Standard Languages and Language Standards in a Changing Europe

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Editors: Nikolas Coupland and Tore Kristiansen

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This volume results from two Exploratory Workshops which were held in Copenhagen, Denmark in February and August of 2009. These workshops, which were the beginnings of SLICE, were financed by the Nordic Research Foundation for the Human and Social Sciences, NOS-HS. They took place at Schæffergården, with financial support also from the Foundation for Danish-Norwegian Cooperation. We thank both foundations for their support.

The principal applicant for the Exploratory Workshops was Tore Kristiansen (Copenhagen), and he thanks his co-applicants Kristján Árnason (Reykjavík), Frans Gregersen (Copenhagen), Pirkko Nuolijärvi (Helsinki), Helge Sandøy (Bergen), Mats Thelander (Uppsala), and Jan-Ola Östman (Helsingfors).

All participants were specially invited and made significant contributions to the work of the Exploratory Workshops. The participants – representing the following speech communities (in alphabetic order) – were: *Denmark*: Frans Gregersen, Tore Kristiansen, Marie Maegaard, Janus Møller, Nicolai Pharao, Pia Quist, Jacob Thøgersen; *Finnish-speaking Finland*: Pirkko Nuolijärvi, Johanna Vaattovaara; *France*: Jean-Michel Eloy, Anita B. Hansen, Shaun Nolan; *Germany*: Peter Auer, Philipp Stoeckle, Christoph Hare Svenstrup ; *Iceland*: Kristján Árnason, Stephen Pax Leonard ; *Irish-speaking Ireland*: Tadhg Ó hIfearnáin, Noel Ó Murchadha ; *The Netherlands*: Stefan Grondelaers, Sander van der Harst, Roeland van Hout ; *Norway*: Ragnhild Anderson, Brit Mæhlum, Unn Røyneland, Helge Sandøy ; *Sweden*: Mats Thelander, Lena Wenner; *Swedish-speaking Finland*: Marie Sund, Jan-Ola Östman; *UK*: Justine Coupland, Nikolas Coupland, Peter Garrett, Janus Mortensen, Elen Robert, Charlotte Selleck; *USA*: Dennis R. Preston.

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Introduction

SLICE: Critical perspectives on language (de)standardisation

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BACKGROUND

This book is the first publication from the international group of researchers involved in developing the SLICE programme, SLICE being originally coined as an acronym for *Standard Language Ideology in Contemporary Europe*. This title hints at the interests and objectives of the SLICE research group, but of course it doesn't define them. The programme is still evolving and the present book is designed to be part of the formative discussion through which empirical and theoretical priorities will be established and carried forward. The fundamental aim has been to establish a European network of like-minded (or perhaps constructively antagonistic) researchers, with the prospect of developing one or more innovative, comparative European projects on standard languages, linguistic standardisation and linguistic destandardisation.

Many key dimensions of SLICE remain to be determined, and we will introduce some of them in detail in this Introduction. But a first-level examination of the SLICE acronym suggests the following. *Standard language* is itself a slippery concept, and it is in need of further critical consideration. It is self-evident that many of Europe's languages can legitimately be called standard languages. But SLICE is interested in the criteria according to which the designation 'standard' can be applied, no doubt differently in different environments, and in whether the concept has different connotations and implications in different European countries and communities ('communities', because the programme will focus on several smaller regions as well as on nation-states). SLICE is interested in *ideologies* of language as much as in the forms and functions of languages themselves, and in exploring how ideology can be made visible by different research methods. This implies a commitment to researching the attitudes and value-structures that underpin attributions of 'standard', potential subjective complexities and shifts in these subjectivities. We expect language ideologies to differ across research sites, and in many cases also within them. Researching language ideologies should give us access to the social and cultural dynamics that position European languages as social-cultural symbols and resources in their different settings. SLICE is concerned with *contemporary Europe*, but this does not imply a neglect of history. On the contrary, we are interested in – and mainly motivated to analyse and understand – the ways in which contemporary sociolinguistic arrangements across Europe have recently evolved and are currently evolving. While most European languages have long histories of standardisation, SLICE focuses on what is changing *now*, in the context of late modernity. To that extent the SLICE acronym might alternatively be interpreted as *…in a Changing Europe*, with an emphasis on change specifically in the era of globalisation.

SLICE's networking ambitions are already being fulfilled. In February and August 2009 about thirty scholars from diverse European contexts gathered in Copenhagen for two exploratory workshops on 'The nature and role of language standardisation and standard languages in late modernity'. The following countries/ communities were represented at the workshops: Denmark, Finland (Finnish-speaking and Swedish-speaking), France, Germany, Iceland, Ireland (Irish-speaking), the Lowlands (Netherlandic and Belgian Dutch), Norway, Sweden, UK (English-speaking and Welsh-speaking). The preponderance of northern European communities should not be read as a signal that SLICE aims at some kind of geographical demarcation; it is a simple consequence of where the initiative and funding came from. Since the exploratory workshops, the SLICE group has been joined by interested researchers representing Austria and Lithuania. The final national/ regional and linguistic reach of the programme is not fixed, and SLICE welcomes participation from individuals and communities that are not currently active.

As contributions to this book will partly indicate, new research under the aegis of SLICE is already under way in some areas. But, as editors, our ambition for this volume is not so much to report that research but to lay the ground for future studies and perspectives. As we explain below, at this stage SLICE is foregrounding two different fields of new research. One is based in the tradition of quantitative *language attitudes research* which, in spite of the recognition that the paradigm faces methodological challenges, is able to generate concrete and comparable data on subjective assessments of language varieties and their speakers. The other is based in *media analysis* of different sorts (including critical analysis of media discourse), building on the conviction that, despite opinions to the contrary (debated in detail by Stuart-Smith, this volume), mass media are increasingly significant in carrying forward social and sociolinguistic changes involving (what are considered to be) standard and vernacular spoken varieties. We introduce the two strands in more detail, below. The book's chapters orient to these two principal perspectives, and, we believe, they offer unusually rich opportunities to refine and debate what can be delivered through original research in relation to each of them.

Unifying and transcending these two research fields, however, is a body of theory around language standards, standardisation and destandardisation, and SLICE has the ambition to make a concerted and original contribution in this area too. Key contributors to this literature have commented that existing (socio)linguistic treatments of standard language have been limited. For example, John Joseph begins his volume on 'the rise of language standards and standard languages' with the observation that 'In modern linguistics, the phenomenon of language standardization has not been a central interest, and it is noticeable that linguistic scholars have often been content with *ad hoc* and incomplete definitions of "standard language"' (Joseph 1987: vii). In Joseph's view, generative linguists have been uncritical of their own assumptions about standard language, particularly the assumption that the object of linguistic description and theory should be an invariant variety of a given language – its standard variety. But he is also critical of many sociolinguists' assumption that linguistic varieties can be assigned to categories of 'standard' and 'non-standard' on simplistic criteria such as 'educatedness'. Similarly, James Milroy (e.g. 2001) is critical of how variationist sociolinguistics have tended to make glib associations between standardness and prestige. In order, we hope, to do some ground-clearing work in this area of theory, we return to Joseph, Milroy and other authors in later sections of this Introduction.

We also take the opportunity to think through the social infrastructure of concepts such as 'the best language', 'proper ways of speaking' and 'refined talk', all of which are possible ways of glossing standard language. We situate this debate by revisiting social-theoretic accounts of 'civilisation' (in the writing of Norbert Elias) and 'distinction' (in the writing of Pierre Bourdieu). Our argument will be that some aspects of these foundational studies of the rise of 'proper' social practice can be helpful when we need to rethink standard language. Elsewhere in the Introduction we also reflect on Einar Haugen's very influential conceptualisation of language standardisation processes, asking to what extent his model is well-suited to the ambitions of SLICE and, in particular, to its interest in late modernity – a social ecology very different to the ones that Haugen was confronting. If we persist with Haugen's model, how can it be interpreted in relation to language attitudes research and media language research?

We also introduce SLICE's engagement not only with spoken language varieties in different communities but also with media data, and provide some perspective on destandardisation and related concepts. One of SLICE's key objectives is to make informed assessments of the extent and nature of linguistic destandardisation in contemporary European contexts. While sociolinguistic attention has so far been given to standardising processes – the mechanisms by which language varieties 'rise' to function ideologically and practically as standard varieties – it is also necessary to move beyond linear accounts and to explore whether and how varieties that have functioned as standards may be losing their legitimacy. Is there evidence that ways of speaking that have been positioned as 'non-standard' or vernacular varieties are 'moving up' to function in domains previously associated with standard varieties? More radically, is there evidence that the ideological systems that have supported attributions of standard and vernacular language may be crumbling, losing their potency or being restructured? Is it appropriate to see late modernity as an era when linguistic standardisation is in some ways and in some places being reversed, or at least rendered more complex and multi-dimensional?

THE STRUCTURE OF THE VOLUME

The book's chapters are organised into two Parts. The first Part assembles a series of 'community reports' (which, in earlier planning, we referred to as 'country reports', a term that wrongly implied a nation-state perspective). Scholars from 13 European communities (which, again, might be thought of as 'speech communities', at the risk of opening up further terminological disputes) present short overviews of standard language issues and developments in each of the currently participating territories. The reports provide succinct accounts of how the diversity of European standard language realities came about and, on the basis of existing research evidence and personal experience, assessments of whether inherited arrangements are or are not changing, and how. One way of describing the remit of the reports is that each offers a critical overview of how a particular sociolinguistic environment is reacting in its engagement with late modernity and globalisation. In practical terms, this has meant limiting the historical remit of the reports to developments since about 1960. Accordingly, the community reports avoid being only, or even mainly, historically oriented, placing the emphasis on local experiences in 'contemporary Europe'.

In line with SLICE's main emphases, the reports pay particular attention to the role of ideology in language standardisation. Consistent with our position (above) that no fully comprehensive sociolinguistic framework for analysing standard language as yet exists, we have encouraged contributors to follow their own theoretical leanings, and of course their data, in interpreting standards, standardisation and destandardisation (although we discuss an initial conceptualisation, below). Similarly, as editors, we refrained from trying to impose any single perspective on 'how to decode ideology'. We suggested that ideological trends may be recognized not only in relatively explicit political of policy-based commentaries, and in overt pre- and proscriptions about 'good and bad language'; it might also be important to draw inferences, cautiously, from usage. The reports therefore comment on which voices are in circulation in which contexts, and with what ideological implications? Salient contexts would, we suggested, potentially include mass media, particularly in view of the media's acknowledged historical role in promoting and even in defining standard language usage in many communities (see, for example, Thelander's discussion of such processes in Sweden, and Östman and Mattfolk's parallel account of media influences in Swedish-language Finland, both in this volume). All the same, we anticipated that communities would have different experiences in this regard, and that normative styles might be judged differently under different circumstances. Are transnational developments in broadcasting (e.g. the increasing circulation of 'reality' TV shows, game show franchises and popular culture formats generally) having any systematic impact on what might more generally be considered (in Milroy's term) a 'standard language culture'? Is the role of the media (or, more plausibly, are some specific media segments) coming to be associated more with *de*standardisation than with standardisation (cf.

Nuolijärvi and Vaattovaara, this volume) nowadays? Do new interactive media offer resources for counter-normative communication practices?

Inevitably, the community reports do not consistently deal with all of these issues. The most general aspect of the brief to authors was to frame their accounts, as far as possible, in relation to any detectable shifts over time in the broad climates of opinion about language values, especially in relation to standardisation or the value of vernaculars, e.g. among governments or opinion leaders, or media moguls, or 'the people', and to summarise any research evidence (the extent of which would of course vary form one setting to another) that they could access in support. We encouraged authors to reflect on the fate of language values in their communities under the socio-historical conditions of globalisation (as characterised in this volume, for example, by Gregersen), fully bearing in mind that globalisation is not the uniform, pan-national set of socio-cultural changes that it is sometimes held to be (Coupland 2010).

Part 2 of the volume consists of longer and more theoretically oriented chapters. We invited contributions of this sort that would serve as reference points, theoretically and methodologically, for SLICE as an evolving research programme. The Part 2 authors, including experts from outside the original SLICE group, were informed about the programme's main concerns and asked to provide empirically based analyses and arguments in relation to speculative questions of the following kinds. Are 'standards' of speech changing, and if so, in which particular senses? In their own research paradigms and projects, is there evidence that 'non-standard speech' – the most likely candidate(s) being the traditional low-status speech of large cities – is being upgraded as, in some sense, 'the best language', leaving the standard language ideology intact but differently targeted? Or might it be that 'standards' of speech are generally crumbling, so that the whole ideology of 'good and bad' language is losing ground? Are language-ideological shifts creating or exploiting new values in (some sorts and contexts of) vernacular language use? Can some particular sense(s) of the concept of destandardisation help to theorise attested sociolinguistic processes such as linguistic levelling and supra-localisation, as aspects of language change in progress? How should sociolinguists build research projects to explore language-ideological shifts towards more democratic and diversity-friendly orientations to language variation, also to new market forces dictating the production and consumption of mediated voices? What frameworks and data could they bring forward to clarify these questions, and perhaps even to begin to answer them? (We acknowledge that this is a daunting list!)

In response, the five Part 2 authors have offered particularly cogent and illuminating chapters, on the following themes:

- the historical de-Europeanisation of broadcast news in New Zealand, based on sampled media data (Allan Bell);
- the changing status of German in late modernity, based on variation analyses of spoken corpora (Peter Auer and Helmut Spiekermann);
- the social-psychological evidence for taxonomising speech varieties in the Low Countries as 'standard' or otherwise, based on speaker evaluation data (Stefan Grondelaers, Roeland van Hout and Dirk Speelman);
- the potential impact of television on phonological change in Britain, in the context of multi-disciplinary perspectives on 'media effects' and the role of the viewing public (Jane Stuart-Smith); and
- the pluralisation and localisation of norms for writing in networked, interactive new media (Jannis Androutsopoulos).

In their different ways, all five chapters directly address central facets of the SLICE programme. They clearly demonstrate the application of particular research methods that can be used to generate insights into standardisation and destandardisation; they forge links between language ideologies and linguistic forms and functions; and they make major contributions to clarifying theory around standard language and destandardisation. We will not try to comment in detail on these chapters here, but, as with the community reports, we will refer to some aspects of particular authors' arguments and critical observations in later sections of this chapter.

STANDARDISATION AND SOCIAL PROPRIETY: ELIAS AND BOURDIEU

We shall come on to introduce mainstream perspectives on standard language shortly. But first, we want to suggest that it might be helpful to place these sociolinguistic debates in a wider context. Standardisation of course applies to many aspects of social life beyond language. Use of a standard language is one among many dimensions of perceived social propriety – of normative social practice underpinned by strong and always evolving ideological forces. These processes have been the focus of two major sociological contributions.

Civilisation is, we recognise, a word that cannot always be spoken with a straight face, particularly if it is intended to characterise the whole of contemporary social mores. Nevertheless, in his most important contribution, Norbert Elias (2000, originally published in German in 1939) modelled civilisation as a progressive cultural process, through the middle ages into modernity in Europe, whereby social groups socialised themselves into restrained and supposedly refined behaviour of various sorts. They did this, Elias argued, for a mix of practical, symbolic and political reasons. Using 'books of manners' and etiquette manuals from different periods, Elias documented how people came to stop eating food with large knives at the table, being openly aggressive to each other in public encounters, performing bodily functions in public, and so on. They came to accept codes of manners, based on a growing ideology of *shame*. The core constraining principle of the civilising process is that animalic and 'uncivilised' actions warrant shame, but what is acceptable and what is held to be shameful practice is open to historical redefinition.

The political dimension to the civilising process was that, Elias argued, states needed docile and self-controlling citizens in order for them – states themselves – to become the only legitimate means of aggression. State-internal civilised behaviour was therefore a strategic trade-off for external authority. Civilised behaviour was inculcated from the top, downwards in social structure, as progressively lower-class groups fell under the control of the shame principle, understood to be relevant to progressively more and more aspects of social life. But Elias saw that the civilising process was only able to work because the cultural system became self-regulating: people came to function socially by 'naturally' adopting behaviours that were agreed to be civilised. Civilised behaviour, Elias argued, became 'second nature'. So Elias offered a theory of the beginnings of polite or 'proper' society – he also referred to it as 'the good society' – in Europe. He made some comments about self-restraint in language use too, recognising that linguistic demeanour was and is one of the symbolic dimensions of civilisation. 'The good society' comes to style itself as civilised, even in dimensions (like speech) where there is no obvious practical or political payoff. Speech was a salient indexical domain for groups who wanted to demonstrate or actively style their level of social refinement.

Elias's ideas are cited by Pierre Bourdieu in his major work on *Distinction* (originally published in French in 1979, and available in a new English translation, Bourdieu 2010), which is considered by some to be the most important existing contribution to theoretical sociology. Bourdieu followed Elias in emphasising shame as a motivating consideration. Bourdieu went into enormous empirical detail, based on a large quantitative survey in France in the 1960s, about how three social classes in France oriented to multiple dimensions of 'taste' choices – in fine art, music, food, ways of eating, etc., but again also in language use. Distinction and taste for Bourdieu were fundamentally ingrained in social class relativities (and vice versa), and he explains how distinction is maintained even when there is a form of upward convergence through the social classes. That is, he was able to explain how elites remained elites in their social practices, even when the petite bourgeoisie (and then those below them in the class hierarchy) came to feel ashamed of their taste choices and aspired to elite practices and commodities. For Bourdieu, a key element of the process was habitus or the set of habituated practices, which (very similarly to Elias's 'second nature') implies an internalised disposition to act within the bounds of your social class.

Bourdieu's (1991) book 'Language and Symbolic Power' elaborates on specifically linguistic aspects of distinction, showing how particular ways of speaking have symbolic cultural prestige, value and indeed capital, which can be 'cashed in' for economic capital (money) and material benefits, such as in gaining access to privileged social positions including employment. Bourdieu writes directly about 'the standard language' as 'a normalised product' developed to be consistent with 'the demands of bureaucratic predictability and calculability, which presuppose universal functionaries and clients'. Standardisation is, he argues, 'the construction, legitimation and imposition of an official language' (1991: 46–49). These ideas were taken up in sociolinguistics through the concept of *le marché linguistique* ('the linguistic market', empirically developed and applied in Montreal by Sankoff and Laberge 1978; see also Cameron 1995; Chambers 1995: 177–185), but in applications that generally lacked the political intensity and comprehensiveness of Bourdieu's theory.

Even from this sketchy overview, it is possible to identify several important principles that a theory of linguistic standardisation needs to debate and engage with. Elias and Bourdieu both adopted explicitly process-oriented perspectives; contemporary sociological reviews recognise this to have been a major innovation in Elias's work (Quilley and Loyal 2004: 6). Process here implies not only change over time but an emphasis on underlying social reproductive mechanisms that drive social experiences and the perceived conditions of standard (or civilised or elite) practices at any given historical moment. Bourdieu argued that aspirations and moves towards social distinction show a 'homology', a systematic (or systemic) patterning across multiple dimensions of practice, as the following quote explains:

> …there is no area of practice in which the intention of purifying, refining and sublimating facile impulses and primary needs cannot assert itself, or in which the stylization of life, i.e. the primacy of form over function, which leads to the denial of function, does not produce the same effects. In language, it gives the opposition between popular outspokenness and the highly censored language of the bourgeois; between the expressionist pursuit of the picturesque or the rhetorical effect and the choice of restraint and false simplicity (litotes). The same economy of means is found in body language: here too, agitation and haste, grimaces and gesticulation are opposed to slowness… to the restraint and impassivity which signify elevation. Even the field of primary tastes is organized according to the fundamental opposition, with the antithesis between quality and quantity, belly and palate, matter and manners, substance and form (Bourdieu 2010: 172).

It will be important to ask whether ideologies of standard language are, as Bourdieu suggests, always elements of wider socio-cultural value systems, and whether sociolinguistic change is correspondingly tied to wider processes of social change (cf. Coupland 2009).

Elias and Bourdieu are particularly stimulating (but not in agreement) on the politics of social propriety. Elias argued that the civilisation process was, *de facto*, a matter of 'functional democratisation' (Elias 2000: 134f.; Quilley and Loyal 2004: 14). In a discussion of the history of spitting in public, Elias notes that the English, French and German judgement in the middle ages was that spitting was necessary and normal. By the late 18th century it had become 'a disgusting habit' and 'unhealthy'. Elias's point is, however, that pressure to view spitting as disgusting and shameful initially came 'down' as a social proscription from the higher social classes, who redefined it as shameful, before a scientific rationalisation of spitting being unhygienic ended up suggesting that all classes should refrain from the habit. For Elias, although the civilising process was based in the top-down inculcation of elite manners in this way, it generally ended up narrowing the power ratios between the social classes, which allowed him to see civilising processes as democratisation. Bourdieu, on the other hand, is adamant that distinction is a matter of insidious and oppressive class politics, a 'power of suggestion which is exerted through things and persons and which, instead of telling the child what he must do, tells him what he is, and thus leads him to become durably what he has to be' (1991: 52). Distinction for Bourdieu is a social mechanism designed to protect privilege. We find this same tension in sociolinguistic research on standardisation. Is linguistic standardisation democratising and in some fundamental sense pro-social, or is it a crude manifestation of social class hegemony?

