recent literature, the term is usually restricted to this meaning. For instance, Clyne (1984: 1) defines a pluricentric language as one “with several national varieties, each with its own norm”, and in *The German Language in a Changing Europe* he calls a pluricentric language “one with several interacting centres, each providing a national variety with at least some of its own (codified) norms” (Clyne 1995: 20).

A somewhat more cautious view is taken by Ammon (1995: 97) in his monumental *Die deutsche Sprache in Deutschland, Österreich und der Schweiz*. His more neutral position is that “in the case of more centres (more than one) one speaks of a pluricentric language” (translation P.A.). These “centres” are not always nations, however. For the German language Ammon differentiates between national centres, state centres (the GDR and the FRG were commonly considered to be two states within one nation, and each, according to Ammon, represented a separate language centre), non-complete national centres of a language (such as Switzerland, where German is the administra-

tive language only in the German-speaking part), and subnational centres (he mentions Bavaria).

Despite these differences, for all authors mentioned here, normativity of the variants of the standard is crucial. This means that pluricentricity is not defined on the level of language use or the language representations of lay speakers. Rather, the standard as spoken in a language area (usually a nation-state) is considered to be the same as in another area if there are no specific norms underlying whatever differences may factually exist. Ideally, these norms are laid down in a codex, and the codification has to be done in the state itself (“Binnenkodex” in the sense of Ammon), i.e. it is not enough that the dictionaries of another (larger) state mention them as divergences. For instance, according to this view, StdG as one of the three official languages in Luxembourg surely has its own characteristics (e.g., the amount of French loanwords is much higher than in Germany), but it is only marginally codified, if at all. There seems to be agreement that today (after the collapse of the GDR) there are maximally three normative centres of German which meet this requirement: Germany, Switzerland and Austria. As we shall see, even between these three centres of German, there are major differences with respect to codification, since Germany is still the main codifier.

In addition to pluricentricity based on codified normative differences between the variants of the standard language, Ammon (1995: 96) also discusses weaker forms of normativity which are not based on a codex. For instance, the norms of a national standard variety may be enforced by language experts (linguists, philologists) or by “norm authorities” such as teachers, or they may even be based on “model texts” written by journalists or writers. This leads Ammon to distinguish between *Vollzentren* (the three mentioned above) and *Halbzentren* of German (he mentions Liechtenstein, Luxembourg, South Tyrol and East Belgium, i.e. the other countries or regions in which German has the status of an official language). Such an extension of the notion of pluricentricity has not been generally accepted, however. In the following, I will therefore restrict my attention to the German standard language in Germany, Austria and German-speaking Switzerland.

Finally, the notion of a “centre” (as in “pluri-centric”) deserves a comment. Kloss (1978: 66) vaguely suggests that language centres are also “cultural ‘centres’ [quotation marks in the original, P.A.], which are opposed to each other culturally and often also politically” (translation P.A.). Ammon, on the contrary, defines linguistic centres purely in terms of the standard norms they have developed. But in any case, the term “centre” would seem to imply that there is a periphery as well, into which the centre “radiates”.¹ This issue of radiation is seemingly avoided in the current discussion of pluricentricity; it may therefore be more accurate to simply speak of the (two or more)

¹ The traditional use of the term “linguistic centre” in German dialectology (of which Kloss and Stewart surely were aware) reflects this centre/periphery idea, in the sense that a linguistic centre is taken to exert some kind of influence on an area (usually the area around it, i.e. the periphery). Cf., for instance,

national standard varieties of a language, instead of a pluricentric language. German would then simply be a language with three national varieties (a straightforward terminology favoured, for instance, by Riesel 1964). If, on the other hand, one takes the centre/periphery issue seriously, questions such as the following need to be asked:

- Which standard variety do those German-speaking states orient to that are not (full) centres themselves (such as Luxembourg, etc.)?
- Which standard variety do German learners who do not live in a German-speaking country orient to?
- How do the standard varieties influence each other?

The answers are likely to lead to a gradient view of pluricentricity with Germany as the strongest centre, followed by Austria and then Switzerland, based on the following considerations:

- Luxembourg and Belgium orient to German StdG, while Austrian (and perhaps Bavarian) StdG only serves as a point of orientation in South Tyrol, the Swiss standard only in Liechtenstein.
- The target variety of German as a foreign language (i.e. outside the German-speaking area) is usually the standard of Germany; in some parts of Eastern Europe (particularly those which were part of the Habsburg empire, i.e. Ukraine, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Slovenia, Croatia, Hungary and Romania), the Austrian variety of StdG competes with German StdG. Swiss StdG plays no role as a target variety; in fact, even in the Italian- and French-speaking parts of Switzerland, it is often German StdG which is learnt, not Swiss StdG.
- German StdG has some influence on the Austrian and Swiss standards, but not vice versa; the Austrian and the Swiss variants do not influence each other.

In short, if the notion of a centre is taken seriously, the three standard varieties of German are not “of equal standing” (Kloss), but are hierarchically ordered. Clyne (1995: 21–2) speaks of “asymmetrical pluricentricity”, and he notes correctly that Germany’s position as a dominant centre is also reflected in the speakers’ attitudes. Thus, Germans tend to “dismiss national variation as trivial”, and to “confuse ‘national variation’ with ‘regional variation’ (...) without understanding the function, status and symbolic character of the ‘national varieties’” (Clyne 1995: 22).

Bach’s definition of the “Sprache des politischen Mittelpunkts oder des Kulturzentrums” (Bach 1950: 89) or of “städtische Zentren” (Bach 1950: 91).

3 Evidence for the pluricentricity of German on the level of language norms

It is relatively easy to show that there are three different norms of StdG valid in Germany, Austria and German-speaking Switzerland (a detailed description of these norms is given in Ammon 1995). More difficult is the question of codification, which depends on the definition of a codex. Since a state-enforced codex only exists for orthography in the German-speaking countries, and since the differences between the three nations in this area are minor,² the relevance of the codices is questionable. The only areas apart from orthography in which national differences are codified to a certain degree (by private institutions, not the state) are the lexicon and phonetics. Dictionaries produced in Germany such as the *Duden Universalwörterbuch* or the *Duden – Das große Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache* are also sold on the Austrian and Swiss market; therefore, they usually mark Austrian and Swiss peculiarities as such (a case of exo-normativity), while those words that are only in use in Germany are not specified. These dictionaries claim validity for the whole German language area. Today, the tendency is to include Swiss and Austrian variants more comprehensively, and partly also to mark the words that are only used in Germany. In Switzerland, there are additionally some dictionaries that list the Swiss StdG peculiarities, such as Kurt Meyer's 2006 *Schweizer Wörterbuch*, the *Schweizer Schülerduden* (Sturm et al. 2001) and *Unser Wortschatz – Schweizer Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache* (Bigler et al. 1987); these are of limited use in schools. Much more relevant is the Austrian *Österreichisches Wörterbuch*, whose various editions since 1951 reflect the ideological debates surrounding the divergence of Austrian StdG from German StdG. All these publications reflect the imbalance between the German norm and the Austrian and Swiss norms. Recently, the *Variantenwörterbuch des Deutschen* (2004) made an explicit attempt to be more balanced. It is a joint venture of linguists in all German-speaking countries, and gives a comprehensive view of the lexical differences within standard German (not only between Switzerland, Austria and Germany, but also within the German standard, and in Luxembourg, South Tyrol, and Belgium).

Apart from the lexicon, differences between the three national standard varieties are highly noticeable on the phonetic level. German standard pronunciation has been codified for a long time by the so-called *Siebs* (viz. Theodor Siebs, *Deutsche Aussprache*) and other pronunciation dictionaries. Swiss German pronunciation was codified by Hofmüller-Schenk in 1995, Austrian standard German phonetics by Muhr in 2007. Still, it is here that the normative nature of the differences between the three countries is perhaps most readily felt. For instance, the phonetics of news anchormen

² The only major difference is the missing letter <ß> in Switzerland, which is replaced by <ss>, while in Austria and Germany, the distinction between <ß> and <s> after long vowels indicates a voicing distinction.

and -women in the national news broadcasts have to follow the phonetic norms of Austria, Switzerland or Germany; thus, while a news presenter in Bavaria may be acceptable to the public if s/he uses the – north-German – codified, i.e. orthoepic – phonetic norm of Germany (and not Bavarian standard German phonetics), no news presenter in Switzerland or Austria would.