Elias and Bourdieu were both working empirically on sources that pre-date the 'contemporary Europe' that SLICE is concerned with, and to that extent there is no question of using their work as an 'off-the-shelf' model for theorising current standard language arrangements. (Bennett *et al.* 2009 present the result of a recent large-scale survey designed to compare Bourdieu's findings in 1960s France with social arrangements in contemporary Britain.) But the lines of interpretation developed by Elias and Bourdieu are nevertheless very suggestive. Primarily, they pioneered ideological accounts of normative social processes. They wanted not only to demonstrate that groups differ in their use of more and less prestigious social (and linguistic) forms and styles, but to explain the reproduction and evolution of social norms that underlie observable differences. They appeal to powerful psycho-social patterns, focusing mainly on the inculcation and avoidance of shame, to model the dynamics of hierarchical group relations, particularly in the dimension of social class. Of course, to what extent contemporary European societies continue to operate according to these principles remains to be seen. Very different tendencies are in evidence in contemporary societies, but they may be tendencies that can, to some extent, be explained using the broad frameworks we have just reviewed. Acknowledged gaps will also need to be filled – Bourdieu's neglect of ethnic and gender dynamics in the politics of taste and distinction, for example, has often been commented on.

Our enthusiasm for (in an uncomfortably gendered phrase) 'the old masters' of civilisation and distinction might seem misplaced, although we think not. We would argue that the main rationale for investigating standard language processes is that they are systematically linked to processes of social inclusion/ emancipation and exclusion/ hegemony. This is not to say that standard languages always construct social hierarchies and restrict social mobility; as we have said, SLICE is specifically interested in making grounded assessments of whether associations of this sort may be being attenuated or becoming more patchy. But 'the old masters' had issues of power, access, aspiration and shame in their theoretical sights, and that has not consistently been the case in sociolinguistics.

SOCIOLINGUISTIC TREATMENTS OF STANDARD LANGUAGE

A strong tradition of descriptivist, non-ideological and relatively apolitical approaches to 'standard and non-standard language' is to be found in sociolinguistics. This tradition exists *not* because of critical naivety, but because the standard/ non-standard distinction has been invoked in the service of non-ideological questions, most obviously the description of language change in progress. Sometimes, the ideological dimension of standard language has been positively down-played. In his discussion of standard English, Peter Trudgill (1999), for example, makes the case that standard English is just another dialect, albeit an idiosyncratic and irregular one. His argument is covertly ideological, working to challenge the perceived superiority of the standard and the belief that it is *non*-standard accents that are idiosyncratic or deficient by comparison with the standard. But there has been a much wider tendency to stress the social equivalence of standard and non-standard varieties, and to use this terminology without scrutinising its inescapably ideological implications. (Coupland 2000 puts this argument in more detail in a review of Bex and Watts 1999.)

Deborah Cameron, John Joseph and James Milroy (often in collaboration with Lesley Milroy) are among those who have pioneered ideology-sensitive theories of linguistic standardisation, and this work provides an important foundation for the SLICE programme. Within this tradition we should also recognise key contributions by Roy Harris (e.g. 1988) on the nationalist mythologising of standard English in the Victorian era; Tony Crowley (1989) on how linguistics and applied linguistics as academic disciplines have been complicit in the objectification of standard English; Alastair Pennycook (e.g. 1994) on the role of European standard languages in colonial exploits; and Richard Watts (2011) on myths of 'pure', 'polite' and 'educated' English (among many others). It may be helpful to briefly explore some of the main elements that these contributions have in common. We can then come on to consider other highly influential treatments of standardisation, particularly that of Einar Haugen.

Joseph draws an initial distinction between 'language standards' and 'standard languages' (see also Garrett *et al*., this volume). Language standards are, he believes, value judgements of a sort that will inevitably develop in communities that contain linguistic variation:

> It seems to be a trait of the species that once people become aware of variants in any area of behaviour, they evaluate them. Thus do standards of behaviour come into being. (Joseph 1987: 3)

This is a view echoed by many sociolinguists, including Jack Chambers, who argues in favour of humankind's 'social identity instinct'. As part of this, and taking a Bourdieu-like stance, Chambers suggests that 'Speech is… a tool, perhaps a weapon, with which the higher social class can maintain the gap between itself and the rest of society' (1995: 251). The same argument – that difference naturally leads to the marking of social identity – is most fully developed by social psychologists following the lead of Henri Tajfel and his modelling of 'intergroup' processes (see Giles, Bourhis and Taylor 1977). We may not entirely agree with Joseph, Tajfel and others that hierarchy-producing standards or quality judgements (of language or anything else) are a truly *inevitable* consequence of diversity. There are, after all, many aspects of social life in which we are aware of diversity but where we do not rush to evaluate cultural forms as good or bad. The salience of specific social identity markers, including linguistic and semiotic markers, is liable to change over time and should not be taken for granted. But it seems reasonable to assume that diversity, including linguistic diversity, opens up potential fields for value-based discrimination, just as it opens up potential for (social and linguistic) change.

James Milroy (2001) also makes the point that, even if language standards and hierarchisation *were* inevitable, the process we refer to as language standardisation is *not* a universal one. He notes that some languages do not have forms that are recognised as standards and that 'some cultures are not standard language cultures' (2001: 539). A standard language culture is one where ideological values defining, favouring and policing standard varieties are dominant. Like Elias's civilisation and Bourdieu's drives for distinction, language standardisation is a particular set of social processes carried forward under specific socio-cultural conditions and promoted by specific groups and institutions under specific 'market conditions', in specific symbolic economies.

James Milroy and Lesley Milroy have for many years proposed a perspective on standard language and standardisation that is nowadays widely cited and accepted. (We might say that is has been standardised as one of two 'standard' accounts of language standardisation, the other being Haugen's – see below.) Its main elements are that: standardisation is a more coherent concept than standard language; standard languages don't truly exist because they are ideological idealisations; and that standardisation is a motivated socio-cultural process:

> Standardisation is motivated in the first place by various social, political and commercial needs and is promoted in various ways, including the use of the writing system, which is relatively easily standardised; but absolute standardisation of a spoken language is never achieved… Therefore it seems appropriate to speak

> more abstractly of standardisation as an *ideology*, and a standard language as an idea in the mind rather than a reality – a set of abstract norms to which actual usage may conform to a greater or lesser extent.' (Milroy and Milroy 1985: 22f.)

This interpretation is complicated by Milroy and Milroy's repeated observation that standardisation is best defined, on the other hand, as the drive to reduce difference. In James Milroy's words, 'standardization consists of the imposition of uniformity upon a class of objects' (Milroy 2001: 531), and he even writes approvingly of this tendency: 'Standardization leads to greater efficiency in exchanges of any kind' (*ibid.*: 534). He is thinking of how societies need to settle on 'standard' (= conventional, agreed, functional) norms, e.g. for weighing and measuring things. This appears to be a far more descriptivist, non-ideological and 'innocent' interpretation of standardisation, although in the source cited Milroy goes on to concede that even the 'weights and measures' reading of standardisation will, in the case of standard languages, very probably be invaded by ideological judgements. As Deborah Cameron (1995) explains, the process of 'verbal hygiene' – the 'cleaning up' of language which includes promoting standard language through the education system – is commonly undertaken out of self-interest. Ways of using language that have, in one way or another, been rendered 'more hygienic' are likely (as Bourdieu argued) to be treated as more valuable social commodities. On the widest scale, standard languages have been shown to have global commodity values (see, for example, Pennycook's [1994] argument that standard English was an instrument and an imposition of the British Empire). Cameron argues that the social group she refers to as 'craft professionals' was able to create a single market by promoting newly standardised varieties of English in different eras. Perhaps the most famous example is Caxton's reaction against dialect diversity in 15th century England in developing the printing press, at least partly, Cameron suggests, out of economic self-interest (Cameron 1995: 41f.).

There remains the crucial question of how to assess the political and moral rights and wrongs of language standardisation in particular instances. As we suggested above, researchers' assessments differ quite radically. For example, in this volume Sandøy celebrates the decline of centralising standardisation in Norway around 1970, and Vaicekauskienė documents the oppressive impacts of Soviet ideologies of standardisation in pre-independence Lithuania. In the other direction, Ó hIfearnáin and Ó Murchadha explain the practical need for a standardised variety as a target for new learners of Irish, and many contributors comment on the socially integrative function of standardisation as an element of nation building. Most chapters represent dynamic, dialogic conditions where standardisation is neither a wholly progressive nor a wholly regressive process. In Wales, for example, while the revitalisation of Welsh depends in some crucial regards on a newly standardised variety of the language being available, there is also a tendency for new social inequalities to arise around the 'standard' versus 'non-standard' opposition (Robert, this volume).

Joseph (1987: 3) suggests that the word 'standard' may derive its contemporary senses from some fusion of its earlier meaning of 'flag' (as in the English expression 'standard bearer', meaning 'one who carries a military flag') and the implication of permanence and fixity connoted by the verb 'to stand'. These possible origins hint at authority, stability and control. At the same time, many people have commented on the semantic vagueness of the term 'standard' in connection with language, where '[authorised or approved or favoured] standards of behaviour' (in the spirit of Elias and Bourdieu) is only one amongst many other possible meanings, as in the case of Milroy's 'weights and measures' interpretation. There is clearly very considerable room here for the core terminology used in SLICE projects to be interpreted inconsistently, and all research on standard language needs to be self-critical and explicit in its definitions of core concepts.

At least two further issues need close consideration: 'levels of language' and communicative repertoires. Milroy and Milroy's approach leaves open the question of whether standard language needs to be restricted to accent and dialect issues, or not. In his rather rare examples of refined ways of speaking, Elias suggests that shame could be attributed to pragmatic/ discursive alternatives – what is said or not said could mark someone as being more or less refined. But he also hints at stylistic and indexical variants. Speech held to be 'delicate' was favoured (Elias 2000: 98), although Elias doesn't give clear examples. In fact he suggests that definitional criteria were self-fulfilling: speech is 'delicate' because it is *defined* to be delicate by 'refined people'. Bourdieu makes reference to social class dialects as the basis of social distinction. But he also makes some intriguing suggestions about how 'distinguished' speech follows two contradictory principles. One principle is social 'ease' – speaking without trying to impress, without needing to justify your practice; the other is 'hyper-formed' speech, where a speaker gives himself or herself license to exceed the usual norms of grammatical and lexical elaboration.

Many of Bourdieu's arguments give emphasis to form-focused practice in the performance of elite status, and this opens up the possibility of seeing 'formal' language as an outcome of language standardisation, in place of the variationist view that standardness and formality are orthogonal dimensions of variation, so that standard speech includes a range of styles or registers, even though this position is in conflict with Milroy and Milroy's view that standardised language is, at least in principle, invariant. Interestingly, the contributors to this volume differ in how ready they are to recognise that a standard language can, or can not, exist in multiple sub-varieties. Stoeckle and Svenstrup, for example, invoke the concept of 'substandard', meaning a version of standard German that shows minor regional features, just as Grondelaers and van Hout argue that increasing variation in Dutch does not in itself indicate declining standardness. Leonard and Árnason, on the other hand, describe an ideology according to which any deviation from standard Icelandic constitutes an abuse of national heritage.

In an ideological perspective, what will matter most is to identify how qualities of language and communication are attributed within communities, in whatever dimension of language use and social demeanour. It is unlikely to be the case that 'the best language' will be circumscribed only by accent/ dialect characteristics. *Avoidance* (including avoiding obscenity, offensive and impolite language, and avoiding using styles and features that are indexical of low class or other undesirable social attributes) and *display* (displaying control, status, awareness, and of course linguistic competence – normatively defined – and even virtuoso competence) might prove to be important organising principles.

Milroy and Milroy (in the above quote) comment that standardisation works through written language more readily and more thoroughly than through speech, which again foregrounds the more open question of which elements of communities' and individuals' communicative repertoires are targeted as foci of ideological assessments. SLICE is mainly interested in spoken language, because speech is the most active general field of ideological contestation in standard language cultures. Even so, interactive new media provide fields of practice where sociolinguistic assumptions of this sort need to be qualified. As Androutsopoulos (this volume) shows, interactive media provide opportunities for creativity and for the vernacularisation of writing, in ways that parallel developments in spoken interaction, mediated and face-to-face.

HAUGEN AND COMPARATIVE STANDARDOLOGY

Haugen (1966/ 1997) developed a model of the evolutionary stages of language standardisation which has continued to influence sociolinguistic research. (We might think of it as another 'standard' account of standardisation, which was in fact the first.) Haugen's approach has very wide applicability, but also particular relevance for Europe, where it provides a basis for 'comparative standardology', the contrastive study of language standardisation processes and sequences (Jespersen 1925; Joseph 1987: 13–16). The SLICE group shares the view that comparison is both a possible (but difficult) and worthwhile approach. Haugen identified four main sub-processes, which to some extent can be seen as successive (but with potential overlaps too): *selection*, *codification*, *elaboration*, and *acceptance*. In later versions, *acceptance* is re-rendered as *implementation*, which we will use in what follows as a term for 'spreading' processes, which have both an ideological aspect (acceptance) and a use aspect (diffusion).

The Haugen model was felicitously chosen and applied as the comparative framework in Deumert and Vandenbussche's (2003) edited volume on *Germanic Standardizations*. In their introductory discussion, Deumert and Vandenbussche (*ibid.*: 9f.) point to what they see as two main weaknesses of the Haugen model. First, the model has little to offer with regard to the role of ideology – it does not invite us to focus on motivations for standardisation. Second, the model is teleological and can only grasp the linear route from diversity to unity; possible destandardisation processes fall outside of its scope. We agree with these criticisms, but note that *all* major perspectives on standardisation share this limitation (although see some remarks by Joseph, discussed below in connection with media and destandardisation). The SLICE intention is to shift the focus onto these two points, or more precisely onto the combination of them: *the role of ideology in contemporary (de-)standardisation*. In order to make progress in that direction, the SLICE group has found it useful to draw on Haugen's taxonomy of standardisation process, but without endorsing it as a fully adequate model, and with the explicit intention of continuing to build theory. In other words, we have, like many others, found Haugen's model to be a valuable heuristic, while the search for new data and more comprehensive theory building continue in parallel with each other.

Haugen's model raises (but does not resolve) a significant problem of agency. As above, Haugen suggested that languages are standardised by means of processes of *selection*, *codification* and *elaboration*, and all of these terms imply motivated human or institutional activity. *Selection* of a national variety, in Haugen's conception, was fundamental:

> Every self-respecting nation has to have a language. Not just a medium of communication, a 'vernacular' or a 'dialect', but a fully developed language. Anything less marks it as underdeveloped. (Haugen 1997: 345)

The implication here is that the standard should be singular or mono-centric, although (not least in the Norwegian case – see Sandøy, this volume) there is also the consideration of whether a pluri-centric norm and therefore twinned or multiple standard languages are feasible and socially functional. Haugen's account suggests that selection will be made by social and cultural elites, although in the case of a pluri-centric norm we would expect there to be more than one 'reference group' or normative centre (Blommaert 2009) exerting influence.

Codification involves developing or attempting to 'fix' the formal features of a standard language, and Haugen cites Charles Ferguson's earlier efforts to establish a standardisation scale on which any given language could be placed, principally according to its degree of codification. Codification is conducted by language academies and similar agencies, and Haugen considered French to be the most standardised of European languages in this regard. Codification again seems to be a mono-centric process, leading to an invariant standard. But here we should note Milroy and Milroy's argument (above) that there is *never*, in practice, an actual, single, delimited, spoken standard variety, and that we have to distinguish the ideals of mono-centricism and full codification (presumably in the ideological mind-set of language planners) from the lived reality of variation. As we noted above, conceptual inconsistency arises here across different researchers. For some, it makes no sense to conceive of 'variation within a standard language', because variation implies an absence or a failure of standardisation. Others (including Auer, this volume) have no difficulty thinking of a variable standard. The distinction, however, is of little significance if we agree that the critical issue is ideology, and that the attribution 'standard' must reflect social judgements and social practices in the community rather than the descriptive details of varietal range and variation.

Elaboration refers to promoting use of a standard language across many social domains and communicative functions, leading to the famous dictum that, 'As the ideal goals of a standard language, codification may be defined as *minimal variation in form*, elaboration as *maximal variation in function*' (Haugen 1997: 348). The range of particular functions into which a standard language is elaborated once again remains to be established in particular cases. As Haugen says, 'maximal elaboration' may be an ideal (for some), but this is sociolinguistically very unlikely ever to be the case. A commonly cited case is when different kinds of 'foreign' expert terminology are introduced into a standard language in domains such as scientific writing and spoken discourse. But the more general point is that the ideological characterisation of particular styles as 'standard' more or less relies on complementary styles being ideologised as 'vernacular' or 'non-standard' (reminding us again of the social dialectics of Elias and Bourdieu).

Up to this point, then, Haugen's model of standardisation implies top-down, controlling activities by national governments and their agencies (although we can imagine that Haugen would not have excluded a role for elites also, given his own rather elitist comments about the inadequacy of dialects and phrases like 'self-respecting' in the above quote). But in terms of agency, things look very different when it comes to Haugen's fourth process or stage, *implementation*, where the earlier three processes come to be socially implemented. Deumert and Vandenbussche (*ibid.*: 7) interpret this fourth process as 'the gradual diffusion and acceptance of the newly created norm across speakers as well as across functions', and they go on to say that '[t]he implementation stage is the "Achilles heel" of the standardization process: acceptance by the speech community ultimately decides on the success of a given set of linguistic decisions …'. The model's change of perspective – from decisions made at the top of the institutional or status hierarchy to acceptance obtained from the speech community in general – is likely to contribute more obscurity than clarity to our discussions of what to understand by standard language and language standardisation. Haugen was aware of potential obstacles to acceptance, and at one point he suggests that acceptance by elites alone might have to suffice, linked to further top-down efforts to promote acceptance:

> *Acceptance* of the norm, even by a small but influential group, is part of the life of the language. Any learning requires the expenditure of time and effort, and it must somehow contribute to the well-being of the learners if they are not to shirk their lessons. (Haugen 1997: 350)

As we suggested above, there is certainly a lack of ideological perspective in Haugen's model, and certainly no ideology critique (even though he does at least raise questions of evaluation in relation to acceptance). Also, we know (including from some of the community reports in this volume) that language planning initiatives often fail, that they often have unintended consequences, and that they are not always well-informed and not always benign in their effects. Methodologically, a further problem is that Haugen's model doesn't clarify how investigations into the ideologies which go with elite decisions about selection, codification and elaboration will have to be different in kind from the investigations that are needed to measure degrees of acceptance (and related social evaluations) in the community. Returning to the earlier point about how to define 'standard', it is likely that the process of standardisation will be understood quite differently by those engaged in top-down agentive roles and by others, 'the people', who make on-the-ground assessments of the social implications of using different ways of speaking. Top-down discourses of language standardisation may not overlap with on-the-ground discourses, and the social judgments of language use that matter most may even remain below the level of metalinguistic formulation (see below).

Elite deliberations and decisions have always been on the agenda in concrete historical situations, in which the interests involved will be of many kinds and make their appearance as ideologies – basically purism vs. liberalism – which legitimise the decisions made in terms of deference to 'principles' to do with pedagogy, democracy, communicative effectiveness, national unity, etc. Whether this continues to be the case, or to be fully the case, in late modernity is, on the other hand, a fundamental question. But if, for now, we persist with a Haugenesque scenario of standardisation, we can already see that, no matter how governments and elites define a concrete standard norm in terms of *selection*, *codification* and *elaboration* (narrowly or more broadly), they still face a task of a different order in seeking to *implement* the norm (if this is indeed their aim), understood as *acceptance and diffusion* across speakers and domains throughout the whole community.[1]

INVESTIGATING IMPLEMENTATION: DIFFUSION AND ACCEPTANCE

As we have said, and as Haugen acknowledged early on, success in implementing a planned standard language is far from being a matter of course. In general, the history of European standardisation shifts has shown the task to be much easier with regard to written language than with regard to spoken language (see Gregersen, this volume, on the history of written language standardisation in Denmark). Actually, it is a crucial fact about language standardisation that the creation of a standard for writing – which is seen as corresponding to a particular choice of speech variants (i.e. it is associated with a particular way of speaking) – enters as an indispensable element of institutional support towards the acceptance and diffusion of a spoken standard (cf. Pedersen 2009). Also, scholarly deliberations about whether a community has a standard language norm or not, and of which type (narrower or broader), are much easier and unproblematic with regard to written language than with regard to spoken language.

Particularly in relation to spoken language, a further, double, problem with *implementation* has to do with the relationship between acceptance (which we can interpret as a matter of attitudes) and diffusion (which we can interpret as dominant patterns of language use, or [in social-psychological terminology] 'behaviour'). One theoretical question is this: *Can we have acceptance without diffusion*? The answer is *Yes* if attitudes are defined in terms of 'mentality'. The answer is *No* if attitudes are defined in terms of 'behaviour'. Hence, researchers need to take a position on how they see the relationship between attitudes and behaviour. Another theoretical question is this: *Can we have diffusion without acceptance*? The answer is *Yes* if diffusion happens independently of attitudes (perhaps as a mechanistic process of unknowing mutual influence). The answer is *No* if diffusion happens in virtue of attitudes, i.e. if language ideology is the decisive driving force behind the spread of use. Hence, researchers need to take a position on how they see the issue of what drives the spread of particular ways of speaking. Positions taken on these fundamental theoretical issues will have far-reaching methodological consequences for the survey kind of investigations we need to carry out in order to decide whether, or to which extent, a community can be said to have a standard spoken language in terms of implementation. In short, we need to decide on what kind of significance we should accord to ideology (if we equate this with Haugen's acceptance) and what kind of significance we should accord to usage (diffusion), respectively.

These questions have a substantial history in sociolinguistics, and particularly in relation to critical assessments of the variationist paradigm. First of all, how should we relate to the rather common variationist practice of inferring social evaluations of linguistic varieties and variants from distributional patterns of use alone? This practice amounts to taking the position – whether it is done implicitly (most often), or explicitly (with reference commonly being made to troublesome validity and reliability problems associated with language attitudes re-

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[1] We may note that it is not necessarily easier to get a broad norm accepted and adopted than a narrow norm. Actually, it is a common argument among professional 'standardisers' – at least in Denmark – that their cultivation of a narrow norm reflects general public requirements, in opposition to their own more liberal ideology (and see Robert, this volume, for a similar observation on language planning in contemporary Wales). To the extent that the claims about general public requirements hold true, one might see these requirements as an indication that a strong *standard language ideology* is already successfully propagated in the community.

search) – that attitudes can only, or best, be studied as behaviour. Milroy and Milroy, for example, claim that 'statistical counts of variants actually used are probably the best way of assessing attitudes' (1985: 19). If we adopt this view, the consequence is that we explore and compare implementation across 'standard language situations' simply as a matter of diffusion at the level of use. It amounts to a decision that, contrary to Milroy and Milroy's declared stance on the ideological basis of standardisation, ideology is effectively ruled out of the picture, analytically. But this also carries the assumption of working with a reductive interpretation of 'language use'. From any critical sociolinguistic perspective, use means far more than the distribution of features or varieties as these are captured in variation surveys. Language in use might well reveal attitudinal/ ideological loadings, but only if we look at how variation is made meaningful and how social meanings are made contextually in salient practices (Coupland 2007). Experimental and survey work on use (in the variationist sense) and on attitudes therefore needs to be supplemented with close critical examination of indexicality in social interaction, where 'critical' means trying to access and expose covert ideologies operating behind and through discourse.

Next, we need to relate to the fact that those studies that have collected and analysed evaluation data, independently of use data, have typically found that the standard language has a much stronger position in the community in terms of acceptance/ social evaluation than in terms of diffusion/ general use. The evaluative hierarchical ranking of standard vs. non-standard varieties and variants tends to be *shared* by community members in a way that standard vs. non-standard use is not (and, hence, Labov's reliance on the ideological fact of 'shared norms' in his definition of the 'speech community'). In other words, the reality seems to be that speech communities often display little connection between acceptance and diffusion. In consequence, if we base our discussions on such (empirically established) patterns of attitudes and use, we will end up with two quite different conclusions about the reality of 'standard language' in terms of implementation.

In face of this well-documented discrepancy between, on the one hand, overtly expressed support for 'standard language' and, on the other hand, the quite pervasive persistence of non-standard language use, the traditional sociolinguistic reaction has been to hypothesise the existence of covert attitudes, i.e. social evaluations of language which remain hidden when people display their attitudes overtly (for instance in talk about language), but which reveal themselves in people's use of language. The resulting picture of two distinct value systems attached to the use of language does of course complicate the task of deciding what kind of significance we should accord to ideology (acceptance) and use (diffusion), respectively, in our efforts to theorise standardisation and standard language in a way that makes comparison across communities possible and meaningful. What is the consequence if the communities (or, as a further complicating factor, if only some of the communities) display a covert evaluative ranking of varieties which, in contrast to the overt ranking, accords well with patterns of diffusion (spreading use)?

We hasten to stress that, in language attitudes research, covert values also need to be established empirically – in empirical data that are collected and analysed independently of the established patterns of diffusion. Otherwise, if we just infer evaluations from 'statistical counts of variants actually used', we will of course find that covert values accord well with patterns of diffusion. We may note here that William Labov – as the champion of empirical studies in variationist sociolinguistics in what concerns values as well as use – at the end of his long-standing efforts to picture covert evaluative hierarchisation of variants, has concluded that it looks very much the same as the overt evaluative hierarchisation. He seems to be drawing radical theoretical implications from this finding, largely moving the potential for explaining diffusion of use away from 'social evaluation' to 'linguistic mechanisms'. However, as it seems unlikely that Labov's methods for gathering evaluations have ever yielded data from informants who were unaware of giving away attitudes to language (this was probably never Labov's intent), we find it reasonable to question in which sense these data can be said to represent covert evaluations (see Kristiansen 2011 for a discussion of this issue and the claimed development in Labov's work). In any event, in the context of contemporary Europe, and particularly in relation to the issue of what happens with standardisation and standard languages, we find it premature to downplay the role of covert values in how patterns of use change. The SLICE credo is rather that we need to establish more (quantitative) empirical evidence for a better understanding of overt *and* covert values and their relative importance to how people use language (see Grondelaers *et al.*, this volume, for a full discussion of empirical criteria underlying theoretical concepts like 'standard language'), while also exploring alternative (qualitative) critical methods designed to read language ideologies in action.

In particular, it appears that there has been considerable theoretical and methodological 'confusion' as to the role of awareness, or consciousness, in the distinction between values of an overt vs. covert kind. As a rule, overt values are thought of as being openly present in public discourse about language, institutionally promoted in ways that make it generally accessible and reproducible. In this sense, all community members are likely to be aware or conscious of the overt valorisation of language variation in their community, and likely also to be readily able to draw on and reproduce this valorisation 'in their own words'. In contrast, and in fact *by definition*, there can be no public discourse about covert values. Therefore, community members are not 'aware' of covert values in such a way that these can be elicited in direct questioning. To the extent they are a reality, covert values will have to be studied in people's reactions and practices when they are not aware of displaying or (re-)constructing evaluative rankings of ways of speaking. We might even suggest, along with Rampton (2006), that covert values amount to (what Raymond Williams originally described as) 'structures of feeling' – particular emotionally and ideologically intuited types of habitus associated with cultural experience. To that end, many and varied approaches can be helpful and worthwhile, including not only non-obtrusive observational studies of how various ways of speaking are embedded in different domains of community life, but also experimentation, as long as we make sure that attitudinal data are gathered without respondents being aware of offering attitudes.

The general acceptance of Copenhagen speech as 'best language' (see below) emerges in data that are subconsciously offered. 'Subconsciously' simply means that the informants were not aware of giving away attitudes to 'accents' when they listened to audio-taped speakers and assessed them for a number of personality traits. It is important to notice, though, that the same informants assess the local dialect as 'best language' in data which is offered in full awareness of what the data collection is about. The evaluative ranking of 'standard' and 'non-standard' language is consistently turned upside down depending on the nature or degree of awareness involved. How can these two 'layers' of consciousness be understood?

The local patriotism that lurks behind the flagging of one's own dialect as 'best language' does not come as a big surprise in adolescents, perhaps, even if it contrasts with many anecdotal reports of self-deprecation among speakers of dialects that are stigmatised in overt language ideologies. In fact, it is in harmony with the positive attitude to dialects that has been the official school ideology from the 1970s onwards, i.e. from the time when the dialects faded from use (i.e. dialects were no longer passed on to, or taken over by, local kids as the language used in playgrounds and peer-groups; dialects became the language of the older generations).

It is harder to understand the existence of an opposite and nationwide system of covert values. How can we explain that audiences of 16 year-old students (school classes) from all over Denmark, as their average result, subconsciously produce evaluative patterns that look like copies of each other – and upgrade Copenhagen speech relatively to their own local way of speaking? The only possible explanation, as far as we can see, must lie with young people's shared experience with language as used and treated in the modern spoken media. In other words, the general agreement among young Danes about the evaluative ranking and social meanings of late modern Danish accents is likely to result from the addition of the modern media universe to the traditional public sphere (with its schools and business institutions). The ideological division of the ‘best language’ idea into one in terms of ‘dynamism’ and one in terms of ‘superiority’ is a product of a more complex public sphere, where the criteria for excellence and success in the media world are different from those that apply in the world of education and business. The Danish evidence does not indicate that the standardisation process, either as diffusion or acceptance, has turned into destandardisation in the sense of ‘value levelling’ (an issue we take up in more detail in a following section).

Overall, therefore, the study of the implementation stage of standardisation is about the relationship and relative strength of standard vs. non-standard language in terms both of diffusion (use) and acceptance (ideology). This relationship has appeared in a variety of dialect/ standard constellations throughout the history of Europeans communities. While SLICE’s focus will mainly be on the contemporary and emerging new shapes of standard vs. non-standard constellations, we do realise that present-day situations can only be well understood and compared when the backdrop of historical developments is taken into account. As we explained earlier in this chapter, the ambition of Part 1 of this volume is to establish at least some of the historical backdrop, community by community.

AUER’S TYPOLOGY OF DIALECT/ STANDARD CONSTELLATIONS

The community reports were prepared partly in light of Peter Auer’s (2005) influential proposal for ‘a typology of European dialect/ standard constellations’ (see for example Östman and Mattfolk, this volume). Auer’s text was a key preliminary reading for the first of the Exploratory Workshops. His model is a concerted attempt to bring ‘Europe’s sociolinguistic unity’ to light in an historical perspective. The relationship of standard/ non-standard is pictured as a cone, in which the top point represents the standard, and the ground circle represents the gamut of non-standard varieties. The relationship is either of a diglossic kind (a question of either/or choice between the standard and the dialect) or of a diaglossic kind (a question of using more-or-less within a continuum of variation between the standard and the dialect). Processes of switching and levelling occur both ‘vertically’ (between standard and non-standard) and ‘horizontally’ (between non-standard varieties), and over time lead to a significant reduction in the total amount of variation. Eventually, the distance between the top point and the ground circle becomes very small; the traditional dialects have disappeared and the ground circle variation can be seen as variation within the standard.

Auer warns that ‘[o]ne should be careful not to lose sight of the simplifications which are inherent in any model of this type; in our case, this caveat refers in particular to the distance between the base dialects (ground line) and the standard variety (top point) which is *systematically ambiguous between an attitudinal and a structural interpretation*’ (*ibid.*: footnote 8, our italics). Rather than stressing this as a weakness, we prefer to see the model as helpful and worthwhile exactly because it invites us, in our investigations of the relative strength of standard versus non-standard varieties, to reflect on how we should go about resolving ‘the systematic ambiguity between an attitudinal and a structural interpretation’. The model invites questions like the following. Is there a particular attitudinal situation behind the switching of diglossia, and a different attitudinal situation behind the sliding of diaglossia? Or should it be understood the other way round: is it the case that diglossic situations result in different attitudinal constellations than diaglossic situations? A good model invites good questions; and these are good questions for anyone who wants to compare historic developments and understand the role of ideological forces in the distributional vicissitudes of speech varieties and variants. In relation to the main research interest of SLICE and its focus on the contemporary historical situation, the Auer typology shares the second weakness that Deumert and Vandenbussche pointed out regarding the Haugen model (and which we recognised, above, to be a general limitation of the standardisation literature): it has a teleological flavour, in that the road seems to lead unidirectionally from diversity to (more and more) unity.

This teleological diversity-reducing characteristic of models of language standardisation can be explained by their historically backward orientation, of course. Yet, the ‘naturalness’ and ‘obviousness’ of ever more unification as the essence of language standardisation seem a less secure ideological construction today than in earlier times. Thus, the primary foundation of the SLICE group is a shared uncomfortable feeling about the modelling of standardisation in terms of unification, and a shared interest in reconsiderations of the nature of language standardisation and standard languages under late modern conditions.

DESTANDARDISATION AND DEMOTISATION

A preliminary description of the SLICE project, as it appeared in the funding application for the Exploratory Workshops, was included in the preparatory materials that were sent to participants. This text, extracts from which appear below, tentatively introduced some terminology that might be helpful in theorising destandardisation. These terms feature in some of the contributions to this volume. The text, authored by Tore Kristiansen, was entitled ‘The nature and role of language standardisation and standard languages in late modernity’ and it motivated interest in this topic initially by referring to the increasingly anti-authoritarian, individualistic and democratic ideology that, according to some sociologists, characterises late modernity:

> Sociologists describe contemporary history as the *late modern age*, which is a time of undermining of the power of authority (Giddens 1991). Previously, the power of political, scientific and religious authorities was accepted and respected. Today, power is spread out and individuals have the right to partake in public debate. This change has also been described as *democratisation* (Fairclough 1992) and it coincides with the acceleration of globalisation from the end of the 20th century.

In addressing the historical aspect of language standardisation in Europe, the resulting outcome was seen as a continuum stretching from communities with very strong standard languages and related ideologies to communities with very weak standard languages and related ideologies:

> In Europe, the development of standard languages played a most important role in the building of nation states. The construction – through *selection*, *codification*, *elaboration* and *implementation* (Haugen 1966) – of one language variety as the ‘best language’ turned all other varieties into ‘bad language’. However, for historical reasons – to do with power relationships of various kinds both externally between states and internally between social classes – there are great differences to be found in the development and outcome of the language standardisation processes across Europe. If we conceptualize this as a continuum, we will at the one end find countries like Denmark, Iceland, Great Britain and France with strict and strong ‘standard languages’ (at least in terms of ideology; the degree of implementation/acceptance in terms of usage varies more). At the other end, it is an open issue whether Norway can be said to have a ‘standard language’ at all. In between, countries like Sweden, Finland, and Germany feature more or less strong standard languages.

Although characterisations like ‘strict and strong’ might refer also to the selection, codification and elaboration aspects of standardisation, the relative placement of communities on the continuum arguably derives mainly from speculative assessments of degrees of implementation: how well accepted is the standard variety in the community, how much is it used?

This focus on implementation as the interesting (but ‘Achilles-heel’) aspect of standardisation continues when the text addresses the new conditions of late modernity. Without the change being thematised (which might have been a good idea), *standard language* is replaced by *language standards* (cf. our discussion of Joseph’s use of these terms, above). This replacement moves the focus even more unambiguously to implementation, as we take language standards to be less subjected to official and elite decisions in terms of selection, codification and elaboration, and to exist primarily in virtue of unofficial social group perceptions and judgements. Two different processes were proposed for consideration as possible late modern developments – *destandardisation* and *demotisation*:

> Standards for language in late modernity
> Now, what happens to language standardisation and the standards for language use (i.e. the criteria for 'language excellence') as we pass from the 'constructive' age of nation state building to the 'deconstructive' age of globalization, or late modernity? To judge from what has been said about this so far in the literature, we should take two possible scenarios into account:
>
> (i) Destandardisation: We will use this term to refer to a possible development whereby the established standard language loses its position as the one and only 'best language'. Thus, Fairclough (1992) proposes that the democratisation process can lead to a 'value levelling' that will secure access to public space for a wider range of speech varieties. Such a development would be equal to a radical weakening, and eventual abandonment, of the 'standard ideology' itself. Countries at the strong-standard end of the continuum would move towards the other end and become 'new Norways', so to speak.
>
> (ii) Demotisation: We choose this term (inspired by 'demotizierung', Mattheier 1997) to signal the possibility that the 'standard ideology' as such stays intact while the valorisation of ways of speaking changes. This appears to be the implication of the Danish evidence. Standard Danish is today commonly spoken in public (including prime time TV presentations of the daily news) with features which used to be associated with low-status ('popular') Copenhagen speech. Throughout all of Denmark, features from this 'low-Copenhagen' speech are rapidly adopted by young people, who also evaluate this way of speaking more positively than other 'accents', including the traditional 'high-Copenhagen' accent, as well as the 'locally coloured' accents of Copenhagen speech that most local youngsters speak themselves. Therefore, the belief that there is, and should be, a 'best language' is not abandoned (Kristiansen 2003), but the idea of what this 'best language' is, or sounds like, changes. In young Danes' representations, the 'low-Copenhagen' accent is replacing the 'high-Copenhagen' accent as the 'best language', especially when the evaluative perspective is 'speaker-dynamism'. In other words, 'low-Copenhagen' speech indexes an 'effective, straightforward, self-assured, interesting, cool…' persona – i.e. a successful media personality, one might argue (Kristiansen 2001).
>
> While destandardisation would create 'new Norways' out of strong-standard countries, demotisation might well have the opposite effect and promote language standardisation in no-standard or weak-standard countries. Demotisation is revalorisation, ideological upgrading, of 'low-status' language to 'best-language' status. In Denmark, only the 'low-status' speech of the capital city (Copenhagen) is upgraded this way. To the extent that this upgrading is linked to the development of the media universe, as the new and dominant public space of late modernity, one might argue that the media are instrumental in creating, ideologically, a new standard for 'language excellence', and also instrumental in its *elaboration* (spread to new usages) and *implementation* (spread to new users). If the fundamentals of this picture are valid and do apply more generally than in Denmark, demotisation in Norway will mean that Oslo speech with traditionally 'low-status' features develops into more of a standard language than Norway has ever had before.[2]

The basic and very simple assumption behind the above scenario, which does not try to conceal its Danishness, is that the standardisation process, in all its aspects, is driven by the idea that 'there is a best language'. This was so evident to the 16th century's Danish grammarians when they selected Copenhagen speech for standardisation that they simply argued in terms of *det beste Sprock* ('the best language'). To those of us researching the Danish situation, it seems just as evident today that all subsequent efforts to cultivate and disseminate (codify, elaborate and implement) the selected variety presuppose a conviction that a 'best language' exists that deserves and requires cultivation and dissemination (regardless of what the explicit arguments for this may have been).

[2] It was against this background that Norwegian linguists recently organized a conference on the theme: *Does Norway have a standard language?* The conference papers are published in *Norsk Lingvistisk Tidsskrift* 2009/2. For a deeper insight in the Norwegian situation, see Sandøy in this volume.

The distinction between destandardisation and demotisation is based on speculations (derived from analyses of the 'language attitudes situation' in Denmark) about the fate of *the idea of 'best language'* under late modern conditions. All the same, several contributors to this volume provide detailed and illuminating interpretations of these concepts in relation to their own communities – notably Auer and Spiekermann in the German context, Grondelaers *et al.*, in relation to the Low Countries and Sandøy in the case of Norway.

Destandardisation, as suggested in the extract above, equates to value levelling in Fairclough's sense. In its ultimate consequence (even though we consider this to be just as unlikely and idealised as a fully standardised, invariant standard language), value levelling implies a situation with no valorisation of differential language use, a situation where the idea of 'best language' no longer is an issue in the community. While such a situation might be welcomed as the ultimate liberation from the negative aspects and effects of language-related social-psychological mechanisms (teasing, mocking, denigration, discrimination, social exclusion), we assume that social evaluation of language variation is, at some level, here to stay and will not go away. This need not be in fulfilment of Chambers' simple 'social identity instinct' (see above), which seems unnecessarily pessimistic about social hierarchies and too deterministically socio-biological. The idea of 'best language' seems unlikely to become entirely redundant (cf. the extensive discussions of sociolinguistic prejudice in the USA context by Lippi-Green 1997 and Niedzielski and Preston 2000, and the USA is by no means exceptional). But it is quite conceivable that the version of it which developed in the era of European nation state building, and, ultimately, Haugen's rather statist model of institutionalised standardisation, will need to be significantly revised.

SLICE research may be able to establish that there is no longer the same felt need to obtain general acceptance of one, and only one, 'best language' variety; belief in the blessings of linguistic unity may not be so strong anymore. We already know that evaluative discourses are not generally univocal and (as it has been argued in many different paradigms) they respond to social and interactional contexts. Given that we know (not least from the quantitative language attitudes research tradition) that attitudes are multi-dimensional and contextual, we have to expect that there will be contexts where people will judge other people outside of normative ideological frames. Young people, for example, have been shown to orient to their peers differently on the basis of potential friendship networks or in relation to what they perceive to be cool ways of being, rather than, on the other hand, on public, institutional criteria such as how well they might succeed at school (cf. Garrett *et al.* 2003). These judgements are again matters of ideology, but framed by specific ideological priorities.

In order to substantiate a claim for destandardisation in this qualified sense (where value levelling implies attenuation and complexification but not disappearance of the idea of 'best language'), it will be interesting to look for the existence of several distinct evaluative rankings across geographical and/or social space in the community. Plural and variable judgements are one type of evidence of destandardisation. And, most importantly, we need to establish whether there is growing general acceptance that different community members and groups both use and evaluate linguistic varieties and variants differently. Destandardisation, then, might be a community's ideological development towards seeing, or rather experiencing, variable language and variable evaluative rankings of language as 'the most natural thing in the world' – in Elias's term, 'second nature'. Evaluation of language differences would still be part of community life, but the idea of 'best language' in its absolute and totalising singularity would be gone.