An interesting case which reflects the same normative pressure, although to a lesser degree than the news on national television, is the dubbing of TV publicity spots produced in Germany for use on Austrian television according to the Austrian norm. Dubbing is not consistently done, but it is not infrequent either. Note that the situation in Switzerland is different: here, foreign TV spots are either not dubbed at all or they are translated into Swiss dialect. An example may be useful to show that minor phonetic differences between Austrian and German StdG phonetics can be salient enough to make a TV spot unsuitable (in the eyes of the producers) for the Austrian audience. It is a spot for the candy “Nimm 2”, recently shown in Germany and Austria. The spot contains the following dialogue between three mothers (who, together with their children, are the target group of the product):³

- | | |
|---------------|---|
| FIRST MOTHER | weich und gefüllt? Da bin ich mal gespannt.
<i>Soft and filled? I'm curious.</i> |
| SECOND MOTHER | das is irgendwie schön fruchtig und schön saftig
<i>Somehow this is really fruity and really juicy</i> |
| FIRST MOTHER | lecker
<i>tasty</i> |
| THIRD MOTHER | das is typisch Nimm 2, ja, Vitamine, und naschen.
<i>That's typical Nimm 2, right, vitamins, and snacking.</i> |
| CHILD | ich hab Zitrone
<i>I got lemon</i> |
| SECOND MOTHER | du hast Zitrone?
<i>You've got lemon?</i> |

In both versions, the off-voice which frames this dialogue uses German standard phonetics (the voice of authority?), but the mothers' voices (not that of the child!) were dubbed for broadcast in Austria. The text itself remained unaltered, although the evaluative adjective *lecker* is often considered to be a Teutonism in Austria (in fact, it is northern German standard). However, the phonetics changed. In particular, in the Austrian version, the fricative realization of the final consonant in *frucht* [ç] and *saft* [ç] was replaced by a stop [k], the offglide of the diphthong in *zwei* is markedly lower and the onglide centralized and nasalized, the fortis stops in *typisch* are lenited

³ The clips can be seen on YouTube (last access July 2011), cf. <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SmniXTmNJbE> for the German version and http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=z0LON2G3wPw&feature=watch_response for the Austrian one.

and spoken without aspiration, and the centralized, rounded short /i/ in *nimm* in the German version is replaced by an unrounded, non-centralized, somewhat tensed vowel. All these are clearly features of the Austrian standard norm. With the exception of the monophthongization of the diphthong /ai/ (which is an innovation of the Vienna city dialect), they are also used in Bavaria and/or southern Germany, but have no normative status there.

Adaptations to the national standard variety can also be seen in the Swiss media. Bickel and Schmidlin (2004: 105) report that radio and TV moderators in Switzerland see to it that their Swiss German can still be recognized (cf. Hove 2002). They also observe that for use in Swiss newspapers, texts written by German news agencies are adapted lexically when they contain items not used in Switzerland. Note that this is not a matter of intelligibility, but of identity: most “Germany-only” words are known to the readers in Switzerland (while the opposite is not always the case); they would, however, betray the news texts’ external provenance and therefore damage the credibility of the Swiss news.

4 Norms and usage

Up to now, we have seen that, according to a norm-based definition, German has three distinct national standard varieties. If we were to stop here, however (as most of the literature on the topic in German sociolinguistics does), we would miss the important facts. Norms are the product of social processes in which certain language features assume normative status while others do not. I suggest using Agha’s notion of *enregisterment* to capture these processes and I will show in the next sections that the enregisterment of a Swiss standard follows very different paths than the enregisterment of an Austrian standard, let alone that of the German standard.

Before we look into these processes on the basis of some examples, it should be pointed out that there is a major difference between German and other pluricentric languages such as Portuguese, Spanish and English. Whereas the pluricentricity of Portuguese, Spanish and English is a heritage of the colonial past of Portugal, Spain and England, it is due in the German-speaking nations to the fact that they have shared a contiguous language space for around 1,000 years. No major⁴ new varieties have emerged as a consequence of overseas migration or colonialization.

The modern standard variants of German cover an area in which dialect continua have existed over a long time, while the national standard language(s) is (are) rel-

⁴ In some German-speaking overseas settlements new varieties of colloquial German have developed (see e.g. Auer (2005) on Southern Brazilian German – “Hunsrückisch”). However, in none of these settlements has a distinct standard variety emerged; rather, the aim of all German language teaching and acquisition was to reach the German standard norm as used in Germany.

actively young. In particular, the national border between Switzerland and Germany cross-cuts an old Alemannic dialect continuum and the national border between Germany and Austria cross-cuts a Bavarian dialect continuum (in a small part in the western-most state of Austria, i.e. Vorarlberg, it also crosses the Alemannic dialect continuum). These dialect continua have in the second half of the last century tended to dissolve at the national political borders, a process which in itself merits detailed consideration (cf. Auer, in press). However, since the dialects were the substrate of the varieties of standard German spoken in the respective areas at least until the mid-19th century, many of the variants which today are considered distinctive elements of the Austrian or Swiss German standard varieties are also found in the standard varieties used in the southern parts of Germany. The difference is that in Austria and Switzerland, they may constitute the only norm, while in Germany, they are merely alternants of the norm (lexicon) or even violations of it (phonetics, some parts of syntax).

Let us call linguistic features that only occur in the language space of Germany, Austria or German-speaking Switzerland (in the whole or a subarea of the nation space) *Teutonisms*, *Austriacisms* and *Helvetisms*, respectively. Once we start to look into standard *use* (instead of standard *norms*), the basis of Austrian and Swiss StdG becomes precarious in the sense that clear Austriacisms and Helvetisms are not all that frequent. On the other hand, there are a huge number of Teutonisms, but these variants often are used in a part of Germany only, mostly following a north/south divide, with the southern German alternants being identical to those in Austria and/or Switzerland.

In the following I will give some examples of this precariousness using data from two geographical investigations on colloquial standard German, the *Wortatlas der deutschen Umgangssprachen* (Eichhoff 1977–2000) and the *Atlas der deutschen Alltagssprache* (AdA) published online at the University of Augsburg under the direction of Stephan Elspaß and Robert Möller since 2001. Both are based on questionnaires administered by mail or online. In addition to variation in the standard language they also cover some regional variants which must be considered dialectal; they were disregarded in the following discussion.

Austriacisms and Helvetisms are restricted by and large to the following three groups of words:

- Administrative terms. They clearly originate from official, mainly written, bureaucratic language. For instance, a written test at school is called a *Schularbeit* in Austria, and only in Austria, while it is called *Klassenarbeit* in most of Germany with the exception of the state (*Land*) of Bavaria in which the term *Schulaufgabe* is prevalent. These terms are the ones used by the school authorities and, of course, the students also stick to them. Particularly in Switzerland, the official language can diverge considerably from Germany and Austria. Public notes such as *Fehlbare Automobilisten werden gebüßt* ('transgressions by car-drivers will be prosecuted') or in the tramway *Fahrgäste ohne Billet zahlen 50 Franken für die Umtriebe* ('pas-

sengers without a ticket will pay 50 SFr for the inconveniences') are hardly comprehensible to Germans and Austrians outside their specific context.⁵

- Words of foreign origin. Due to the language purism movement in the late 19th and early 20th century in Germany, many words of Latin, Greek and French etymology were replaced by German counterparts; in Austria, and particularly in Switzerland, the older, non-native words have often survived, at least as alternants. For instance, *Automobilist* 'car driver', is a Helvetism (cf. Austrian/German StdG, but also non-administrative Swiss German StdG: *Autofahrer*), as is *Billet* ('ticket', German, Austrian StdG: *Fahrkarte*, *Fahrausweis*) and Swiss StdG *Velo* 'bicycle' (German StdG (*Fahr*)*rad*, Austrian StdG *Rad*; cf. Eichhoff 3, 17).
- Words for food. This applies, in particular, to Austrian standard German. Examples are Austrian StdG (*Schweins*-)*Stelze* for 'pork knuckle' (German StdG *Schweinshaxe*, *Eisbein*; cf. Eichhoff 4, 35) or *Faschiertes* for 'minced meat' (German and Swiss StdG *Gehacktes*, *Hackfleisch*, *Schabefleisch*, *Hack*; cf. Eichhoff 4, 34).

In by far the more frequent case, however, there are several competing lexical variants in German StdG, one of which (often the southern form) is the only variant used in Switzerland and/or Austria (although the others are usually known and understood). These words are therefore Teutonisms, but the corresponding words used in Switzerland and/or Austria are not Helvetisms or Austriacisms. Usually this is a consequence of the dialectal differences within Germany, in combination with the dialectal similarities between Southern Germany and German-speaking Switzerland and Austria. Again, the numerous examples can be classified in four groups according to the geographical constellation which they represent.