Demotisation, in contrast, is understood as the kind of development which has been documented in Denmark. The idea of 'best language' has changed, all right, but there are no signs of any radical weakening or attenuation. In fact, there is little doubt that the idea of 'best language' has a much stronger position in Denmark today than ever before. This is particularly evident if we base our judgement on the 'Achilles heel' of standardisation: implementation. In terms of *use*, the general diffusion of the standard language (i.e. Copenhagen speech) to the young generations throughout the whole country is a post World War II phenomenon. While this diffusion of Copenhagen speech is well studied and documented, implementation in terms of *ideology* is far less studied. For evaluations of the degree of acceptance in the community before the 1980s, we have to rely on what is known about use (diffusion) and we then draw the inference that there was less acceptance. Since the 1980s, comprehensive studies of language attitudes among young Danes (see Kristiansen 2009) unambiguously show that Copenhagen speech is seen as the 'best language' – as long as the evaluation is offered subconsciously; more about the consciousness issue below.

These studies also unambiguously show that Copenhagen speech comes in two varieties, one which is deemed best by the youngsters when the evaluative perspective is 'superiority', and one which is deemed best when the evaluative perspective is 'dynamism'. However, this different evaluative ranking of two Copenhagen varieties does not fall under what we above described as destandardisation. Why not? Because exactly the same evaluative pattern is reproduced by youngsters all over Denmark: speakers with a flavour of traditionally 'low' or 'popular' ('demotic') phonetics are upgraded as more 'dynamic' than speakers with a flavour of traditionally 'high' phonetics, while the latter (for the time being?) are still seen as more 'superior'. There is no variation in this pattern across social groups. Boys and girls from across the whole country and the whole social status gamut unite in reproducing the same pattern. At the age of 16, they have all got the same idea of what the 'best language' is, and how it should be evaluated. There is no 'value levelling' of the kind that would indicate destandardisation. It feels safe to claim that the acceptance of the social valorisation of Copenhagen speech as 'best language' has never been stronger.

A question mark remains over whether the term 'demotisation' is the most appropriate one here (and see Auer and Spieckermann's discussion, this volume). In a straightforward derivational-morphological perspective, the happier English term might be 'demot*ic*isation', although this would detach the term from its German origins. It would also even more clearly imply a shift to 'more demotic' (more egalitarian or more democratic) sociolinguistic arrangements, and this is not the intended implication. In the Danish case, as indicated above, stylistic elements of a previously 'low' Copenhagen variety have, in one sense, 'risen' to feature in young people's ideologised version of the 'best language', but in so rising they lose their 'low' indexicality. There is the further complication that the new 'best' variety is judged to be 'best' in relation to 'dynamism', and that there are good reasons to associate dynamic speech with changing norms and practices in the mass media. So it will be necessary to overlay considerations of context and genre on apparently uniform categories of restandardisation and demotisation. If, within demotisation, there is the implication that ways of speaking come to be judged differently in relation to different social contexts or frames – 'best' in relation to media versus 'best' in relation to established public institutions – then this starts to shade back into the more pluricentric normativity associated with destandardisation.

MASS MEDIA AND DESTANDARDISATION

As we have explained, the SLICE programme has emerged in the first instance from a programme of social-evaluative research in Denmark. This allows the Danish researchers involved to pose one simple but far-reaching question (cf. Gregersen, this volume): Is Denmark an exception or is Denmark the rule with regards to standard language in contemporary Europe? At the same time, SLICE is committed to understanding role and impact of social shifts on a global scale, summarised in the concept of globalisation. It would be surprising if there were not many resemblances between the Denmark/ globalisation sociolinguistic interface and parallel interfaces in other European contexts. (There are many ways to try to capture the material, symbolic and ideological shifts entailed in globalisation. For a 'tendentious list' of generalised, multi-sited social changes over the last 50 or so years, see Coupland 2009: 29f.; on linguistic, semiotic and discursive aspects of globalisation, see chapters collected in Coupland 2010; also Appadurai 1996; Blommaert 2009; Castells 1996; Fairclough 2006; Hannerz 1992; Jaworski *et al*. 2009; Machin and van Leeuwen 2007; Pennycook 2007; Wright 2004.)

We saw above that there are intimations of mass media having some salience in the Danish quantitative research, and changes in the prevalence and social functioning of mass media are perhaps the most obvious and striking facets of globalisation. We can reasonably talk of 'the mediatisation of social life' under globalisation, and we have argued previously that *mass media are changing our terms of engagement with language*. This is not the claim that mass media are decisively and directly influencing language change – the proposition that is debated and *not* ultimately rejected by Stuart-Smith (this volume). It is the claim that modern media are increasingly flooding our lives with an unprecedented array of social and sociolinguistic representations, experiences and values, to the extent that (to put the case negatively) it is inconceivable that they have no bearing on how individuals and communities position themselves and are positioned sociolinguistically. Social indexicality in general is proliferating, and reflexivity about social meanings and symbolic forms is on the rise (Chouliaraki and Fairclough 1999: 25–28).

We must add to this the demonstrable shifts in media cultures, norms and technological systems between around 1960 and the present day (the SLICE 'window'), which involve some very specific and some very general sociolinguistic reorientations. In the context of a diachronic study of changing television news broadcasting norms in New Zealand over roughly this period, Bell (this volume) points to ethnic and social diversification, as more and more voices have appeared in broadcast media, but also to a degree of Americanisation, in the progressive adoption of specific features (and determiner deletion is one that Bell studies in great detail) that were originally associated with USA speech. Americanisation is a global process of influence on both English-language and non-English-language broadcasting around the world, in different regards. There is a tradition of comparative sociolinguistic research on lexical diffusion from the USA and another on the incorporation of English loanwords into other languages. But as yet we have little evidence of genre and style transfer (but see Machin and van Leeuwen [2007] on the global dissemination of gendered stances, ideologies and feature writing in the many national versions of *Cosmopolitan* magazine), whereby discursive formats of mass media first seen in the USA are spreading to other cultures, reshaping what we expect of mass media and how we expect to consume it and be addressed by it. The most widely discussed shift of this sort is the conversationalisation of public (and media) discourse (Fairclough 1994), whereby some of the discursive attributes and styles of informal conversation come to feature in non-intimate interactions, with a 'synthetic' or false implication of interpersonal solidarity. Bell documents many features of this sort in contemporary New Zealand broadcasting.

Bell also discusses the *vernacularisation* of the mass media over recent decades (cf. Androutsopoulos, this volume). Bell's perspective is on how media are nowadays more likely than formerly to broadcast indexically New Zealand-sounding accents and colloquial speech. This can be theorised as localisation, the resistant counter-flow to globalisation, in the dynamic system of centripetal and centrifugal social tendencies that is captured in the word 'glocalisation'. SLICE needs to address this issue empirically, seeking out evidence of which features, styles, genres or norms are flowing and being disseminated through globalised media, and which features (etc.) indicate either resistance to global flow (the persistence of the local) or the emergence of new vernacularities (new resources for localisation). In one of his last projects Bourdieu (1998) turned his attention to television, to theorise how 'journalistic capital' plays out in political and economic dimensions of contemporary cultures. He mentions journalists' stylistic preferences for simplicity and directness which he sees as underlying the marketability of TV language, but also their preferences for sensationalising and for displays of objectivity, both of which are again subordinated to commercial priorities. In this treatment we begin to see how vernacular speech and practices are likely to hold considerable value for contemporary media, although the details very largely remain to be worked out.

As Bell and Stuart-Smith's separate chapters (this volume) explain, television and radio, along with print media (that is, the 'old media'), in their earliest guises were quite widely considered to be guardians of standard languages. In some cases, as for example with the BBC in Britain, the 'national broadcaster' for several decades took on the explicit role of promoting the 'best language', phonologically characterised as Received Pronunciation, as part of its public service remit (Garrett *et al.*, this volume). Shifts into *and out of* this language-ideological arrangement are documented by Mugglestone (1995). Broadcast speech style remains a focus of social evaluation in Britain, for example in a recent thread of internet comments on Neil Nunes, a continuity announcer on BBC Radio 4 whose voice retains resonant phonological traces of his Caribbean upbringing. Comments to the BBC included the following:

> We wish to hear intelligent speech on Radio 4 and we wish to hear it well-spoken.
>
> We wish to hear British English, in all its varieties, including received pronunciation. We do not wish to hear the English language spoken by accents from other parts of the globe.
>
> How refreshing, at last, to hear tones which aren't white, Anglo-Saxon and Little England.
>
> (http://www.independent.co.uk/news/media/voice-from-jamaica-divides-radio-4-linteners-472301.html. Accessed 14 September 2011).

The most significant aspect of this range of opinions is that it is varied, suggesting a mixed ideological field, in place of the pro-standard consensus of earlier decades. (Soukup and Moosmüller, this volume, report similar historical shifts in relation to TV broadcasting in Austria.) It will be important to document metalinguistic commentaries of this sort in SLICE research, and to draw conclusions from whatever real-time comparative broadcast data are available in particular communities.

As above, however, it will be important to build theoretical frameworks in which data of this sort can be interpreted, and particularly to build theory that is broad enough to span mediated and non-mediated sociolinguistic contexts. One interesting theoretical initiative has been to extend Norbert Elias's perspective to make it more directly relevant to the late modern period. Cas Wouters argues that the long-term formalising of manners and disciplining that Elias documented was reversed in the twentieth century, which saw

> …an extended process of informalisation of manners along with a disciplined relaxation of people's conscience and self-regulation… Manners have become more lenient, more differentiated and varied for a wider and more differentiated public; an increasing variety of behavioural and emotional alternatives have come to be accepted and expected . (Wouters 2004: 194)

This view maintains Elias's frames of reference, but tilts the analysis towards global processes. Wouters argues that the United States was starting to influence global understandings of 'good manners' before World War II and that its more demographically diverse (in terms of age, ethnicity, gender and sexuality) and entertainment-focused popular culture tended to be exported around the world in the decades after the War. An anti-authoritarian norm developed that proved incompatible with many of the personal and social restraints, and indeed the centralising statism, that Elias had recognised in 'the civilising process'.

Wouters sees a quite general process of democratisation of public life beginning in the 1960s and 1970s. Regimes of manners, he says, lost their credibility as well as their rigidity;

social styles became less category-bound and new means of self-expression came to the fore, including dress-styles, dance and music as well as, in Wouters' view, 'written and spoken language' (Wouters 2004: 207). A 'collective emancipation' developed in the 1980s, to be replaced by a dominant market ideology (*ibid.*: 208, and see Chouliaraki and Fairclough 1999) that restricted opportunities for emancipation and social advancement to the realm of the individual (cf. Bauman 2001 on the individualisation of late modern societies). But, still according to Wouters, post-War informalised relations have generally held sway.

Expansive and over-generalising as these claims probably are, they do connect well with much more specific sociolinguistic arguments and analyses. Informalisation connects with Fairclough's conversationalisation thesis; collective emancipation connects with Kerswill's arguments about mobility, meritocracy, dialect levelling and the decline of Received Pronunciation in Britain (Kerswill 2001); Americanisation and demographic inclusiveness connect with Coupland's (in press) account of the vernacularising tendencies of 1960s and later popular music. As early as 1987, Joseph was speculating about language destandardisation as a theoretical possibility, although he noted that, at that time, it was a concept that 'does not occur in the literature' (Joseph 1987: 174). There is clearly a research agenda needing to be developed and fulfilled to clarify the place of language destandardisation among the many other '-isation' processes that, as far as we can see at the moment, constitute much of the ideological and practical distinctiveness of late modernity. SLICE's two main strands of research will, we are sure, make a substantial contribution to this agenda. The results of this work will be published in follow-up volumes to the present one.

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Part 1
Community reports

Standard language in Austria

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DEVELOPMENT AND STATUS OF STANDARD AUSTRIAN GERMAN

These days, German is widely considered (at least in academic treatments) to be a 'pluricentric' language – one that is used as a national or regional official language in more than one country (the biggest being Germany, Austria, and Switzerland), generating a range of standard varieties (Ammon *et al*. 2004: XXXI).[1] Clyne (1993: 360) writes that for pluricentric languages 'national variation is strong at the lexicosemantic, pragmatic and phonological levels but very slight in grammar'. For historical reasons, the standard language of (Northern) Germany is dominant among German standard varieties, which is why national differences are commonly described with respect to the standard language codified for Germany.

While the Austrian Bavarian shares in the development of the 'common denominator' of Standard German are undisputed (with Austrian Bavarian belonging to the Upper German dialect group), in 1750 the Austrian court actively adopted the language norms laid out by Gottsched and Adelung, which were in fact based on East Middle German (von Polenz 1999). Later, an Austrian national consciousness arose with the *kleindeutsche Lösung* (which excluded Austria from a unified Germany) in 1871 (Weiss and Weiss 2007); but for all German-speaking territories, the language of the 'classics' (e.g. Goethe and Schiller) and the 'language of the educated' (*Bildungssprache*) became the models for 'correct', 'beautiful', and 'good' German. However, especially in Austria and Switzerland, identity construction also implied the preservation of linguistic idiosyncrasies, particularly in the lexicon (Mattheier 2003: 235).

Regarding pronunciation, both the usage of the Imperial Theatre and so-called 'Prague German' (based in administrative language) functioned as standard models in Austria and, with respect to prestige, outdid the pronunciation norms codified in the work of Theodor Siebs (beginning with his *Deutsche Bühnensprache*, 1898), which dominated in Germany (Ehrlich 2009; Weiss and Weiss 2007). A first linguistic comparison of German German and Austrian German usage was provided by Luick (1904).

The period between the World Wars was marked by a political rapprochement between Austria and Germany, and consequently, awareness of Austrian linguistic autonomy receded. It gained new impetus after World War II, concurrently with a growing Austrian national consciousness (de Cillia 2006, Ebner 2008). A salient expression of this was the conceptualisation of the *Österreichisches Wörterbuch (ÖWB)*, whose first edition was released in 1951. Currently in its 41st edition (2009), the *ÖWB* is today used as official reference tool in all Austrian schools and government bodies.[2] It has, according to Wiesinger (2006: 141), over the last decades 'increasingly taken over the task of codifying the German language in Austria' (our translation) – though not without controversy. In particular, the 35th edition (1979) was highly contentious, containing many dialectal and regional expressions not found in previous editions (see e.g.Clyne 1989; Dressler and Wodak 1983; Retti 1999).

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[1] Ammon et al. (2004: XI) define 'standard German' as 'the German that is perceived as appropriate and correct in public language usage' (our free translation).

[2] It is also used by some newspapers, particularly to identify acceptable (i.e. non-colloquial) 'Austriacisms', which are often preferred over 'Germanisms' (personal communication, *Der Standard, Die Presse*). The Austrian Press Agency (APA) reports keeping an internal 'handbook' for these cases.

However, the *ÖWB* remains the only official codex to date, so that Austrian German still lacks a grammar and a pronunciation dictionary (Ammon 2004). Muhr's *Österreichisches Aussprachewörterbuch* (2007) is a recent endeavour to close this gap, though it is subject to much criticism (see Hirschfeld 2008). Further, it focuses on and codifies only the pronunciation of professional news anchors and radio hosts, and hence does not take into account usage in non-trained contexts and by groups of speakers who Austrians themselves *also* associate with the standard (see below; for linguistic descriptions of such usage see e.g. Moosmüller 1991, 2007, 2011; Wiesinger 2009). Of course, this raises fundamental questions of how an Austrian standard pronunciation should be defined and located in the first place – a point we pick up next in the context of language attitude research in Austria.

As de Cillia (1997) points out, then, the *ÖWB* is one of only two exceptions to the generalisation that official language policy-making that might publicly establish and define an Austrian standard German is virtually non-existent. The second exception he cites is the (in)famous (because much hyped) 'Protocol No 10 Regarding provisions on the use of specific Austrian terms of the German language in the framework of the European Union', an addendum to Austria's treaty of accession to the EU (signed in 1994) which lists (only) twenty-three mainly culinary Austrian variants (e.g. Austrian *Marillen* vs. German *Aprikosen* – 'apricots') that are thus granted the same status and legality as the corresponding German German terms. This Protocol, however, was never followed up with any further national language policy measures, nor was its observance ever really checked up on (see Markhardt 2002, who furthermore reports that Austriacisms appearing in translated EU documents tend to get 'corrected' to German German variants 'for better comprehensibility').

LANGUAGE ATTITUDE RESEARCH

Moosmüller (1991) provides some perspective on the question of where and with whom the average Austrian actually locates a (spoken) Austrian standard language.[3] In semi-structured interviews, informants from a variety of social class backgrounds agreed in claiming some autonomy from the standard variety in Germany. Further, there was agreement that a standard language is spoken by educated people; and with respect to regional location, Vienna was seen as the main site of *Hochsprache* (though more so by informants from Salzburg and Vienna than by those from Innsbruck and Graz, who located the standard in other parts of Austria as well).

In a subsequent experiment presenting informants with short speech samples containing from zero up to many features characteristic of Bavarian-Austrian dialect (the main type of regional variety spoken in Austria),[4] and asking them to assign these samples both regionally and socially, Moosmüller (1991) found that only those speech samples which showed a noticeable lack of such salient features – especially of input-switch-rules[5] and features of south-Bavarian origin – were attributed a supra-regional status (and hence, by extension, could be considered Austrian 'standard'). Moreover, the 'dialect-free' speech samples were mainly

[3] Moosmüller and other scholars use the term *Hochsprache* (literally, 'high language') to refer to such a variety (hence implying its social prestige). Other commonly used *popular* terms to designate a standard variety in Austria include *Hochdeutsch* ('High German') and *Schriftdeutsch* ('Writing German'). The former is considered inadequate from an academic perspective, because the same term is in fact used to differentiate between the 'High German' varieties of the southern Germanophone area and 'Low German' in the north. The latter is avoided in academic texts for implying a written norm. Regionally marked varieties are most commonly called *Dialekt* ('dialect') in the Austrian context – a practice which we use here as well.

[4] See the website of the Austrian Academy of Sciences for outlines and descriptions of the Austrian dialect areas: http://www.oeaw.ac.at/dinamlex/Dialektgebiete.html (January 27, 2011).

[5] i.e. features where the relationship between standard and dialect forms is only diachronically explicable but not synchronically, and typically no gradient intermediate forms exist - see e.g. Dressler and Wodak (1982), Moosmüller (1991) for discussion.

attributed to Vienna, even if the speakers actually hailed from Salzburg, and to professions associated with high education.

We can therefore conclude that Standard Austrian German is generally seen as a 'non-dialectal' variety spoken by the educated people from the middle-Bavarian region (which includes Salzburg and Vienna – see also Soukup 2009 for similar findings), meaning that, while it should not show any salient regional features, it does in reality have a middle-Bavarian basis with respect to non-perceptually salient aspects of phonology, phonetics, and prosody.[6]

Steinegger (1998) reports attitudinal research whose purpose was to assess Austrians' own spoken language usage patterns via self-reporting, for example asking in which situations informants considered it appropriate or themselves preferred to speak dialect, standard (here: *Hochdeutsch*), or *Umgangssprache* ('something that lies between dialect and standard' – Steinegger 1998: 388; our translation). To date, this constitutes the largest-scale questionnaire-based attitude survey in Austria, collecting data from a fairly representative sample of 1,500 informants across all provinces. One of the most salient findings, which reappears time and again across virtually all language attitude-related research in the Austrian context (e.g. Hathaway 1979; Jochum 1999; Kleinberg 2007; Malliga 1997; Satzke 1986; Soukup 2009), is a strong, across-the-board (i.e. across gender and social groups) tendency towards compartmentalisation, in the sense that dialectal varieties and the standard are assigned complementary interactional realms, dialect being associated with private domains (family, friends, colleagues) and the standard being associated with 'public' domains such as education, broadcast media, and government (but also talk with strangers, purportedly for reasons of comprehensibility).[7] Overall, two thirds of the informants indicated that their assessment of the appropriateness of speaking in the dialect depended entirely on the situation of use; over 90% reported their own readiness to adapt their language use to the situation and/ or their interactional partner. When these interactional partners happen to be children, however, dialect use is regarded quite negatively, which is concomitant with a strong demand for standard to be the language of schooling (see also discussion further below).

Data for Steinegger's (1998) report were collected in two waves – in 1984/85 and in 1991. The main difference between the two sets is a sharp increase in an expressed (but not further specified) desire for more linguistic 'independence' (*auf sprachliche Eigenständigkeit achten*) vis-à-vis Germany. Generally, then, the function of Austrian language usage for identity construction, particularly in indexing non-German identity, is another common theme in Austrian language attitude research (see e.g. also de Cillia 1997; Kaiser 2006; Moosmüller 1991 as cited above; Scheuringer 1992). However, researchers usually find their informants to hold rather vague and ambivalent notions, if any at all, regarding a specifically *Austrian standard* language usage. Thus, while the importance of 'Austrian German' for Austrian identity construction is routinely stressed, the 'peculiarities' of such a variety are usually located on the dialectal level, so that speaking 'Austrian German' is more often than not equated with speaking dialect (see also discussion in Kaiser 2006). Dialect use, however, is usually seen to carry 'lower' social prestige than 'standard German' (in folk linguistic terms, *schön sprechen,* 'talking nicely', only ever refers to the standard), although only few Austrian speakers actually prefer to use standard over dialectal varieties (see Steinegger 1998, who reports a rate of only 5% of informants whose preferred language choice is standard/ *Hochdeutsch*). For this reason, some scholars (e.g. de Cillia 1997; Muhr 1982; Reiffenstein 1982) have diagnosed feelings of linguistic insecurity and even 'guilt' in the population regarding a constant non-adherence to an accepted norm of 'good' language use.