Group 1: South/north distinction. In the north of the German-speaking area, other lexical variants are used than in the south, but the distribution does not correlate with the borders of the *Länder* (states). For instance, the more we go south, the more the northern German *Zahnschmerzen* 'tooth ache' (northern) gives way to *Zahnweh* (cf. Eichhoff 3, 3), *klug/schlau* 'clever' gives way to *gescheit* (south; cf. Eichhoff 3, 35), or *Anspitzer* to *Spitzer* 'sharpeners' (cf. Elspaß and Möller 2006). The north/south divide is not the same for every pair; for instance, *Anspitzer* is more restricted to the very north (roughly the Low German area), while *Zahnschmerzen* extends much further south (cf. Figures 1 and 2).

⁵ Some explanations:

fehlbar: the meaning 'guilty of a transgression' is unknown in Germany and Austria, where the adjective is only used as the antonym of *unfehlbar* ('infallible');

gebüsst werden: 'to be fined' is unknown in Germany and Austria, where the verb *büßen* only means 'to atone for' and cannot be used transitively. As a consequence, a traffic ticket is called *Buße* only in Switzerland;

umtriebe: 'administrative expenses' is unknown in Germany and Austria, where the noun only means 'machinations'.

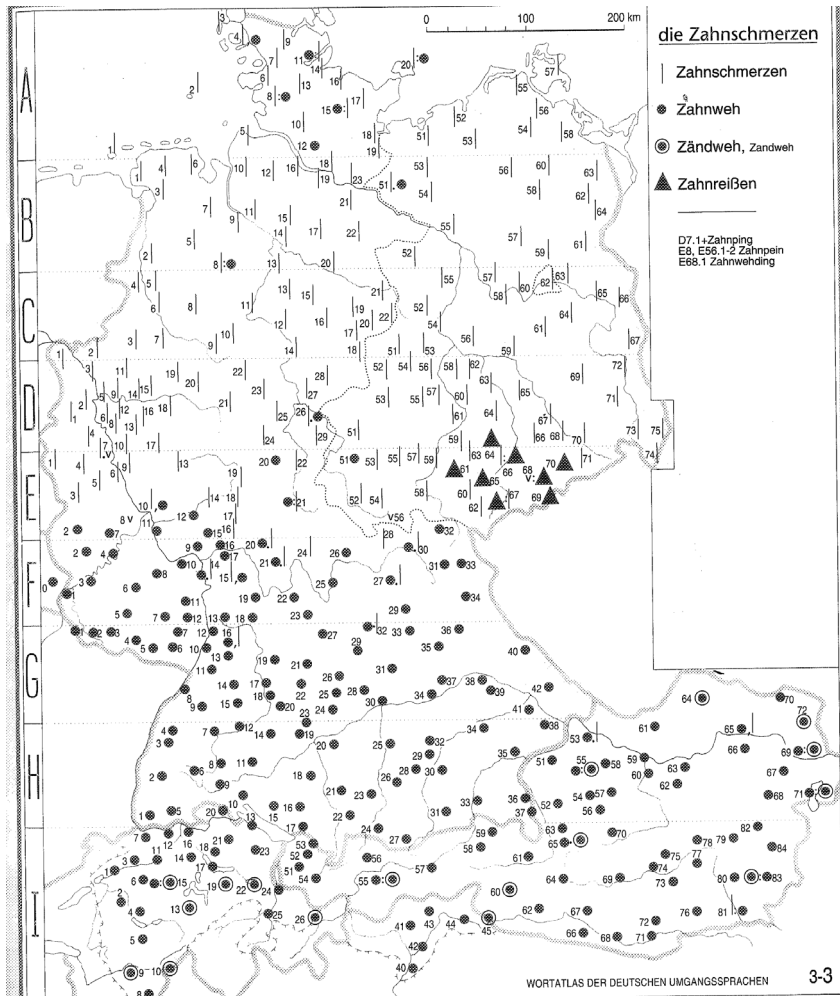


Fig. 1: Geographical distribution of *Zahnschmerzen* (northern) vs. *Zahnweh* (southern, 'toothache') according to Eichhoff 3, 3

Group 2: In rare cases we find an east/west division (sometimes in addition to a south/north divide). An example is the word for 'dessert'. The Austrian form (*Nachspeise*) is also used in Bavaria, the Swiss form (*Dessert*) in some parts of Baden (in the very west of Germany); the former GDR, i.e. the Northeast in this case had its own variant (*Kompott*), and the Northwest uses *Nachtisch* (Eichhoff 4, 33; cf. Figure 3). *Kompott* and *Nachtisch* are Teutonisms, but *Dessert* and *Nachspeise* are not Helvetisms/Austracisms. The word for 'roll' is another example: *Semmel* is used in Austria and Bavaria, *Weck/en* and variants in the west, from Switzerland up to the Moselle-Franconian area (Eichhoff 2, 59; cf. Figure 7 below).

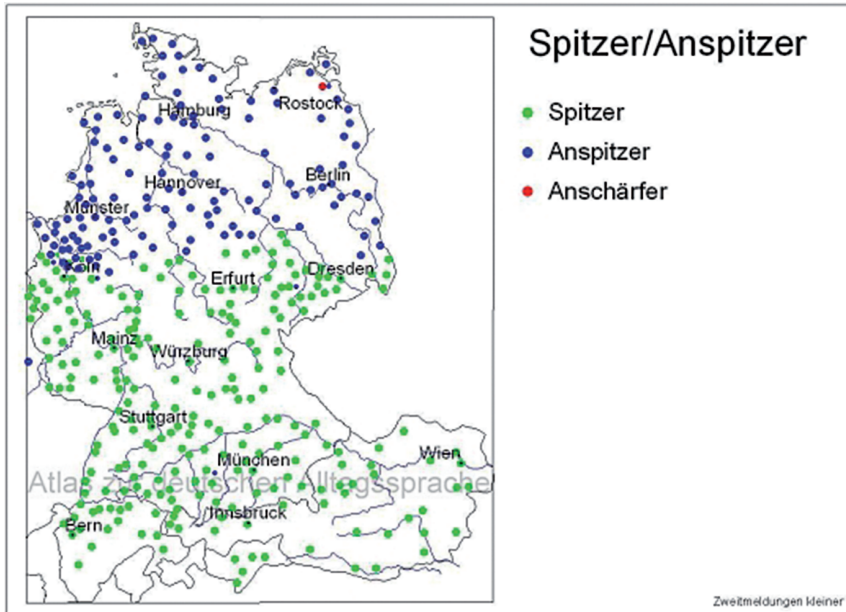


Fig. 2: Geographical distribution of *Anspitzer* (northern) vs. *Spitzer* (southern, ‘sharpener’) according to Elspaß and Möller (2006)

Group 3: Surprisingly, in a good number of cases, Austrian StdG shares a lexical variant with the north of Germany, while Switzerland goes with the southern part of Germany. Examples are the word for cabinet maker (see Eichhoff 1, 20) which is *Tischler* in Austria and northern/eastern Germany, but *Schreiner* in Switzerland and the rest of Germany, or the word for ‘cheek’ which is *Backe* in most of Germany and Switzerland, but *Wange* in Austria and, competing with *Backe*, also in northern and eastern Germany (Eichhoff 3, 1).

Group 4: Very rarely, Swiss StdG patterns coincide with northern German StdG. This applies, e.g., to the word for ‘mosquito’: Swiss and German StdG use *Mücke*, while Austria has a clear Austriacism, i.e. *Gelse*, and Southern Germany as well as parts of the Middle German area use *Schnake* (cf. Eichhoff 2, 101).

Grammar shows a similar picture. There are some few Austriacisms and Helvetisms, most of which refer to lexically-stored grammatical information. Examples are gender differences (cf. *das Plastik* – neuter – in Austria and Germany vs. *der Plastik* – masculine – in Switzerland, cf. Eichhoff 2, 77) or the presence vs. absence of the compound marker (*Fugenelement*) [s] (which is used in more words in Austria than in Switzerland and Germany, cf. *Fabriksbesitzer* vs. *Fabrikbesitzer* ‘factory owner’, *Aufnahmeprüfung* vs. *Aufnahmeprüfung* ‘entrance exam’, cf. the respective AdA maps). Much more often, however, the Swiss and Austrian forms concur with the