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[6] Such non-salient features include the lenition of fortis plosives, such that, for example, *Dank* ('thanks') and *Tank* ('gasoline tank') sound the same.

[7] Jochum (1999) notes that in the westernmost province of Vorarlberg, the only region in Austria where Alemannic dialects are spoken, dialect use is actually more widespread in terms of domains than in the remaining Bavarian-Austrian region.

The fact that dialect is generally considered the language of lesser prestige in Austria is confirmed throughout the literature, but specifically also in studies that are based on speaker evaluation experiments (e.g. Moosmüller 1988; Satzke 1986; Soukup 2009). Thus Soukup (2009), for example, found that speakers' standard (i.e. 'non-dialectal') language use generates higher ratings regarding education, sophistication and intelligence, whereas dialect is associated with being uneducated, unintelligent, coarse, and rough by comparison. On the other hand, dialect use may also project being more natural, emotional, and honest.[8] Concomitantly, in their comments informants once more clearly associated dialect use with private and standard with public realms (see above).

It must be noted, though, that the vast majority of attitudinal research has been carried out in the Bavarian-Austrian dialect region. By contrast, there is some evidence that language usage and attitudes in the Alemannic-speaking region of Vorarlberg resemble more closely those evident in Switzerland, including a more positive attitude towards non-standard speech (see e.g. Jochum 1999; Steinegger 1998). Overall, however, the situation in Vorarlberg remains vastly under-researched.

STANDARD LANGUAGE IN THE MEDIA

Language attitude research also shows that Austrians do commonly associate standard language with the Austrian broadcast media – at least in the context of supra-regional distribution, and specifically in connection with news-casting (e.g. Soukup 2009; Steinegger 1998). The biggest programming and broadcast news supplier in Austria is the Austrian national public broadcasting company ORF. In existence in its present form since the 1960s, it held a monopoly on Austrian broadcasting until the late 1990s (though German TV channels and hence German TV news have been present via cable since at least the 1970s). The market share of ORF's two main TV stations, ORF1 and ORF2, lies at around 40% (with the remainder being mostly distributed across German cable stations); its three national and one regional radio stations (Ö1, Ö3, FM4; Ö2) together cover almost 80% of that market.[9]

A rough calculation (categorizing all TV programs over a week for where they were produced and tallying up broadcast minutes) shows that on ORF1 almost 60% of air time on average goes to shows of non-German-speaking origin dubbed for the bigger German market (and hence in a Germany-oriented standard). 15% is German-produced content, and the remaining 25% is of Austrian origin – and thus supposedly the only place where some Austrian standard variety might be found. (The distribution is in fact very similar on the biggest private Austrian TV station ATVplus). By contrast, ORF2 provides only 4% foreign and 30% German, but 66% Austrian programming. ORF1 hosts 4 hours of ne ws on average per week (ATVplus: ca. 2 hours), while ORF2 provides 12 hours (or alm ost 2 hours per day).

Being the main host of Austrian language production on TV, then, particularly in a news context, ORF's respective policies warrant some investigation. Information provided by ORF staff (p.c.) confirms that language use is indeed subject to institutional guidelines. Thus, a 'Chief Speaker' is centrally charged with overseeing, disseminating, and updating usage policies and standards regarding pronunciation (particularly of foreign and place names) and lexical usage (e.g. regarding Austriacisms vs. Germanisms such as A: *bisher* vs. G: *bislang* – 'so far'). A pronunciation database (in cooperation with German and Swiss public TV) serves as reference, as well as *Duden Aussprachewörterbuch* (2000). Further, to obtain permission to go on air, staff have to pass through an 'assessment centre' first, where voice and speech pro-

[8] This study, carried out in Linz in the northern province of Upper Austria, has recently been replicated in Graz in the southern province of Styria and in Vienna by Goldgruber (2011), with findings much to the same effect.
[9] Source: http://mediaresearch.orf.at/.

duction are scrutinised (e.g. for speech defects); subsequently, training programs are offered centrally via headquarters in Vienna.

However, while until twenty years ago ORF employed and rigorously trained (and thus brought into line) fully professional speakers for news-casting and voice-overs, it is now common usage for field journalists to submit their own reports ready-made, including the voice track. This has led to a perceptible change in the linguistic landscape particularly on TV, where usage has become much less consistent. To this is added an increased tolerance or even desire for locally 'coloured' speech, particularly for regional broadcasts (on radio Ö2, as well as during 30 minutes of daily regional TV news on ORF2).[10] But these days even national news anchors can be heard to 'take liberties' regarding the traditional norms derived from *Duden* and *Siebs Deutsche Aussprache* (de Boor *et al*. 1969, with an addendum for Austria), tending towards a style that may even include a limited set of features of clearly Bavarian-Austrian origin (such as lenition of fortis plosives), as well as voiceless word-initial /s/ and, on the morphosyntactic level, the use of perfect instead of imperfect tense. Thus, while the reference norms themselves have in theory not changed, in practice Austrian media language today (particularly on TV, less so on the radio, where language use seems more 'conservative') appears to move in the direction of actual usage by presumed 'standard speakers' in non-professional contexts (i.e. non-dialectal, supra-regional, 'educated people's' speech – see the discussion above) – rather than the other way round.

STANDARD LANGUAGE IN EDUCATION

Language attitude studies also reveal that, in addition to associating standard language with the media, people in Austria particularly associate it with the educational system (e.g. Soukup 2009; Steinegger 1998), which warrants a search for corresponding legal provisions in Austrian school policies.

Analysis of the respective documents shows that, overall, reference to the use of any particular variety of German (such as the standard) decreases in explicitness in the curricula with increasing years of schooling.[11] Thus, the curricula for 'pre-school' (optional, age 5) and for (mandatory) elementary school (grades 1–4, from age 6) for the subject 'German, Reading and Writing' explicitly include provisions holding that children are indeed 'to be led towards an adequate use of *Standardsprache* ('standard language'), on the basis of the child's individual language'.[12] Mention is furthermore made of raising children's awareness of commonalities and differences between dialect (*Mundart*) and standard language when practising speaking skills, with the specific goal of correcting 'mistakes that result from the difference between dialect and standard language'. Children are supposed to increase their 'confidence in the use of the standard language', and to practise and expand 'standard language sentence patterns' and word usage. To avoid or decrease speech inhibitions, 'guidance towards the forms of the standard language must in no case be subject to performance pressures'. Indeed, the 'transition' from dialect to the standard must be 'smooth' (*ohne Bruch*). This, of course, presupposes that such a transition is to take place, or at least will have taken place by the time children leave elementary school. This is also indirectly evident in the fact that very little mention is made of the issue any more in the curricula for grades 5–12; and, if at all, mention

[10] Indeed, the Upper Austrian station has recorded complaints from customers regarding radio anchors who were perceptibly NOT from the region (p.c.).

[11] The full texts of the Austrian school curricula are available via the website of the Austrian Ministry of Education: http://www.bmukk.gv.at/. In the following, all quotations represent our own translations into English.

[12] That this 'standard language' is most likely a variety of German is not made explicit, but can be inferred from provisions for children with 'non-German mother tongue', who are not admitted as regular students unless they show satisfactory command of German, and who are the subject of special remedial curricula. But the law does in fact make provisions for schooling in languages other than German.

is limited to the curriculum for the subject 'German', where terminology includes vague references to 'speaking and writing norms' (*Sprach- und Schreibnormen*) and the idea that 'teachers are to watch over the quality of utterances', which leaves much room for interpretation. Only in grade 11 can a call for some awareness-raising regarding language variation be found in the curriculum. However, for all levels, there appears to be no textbook that deals with the issue of Austrian language variation in any explicit way.

Interestingly, in the currently applicable versions of the school curricula no explicit mention is made of the language variety the *teachers* are supposed to use. Our own consultations with long-time teachers suggest that previously, the teaching language (*Unterrichtssprache*) for all subjects was indeed officially defined as the 'standard language' in the general didactic provisions of the curricula – this is no longer the case after the curriculum reforms of the last decade. However, the standard is reportedly (and from our experience) still the *de facto* norm teachers aspire to and the norm they are held to by their colleagues and principals (e.g. in the state exams) as well as by parents. Increasingly, this is also a function of high numbers of students whose linguistic background is not Austrian. In rural areas, however, the standard norm is reportedly not always upheld in practice – even (or perhaps particularly) in elementary school, where curricular provisions are most explicit (see above), but where much is also made of 'tuning in' to the children and their own language use.

At university level, no explicit official mention of teaching language could be found either; but it is noteworthy that, as Moosmüller (1991) found, the use of *Hochsprache* is commonly associated with the profession of university teachers.

In sum, then, it can be seen that there are indeed official ideological ties between the Austrian educational system and standard language use – though perhaps more so by tradition and expectation than by explicitly stated principle of policy (nor are any definitions to be found).

CONCLUSION

One 'sticking point' for a coherent standard language policy in Austria (*de facto* or *de iure*) seems to lie in the fact that, although Viennese educated speech is on a more subconscious level accepted as a model of a standard Austrian German (see above), it is less so when people are directly asked whether it should be codified and implemented as such. Thus, any endeavour for codification that strives for linguistic realism is often rejected as 'Vienna-centric' (which was also a point of contention with the 35th edition of the *ÖWB*). Similarly, as discussed above, 'Germany-centrism' is frequently lamented and autonomy for Austrian German claimed; but there is much insecurity about whether a standard Austrian German could really be on a par with standard German as associated with Germany. Indeed, as for example Ammon (2004) points out, such asymmetries and ambivalences are quite typical of pluricentric language situations where one variety dominates over the rest – as in the case of German.

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Language and ideology in Denmark

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This chapter has three sections. The first section summarizes the historical and economic bases of the Danish speech community. The second summarizes what we know about linguistic developments since 1900, and the third attempts to connect this knowledge to the various ideological currents characteristic of the period.

SOCIO-HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Denmark as a linguistically homogeneous nation state, 1864 as a crucial turning point

Denmark arguably comes closest to realizing Ernest Renan's wet dream of 'one nation, one language'. This is a result of history. The once grand Danish realm was gradually reduced to only those provinces where Danish were spoken: Norway was lost to Sweden in 1814, and Iceland declared its independence in 1944. Most importantly, the (mostly) Low German-speaking provinces of Schleswig and Holstein were lost to Prussia in 1864. The loss of these rich provinces, in Danish history and contemporary ideology making up the southernmost part of Jutland, 'Sønderjylland', created a long-lasting trauma ostensibly threatening Denmark as an independent state – and crucially a Denmark which was geographically small and linguistically exceptionally homogeneous. This was indeed taken as the point of departure for the plebiscite which resulted in the 'homecoming' of a part of Slesvig in 1920 after Germany's defeat in the First World War: Those parts of Slesvig where Danish was spoken by a majority conveniently voted themselves 'home'. (The exceptions to prove the rule are the North Atlantic parts of the Danish Kingdom, the Faroe Islands and Greenland.)

Denmark as an agricultural economy and a dialect community

At the beginning of the 20th century the Danish dialects were surveyed in the majestic *Kort over Danske Folkemaal* ('Map of Danish popular idioms', Bennike and Kristensen 1898–1912). The dialects are conveniently divided into the dialects of Jutland, those of the isles and that of the island Bornholm. Dictionaries based on the *Wörter und Sachen* method have been and are still being written for the traditional dialects of Jutland (*Jysk ordbog*) and the Isles (*Ømålsordbogen*). Thus, we know that the agricultural nation state of Denmark was once fragmented into closely related but still structurally rather different dialects. It is uncontroversial to state that this situation was drastically altered during the 20th century.

Denmark as an industrialised economy and the creation of sociolects

Denmark was late in becoming an industrialised state and agricultural industrialisation (e.g. dairies) has always been an important branch. Urbanisation in itself is not a feature of industrialisation but industrial cities are completely different from the traditional 'organically grown' species of city. The immigration of the mobile population from the surrounding agricultural regions to the new industrial urban centres created new districts and class divisions of the urban space which hitherto had been characteristically integrated, assembling persons of varying means in the same houses, albeit on different floors. Immigration to Copenhagen peaked in the 1870s and 80s where the net in-migration figures are ca. 36,000 and 39,000, respectively (Johansen 2002: 162). Whole neighbourhoods were built at a frantic pace to house the growing working class. The industrial city became the locus of sociolects (on Copenhagen, see Brink and Lund 1975; Gregersen and Pedersen 1991; on Århus, see Arboe and Hansen 2009). To a certain extent the new housing areas to the South and West of Copenhagen have, since the 1980s, seen a new development when immigrants settled there in numbers. They became the locus of the multiethnolect or polylingual practices of the young generation (Møller and Quist 2003; Møller 2009).

Denmark as a post-industrialist information society: Language use as a contextually sensitive practice

Increasingly, Denmark is becoming a post-industrialist information society where traditional industry is of less importance. The service industry has grown to become the most important single sector. Concomitantly, a rapidly growing public sector has taken over the care of children, during working hours, and the elderly, thus emptying the traditional family of some of its duties and functions. This has made it possible for Danish women to participate in the work force in unprecedented numbers. The effects as to linguistic development may hypothetically be stated to be more pressure to align with peers, perhaps creating lasting bonds within each, closely delimited, generation.

In general one might speculate that the contemporary individual lives in more fragmented spheres than was the case in both the rural and the industrial economy. Education has grown to become mandatory for 9 years and most young people study for at least 12, often in the late teen years combining studies with unskilled jobs in the service sector. During those years they are constantly and, through the use of mobile phones and the net, increasingly communicating with peers and only in institutionalised settings with adults, except when they join their families. Thus access to grown-up linguistic norms is mainly through instruction. This may be seen as a breeding ground for the development of context specific linguistic competences where the generation is both norm-setting and maintaining these norms.

The service-based industry (e.g. tourism, transportation, communication) is part of a global division of labour. This has led to debates on the most efficient way to equip Danes for a globalised present and future. One of the central language debates concerns the use of English in the Danish educational system and this relates closely to this development of the Danish economic base (more in section on internationalism below).

Developments within the media sector first saw Danish state radio become a powerful influence and then national TV channels. Media researchers identify radio as the central medium in the period 1920 to 1960 and the national TV channels as the emblem of media until satellites began transmitting a broad selection of TV channels, including a number of foreign language channels such as CNN, ZDF during the 1980s. From then on, the range of TV-channels available to anybody in Denmark is a question of how much you are willing to pay (Jensen 1997). Finally, the internet has become a very powerful source of news. Obviously, the internet is multi-modal making messages in written, audio-recorded and audio-visual form available to the public.

Danish media do not dub, but use subtitles instead. This means that English (or any other language spoken in the original product) is present whenever you turn on your TV. Since all the popular series are English-speaking, this has led to almost universal access to (in particular American) English in the Danish speech community. You may learn (some version of) English this way. Virtually all Danes are, to some extent, at least receptively bilingual.

English is thus universally present in the Danish speech community. But, in particular in the cities, so are a number of ‘new’ immigrant languages such as Turkish, (dialects of) Arabic, Kurdic, Pashto, Vietnamese, etc. This has created a need for an approach to linguistic studies which encompasses the resulting multilingual competence instead of focusing on one language, be it the first, second or third of the individual studied. Jørgensen has developed a theory of 'languaging' to fit this need (Jørgensen 2010; Møller and Jørgensen 2009).

LINGUISTIC DEVELOPMENT

The homogeneous writing community: The creation of a national norm for writing

The history of Danish orthography has two focus points, both of them before the 20^{th} century. The advent of printing and the religious Reformation both created a need for translation and a reading public for religious and pious literature in Danish. The main figure here was Christiern Pedersen, a humanist of European stature (Haastrup 1971). Pedersen's orthography was consistent and he was a prolific writer/translator (Skautrup 1947: 176).

The second focus point is the publication of Rasmus Rask's treatise on Danish orthography in 1826. This is a perceptive and lucidly written scientific treatise on the subject which had until then attracted the attention of numerous dilettantes. The superior analysis and the practical solutions led to the adoption, at the end of the century, of an official orthography based largely on Rask's principles. The story is documented in Skautrup (1953: 161–180) and detailed in Jacobsen (2010). Changes in this orthography have been slight or minimal since the official endorsement of (a version of) it in 1888 (Jacobsen 2010), maybe because any change seems to lead to fierce controversies in the public (Kristiansen 2003a).

Since 1888, then, there has been an official norm, since 1955 administered by the Danish Language Board, an institution regulated by law and placed in the Ministry of Culture. The Language Board collaborates with other such language planning organs in the Nordic countries and in Europe (through EFNIL, European Federation of National Institutions for Language, an association created in 2003, cf. www.efnil.org). The norm administered by the Language Board is in principle binding for all writing within the institutions making up the Danish state. Obviously, the law does not cover the press or Danish literature.

Since the Danish orthography ranks with English orthographies as being at a large distance from the spoken language, the inculcation of the national norm of the written language looms large in schools and studies of mistakes are not rare (Undervisningsministeriet 2002; Schack and Jervelund 2010; cf. Jervelund 2007 for a useful survey). Such investigations regularly fuel debates on why schools fail so miserably in this respect (as well as in many others, it is claimed). Proposals for orthographic reforms exist (Olander 2002; Gregersen 2007) but are not taken seriously. On the reasons for this see Kristiansen 2003b.

The distance from speech may also be important in other respects. Ideologically, the written language is the backbone of the nation state and many Danes believe that the orthography pictures the best pronunciation of Danish. This may be one of the reasons why Danes in general do not appreciate Danish. Studies by Kristiansen (2004) show that many Danes agree with the Swedes in seeing Swedish as a more beautiful language than Danish. Arguably, this lack of language loyalty may be one of the reasons why Danes so quickly abandon their first language and change to English whenever they meet a stranger that does not speak perfect Danish.

The homogeneous speech community: Dialect levelling in Denmark

Dialect levelling has been studied intensely in Denmark and its outlines are quite well understood (Brink and Lund 1975; Kristensen 2003; Pedersen 2003; Kristiansen and Jørgensen 2003). Emanating from Copenhagen – the only metropolis in the country, the seat of parliament and the central cultural institutions, including the oldest (and until 1928 the only) university in Denmark – the standardised language gradually became eminently victorious throughout the country. The situation may be characterised in brief by stating that only such variation as already exists in Copenhagen is found everywhere. This, however, should not be taken as an indication that it is impossible for Danes to place each other in geographical space by listening to each other's language. Clear intonational differences (Grønnum 1991, 1992) place informants squarely in extended regions such as Jutland, the Funen and southern Isles area, Zealand outside Copenhagen, and finally Bornholm. Altogether, the demise of the traditional dialects is a fact since they are not transmitted to the younger generation.

IDEOLOGIES AND THE DANISH LANGUAGE IN THE 20TH CENTURY

There are at least three *general ideologies* which have shaped the Danish linguistic landscape: *Nationalism*, its counterpart *internationalism*, and *liberalism*. These three general ideologies have their origin in the political field but all of them have been influential as frames for language interventions. In addition, two *linguistic ideologies* – based on the research practices of structuralist linguistics and sociolinguistics respectively – have been forged and used as weapons in the battle for hegemony: *functionalism* and *variationism*.

Nationalism

Having its origin in Herder's revolutionary concept of the ethnic nexus of *Volk*, language and literature, the 19th century cultivated the literary past of the European languages in order to invest ethnic identity with a historical resonance. The Danish scholars of the first historicist epoch, Rasmus Rask (1787–1832) and Niels Matthias Petersen (1791–1862), created a national philology focused on common Northern origins in the shape of Old Norse literature and equating this in significance with classical literature – or even hoping for a substitution of the classical canon with a Norse one. They did not succeed and the classical Latin and Greek curriculum remained the backbone of higher education for the entire 19th century. Obviously, there would be severe limits to the nationalism of an educational system which based itself on the classics and thus stayed in touch with the pan-European tradition. Yet, slowly but surely, the national language fought its way into all the domains where the all-European Latin had reigned supreme (Ruus 2005). The last domain was that of university degrees in philosophy which gave up the demand for Latin on the occasion of Søren Kierkegaard's thesis on Irony, 1841. What remains today of the previous Latin domains is found in medical and pharmaceutical terminology.

At the turn of the century, in the wake of the great change in the political system where the parliamentary principle was instated as a basic rule, the entire educational system and in particular the gymnasial system was reformed (Skovgaard-Petersen 1976). The traditional classics-based curriculum was given up and the subject of Danish language and literature was institutionalised as the most important one, at least in terms of what the Germans refer to as *Bildung* (Mortensen 1979). Thus the truly nationalistic period in Danish cultural history is the first half of the 20th century, from the break with the classical tradition in 1903 until post-war American influence changed the picture completely.

Yet this period builds on the foundations erected during the idealist historicist epoch. This research established Danish literature as the emblem of the national spirit (Conrad 1996, 2006). The idealist romanticist notion of the artist as the epitome of the national spirit, viewing ideas hidden from the populace, conspired with the educational cultivation of 'Golden age' poetry of e.g. Adam Oehlenschläger as the royal road to insights to create an idea of the literary language as embodying the nation. This idea is still active in Danish language politics and has recently led to a more or less forced agreement of cooperation between the Language Board and the Danish Academy (of prominent authors and critics). More importantly, this development has barred the spoken lects of the people (i.e. the dialects) from attaining the status of national treasures, a status they arguably have in e.g. Norway. On the whole the Danish educational system is focused on reading and writing and not on listening and speaking.