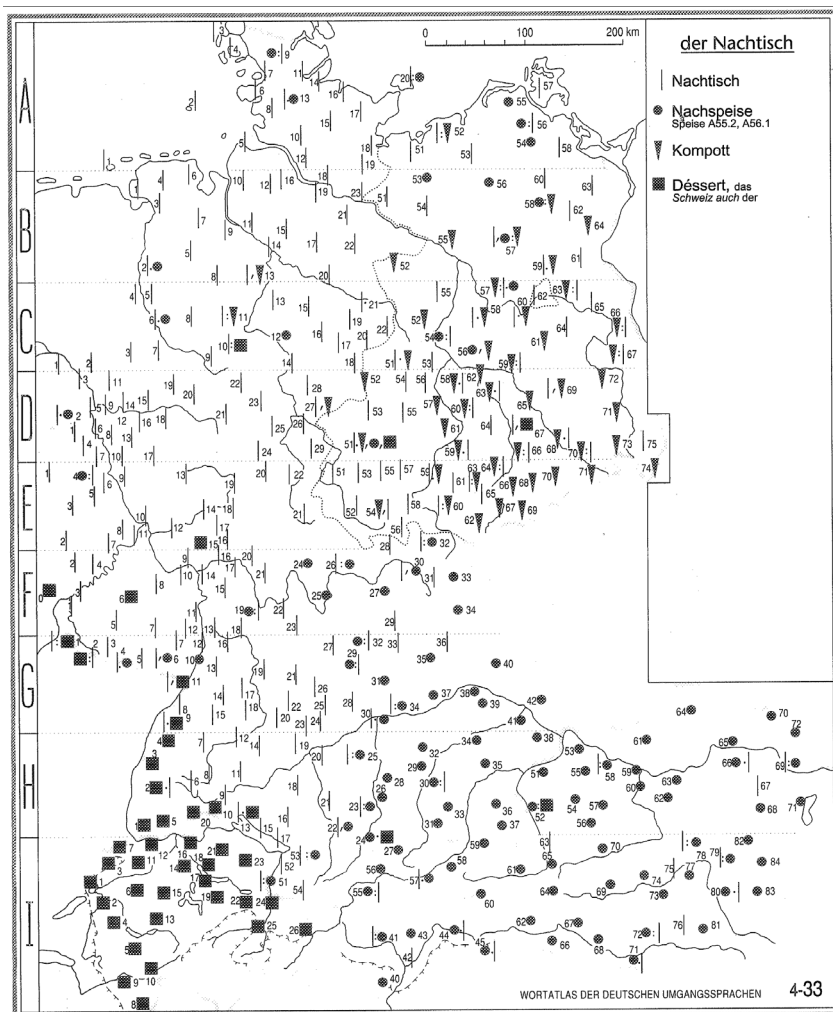


Fig. 3: Geographical distribution of *Nachtisch* (Northwest) vs. *Nachspeise* (Southeast) vs. *Dessert* (Southwest) vs. *Kompott* (Northeast, ‘dessert’) according to Eichhoff 4, 33

southern German StdG forms. For instance, the use of the definite article with personal names is often considered to be typical of Austria (Riesel 1964: 14), but it is also dominant all over Switzerland and in the south and the middle of Germany; only the northernmost part of Germany does not use this construction (and even there it seems to be spreading, cf. Eichhoff 4, 76; cf. Figure 5). Another example often mentioned as an Austriacism and/or Helvetism is the formation of the perfect tense with the auxiliary *sein* instead of *haben* (*ich habe gegessen/bin gegessen* ‘I was sitting/I sat’), which once more is general Upper German (cf. Eichhoff map 2, 125 and corresponding AdA maps in Elspaß and Möller 2006).

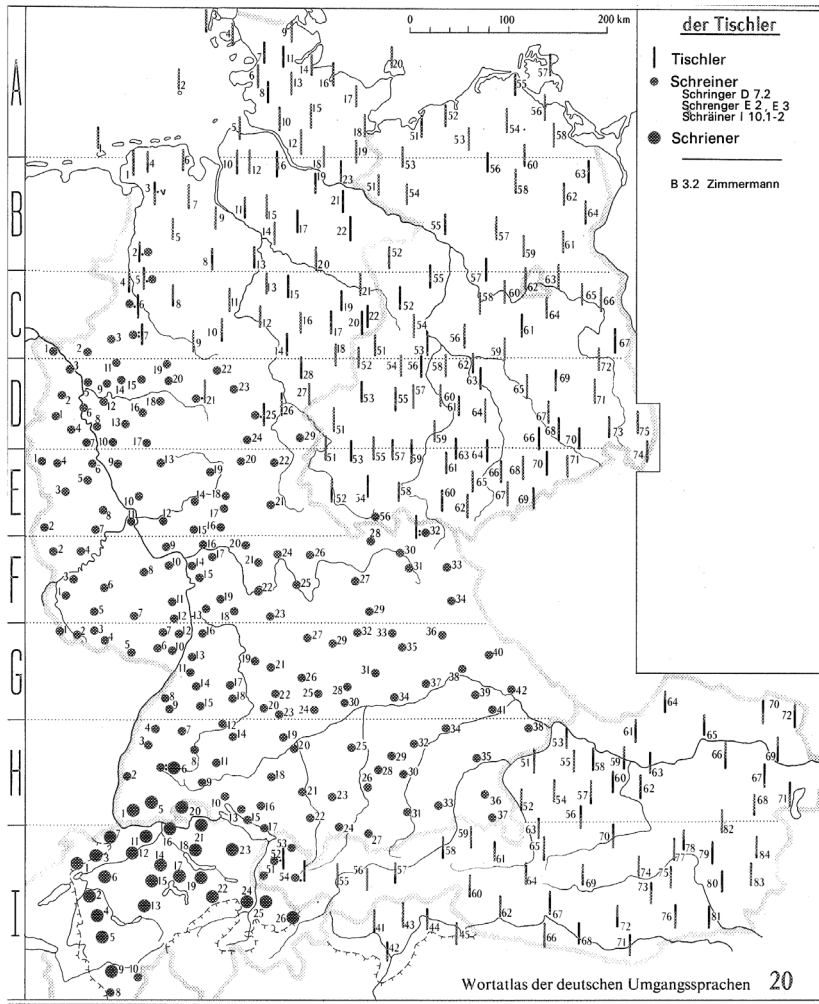


Fig. 4: Geographical distribution of *Tischler* (Austria and North of Germany) vs. *Schreiner* (rest) according to Eichhoff 1, 20

Of course, these findings are not surprising, given the dialectal similarities between southern Germany and Austria/Switzerland.⁶ The important point is that the defini-

⁶ More surprising are the considerable number of lexical concurrences between northern Germany and Austria, which are probably due to the fact that until 1919, Austria actively contributed to the emergence of a common German standard language. The standard variety spoken by the upper classes in Vienna was by no means seen as separate from that in the German Reich (cf. Ammon 1995: 117–128), and it is possible that the forms used in neighbouring Bavaria were regarded as provincial and therefore rejected in favour of those used in Prussia.

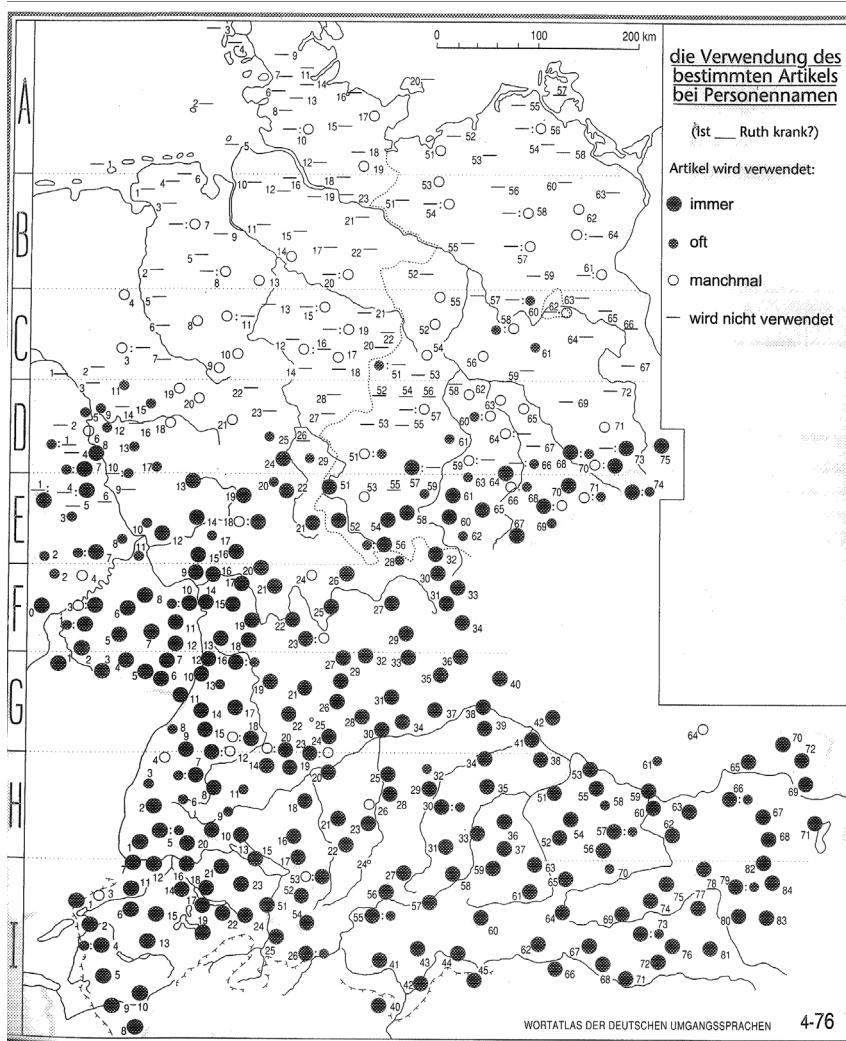


Fig. 5: Geographical distribution of the use of the definite article with proper nouns (only in the north of Germany) according to Eichhoff 4, 76

tion of an Austrian (and Swiss) Standard German norm cannot be solidly based on objective differences in standard language use in these countries and Germany as a whole. Since the German norm is often divided between northern and southern variants, it frequently includes the Austrian and Swiss forms. This brings us to the central point: the enregisterment of an Austrian and Swiss standard German cannot be based on categorical differences in language use (since there are too few Austriacisms and Helvetisms), but only by opposing the Swiss and Austrian forms to the *northern* German standard (a subset of the German standard forms), thus ignoring variation within

German StdG. How this is done will be the focus of the next section. We will also see that the enregisterment of Swiss standard German is not the same as the enregisterment of Austrian standard German.

5 The enregisterment German, Swiss and Austrian varieties of StdG

Agha (2003, 2007) coined the term *enregisterment* in order to describe the “processes whereby distinct forms of speech come to be socially recognized (or enregistered) as indexical of speaker attributes by a population of language users”; his example is the British standard pronunciation (RP). Johnstone and colleagues (e.g. Johnstone, Andrus, and Danielsson 2006) have used the same theory to account for the ideological formation of regional ways of speaking (here, Pittsburghese). Agha’s starting point is the conviction that the formation of “registers” is more revealing than the registers themselves. Applied to our topic, this means that we should be less interested in the German language in the structural-positivistic sense (as much of the literature on plurilingualism is), or object differences between language varieties, or more or less diverging grammars or phonetics; rather, we should focus on “models of language use that are disseminated along identifiable trajectories in social space” (Agha 2007: 38), i.e. interactional, micro-level processes of typification through which constellations of language forms (registers) are imbued with social meaning through their association with (again typified) groups of speakers. Agha speaks of *role alignment* to capture this specific reflexivity between social types and linguistic form groups. Such role alignment can occur in face-to-face communication and in the media, through stylized and non-stylized displays and ascriptions of socially relevant membership categories, but there is good reason to believe that for any investigation of the enregisterment of national *standard* varieties, it will be crucial to look into the dissemination of models of language use across groups of speakers by means of “discursive artifacts” (Agha) such as oral narratives, printed cartoons, newspapers, magazines, novels, etc. Of course, these representations would not have a lasting effect on the ideological construction of national standard varieties if they were not copied or at least approximated by “real” speakers in “real” encounters who position themselves in a social space by choosing one constellation of linguistic variant over another. There is, then, a complex interplay between individuals whose acts of identity involve the selection of certain speech forms, and medial and other discursive productions of stereotypes of varieties and their typical speakers. A good example of this interplay of media and everyday language usage comes from Switzerland. Swiss German preschool children acquire Standard German from TV, fairy tale CDs, computer games, etc.; this standard German often has distinct StdG traits (as most of these media are produced in Germany; cf. Suter Tufekovic 2008: 116). These medial representations do not enregister negative attitudes towards StdG in general, nor its German version in particular. However,

when the children enter school, they are confronted with the teachers' different discursive constructions of the same registers (of StdG), which change their attitude and their linguistic practices. They now learn that only dialect is the normatively approved way of speaking in everyday life in Switzerland. At the same time, their StdG – and in particular German StdG – is devaluated and as a consequence disappears from active language use (Sieber and Sitta 1994).

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. A crucial point about the three German standard varieties is that the second dimension is mapped upon the first in the sense that German StdG, when construed (enregistered) from an Austrian or Swiss perspective, has all the (negative and positive) features (Austrian/Swiss) standard German also has when opposed to the dialects or regional dialects. In this sense, German StdG becomes an *ultra-standard*. The inverse also holds (although it cannot be discussed here in detail for reasons of space): from a German perspective, the Austrian and Swiss variants of the standard have all the features of non-standard, dialectal ways of speaking (registers), such as being cute, cosy, dumb, inarticulate, backward, expressing solidarity, etc., i.e. they are treated (become registered) as quasi-dialects. Swiss standard German speakers in particular report again and again (cf., e.g., Koller 1999) that they are complimented in northern Germany for their *intelligible dialect* when speaking Swiss StdG.

Let us look at two examples of the enregisterment of German StdG from an Austrian and Swiss perspective. Enregisterment means that certain features of German StdG are picked out (are made salient) and are construed as co-occurring, but also that social meaning is construed for these forms by their association with typified speakers.

The first example (Figure 6) is a cartoon from the early 1990s.⁷ A perhaps Turkish seasonal worker who is employed during the tourist season in Austria receives language lessons from an Austrian. The Austrian, who speaks some kind of mixture of (Tyrolian?) dialect and standard, teaches the guest worker two different registers which are easily identified as Austrian and German StdG. The Austrian forms are presented as the ones to be used “normally”, while the German forms are to be used with the German tourists.

⁷ Taken from: *Materialien zur österreichischen Landeskunde* Vol. 1, edited by the Bundesministerium für Unterricht und Kunst, Wien 1992, p. 36; the original purpose and publication of the cartoon is unknown to me.

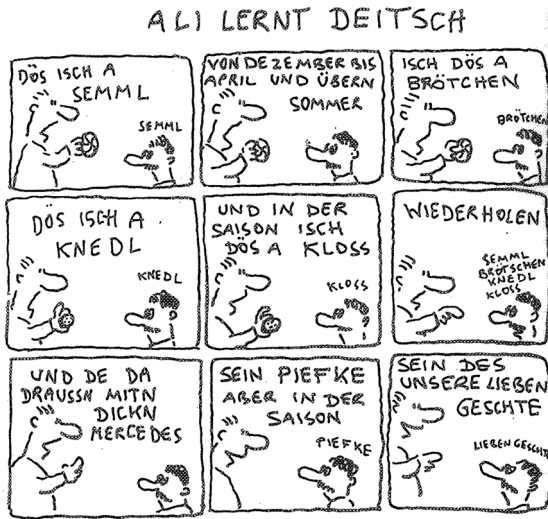


Fig. 6: A cartoon which enregisters German and Austrian StdG from an Austrian point of view

Ali learns German

This is a *Semml* (roll).

From December to April and over the summer,
this is a *Brötchen* (roll).

This is a *Knedl* (dumpling).

And during the season, this is a *Kloss* (dumpling).
Repeat.

And those out there in the fat Mercedes
are *Piefke* (Germans). But during the season,
they are “our dear guests”.

The cartoon very explicitly builds up a linguistic contrast between *Semmel/Brötchen* and *Knödel/Kloss* (German orthography: *Kloß*), which through the cartoon become enregistered as Austrian and German standard respectively, and are then mapped onto the social categories *Piefke* vs. *unsere lieben geschte* ‘our dear guests’ (the terms denote the same group of people, depending on whether they are being talked about behind their back or being addressed as tourists). The word *Piefke* is a derogatory term for Germans which is generally known in Austria.⁸ The linguistic form chosen in the

⁸ It goes back to a 19th century cartoon figure portraying the typical German petit bourgeois, later a low-ranking soldier in the Prussian army. This cartoon figure was invented in Berlin, and transferred to Vienna after the 1866 military defeat of Austria in the Austrian/Prussian war as a negative stereotype of the Prussian (soldier). From there it became generalized to the German in general (cf. Godeysen 2010). The success of this expression in Austria may partly be due to the phonetics of the name: the two voiceless stops in syllable-initial position can be pronounced with sufficient aspiratory force to