Nationalism has two sides to it. On the one hand, nationalism is a liberation ideology creating equality between all citizens in a given region. This is the origin of bourgeois nationalism which arose as a forceful answer to the demands of nobility on power and privilege. On the other hand, by the same token, national equality is dependent on national birthrights acquired or achieved. This means that nationalism does not only include, it also excludes. Recent Danish politics has witnessed an aggressive nationalism denying the rights of immigrants until they have become fully assimilated both culturally and linguistically. Language is seen as one of the essential battle fields (Jørgensen 2003) and nationalism is invoked as a 'natural' defense against being 'overrun' by non-Danish or even 'un-Danish' cultures.

Internationalism

The Danish socialists very soon gave up the internationalist position so typical of e.g. the Swedish Social Democrats, and the Social Democrats, by far the largest of the Danish socialist parties, early became a nationalist party. Internationalism has however reasserted itself in recent years in a new guise: The integration of Danish society into a globalised economy makes it necessary to attain perfect bilingualism, i.e. in Danish and English, it is maintained.

There is a special focus on the universities. Universities participate in a global competition for the best brains within the various fields of science (the more so, the more the field is internationalised, i.e. more in the sciences than in the humanities) and at the same time furnish the local community with specialists. The first function makes teaching in English an asset, the second one makes teaching in English at best a problem. The dual function of most universities creates tension as employees try their hands (and voices) at teaching in English and as students experience trouble in expressing themselves in class when forced to change to a second language.

Finally, the sheer dominance of English at Danish universities threatens to dwarf the numbers of students and researchers who want to study other languages such as Portuguese, Spanish and Chinese, not to speak of the traditional second or third languages in Danish higher education, viz. German and French (Verstraete Hansen 2010).

Liberalism vs. state intervention

Advocates among the linguistics community have from one point of departure concluded that an active language policy was needed to modify market forces (e.g. Haberland 2010; Phillipson 2010). Nationalist politicians have reached the same conclusion, but from a different point of departure. Thus, strange bedfellows have united in proposals to regulate the use of Danish and English in the educational system. One particularly interesting notion is that of parallel language use, adopted by the Nordic expert group on language policy and used as a key word in the Declaration on a Nordic Language Policy (Declaration 2006). It remains to be seen whether the parallel use of Danish and English in the university system is more than a temporary phase. Strict parallelism would mean modifying market forces such that non-Danish-speaking employees, so-called international employees, would be taught Danish, just as Danish-speaking university employees would be taught English, both course types presumably focusing primarily on language for academic purposes. The reigning ideology in matters of language policy, i.e. domain planning, status planning, is however, a version of liberalism, either denying the very possibility of regulating the course of linguistic development or denouncing it as superfluous or even detrimental.

Functionalism

By linguistic functionalism I mean the following argument: The standard language is functional in that it does not burden communication with unnecessary, or even superfluous, information about the speaker/writer, e.g. about his or her social background and/or psychological make up at the time of locution. Hence, every functionally inclined linguist must defend the standard language and contribute to its growth and influence. Various versions of this tenet may be attributed to Paul Diderichsen (1968) and Erik Hansen (2006: 114f.), two of the most influential Danish linguists in the second half of the 20th century. It is obviously connected to structuralism and in particular to the weeding out of cognitively irrelevant variation within phonology. Only semantic differences which could result in differences in reference mattered. The rest was not silence, but noise.

Variationism

Opposing this version of structuralist functionalism, a number of linguists have articulated a variationist ideology stressing the importance precisely of all the information that was suppressed by structuralist functionalism. The variationists take as a point of departure the intimate connection between linguistic practice and the social identity of the speaker. This is connected to the idea of identifying the intentional speaker as the central agent (Jørgensen 2010; Madsen 2008, Møller 2009) while others side with Penelope Eckert's third wave sociolinguistics in placing the speaker in a community of practice (Maegaard 2007; Quist 2005), or rather argue the case from a social psychological point of departure, stressing the notion of group identity and social values (Kristiansen 2010; Maegaard 2005). What unites these scholars is a keen interest in interpreting all speaker meanings as projections of social identity.

Jørgensen has consistently pointed to the linguistic competence of the young second- or third-generation of original immigrants to Denmark in contrast to the prevalent deficit conception of such speakers. He and his co-workers have documented, particularly in the Køge project, how these speakers are able to navigate efficiently using whatever linguistic items are available to speaker and audience. Since these linguistic items do not belong to any one system of national languages, the term polylingual languaging has been coined in referring to the urban youth practice of using mainly Turkish, Danish and English linguistic items and structures.

Quist (2005) introduced the broader notion of style adopted by the third wave of sociolinguistics (Eckert 2001, forthcoming) combining a number of *in situ* social psychological as well as semiotic characteristics (e.g. screen savers and dress code) in clusters, and showing that these stylistic clusters were fruitful in predicting the linguistic pattern of variables among different groups. Quist and others have used this notion of style to argue that diversity should be embraced rather than rejected.

Kristiansen has pioneered the study of language attitudes in Denmark by forging a paradigm that investigates overt vs. covert – or consciously vs. subconsciously offered – language attitudes. Conscious attitudes are tapped when the informant realizes that s/he is presented with a linguistic stimulus, whereas subconscious attitudes are revealed when informants do not realize that they are participating in an experiment involving language. The contrast between the two ideological 'levels' is substantial and is found consistently among adolescents all over Denmark. In conscious evaluations, local dialects are treated more positively than Copenhagen speech, while in subconscious evaluations even the slightest touch of local colouring provokes a strong downgrading in comparison with Copenhagen speech (Kristiansen 2009). Kristiansen argues that consciously offered attitudes reproduce the 'official' (publicly available) discourse, whereas subconsciously offered attitudes tally well with the standardisation process which has all but eradicated the local speech forms and certainly not furthered their use. It will be exciting to follow the work carried out in the SLICE framework and see whether the same relationship between ideology and use is unique to Denmark (Denmark as an exception) or rather may be found all over (Denmark as the first example of the rule).

Variationist ideology is firmly based on research, although this is not to say that this research is ideologically conceived. But I would like to persuade the reader that the variationist research programme has ideological *implications*, and that it should be supported and developed as a contribution to changing the linguistic climate so that the Danish society will move in a direction different from the one it has followed to date: Towards more tolerance not less, more variation not less, and more lects not less.

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English in England and Wales: Multiple ideologies[1]

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We begin with a brief summary of some historical factors influencing the standardising of English, then go on to discuss the diversity of Englishes in England and Wales[2] in descriptive, attitudinal and ideological terms. In doing this, we consider social change and globalisation, and the ways in which these are impacting on language ideologies as English is increasingly used in new social spaces.

SOME HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

British English has been the object of repeated and committed standardising initiatives over many centuries, and in that sense it might be described as the most thoroughly standardised of all linguistic varieties. A written standard for British English is firmly in place, at least in traditional domains and genres such as published novels and 'serious' newspapers. But spoken English in Britain retains very considerable diversity, and linguists continue to debate which linguistic features should and should not be considered 'standard', and indeed whether a spoken standard exists (see, for example, chapters in Bex and Watts 1999).

The term 'Standard English' first came to be used in the 19th century, according to Leith and Graddol (2007: 110), when 'linguistic correctness' in written and spoken English was seen as a mark of education. Compulsory state education, introduced in the 1870s, aimed to instruct in 'Standard English', and discourage 'local dialects'. Even so, processes of both standardisation (i.e. through formal intervention) and focusing (i.e. norms emerging from close daily interaction, educational systems, powerful models of usage, and senses of group identity – see Le Page and Tabouret-Keller 1985) had long been present in English, certainly from Caxton's introduction of printing in the 1470s.

Caxton's selection of the East Midland dialect (incorporating Oxford, Cambridge and London) was a significant step in the standardising of English. It meant other dialects tended not to be printed, and so this usage took on the position of a national norm. Since printing allowed a great number of people throughout England to read the same text, and more so when newspapers were introduced in the 18th century, norms were also being consolidated at the level of daily interaction. This focusing also contributed to imaginings of a 'national' community (Leith and Graddol 2007: 106) – even though the status of England as a singular nation is sometimes questioned and Britain has always been a multi-national polity. Leith and Graddol also refer to the importance of the Renaissance view that language should be shaped for a 'national' purpose, and of the Reformation and spread of Protestantism. Henry VIII's declaring himself head of the English church in 1534, and the conflict of that historical period, doubtless also led to more linguistic focusing stemming from the sense of an external threat and an identity-promoting national cause. For the Puritans coming to prominence in the English Civil War (1642–1651), putting English before Latin meant a view of English as a national language 'uniting *all* English people in the eyes of God' (Leith and Graddol 1996: 153).

[1] We are very grateful to Janus Mortensen for his contributions.

[2] We limit ourselves to England and Wales in this chapter, since we have most familiarity with these parts of Britain. We expect, though, that many of the themes we address in relation to the English language in England and Wales will be also relevant to Scotland (but see Johnston 2007; Macafee 1997).

Later, 18th century writers such as Swift sought to shore up English against change and variation to shield it from charges of 'barbarism', in part through the construction of dictionaries and grammars, with Swift writing that he wanted to bring English 'to a certain standard' (Crowley 1989: 93). Nevalainen (2003), moreover, points to a subsequent progressive hardening of attitudes to violations of linguistic purity. While 18th century attitudes to such violations were 'simply disapproving', or pointed to 'some more or less elusive qualities of decorum', in the 19th century they were more closely aligned with the absence of 'moral and religious rectitude' (:144).

Historically, there have been centrifugal as well as centripetal forces at work however. The Puritans' interest in promoting English as a national language in the 17th century was certainly compatible with an interest in regional dialects, and they would themselves have spoken them. Leith and Graddol (1996: 153) refer to Puritan John Ray's collection of dialect words in 1674, for instance. This was very much a feature of the route to 'uniting *all* people in the eyes of God' (*ibid.*). They also point to the growing literature in dialects from the 1840s, the printing of literature by local publishers in northern England, often authored by self-educated factory workers, and, by the 1850s, local newspapers in northern industrial cities. Much of this literature shows strong opposition towards the south-east of England (Leith and Graddol 2007: 111). Deumert and Vandenbussche (2003) make a distinction between 'standard languages' and 'language standards', the latter being 'focused' varieties which lack the overt codification of standard languages, tend to be linguistically more variable, but constitute collective norms towards which people can orient in their own usage (:456). Pointing to research by Schiffman on cinema, radio and television productions, they note that language standards seem more strongly situated in popular culture (:459).

Building on Milroy and Milroy's (1991) claim that spoken language can never be fully standardised, we take the view that standardisation is a process of ideological struggle, which makes us sceptical of reifying and essentialising concepts such as 'standard English'. Whether scare-quoted or not, standard English is best seen as an ideological ascription (Coupland 2002, 2009) rather than as a bounded variety. This is partly because of inconsistencies in how the term 'standard' is intended and interpreted, partly because many aspects of linguistic communication are not standardisable, and partly because pressures on what might be judged to be 'good spoken usage' come from different normative centres and impact on different domains or genres.

DIALECT DISTRIBUTIONS

Around the end of the 19th century, some dialectologists saw traditional dialects fading, with more developed communications and more widespread education, although they did not necessarily presume their disappearance or that new varieties would not emerge (e.g. Skeat 1962 [1912]). Moving to the main period of focus of this chapter – i.e. the 1960s onwards, as the period generally associated with late-modernity – we see a parallel (and consensual) view that dialect diversity in Britain is diminishing (see below). Nevertheless, many varieties (which are, once again, idealised groupings more than neatly bounded varieties) are able to index locality and social status very powerfully, particularly at the level of phonology.

In England, there continues to be a relatively robust pattern separating 'northern' from 'southern' varieties (Foulkes and Docherty 2007), principally indexed by vocalic alternations in the STRUT and BATH lexical sets (meaning that words like *strut, but* and *up* generally have [ʊ] in the north but [ʌ] in the south, and that words like *bath*, *photograph* generally have a short vowel in the north and a long vowel in the south). The southern patterns are taken to form part of Received Pronunciation (RP) – held to be the idealised middle class pronunciation norm for England. The major northern conurbations are distinguished, at least for vernacular speakers, through pronunciation patterns, meaning that each of Liverpool, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Manchester, Leeds and other cities has a distinctive vernacular speech-style. These vernaculars are socially enregistered to different extents (Agha 2007), for example in that 'Scouse' and 'Geordie' are socially entrenched popular nicknames for the socially familiar Liverpool and Newcastle speech and (stereotyped) cultural types. 'Brummie' similarly refers to Birmingham in the English Midlands, and Midlands speech, while again regionally distinctive, patterns more with the northern than with the southern idealised category.

In southern England 'Cockney' refers to the vernacular variety and cultural type traditionally associated with London, the capital city, although current studies show that the social meaning of 'Cockney' can be far more particular than this (Rampton 2006) and does not even represent the contemporary mainstream speech-style of the inner city, which is subject to significant multi-ethnic influences (Cheshire *et al*. 2011). A large area in the south-west of England (Cornwall, Devon, Dorset, Somerset, Gloucester, Bristol, Hereford, Wiltshire) is still characterised by rhotic speech, again subject to familiar constraints of social class and social context. East Anglia is the location of another distinctive English variety currently undergoing change under specific influences from London speech and so-called 'Estuary English' (Britain 2005; Kerswill 2007: 49–51).

English is the majority language of Wales; only one person in five is reported in census data to speak Welsh (see Robert, this volume). As in England, vernacular varieties of spoken English in Wales index region and have more specific social indexicalities too. Our own research identified at least five accent-zones in Wales that are identifiable and socially meaningful to non-linguists: Cardiff and the south-east conurbations, Valleys, the (rural) south-west, north Wales and south Pembrokeshire (see Garrett *et al*., 2003). Outside of the south-east there tends to be a less clear pattern of sociolinguistic stratification in Wales (as in Scotland), meaning that middle-class speakers tend *not* to speak RP. This reflects the fact that Welsh-accented English speech in Wales indexes national identity and, for many, the display of a degree of national pride (we give more details below), rather than lower social class.

Structured variation in pronunciation styles across England and Wales fall within the remit of 'standard English' disputes because (as we see below) they are subject to social evaluation in a host of dimensions which include judgements of adequacy and properness. Trudgill (1999), on the other hand, takes the view that standard English 'is not an accent'; it is a social dialect, used by only 12–15% of the population, that can be spoken through a range of accents and contains stylistic/ formality-linked variation within it. Summarising this general position and following Trudgill, Kerswill (2007: 43) points to four particular grammatical features (among others) that can be considered 'idiosyncracies' of standard English, from which vernacular spoken usage often deviates (and may then be considered 'non-standard', even though 'less idiosyncratic'). These are (i) not distinguishing between auxiliary and main verb forms of 'do' (leading to vernacular *I done it*); (ii) avoiding double-negation (*I don't want none*); (iii) irregular reflexives, not based on possessive pronouns (*hisself*); (iv) distinguishing between preterite and past participles of many verbs (*I seen her*, *I done it*). Social judgements of 'dialects', however, are unlikely to follow linguists' distinctions between accent and dialect.

ATTITUDES

Language attitudes studies reflect some of the above diversity, but there is nevertheless a dearth of large-scale studies of attitudes to speech varieties in Britain. Giles (1970) stands out as a study of regional and foreign accented Englishes, but respondents were schoolchildren from Bristol and neighbouring Cardiff. A more recent web-based study, part of the BBC's *Voices* initiative in 2004 (Coupland and Bishop 2007), drew its data from a broader demography and included more (34) varieties – http://www.bbc.co.uk/voices/. A significant finding of the *Voices* study is that the prestige position of standard British English – taken to refer to RP

– remains largely unchanged from Giles' (1970) findings, and both studies found a considerable gap between the prestige level attributed to standard compared to most other varieties, and that it is also afforded high social attractiveness.

Other *Voices* findings are also of interest here. Firstly, younger and older respondents differed in attitudes. The younger were less positive towards (what was labelled) Standard English, affording it less prestige, and they saw Afro-Caribbean, Belfast and Glasgow English as more attractive than older respondents did. So there are at least suggestions of ideological shift over time. Secondly, respondents of all ages judged 'an accent identical to your own', along with Southern Irish English, Scottish English and Edinburgh English higher in social attractiveness than an elite variety labelled 'Queen's English', also perhaps indicating an ideological shift in favour of regional varieties. Thirdly, there were regional differences. For example, respondents in Wales awarded more prestige to Welsh English than did other groups. Fourthly, the *Voices* study assessed respondents' attitudes towards linguistic diversity, and found that those who said they were well-disposed to diversity gave higher prestige and social attractiveness ratings to accents. The method used in the *Voices* study (with varieties presented as labels rather than audio-recordings) meant it could not capture how language attitudes might operate in different ways across different contexts. This lack of contextualisation means that the findings are likely to reflect more the broad language ideological structures that constitute a backdrop to accent encounters in Britain today (Coupland and Bishop 2007). We return to this below.

Language attitudes research in Wales has been more extensive, employing more diverse methods across all of Wales. In our own work (see Garrett *et al*. 2003), we found teachers (also given variety labels) giving RP an evaluative profile of high prestige but low in everything else that we measured (e.g. dynamism, pleasantness). The English associated with south-west Wales was also seen as high in status (though less than RP) but high too on all other variables, including Welshness. The result is interpretable as a somewhat grudging acknowledgement of RP's social position, but with support for a more 'indigenous' variety as a Welsh 'regional standard' (Edwards and Jacobsen 1987). Our data from teenage school students (this time using audio-recordings of speakers of the varieties) also portrayed RP as the 'voice of success', but 'not our voice', as if demonstrating knowledge of but not endorsement or approval of its societal status. Such studies show that it is possible to elicit responses that show awareness of RP and Standard English as the most prestigious variety, but not without significant qualifications, suggesting that more studies are needed, and that we should not assume language ideological homogeneity across British society

DIALECT LEVELLING, (DE)STANDARDISATION AND LANGUAGE IDEOLOGY

Descriptive studies point to selective processes of what we might call de-vernacularisation through levelling (e.g. when Geordie youngsters seem to 'prefer' an attenuated regional voice – see Watt 2002) and diffusion (e.g. specific London features spreading to other vernaculars – see Stuart-Smith, this volume). Such processes are not clearly either 'standardisation' or 'destandardisation'. As we suggested earlier, 'standard' and 'vernacular' are not coherent descriptive labels, but ideological ascriptions. For example, we cannot be sure whether people adopting diffused forms are motivated by any sense of 'gaining a local vernacular' or of 'losing a pre-existing vernacular'. The ideological loadings of levelling and diffusion often remain unclear.

More importantly, we feel the need to identify *different* ideologies that have perhaps been confused under the rubrics of both 'standard English' and 'standard language ideology' (SLI). So, for example, SLI is not only a matter of 'intolerance of optional variability in language' (Milroy and Milroy 1991: 26); it is intolerance of some sorts of usage, in specific contexts, on specific grounds; and it validates other sorts of usage, in specific contexts, also on specific grounds. Milroy and Milroy (1999) appear to us, in or own extrapolation, to be modelling SLI as being:

- conservative, reactionary, anti-progressive
- elite, based on class-linked privilege
- purist, seeking to cleanse or supplant 'sloppy' or 'loose' usage
- myopic about its class basis
- naïve in interpreting 'bad' usage as low competence, awareness and education

This is a very specific (and very punitive) ideological cluster. We can call it *Establishment SLI*, the top-down ideology of standard language located in 'the British Establishment' of the early and mid 20th century (see Coupland 2009).

For some segments of the British population and under some conditions of inquiry, Establishment SLI remains mainly intact and fairly solid. The results of the *Voices* study certainly appear to reflect the functioning of Establishment SLI at a general level. Hierarchical patterns of social evaluation of regional varieties are easy to detect, presumably by triggering conservative ideological discourses about 'good' and 'bad' (prestige) and 'nice' and 'ugly' (social attractiveness) ways of speaking. So, in this ideological frame, there is strong stigma still attaching to particular urban vernaculars in England (and to some extent to Cardiff speech too). We would expect this pattern of judgement to be linked to class paradigms, where values such as 'common' (in its pejorative sense), 'unsophisticated', 'uncultured', etc. are ascribed to some urban vernaculars. In this ideological mind-set, people can find considerable positivity (prestige and attractiveness, at least) in varieties labelled 'Standard English', as we saw above.

However, there is some evidence, and plenty of anecdotal support, for the view that Establishment SLI is being:

(a) eroded by fundamental social changes affecting social class and regionalisation in Britain, and quite generally by social changes associated with globalisation
(b) undermined and rendered less credible in some of its traditional institutional enclaves
(c) actively opposed by quite different language-ideological formations working through particular genres and social situations, particularly those linked to popular culture and mass media
(d) relativised by the emergence of new footings for personal self-presentation and spoken performance, and new ways of contextualising voice in many salient contexts.

As a result, we might expect that *new* SLIs are emerging, for example where 'standard' ceases to entail 'correct and cultured usage' or 'maintaining standards' (the imperative articulated by Lord Reith in the early life of the BBC – see Mugglestone 1995) and comes to entail 'ordinary acceptable usage' (as in the phrase 'standard practice'), or 'usage agreed as fit for purpose in this particular discursive niche'. We might call these *Positively Normative Language Ideologies* (PNLIs), and see them more in terms of 'recommendations' than 'hegemonic rules', and as more locally applicable, and so perhaps as closer ideologically to Deumert and Vandenbossche's (2003) 'language standards' than 'standard languages'.