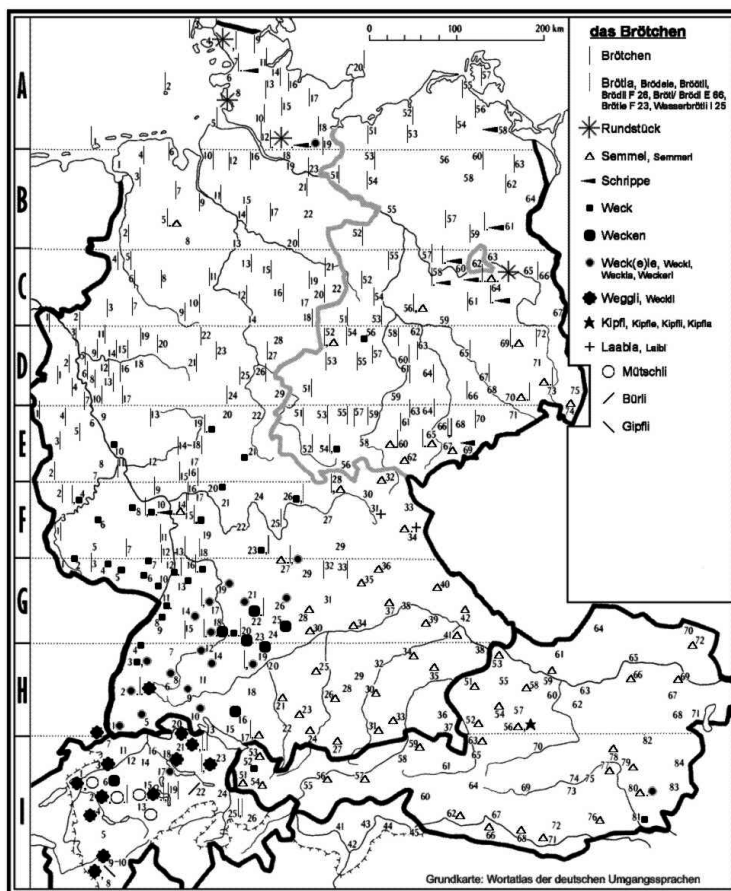


Fig. 7: Geographical distribution of *Semmel* (southeast) vs. *Brötchen* (north) according to the *Atlas der deutschen Alltagssprache* (AdA)

cartoon for ‘our dear guests’ (*unsere lieben geschte*) alludes to a partly hypercorrect, partly dialectally interfered form of Austrian standard German as used by a speaker who does not usually speak standard German and makes an effort to approximate the “ultra-standard” of Germany (cf. the closed instead of StdG open /e/ and the palatalized /s/ before /t/ in *geschte*, both marked by divergent orthography, i.e. from *Gäste*).

Which linguistic variants are enregistered here? A look at the AdA map (cf. Figure 7) for *Semmel/Brötchen* reveals that their geographical spread follows the familiar

conform to the cliché of militaristic Prussian *Kasernenton*; in addition, the *-ke* ending, unknown in Austrian, made the name sound sufficiently alien (*Piefke* is a nativized form of Polish *piwko* ‘beer’.)

pattern discussed in the previous section:⁹ both *Kloß* and *Brötchen* are Teutonisms, but they are only used in the more northern parts of Germany. *Knödel* and *Semmel*, on the contrary, are not Austriacisms, since they are used outside Austria as well. Both therefore seem to be ill-suited for the German vs. the Austrian way of speaking standard. But this is exactly what enregisterment is all about: the cartoon achieves the transformation from language use to language norms. Irrespective of how Germans speak in reality, their variety of German becomes normatively enregistered as one in which rolls are called *Brötchen*, and dumplings are called *Klöße*. The fact that many Germans do not use these words, but rather the alternants which are now part of the Austrian standard register, is irrelevant. But the cartoon does more: it also provides meaning through role alignment: the German words are not only used by German tourists, these Germans are tourists who drive a Mercedes. They are economically superior to the Austrians, but behave in such a way that they are thoroughly disliked. The cartoon also enregisters Austrian StdG as a variety which contains the words *Semmel*, *Knödel*, and the expression *unsere lieben geschte*, and aligns it with the hypocritical Austrian who profits from tourism by exploiting seasonal workers from Turkey.

Variants	<i>Semmel</i>	–	<i>Brötchen</i>
	<i>Knedl</i>	–	<i>Kloss</i>
	↓		↓
Register	Austrian StdG		German StdG
	↑		↑
Users	‘we’		‘they’
<i>Piefke</i>	=		‘our dear guests’

Let us now look at an example for the enregisterment of Swiss StdG. The following conversational exchange is transcribed from a famous Swiss German cabaret act (*Cabaret Rotstift*, “Am Skilift”). Four men are queuing at a ski lift, obviously in the Swiss Alps. First in line is an American, second a German, then two Swiss. While the American simply enjoys the view, the German continuously complains about having to wait due to “bad organization”, and he permanently stresses that this wouldn’t happen in Germany. (The country is not mentioned explicitly, though – he only speaks of *bei uns draußen* ‘out there in our place’) The second Swiss responds to the German’s continuous complaints with a kind of excuse; this is formulated in Swiss StdG (the only occurrence of this variety in the whole sketch). When the German does not stop complaining about Switzerland and praising his home country, the first Swiss also intervenes in a much more witty way, this time not in Swiss StdG, but in Swiss dialect. The extract thus contains enregistered German StdG (lines 01–08, 12–25, 27), Swiss StdG (lines 9, 10, 13) and Swiss German dialect (lines 26, 28).

⁹ *Knödel/Kloß* has not been investigated geographically yet, but doubtlessly *Knödel* is used in the southeast of Germany as well.

- 01 German: <<fast>hÖrn_se ma mann was hab ich von ner wunderbaren AUSSicht
 02 wenn die orrganisaTJON im eimer is;>
Listen man what do I care about the wonderful view if the organization is on the fritz;
 03 na det is doch alles SCHEIbenhonig mann.
this really is all sugar crap man.
 04 i- i- ich steh jetzt schon über eine STUNde hier vorm skilift un ich komm nich HOCH;
I I've been standing here more than an hour in front of this lift and can't get up;
 05 (–) nich hier fehlt_s doch an der orrganisaTJON;
(–) see=this is lacking in organisation;
 06 rrruck zuck zack ZACK!
flash flash chop chop!
 07 2nd Swiss: sie
You? ((i.e. 'listen'))
 08 German: wie bitte?
Beg your pardon?
 09 2nd Swiss: <<very slowly> sie; (–) sie müssen sich nicht AUFregen! >
You; you don't have to get upset!
 10 es hat doch an einem SO schönen morgen eNORM vie[le leute.
on such a beautiful morning there are of course loads of people.
 11 1st Swiss: [ja eNORM ja ja
 12 German [ach was ()
Oh come on
 13 2nd Swiss: sonscht (–) sonscht geht des allweg VIEL schneller!
at other times (–) at other times it is (of course) MUCH faster!
 14 German: ach wat! gehen se mal WEG [mann
Come on! leave me alone man
 15 1st Swiss: [ja ja
 16 German: schlamperREI is das.
disgrace this is.
 17 ne=die schwiezer ham doch keine ahnung von orrganisTJON.
see= the Swiss have no idea about organisation.
 18 sowas konnte¹⁰ bei uns draußen nich vor.
this wouldn't happen out there in our place.
 19 ne=da KLAPPT das mit den wartezeiten;
right=there there's no problem with waiting time;
 20 da LÄUFT das wie am [schnÛrchen==also MANN dann]
everything runs like clockwork there. okay man then
 21 1st Swiss: [((taps the German's arm repeatedly to get his attention))
 22 German: «lowers voice, addressing 1st Swiss> nicht immer ANpicken.>
stop poking
 23 1st Swiss: [ja, ()
 24 German: [<<louder again> also MANN da solln se mal unsre BERGBahnen sehn mann;>
okay man you should see our mountain railways man.
 25 bei uns da geht alles ruck ZUCK zack ZACK
with us everything goes flash flash chop chop

10 Presumably a speech error or a hyperform: in StdG, a conjunctive is required (either: *sowas könnte bei uns draußen nicht vorkommen* or *sowas käme bei uns draußen nicht vor*).

- 26 1st Swiss: [los emal, los emal ((louder)) verzähl emol ä chli von dim umfall du öh?
Listen listen, why don't you tell us a little about your accident uh?
 [((taps the German's arm repeatedly)]
- 27 German: was_n für_n UNfall mann; ich hatte noch nie einen UNfall.
what accident man; I never had an accident.
- 28 1st Swiss: <<louder, towards audience> ja wottsch doch nöd behaupte sigsch mit so-n-ere
 schnurre-n-uf d-wält cho du äh>
You don't mean to say you were born with a gob like that uh?

In the German's voice a whole group of linguistic variables is enregistered and associated with a certain social type. Phonetics/phonology, voice quality, vocabulary and idiomaticity play an important role. Without going into details, the following features are easily identified:

- fast and loud delivery
- overarticulation (lengthening) of /R/ (as in the words *orrgansiaTION* – l. 02. 05, 17 – and *schlampeRREL*, l. 16)
- variable deletion of syllable-final /t/ as in *un ich komm nich HOCH* instead of *und ich komm nicht HOCH* (l. 4)
- cliticizations (e.g., *se* for *sie* – l 1, 14, 24. –, *was_n für_n Unfall* for *was denn für ein Unfall*, l. 21)
- inconsistently, StdG /s/ in the syllable coda is realized as /t/ (*det, wat*, cf. lines 3, 14; however, cf. final /s/ in lines 16, 18, 19, 20)
- idiomatic expressions such as *im Eimer sein, ruck zuck, zack zack, gehn se mal weg*
- vocabulary: *Scheibenhonig* (an old-fashioned euphemism for 'shit')
- the adverb/verbal particle *hoch* instead of *rauf, hinauf* (in *ich komm nicht hoch* 'I can't get up', line 4)
- the use of *mann, nich* and *ne* as tags, here also used as turn openers (cf. lines 05, 17, 19, 24)
- realization of all nuclear stresses by an HL-ton (i.e. a pitch protrusion which is followed by a fall; not marked in the transcript).

Several of these features suggest that the comedian wants to put on a Berlin voice (cf. particularly the use of substandard *det/wat*, a stereotypical Berlin feature), i.e. Berlin is taken as representative of Germany. More precisely, voice quality and prosody, phonetic overarticulation and perhaps some syntactic constructions such as the topicalized *Schlamperei* is *das* without a determiner before the fronted noun bring in a flavour of pre-war Germany, notably of the *Kasernenton* ('barracks speech') associated with the Prussian military. This makes the enregistered social type a 'Prussian' of old style. But many features (such as *hoch* as a directional adverbial, the question tag *ne*, final t-deletion and cliticization) are merely North German spoken standard. Irrespective of their factual sociolinguistic and geographical distribution, all these features are enregistered as *the* German standard register in this comedy sketch. In addition, as in the Austrian example, a social type is being aligned with this variety: in the present

case, the German is typified as impatient, impolite, arrogant and nationalistic. He is loud and dominant, and makes it difficult for the Swiss speakers to get a turn.

The register put on stage here is of course an intentional exaggeration and stylization; every Swiss listener will know that this is not really how Germans speak. However, enregisterment is not about real life. It is about the construction of *normative* schemes of how people ‘like us’ or people ‘like them’ are, according to which real persons can be categorized even if they only comply with few features of the stereotype.

In addition to enregistering a German standard variety, the sketch also enregisters Swiss StdG (in lines 9, 10, 13). Structurally, it is performed as maximally different from the German standard variety:

- slow delivery
- Swiss standard intonation, in particularly LH nuclear tones, i.e. the stress is realized by a low tone on the accented syllable and a pitch rise in the subsequent ones
- lento pronunciation, i.e. lack of cliticization and deletions (cf. *nich t* in 09, *ei nem* in 10)
- the construction *es hat* ...instead of *es gibt* ...‘there is’, which is typical of the southwestern part of the German language area (not only in Switzerland, cf. Eichhoff Vol. 2).

The social stereotype of the Swiss who uses Swiss standard German (and which is enregistered together with this variety) is that of a person who tries to diffuse the situation by offering an explanation, i.e. he responds in a rational and logical way: since the weather is so beautiful, many people go skiing and therefore it is no wonder that the lifts are exceptionally crowded. However, it is also that of a person who fails to make himself heard: The German is not impressed by this intervention and continues complaining.

At this point, the other Swiss person joins the interaction, and his way of dealing with the German is very different (cf. lines 26, 28). Linguistically, he does not bother to speak standard but uses his dialect. Pragmatically, he doesn’t bother to give an explanation. Rather, he plays a trick on the German and treats his verbosity as a speech defect that must be the result of an accident. The dialect-speaking Swiss wins out over the arrogant German, while the standard-speaking Swiss did not; we learn that a real Swiss speaks dialect, the language in which he feels at home and in which he can be witty and clever. Swiss standard German, on the contrary, is no guarantee of success, especially since most Swiss (like the persona performed in the sketch) do not master it anyway: the standard German the first Swiss aims at still shows dialectal features which the speaker cannot suppress even though he tries, i.e. the palatalization of /s/ in *sonsch* (std. *sonst*) and the dialectal adverb *allweg* ‘of course’, std. *natürlich*).

What kind of ideological construction of the three varieties is achieved by this sketch then? Although it is true that there exists a specific Swiss variety of the standard language, the national identity of the Swiss is only related to this variety in a super-

ficial way at best. Other than in Germany and in Austria, speaking a distinct form of standard German is not a symbol of national unity and national belonging, i.e. being able to speak standard German as such is quite irrelevant if one wants to show one's Swissness. What makes a Swiss a Swiss is the dialect. A Swiss who does not speak dialect will have a hard time proving he is Swiss – for a German, not speaking dialect is no problem at all (many Germans nowadays do not), and for an Austrian, it is at least less relevant than for a Swiss. Following the Swiss linguist Koller (1999: 146), we can say that standard German is a national symbol in Germany, but not in Switzerland – not even in its Swiss form. The reasons for this are linked to very different attitudes towards the dialect and the standard on the first dimension mentioned above, i.e. the social evaluation of the standard as “socially superior”, “more intelligent”, “more educated”, etc. All these characteristics do not apply in Switzerland (although they do in Germany and also to a certain extent in Austria). If one takes the argument to the extreme, one might even say that standard German as a whole is a “foreign” (or rather: second) language in the Swiss speakers' experience. The difference between its Swiss and its German variant is then only a matter of degrees. Consequently, debates about national identity in Switzerland are mapped not onto the symbolical distinction between the German and the Swiss form of standard German (as they sometimes are in Austria), but on the distinction between standard and (Swiss) dialect(s).

6 Conclusions

The German language area has always been geographically divided into dialect areas, with transitional zones between them. The process of the emergence of a superstructure on top of this regionally diversified linguistic landscape (i.e., the formation of a “standard language”) took hundreds of years and reached the spoken language only around 1900. As a consequence, many speakers of German up to the present day speak a variety of the standard which shows traces of a dialectal substrate. In Germany, there is evidence that these traces have become rather subtle over the last decades, and that an increasing number of speakers cannot be localized easily any longer when they speak standard German (cf. Spiekermann 2008; Auer and Spiekermann 2012 with evidence for this process in southwest Germany). However, there can be no doubt that there are still numerous geographically distributed standard features left which justify positing regional ways of speaking standard German, i.e. *regional standard varieties* (cf. Deppermann, in prep., for empirical evidence for the whole of the German-speaking area).

It is not known whether these regional standards are (still) co-extensive with the traditional dialect areas, whether they follow larger distributions (such as the Main River as the dividing line, as Eichhoff 1997 argues) or whether they perhaps increasingly are determined by the political borders of the *Länder* (states) of the Federal Republic of Germany (cf. Harnisch 2010 for an example). Surely, however, they are per-

ceived in terms of a prototype structure for which the large cities serve as points of orientation. Thus, the prototypical forms of “Bavarian”, “North German”, “Swabian German”, “Austrian” or “Rhineland” standard German are cognitively identified with “educated” speech in Munich, Hamburg, Stuttgart, Vienna, Berlin, etc. (It is only in Switzerland that the spoken standard does not seem to be identified with one particular city.) In this sense, (standard) German is a (regionally) pluricentric variety.

The features that are criterial for these prototypical standard varieties are mainly phonological and phonetic, but they include morphology, syntax, and lexicon as well. While some of them are exclusive to one prototypical standard, most are objectively shared by various regional standard varieties. The distribution of these features with a larger reach often follows a south/north pattern, although east/west patterns can also be observed (as the examples discussed in section 4 have shown). For the *enregisterment* of the regional standard varieties (and hence their folk-dialectological perception), however, some features are selected as salient, which may or may not be (objectively) exclusive to the variety in question, and which may be in frequent use or not. For instance, the coronalization of std. /ç/ ([ç]) is enregistered as a feature of the Rhineland standard, although it occurs in large parts of the Middle German dialect area as a standard feature, including Upper Saxon in the very East. For frequency, take as an example the realization of the syllable-initial cluster /st/ as [st] instead of [ʃt] which is exclusive to the north German standard, prototypically associated with the city of Hamburg. It is highly salient, but used only rarely (by older middle-class speakers) today (cf. Auer 1998).

While the regional pluricentricity of German is an undisputed fact, it remains below the level of normativity: the regional standard varieties of German are not prescribed, and a failure to use them is not sanctioned. In contrast, the main issue raised in this paper, i.e. pluricentricity on the national level, centrally involves questions of normativity of Austrian, Swiss and German varieties of StdG. Other than the old regional pluricentricity of the German language area which follows from its dialectal structure and translates more or less directly into dialectal substrates for regional standard varieties, this national pluricentricity is a new development of the post-war period. It follows the ideology of European nation-building by positing that every nation should have its own (standard) language. Note that this ideology was alien to Austria before the First World War (i.e. during the Habsburg empire), and that Switzerland has never subscribed to it during its history. During the last decades, however, this ideology has become more popular, mainly in Austria.