THE OPENING UP OF NATIONAL BOUNDARIES

Another important part of social change in Britain is the increasing permeability of national territories, and large-scale mobility. This mobility is not only of people physically travelling (Kerswill 2007), but also of images and information, communicative formats and genres (most obviously of film, television and print media), values and ideologies. Our view is that social change is a far swifter and less predictable dimension of what we should call 'sociolinguistic change' than language change itself. Linguistic varieties may be *relatively* unchanging over time-spans of a few decades, while social and ideological change can be dramatic within those same time-frames.

The effects of such permeability on standard language ideology have to be considered. The socio-political landscape of the early 21st century looks quite different from the one that fostered the strong European SLIs in the 19th and 20th centuries. In the case of English and Britain, the full picture is hardly captured if we only consider the processes of (de)standardisation within the British borders. Establishment SLI has impacted over a much larger geographical area, and the varieties endorsed by SLI are similarly not confined to Britain (see next paragraph). Permeable boundaries mean stronger incursions by exo-normative language varieties and values, some originating in other Englishes. This development interacts with a complex sociolinguistic politics of race within Britain – Afro-Caribbean influenced varieties having a cachet of 'cool' for some, but Asian-influenced varieties of English still being stigmatised in different ways. We need to understand more about how exo-normative language styles and their associated older and newer language ideologies (especially related to ethnicity) interface with endo-normative patterns (related to class).

MULTIPLE SLIS

English as a world language certainly functions as a conduit for influences into Britain from the USA, but also elsewhere. Globalisation – mobility and the increasing global reach of mass media (see chapters in Coupland 2010) – has exposed Britain to alternative SLIs of English. This supranational sociolinguistic context militates against the view of SLI in Britain being a top-down intolerance of variation in (class-related and presumably therefore indigenous) English. How do these different 'standard Englishes' stand up to each other, ideologically and evaluatively?

Attitudinal studies of world Englishes in the 1970s and 1980s suggested that, despite Britain's diminishing role in the world over many decades, RP was still attributed considerable prestige in the USA, Australia and NZ, for example, compared to their own Englishes. In 2001, Bayard *et al*. reported findings from their quantitative data from Australia, New Zealand and the USA indicating that this comparative international position of RP might be on the wane. Subsequent open-ended data in Garrett *et al*. (2005), however, still suggested a picture of high international prestige for RP amongst respondents from the same three countries. Such differences in findings may of course arise from some methodological approaches more readily tapping into ongoing attitudinal change, and others into ideologised values (see the discussion in Garrett *et al*. 2005 and in Coupland and Bishop 2007). Significantly here, though, the 2005 data painted a qualitatively differentiating view of these Englishes. British English, for example, was associated with authenticity (e.g. tradition and heritage) more than the Australian, New Zealand and US Englishes were.

What sorts of SLIs do these international views project in terms of Milroy and Milroy's SLI characteristics outlined above? The 2005 respondents awarded less prestige and social attractiveness at that time to US English, yet it is hard to assume that this evaluative profile can be taken as meaning that US English was not acknowledged at some level as a significant standard language by the respondents. British English was viewed as more conservative, linked to elites, pure, original etc (more in line with the SLI characteristics sketched above), and US English as freer, faster, more associated with the media, etc. Conceivably, then, here are two different global standards (cf. Kristiansen's 2001 findings for distinct Danish standard varieties for schools and media). So, for the English language at the international level, there appears to be ideological diversity across specific SLI formations. Most conspicuously, foreign learners of English have a pool of standard Englishes to choose from, with different ideological loadings (see e.g. Garrett 2009). Such images are undoubtedly reflected back at the English speakers of these respective countries, perhaps also shared by them. How do traditional uniformity-stressing views of SLI accommodate such multiplicity?

NEW CULTURAL CENTRES AND MODES FOR THE 'STANDARDISING' OF VERNACULARS

There are already several hints in sociolinguistic research that new social spaces are emerging in which specific vernaculars can be performed and be highly valued (in popular culture generally, including many TV formats). If we are to access these changes, the social contextualisation that has been missing in a great deal of attitudinal/ideological research (as mentioned earlier in relation to the *Voices* study) becomes much more important. While such contextualisation will allow fewer generalisations about the inherent values and indexicalities of varieties, we will learn more about how they are locally positioned in relation to specific uses, functions and formats. We might expect to see cases where old taxonomies associating (high) linguistic standardness with (high) prestige break down, for example if vernacular and 'non-standard' voice is portrayed accompanying prestigious and affluent people and demeanours, or if historically stigmatised social identities are inverted and attract respect in their new domains. Under these circumstances, the concepts of 'standard' and 'non-standard' become even less reliable as a simple conceptual pair.

Disputes about media voices in Britain for many decades forgrounded 'a complaint tradition', where, in line with establishment SLI, TV viewers, for example, might write letters to newspapers complaining that a newsreader had 'mis-pronounced a place-name' or 'had an unintelligible accent'. Some of this tradition persists. But it is clearly being offset by a tidal wave of non-RP-speaking TV and radio presenters and personalities filling out an ever-greater proportion of multi-channel digital media space. There are channels (e.g. Radio 1, the youth-inclined 'national' BBC popular music channel) and genres/formats (stand-up comedy, satirical quizzes) where the prospect of employing RP-speaking presenters would be laughable, other than in 'voicing', self-parodic roles. The outcomes of ideological contests around standard English in British media will in large measure depend on whether 'public language' comes to be defined in relation to demotic, socially commodifying, stylising, entertainment-focussed broadcasting, as opposed to the 'serious' and paternalistic formats that The British establishment formerly revered. A research focus on popular culture formats, allowing us to access how viewing populations engage with such shows and debate and evaluate language-ideological issues relevant to them, will be an important way forward in the further exploration of what has been and is happening with SLIs, and PNLIs, in English in England and Wales.

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De-standardisation in progress in Finnish society?

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A SHORT HISTORY OF STANDARD FINNISH

The Finnish written language is some 500 years old. The New Testament was translated into Finnish by the Bishop of Turku, Mikael Agricola (1510–1557) in 1548, and the entire Bible appeared in Finnish in 1642. The oldest book published in Finnish is Mikael Agricola's ABC-book *Abckiria* from 1543. The Old Literary Finnish in these books was strongly based on the western and south-western dialects.

For centuries until 1809, Finland was part of Sweden, and the language for administrative and public purposes was Swedish. Finnish was used as a language of the church and municipalities, and as the spoken language of the majority. During the 19th century, when Finland was under Russian rule (from 1809 to 1917), Finnish gradually developed into a literary and administrative language through a national awakening and a series of decisions made by the Russian Czar. In the process of establishing a cultural language suitable for all branches of society, the literary language was enriched with vocabulary, structures, and expressions of the eastern dialects. New words were created for various scientific and professional fields and practical purposes (see e.g. Hakulinen 1979; Häkkinen 1994, 2005). By 1900, Finnish was used in all domains of Finnish society, including newspapers and publications.

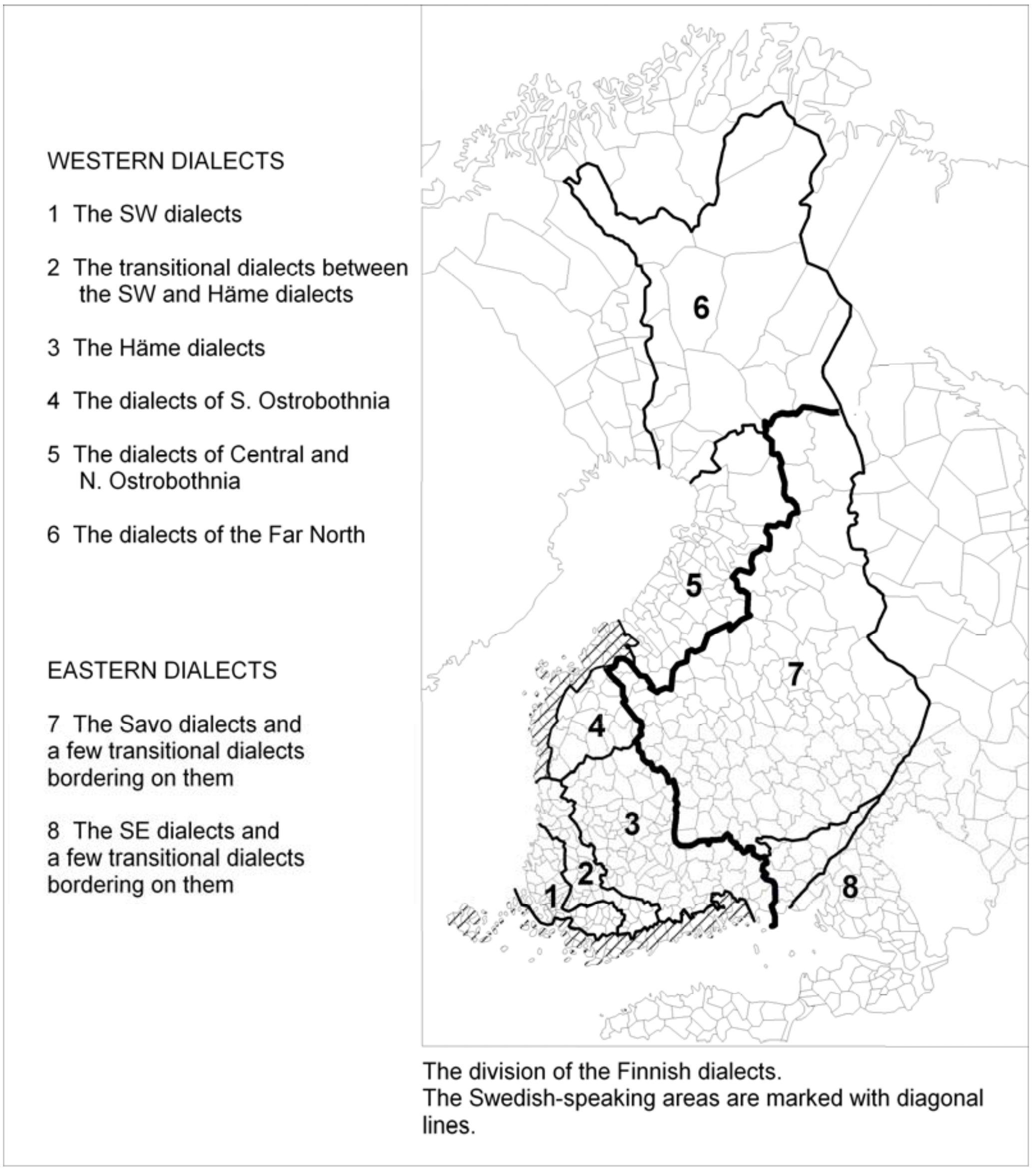
The status of Finnish as an official national language developed strongly during the 19th century and the early 20th century, while the status of Swedish weakened. After independence from the Russian rule in 1917, the language issue was resolved in the Constitution of 1919 and in the Language Act of 1922. The current law laying down the position of Finnish and Swedish as the national languages is the Language Act of 2003.

Finnish orthography and pronunciation are closer to each other than those of, for example, the Germanic languages. It means that each sound has a corresponding letter, and each letter relates to a particular sound, with only a few exceptions. Hence, almost throughout the 20th century, the prevalent notion about public standard speech was that the language of the media should be close to written Finnish; a 'speech-should-copy-writing' ideology was strong in Finnish public life.

CURRENT LINGUISTIC TRENDS IN FINNISH-SPEAKING FINLAND

The Finnish dialects are mostly intelligible to all Finnish-speaking people. Standard Finnish is mainly based on the western dialects, even though many eastern dialectal phonological and lexical items have been adopted in the standard language (the border between the main dialects is shown on Map 1).

During the past few decades, Finnish sociolinguistic variation has been studied by many scholars and students in both urban and rural areas (see e.g. Mielikäinen 1982; Paunonen 1995 [1982]; Nuolijärvi 1986, 1994; Juusela 1994; Makkonen and Mantila 1997; Nuolijärvi and Sorjonen 2005). The main phonological and morpho(-phono)logical differences corresponding to standard Finnish between the eastern and western dialects are presented in Table 1 (see e.g. Kettunen 1940). The fifth column shows the common recent variants in the densely populated southern and western areas of Finland, especially in the urban areas.



Map 1: Dialect divisions of Finnish.

The dialectal variants in Table 1 represent especially the former dialectal varieties in the Finnish countryside. During the past few decades the dialects have, to some extent, become more similar in terms of phonological and morphological features. A southern city variety includes more western variants, but there are also some variants adopted from the eastern dialects (or from the standard variety).

Standard spoken Finnish used to be the variety of educated people (Paunonen 1995 [1982]), and it still has a strong position in the public sphere, although various varieties of spoken Finnish are used by everyone even in public situations. In fact, standard Finnish as a whole has very seldom been the first variety of Finnish-speaking Finns, although everybody learns it early on. This has been possible because standard Finnish is based on dialects, and everybody can identify some features of their own dialects in the standard variety.

During the latter half of the 20th century, urbanisation changed the linguistic map of Finland. People moved from the countryside to the cities, especially to the (capital city) Helsinki region and other parts in southern Finland, where phonological and morphological variation increased (Nuolijärvi 1986, 1994). It has been claimed lately that differences between the standard speech variety and other spoken varieties have grown; yet at the same time we are faced with these questions: what is the standard, and how is it possibly changing?

Table 1: The main phonological and morpho(-phono)logical differences corresponding to Standard Finnish between the eastern and western dialects.

Feature	**Standard Finnish**	**Western dialects**	**Eastern dialects**	**Southern city variety**	**Gloss**
Opening of diphthongs	nuori	nuari, nuori	nuori	nuori, nuari	young
Forms correspond-ing to standard d	vuoden, meidän	vuaren (vuoren), meirän	vuojen, mei(j)än	vuoden, mei(j)än	year's, our
Forms correspond-ing to standard ts	metsä	mettä	mehtä, metsä	metsä	forest
Primary gemination	makaa	makaa, makkaa	makkaa	makaa	lies, rests
Reduction of diph-thongs	sauna	sauna	sa:una, saana	sauna	sauna
Past particle active	ollut	ollu	ollu, ollunna	ollu	been
Labialization	tulee	tuloo, tulee	tullee, tulloo	tulee	comes
Epenthetic vowel	kylmä	kylmä, kylymä	kylymä	kylmä	cold
First pers. sg. pro-noun	minä	mä(ä), mnä(ä), minä	minä, mie	mä	I
First pers. pl. pro-noun	me	me, met	myö	me	we
First pers. pl.	me menemme	me mennään, me menemme, me menemmä	myö männään	me mennään	we go
eA	kauhea	kauhee, kauhia	kauhee, kauhia, kauhii	kauhee	terrible

LINGUISTIC NORMS OF THE FINNISH MEDIA ON THE MOVE?

The first radio programme in Finland was broadcast in 1926, and regular television broadcasts were introduced in 1958. From the 1920s to the 1970s the variety used in the Finnish media programmes was mostly standard spoken Finnish. Radio programmes were oral presentations or formal interviews more often than free discussions. The rules governing the programme activities maintained that the language use by YLE (The Finnish Broadcasting Company) had an influence on common vocabulary and the mode of speaking. Therefore, moderators had to use good standard language. According to these rules, dialects, slang, or careless speech of any kind did not belong to the programmes directed at the whole population (Karttunen 1986).

Today, YLE operates four national television channels (one in Swedish) and six radio channels (two in Swedish), complemented by 25 regional radio programmes (www.yle.fi). According to the company's recent annual report, YLE's share of daily television viewing was 43.7%, and the share of radio listening stood at 52% in 2009. On a weekly basis, factual programmes reached up to 77 percent of the population; hence, YLE's role in Finnish life is remarkable (*YLE Annual report 2009*).

Media linguistic varieties have been widely discussed in public for the past 30 years. Today there are no prescriptive rules or official regulations for media language but unwritten norms about good language in the public domains naturally do exist. Paananen (1996) showed how older listeners typically preferred standard language while younger ones favoured more informal spoken language in various programme types. The regional background of listeners did not make a difference, but attitudes depended on the type of the radio programme and the age of the listener. There is no reason to believe that the situation would have changed remarkably from the 1990s, i.e. the majority of the listeners presumably still prefer to hear news readers and current affairs programme journalists speak standard language. However, we do lack up-to-date studies on attitudes towards the Finnish media speech and the perception of standard(s).

Other approaches to linguistic perceptions shed some light on the issue of potential norm changes. Recent folk-dialectological studies from different parts of Finland indicate, for example, that the capital Helsinki region is more often regarded as a centre of 'urban slang' than one of standard language, and the linguistic identity of the residents in the capital region seems ambivalent in terms of slang and standard identity. In the eyes of the population in rural Finland, this region is often negatively stereotyped and the people of the capital are regarded as *arrogant*, *conceited* and *unfriendly*. They, in turn, are well aware of the negative image of their local spoken variety (Mielikäinen and Palander 2002; Palander 2005, 2007; Vaattovaara and Soininen-Stojanov 2006).

Most of the spreading variants, however, diffuse from the capital region (a southern city variety), which raises questions of an apparent ambivalence in terms of different norm pressures or covert attitudes in society.

In his article on dialect and identity (2004) Mantila discusses young people's written Finnish. It has been indicated that regardless of young people's geographical origin, their written texts tend to contain colloquialisms and some widely spread dialect features, e.g., incongruence in the 1st person plural form *me mennään* pro *me menemme* 'we go', and vowel cluster assimilation *kauhee* pro *kauhea* 'terrible' (see Table 1). It seems that these widely spread(ing) features, which no longer attract attention across different spoken varieties, tend to go unnoticed more and more often even in written texts.

Sociolinguistic work carried out during the past forty years offers a perspective on (socio)linguistic change (for a general overview, see Mielikäinen 1982; Mantila 2004; Nuolijärvi and Sorjonen 2005). From the perceptual viewpoint there are many open questions, such as: What ideological forces are associated with ongoing linguistic changes? What are the perceived norms of spoken 'standard(s)' and how do these correspond to the traditional dialect division on the one hand, and to the written standard on the other?

In the following we will focus more closely on a phonetic feature showing a possible norm change in progress: the opening of diphthongs. This example shows one possible approach in which 'dialectological facts' are treated critically from an angle that allows a potential norm change to be observed.

FROM DIALECT TO SPOKEN STANDARD? THE CASE OF DIPHTHONG OPENING

The present example is derived from a study (Vaattovaara in preparation) which challenges the traditional view of 'dialectological space' and hence the traditional approach towards dialectal variation (Britain 2002, 2010; Johnstone 2004, 2010; Vaattovaara 2009). In her research project, *Helsinki as a semiotic landscape in the linguistic ideologies of Finns,* Vaattovaara elicited data from occasional visitors to the Science Center Heureka in Vantaa near Helsinki. The judges (ages ranging from 10 to 69) were asked to comment on short speech samples they heard from headphones. No maps, attitude rating scales or other tools were involved; just a simple question was asked after each sample: *Where can you hear talk like this, or who talks this way?*

The objective of this task was to gather perceptions on a variety of elements of speech in the Helsinki capital region. The samples were 5–8 second extracts from media talk and sociolinguistic interviews, and each of them was designed to elicit talk about the (presupposed) focus feature in the sample. The focus features were morphological, phonological or prosodic features, which were either (1) stereotypically associated with Helsinki speech (e.g. Palander 2005, 2007; Vaattovaara and Soininen-Stojanov 2006), or (2) features regarded as central elements of Helsinki speech by linguists. Some of these focus variables are, in fact, geographically more widely spread and have been studied thoroughly over the years within dialectological and sociolinguistic paradigms. The opening of diphthongs is one of those: it has been traditionally treated as a western dialect feature (Table 1), but it is also found and has been previously studied in the capital region.

Paunonen (1995 [1982]) has shown how variation in the diphthong opening in Helsinki speech is structured linguistically and socially in data collected in the 1970s (Fig. 1).