I have tried to show that according to the norm-based definition of the term *pluricentric* prevalent in modern sociolinguistics, there can be no doubt that the German language today is not only regionally, but also nationally pluricentric: there are normative differences between Austrian, Swiss and German StdG. However, I have also argued that the more interesting question is how these three standard varieties are *enregistered*. It was pointed out that this enregisterment has to deal with precarious facts, given the internal variability of the standard within Germany (with its numerous

regional centres and their associated regional standards). 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; cf. above) 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. This ideological elimination of the competing variants in Germany is a good example of what Irvine and Gal (2000: 38) have called *erasure*, together with “iconization” and “fractal recursivity” one of the three central processes of language ideology they discuss. Erasure is the “the process in which ideology, in simplifying the sociolinguistic field, renders some persons or activities (or sociolinguistic phenomena) invisible. Facts that are inconsistent with the ideological scheme either go unnoticed or get explained away”.

A final point made in this paper is that the enregisterment of national varieties of standard German has a different status in Germany, Austria and Switzerland. As is typical for asymmetrical pluricentricity, the Austrian and the Swiss ideologies of StdG imply a double stereotyping which is absent from the German standard ideology. They not only oppose the national standard to the national non-standard registers and varieties, such as dialects or regiolects, but also to German StdG (while the enregisterment of German StdG does not have this contrastive component). Finally, it was pointed out that the enregisterment of a Swiss standard is much less relevant for Swiss national identity (which is based on pluridialectality and plurilinguality) than it is for Austria.

References

- Agha, Asif. 2003. The social life of cultural value. *Language & Communication* 23. 231–273.
- Agha, Asif. 2007. *Language and social relations*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Ammon, Ulrich. 1995. *Die deutsche Sprache in Deutschland, Österreich und der Schweiz*. Berlin and New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Auer, Peter. 1998. Hamburger Phonologie: Eine variationslinguistische Skizze zur Stadtsprache der Hansestadt heute. *Zeitschrift Für Dialektologie Und Linguistik* 65(2). 179–197. (reprinted in Heinrich Löffler & Lorenz Hofer (eds.), *Stadtsprachenforschung. Ein Reader*, 691–720. Hildesheim, Zürich and New York: Olms, 2010).
- Auer, Peter. 2005. A(nother) scenario for new dialect formation. In Björn Melander (ed.), *Språk i tid. Studier tillägnade Mats Thelander på 60-årsdagen*, 57–70. Uppsala: Institutionen för Nordiska Språk.
- Auer, Peter. in press. State borders and language change: the (non-)effects of political border permeability on language. In Peter Gilles, Harlan Koff, Carmen Maganda & Christian Schulz (eds.), *Theorizing borders through analyses of power relationships*. Brussels: Peter Lang.

- Auer, Peter and Helmut Spiekermann. 2011. Demotisation of the standard variety or destandardisation? The changing status of German in late modernity (with special reference to southwestern Germany). In Tore Kristiansen & Nikolas Coupland (eds.), *Standard languages and language standards in a changing Europe*, 161–177. Oslo: Novus Press.
- Bach, Adolf. 1950. *Deutsche Mundartforschung*, 2nd edn. Heidelberg: Winter.
- Bickel, Hans and Regula Schmidlin. 2004. Ein Wörterbuch der nationalen und regionalen Varianten der deutschen Standardsprache. *Bulletin VLAS-ASLA* 79. 99–122.
- Bigler, Ingrid, Otfried Heyne, and Achilles Reichert von Sauerländer. 1987. *Unser Wortschatz. Schweizer Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache*. Zürich: Verlagsinstitut für Lehrmittel.
- Clyne, Michael G. 1984. *Language and society in the German-speaking countries*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Clyne, Michael G. 1995. *The German language in a changing Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Deppermann, Arnulf. in prep. “Standard usage”: Dimensions, problems and uses of a contested concept with respect to German. In Peter Auer, Javier Caro & Götz Kaufmann (eds.), *Language variation – European perspectives*, Vol. 3. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Duden Deutsches Universalwörterbuch*, 6th edn. 2007. Mannheim: Bibliografisches Institut.
- Duden: Das große Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache*, 2nd edn. 1993–1995. Mannheim: Duden-Verlag.
- Einhoff, Jürgen. 1997. Der Wortatlas der deutschen Umgangssprache – neue Wege, neue Erkenntnisse. In Gerhard Stickel (ed.), *Varietäten des Deutschen*. Berlin, 183–220. Berlin and New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Eichhoff, Jürgen. 1977–2000. *Wortatlas der deutschen Umgangssprachen*, 4 vol. München: Saur.
- Elspaß, Stephan and Robert Möller. 2001. *Atlas zur deutschen Alltagssprache*.
<http://www.philhist.uni-augsburg.de/lehrtstuehle/germanistik/sprachwissenschaft/ada/>.
- Geeraerts, Dirk, Gitte Kristiansen, and Yves Peirsman (eds.). 2010. *Advances in Cognitive Sociolinguistics*. Berlin and New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Godewysen, Hubertus. 2010. *Piefke – Kulturgeschichte einer Beschimpfung*. Wien: Edition Vabene.
- Harnisch, Rüdiger. 2010. Divergence of linguistic varieties in a language space. In Peter Auer & Jürgen E. Schmidt (eds.), *Language and space. An international handbook of linguistic variation*. Vol. 1, Theories and Methods, 275–294. Berlin and New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Hofmüller-Schenk, Agnes. 1993. *Die Standardaussprache des Deutschen in der Schweiz*. Aarau: Sauerländer.
- Hove, Ingrid. 2002. *Die Aussprache der Standardsprache in der deutschen Schweiz*. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag.
- Irvine, Judith and Susan Gal. 2000. Language ideology and linguistic differentiation. In Paul V. Kroskrity (ed.), *Regimes of language: Ideologies, politics, and identities*, 35–84. Santa Fe: School of American Research Press.
- Johnstone, Barbara, Jennifer Andrus, and Andrew E. Danielson. 2006. Mobility, indexicality, and the enregisterment of “Pittsburghese”. *Journal of English Linguistics* 34(2). 77–104.
- Kloss, Heinz. 1967. Abstand Languages and Ausbau Languages. *Anthropological Linguistics* 9(7). 29–41.
- Kloss, Heinz. 1978. *Die Entwicklung neuer germanischer Kultursprachen seit 1800*. Düsseldorf: Schwann.
- Koller, Werner. 1999. Nationale Sprach(en)kultur der Schweiz und die Frage der “nationalen Varietäten des Deutschen”. In Andreas Gardt, Ulrike Hass-Zumkehr & Thorsten Roelcke (eds.), *Sprachgeschichte als Kulturgeschichte*, 133–170. Berlin and New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

- Meyer, Kurt. 2006. *Schweizer Wörterbuch: So sagen wir in der Schweiz*. Frauenfeld: Huber.
- Muhr, Rudolf. 2007. *Österreichisches Aussprachewörterbuch, österreichische Aussprachedatenbank*. Frankfurt: Peter Lang.
- Österreichisches Wörterbuch*, 40th edn. 2006. Vienna: öbvht.
- Riesel, Elise. [1964]1970. *Der Stil der deutschen Alltagsrede*. Leipzig: Reclam.
- Sieber, Peter and Horst Sitta. 1994. Zur Rolle der Schule beim Aufbau von Einstellungen zu Dialekt und Standardsprache. In Harald Burger & Annelies Häcki Buhofer (eds.), *Spracherwerb im Spannungsfeld von Dialekt und Hochsprache*, 199–213. Basel: Francke.
- Siebs: Deutsche Aussprache: reine und gemässigte Hochlautung mit Aussprachewörterbuch*, 19th edn. 1969. Berlin and New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Spiekermann, Helmut. 2008. *Sprache in Baden-Württemberg: Merkmale des regionalen Standards*. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag.
- Stewart, William A. 1968. Sociolinguistic typology of multilingualism. In Joshua A. Fishman (ed.), *Readings in the sociology of language*, 530–545. The Hague: Mouton.
- Sturm, Afra, Horst Sitta, and Peter Gallmann. 2001. *Schweizer Schülerduden*. Aarau: Sauerländer.
- Suter Tufekovic, Carol. 2008. *Wie mehrsprachige Kinder in der Deutschschweiz mit Schweizerdeutsch und Hochdeutsch umgehen*. Bern: Peter Lang.
- Variantenwörterbuch des Deutschen. Die Standardsprache in Österreich, der Schweiz und Deutschland sowie in Liechtenstein, Luxemburg, Ostbelgien und Südtirol*. 2004. Berlin and New York: Mouton de Gruyter.