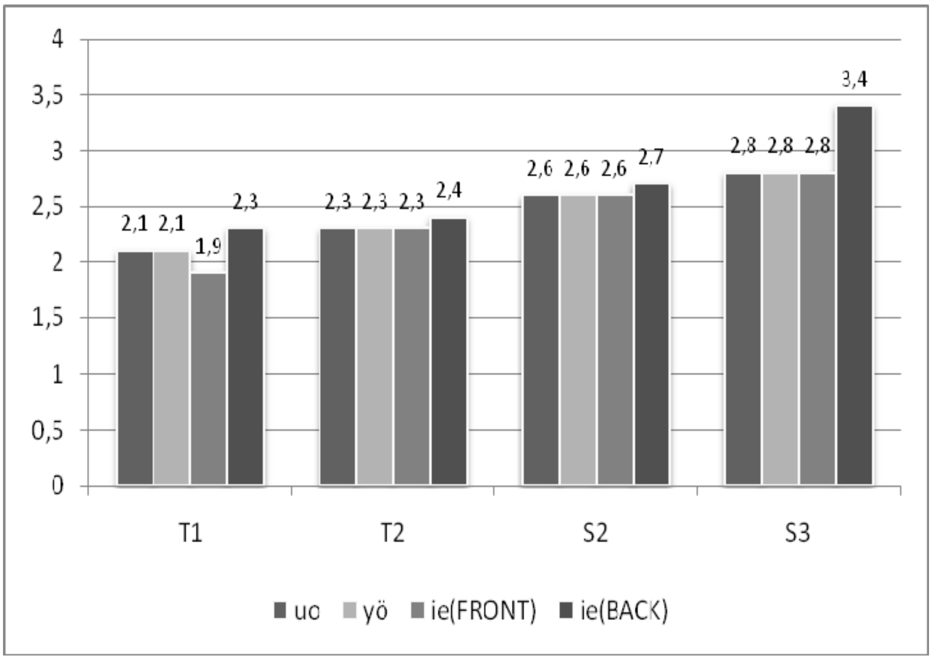


Figure 1: The degree of diphthong opening (0=no opening, 4=strong opening) in Helsinki speech in four social groups. T1=group with high-level academic education; T2=group of white collar workers with lower-level education; S2=educated working class; S1=working class with no professional education (source: Paunonen 1995 [1982]).

As Figure 1 indicates, the opening of diphthongs in the 1970s data is stronger in the speech of the lower socioeconomic groups (S2 and S3) than among the two academic groups (T1 and T2). The differences between these group categories are not great – the degree of opening varies overall between 1.9 to 3.4 within the possible range from 0 to 4 – but the differences are systematic: the lower the social status, the stronger the index of opening of the diphthongs. The prevalence of opening is slightly stronger in the diphtong *ie*, in the cases of back vowel harmony (for example ***tia***_to_ 'knowledge' versus ***tiä***_tää_ 'to know'), following the same social pattern.

Sociolinguistic literature has so far lacked knowledge on the social evaluation of the opening of diphthongs. On the basis of Paunonen's sociolinguistic study, it was expected that the opening of diphthongs might elicit comments including some kind of reference to working class or lower education, but this was not the case.

The judges heard three samples with 1–3 occurrences of the opening of diphthongs:

> *Voice 1*: Young male, strong opening of diphtongs *ie* > *iä* and *yö* > *yä* (*se tiäs miten yällä on helpompi syädä salaa* 'he knew how it is easier to eat at night without anyone seeing')
>
> *Voice 4*: Middle-aged male, weaker opening of the diphtong *ie* > *iä* (*se tiädettii et se tiä on paljo pitempi* 'we knew that this would be a much longer road to go')
>
> *Voice 10*: Older woman, weak opening of the diphtong *uo* > *ua* (*ne rehentelee valtavasti tualla* 'over there they usually hang out showing off ')

Whenever these voices were discussed in social terms, the speaker was often considered as a person having power of some kind: ‘well educated’, ‘someone in a high position, has power’, ‘more educated, maybe a politician’, ‘self-confident’, ‘somebody intellectual’, ‘a journalist or such’, ‘a politician, but relaxed’, ‘a government official’, ‘someone ambitious’ etc. Interestingly, none of the social placements referred to working class, but many considered the voice to be a radio voice, belonging to a journalist or a politician.

While in social terms all three voices elicited very similar comments, there were differences in geographical terms. Relatively many informants judged both the male voices (samples 1 and 4) to be from the Urban South or Helsinki, but voice 10 (an older woman with weak opening of the diphthongs) was never regarded as coming from this region. The stereotypical ‘urban southerner’ is obviously more likely to be a (young) male than an older woman, i.e. the age of the speaker presumably played a role in this task (see also Plichta and Preston 2005). It is essential to mention here that many judges had no idea where the voices were from. Furthermore, there was a lot of evidence that the opening of diphthongs (especially when the opening was strong) was easily confused with the *reduction* of diphthongs (*saana* ~ *sàuna* ‘sauna’), which is an *Eastern* dialect feature. It is not possible to discuss the details here, but according to this preliminary investigation, the opening of diphthongs would seem to be a relatively neutral feature for people in geographical terms – it is not associated with any of the old regional stereotypes (Mielikäinen and Palander 2002), which may give room for more general social connotations. Interestingly, the associations related to the opening of diphthongs – which in this data seem to be connected to (political or media-related) power – also represent in practice a distancing from the written standard (i.e. speech-should-copy-writing ideology).

There are several possible explanations why the social evaluations gathered in the 2009 data do not match the variation pattern of the 1970s data (Paunonen 1995 [1982]). First, it is possible that the judges who made inferences about social aspects of opening of the diphthong did not actually hear the opening, i.e. they could have been reacting to some other element in the stimulus sample than the diphthong opening when they regarded the speaker as ‘an intellectual’, ‘a politician’, etc. This, however, is not the strongest explanation, because the judges often repeated the word with the opened diphthong while they were figuring out their answer, i.e. there is quite a lot of evidence in the data that people can hear the non-standard diphthongs.

A better explanation is that the variation pattern of the diphthongs discovered back in the 1970s has no social value. Bearing in mind that essentialist correlation does not mean causation (e.g. Cameron 1997 [1990]; Eckert 2008), it is possible that the opening of the diphthong has never indexed working class identity. It is also possible that the association (the ‘first order indexicality’, see Silverstein 2003; Agha 2003) of this feature has changed since the 1970s. Since we lack a tradition of attitude surveys and measurements, we do not know how the opening of diphthongs was perceived 40 years ago. Nevertheless, from more recent conversation analytic studies we have learned that this feature used to be, for example, part of the Prime Minister’s very standard-like public speech style (e.g. Nuolijärvi and Tiittula 2000, 2001), and it can be heard constantly on different radio channels.

The present perceptual data give reason to believe that the opening of diphthongs is currently regarded as part of a public speech style, without being particularly associated with regional dialects or stereotypes, but rather with (media) power and a spoken standard or stylistic practice of some kind.

CONCLUSION

The perceptual landscape of Finnish has not triggered much interest among sociolinguists until recently, but it is evident that global changes of the media culture on both commercial and public channels have had an impact on the perceptual landscape of Finnish. Various registers and varieties are currently available to all through the (new) media in a way that might surprise us on the basis of earlier dialectological and sociolinguistic studies. The opening of diphthong variables discussed above is only one example of the phenomena which seem to be in a process of change in terms of standard perceptions. On the whole, we seem to be heading towards de-standardisation. In the future we will need to put more emphasis in the Finnish context both on the study of language variation in the media and the perceptual climate.

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Ideologies of standardisation: Finland Swedish and Swedish-language Finland

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HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

What is today Finland was an integral part of Sweden until 1809. At the time, in what was to become the Finnish part of Sweden-Finland, three major indigenous languages were used: Finnish, Swedish and Northern Sámi. In addition, there were a number of numerically smaller ethnic groups with their own languages in the area, among them the Skolt Sámi, the Inari Sámi, the Roma; and in the east, Russians and Karelians. In the mid-19th century, and especially after the general advent and spread of signed languages, the Deaf gradually also became accepted as a group.

In 1917 Finland declared its independence, and throughout its history of independence Finland has officially had two national languages, Finnish and Swedish; this is stated in the Finnish constitution. In 1995 three other groups and their languages were given constitutional status in Finland: the Sámi, the Roma, and the Deaf.

This overview is restricted to the history, present state and future of Swedish in Finland.[1]

Swedish speakers in Finland are today in a clear minority, and this has been so throughout the history of the nation. Depending on how one counts, less than 300,000 speakers, i.e. less than 6% of the population, has Swedish as their mother tongue.[2] The indigenous geographical areas populated by Swedish speakers in Finland are the coastal areas in the west (in Ostrobothnia, with Vaasa as the main town), in the south-west (the Åland Islands, and on the mainland to the south of the town of Turku), and in the south (to the west and east of Helsinki). In addition, there are other major towns in Finland that have enough of a Swedish-speaking population to offer educational opportunities for Swedish speakers, in particular the towns of Kotka, Tampere, Oulu, and Pori; these are commonly referred to as 'Swedish language islands' (*svenska språköar*). Communities in Finland are administratively defined as monolingual Finnish, monolingual Swedish, or bilingual Finnish and Swedish.[3] A community is a bilingual Swedish-Finnish community if the population of either speech community reaches at least 8% (or does not decrease below 6%), or makes up at least 3,000 speakers, or if the community itself decides to be administratively bilingual. In addition to the number of Swedish speakers living in monolingually Swedish or bilingual communities, there are today some 12,000 speakers of Swedish in administratively monolingual Finnish communities.

In addition to speaking Swedish, the Finland Swedes also have a somewhat different culture and somewhat different traditions and practices from Finnish-language Finland. 'Indigenous' Finland Swedes have grown up in a Swedish-language home in Finland and live in (and variably practise) some form of a Finland-Swedish culture, however defined.

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[1] The study complements the general overview of Finland and of the standardisation of Finnish by Nuolijärvi and Vaattovaara in this volume; the early stages of the standardisation of Swedish in Finland is a joint history with what happened in Sweden and is dealt with by Thelander in this volume.

[2] The statistics from 2006–2007 gives figures that indicate that Finland has a population of around 5.3 million; 290,000 with Swedish as their mother-tongue, i.e. about 5.5%. In percentages, the number of Swedish speakers has diminished from having been around 13% in 1900, but Swedish speakers in Finland have not decreased much in numbers during the last 30 or so years.

[3] There are also bilingual Finnish-Sámi communities in the north of Finland.

The group-defining term used by indigenous Swedish speakers of themselves is 'Finland Swedes' (Swe. *finlandssvensk*). The common term used for the Swedish spoken in Finland is 'Finland Swedish' (*finlandssvenska*).[4] The discontinuous geographic area where (indigenous) Finland Swedes live is called 'Swedish-language Finland' (sometimes 'Swedish-speaking Finland') – i.e. *Svenskfinland*.

Today families are often bilingual, with family members using both Finnish and Swedish, or with one spouse or partner using one language and the other using the other language (to their children). It is thus today rather a matter of self-identification and self-categorisation whether one wants to be included in the Finland-Swedish community. Members of the Finland-Swedish Deaf community, with their own sign language, FinSSL (which is different both from FinSL and from SSL)[5], would typically see themselves as Finland Swedes, although the Deaf community, as a sign-language community, also stresses its own ethnicity.

Swedish-language Finland is said to host over 80 countryside dialects. Traditionally, these are divided into four major areas: Österbotten (Ostrobothnia) on the west coast; Åland – covering the Åland islands in the south-west between Sweden and Finland, which is an autonomous territory of Finland; Åboland – the mainland south-west; and Nyland on the south coast. A fifth area, Satakunta, has hardly any Swedish-speakers anymore; sometimes the Swedish language islands are seen as making up a dialect 'area' of their own. Nowadays, township dialects – spoken in the towns of the four major dialect areas – are seen as additional dialects, or varieties.

There are sometimes very vivid debates about when Germanic tribes (presumed to be ancestors of present-day Swedish speakers) came to Finland. What seems certain today is that the Åland islands were inhabited by Germanic tribes in the 6th century; and Swedes have settled in Österbotten, Åboland and Nyland at least from the 12th century onwards. This settlement might have occurred earlier.

Finland was a Grand Duchy of Russia from 1809 until 1917. This was at the time when national romanticism grew to prosper in Europe at large. Towards the end of the period, when more severe attempts at Russification set in within the Grand Duchy, Finland concentrated its cultural, linguistic and political efforts on establishing itself as a sovereign state. This is a turbulent period which had the effect that many Swedish speakers switched language, learnt and started speaking Finnish to their children, and many also changed their names into Finnish names – in order to support the ideal of the time of 'one nation–one language–one state'; this ideological activity is known as Fennicisation.

Towards the end of the Russian period, some Swedish speakers became more active and pro-Swedish and felt that the Fennicisation of Finland was going too far. Without going into details about these conflicts (and the fanatics on both sides), it is safe to say that concerned Swedish speakers actively started working towards keeping the Swedish language in Finland in tune with the development of Swedish in Sweden. The leading principle in Finland from these days onwards has been that Swedish in Sweden is to be the norm for the Swedish spoken in Finland; if Swedish in Finland diverges too much from the language used in Sweden – so the argument goes – Swedish in Finland has no future. This line of argumentation is still very much part of the everyday and codified way of thinking about standards and standardisation in Swedish-language Finland. (For an overview, see Mattfolk *et al*. 2004.)

[4] Other terms occur, and it is sometimes pointed out that 'Finland Swede' and 'Finland Swedish' are not 'correct' English; be that as it may, these are the terms the indigenous speakers feel comfortable with and use themselves.

[5] FinSSL = Finland-Swedish Sign Language; FinSL = Finnish Sign Language; SSL = Swedish Sign language.

THE STANDARD AND PROCESSES OF STANDARDISATION

The official standpoint in Swedish-language Finland is thus that Finland Swedish follows the same norm as 'Sweden Swedish' (*sverigesvenska*, *rikssvenska*). This has also been, and continues to be, the guiding principle for the standardisation and language planning of Swedish in Finland. That is, there is no, nor is there to be, a separate standard Finland Swedish.[6]

Even though there is officially no separate standard for Finland Swedish, the term 'standard Finland Swedish' does occur, and everyone can by him/herself assess the differences between the 'standardly' used variety of Swedish in Sweden and that used in Finland. The differences are particularly noticeable in the lexicon (with Finland Swedish containing Finnish loan words and loan translations from Finnish, e.g. of official, administrative terms) and in the phonology (with some consonants and vowels having different realisations in the two varieties) and prosody (both in intonation and in lexical word stress, with standard Finland Swedish lacking the acute–grave word accent distinction), but detailed analyses of in particular the pragmatics and the grammar of the two varieties also reveal differences.

According to Auer (2005), at least three criteria need to be considered when attempting to ascertain whether a language has a standard or not. One criterion is that of codification; thus, we can ask, is Finland Swedish codified? The answer is 'yes, but only indirectly', in the form of word-lists of, and guides for, what words and expressions to avoid. Bergroth's *Finlandssvenska* (first ed. 1917) and af Hällström-Reijonen and Reuter's *Finlandssvensk ordbok* (fourth ed. 2008) are the best known of these and function as normative guides for speakers of Finland Swedish of what Finlandisms (words and expressions used only in Finland but not in Sweden), Fennicisms and old-fashioned words to avoid in order to be understood by Swedish speakers in Sweden.

A second criterion is that a standard should be a common variety – used e.g. for writing and in business. This criterion is also fulfilled: Swedish-language Finland has a plethora of newspapers that are read by 'all' Finland Swedes, and publishing (novels, popular science, journals) in Swedish vastly overrides the expectancy one might have in relation to the population size of Swedish-language Finland. (For an overview and figures, see e.g. Moring and Husband 2007.)

Auer's third criterion is that the variety should have a certain prestige. This is also fulfilled, albeit not in a simple manner. Standard Finland Swedish can be characterised as a reading-of-the-writing variety (*Sprechen nach der Schrift*; Auer 2005). It is not localisable, and it is every Finland Swede's property – as long as it is kept in tune with Sweden Swedish. Indeed, the major towns in the four dialect areas have town-regional standards: the Helsinki standard in Nyland; the Turku standard in Åboland; the Mariehamn standard in Åland; and the Vaasa standard in Österbotten.[7] Speakers of these town-regional standards are, if not always directly confrontational in relation to each other, at least indifferent to the way Swedish is spoken in the other major towns. To be sure, pejorative statements occur about 'the other' standards, and there are statements to the effect that Åbo Swedish (as the 'oldest' town variety; Åbo used to be the capital of Finland) is the most beautiful, or that Tammerfors (Tam-

[6] In 1942 Swedish speakers in Finland – as the first in Norden – established a language-planning committee (*Svenska språkvårdsnämnden i Finland* – at the time functioning under the auspices of *Finlands svenska folkting*; in 1976 it became *Svenska språknämnden i Finland*, under the Research Institute for the Languages of Finland), with the expressed goal of dealing with (mostly corpus planning) questions related to Swedish language usage and Swedish-language place-names in Finland.

[7] When writing in English, one is recommended to use the Finnish or Swedish name of a town in Finland according to the majority language spoken in that town or community. However, due to the topic of this study, in what follows we will use the Swedish names for communities. Thus, e.g., Turku is Åbo, Helsinki is Helsingfors, and Vaasa is Vasa in Swedish. We will give the Finnish name of a community within parentheses the first time the community is mentioned.

pere) Swedish is the most neutral (i.e., has no dialectal colouring) and is thus the most beautiful. But such statements do not stand uncontested.

It is noteworthy that the variety of Swedish spoken in the capital, Helsingfors Swedish, is not in any simple fashion the 'national' standard. Many Ostrobothnians or eastern Nylanders would rather make fun of the Helsingfors-Swedish standard than see it as a model to follow. Further, a speaker of the Åbo standard might refuse to listen to a radio station (Radio X3M) that often broadcasts from Vasa, because he "can't stand the variety".[8] It is unclear, though, what this means, since we also note that Finland Swedes typically do not either see the spoken Swedish used by speakers of Sweden Swedish as a model, but are swift to make fun of it, too. It is mostly phonology that is made fun of, though, and phonology is not covered by the Finland-Swedish standpoint to follow Sweden Swedish as the norm.

Auer's three criteria clearly indicate that the concept 'standard Finland Swedish' has a valid existence. The guiding principles (*läroplan*) for education in Finland do not explicitly mention what language variety mother-tongue teachers should use, although it is stated that children from the age of around 10 years old should know the norms of the standard. What standard is not specified, but it is presupposed that a teacher should use a good standard; and there are few if any mother-tongue teachers at primary schools that have a Sweden-Swedish pronunciation.

The overview with respect to the three criteria above depicts the general post-WW2 situation in Finland Sweden. In many respects the view on what is to be the standard language has started showing signs of change in late modernity, from 1970 onwards (cf. Östman 2008, forthcoming). Speakers of local dialects tend less and less to look up to or aspire to the spoken varieties in their regional town centres. Dialect speakers nowadays come together in large school complexes that pull youngsters in from the surrounding area; in this process, regional dialect standards are emerging that are the *de facto* (regional) standards for dialect speakers. That is, speakers of the Närpes or Solv dialects (in Ostrobothnia) will not see the town-regional standard of Vasa as a model to follow.

This state of affairs may, however, be changing in some areas. For instance, we have some, mostly anecdotal, evidence that eastern Nyland teenage girls are orienting towards Helsingfors Swedish in some of their phonological features. If this proves to be a generalisable phenomenon of accommodation, and if the tendency escalates, we might *de facto* here see the first stages of what Mattheier (1997) talked about as 'demotisation', the way this is said to take place in Denmark. In this scenario, the Finland-Swedish reading-of-the-writing standard would be comparable to what Kristiansen (2009a) calls High Copenhagen speech for Danish, and Helsingfors Swedish – at least for younger Finland Swedes – would be taking the first steps towards becoming comparable to what Kristiansen calls the new Low Copenhagen variety. This is clearly a phenomenon worth closer investigation in the whole of Swedish-language Finland. At present, the general rule is that if you are educated, you should speak as you read.[9]

It may be that the geography of Swedish-language Finland and the – relatively speaking – wide geographical dispersion of its speakers, work against the idea of having one spoken-language standard and one centre that sets the norm for the spoken variety. The written language is more containable, and at the same time it has more general applicability – without geographical boundaries.

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[8] This was a particular opinion expressed in one of Mattfolk's (forthcoming) interviews for the MIN Project (cf. www.moderne-importord.info).

[9] Still, there are certain elements of the spoken language that have become part and parcel of the standard way of speaking(-as-writing); for instance, certain apocopated forms: *int* (rather than *inte*), *sku* (*skulle*).

THE ROLE OF THE SPOKEN MEDIA

The media play an active role in shaping what is to be regarded as a language model in Swedish-language Finland. This is particularly the case with respect to the written media; there are at present nine regularly occurring newspapers for the 300,000 Swedish-language users. Many families subscribe to more than one of these papers. The language used in these newspapers is closely watched over by its readers; language usage (both spoken and written) and questions of both status and corpus planning are constantly recurring topics in letters to the editors of Swedish-language newspapers.

Published letters to newspaper editors deplore the bad language used on the radio, with the object of ridicule or horror varying between being the dialects, 'slang', and expressions in Finnish. Radio and TV journalists are recommended to use standard language in their reports; interviewees can use dialect, but interviewees feel very strongly that they should not do so, and in practice attempt to use a variety with (what they presume to be) more standard features.

During the last ten years, radio journalists have become bolder in their use of regional features, especially so in programs for younger and adolescent listeners. Swedish-language Finland has two nation-wide radio channels, Radio X3M (aimed primarily at younger listeners) and Radio Vega. Radio X3M in particular has become relatively more liberal in allowing non-standard varieties (also by journalists), but still today one very seldom hears dialect in what are classified as 'more serious' programs. This change in attitude towards varieties of media language is only now beginning to be systematically analyzed.

The general opinion in Swedish-language Finland is that it is more typical, more usual, and more acceptable to use non-standard varieties in the (Swedish) media in Sweden – maybe because Finland Swedes tend to see Scanian (*skånska*) and Northern Swedish (*norrländska*) as non-standard dialects, which might not be so conceived in Sweden. We do not know whether a more relaxed attitude towards variability is the case in actual practice, but (1) the view is corroborated by the fact that, in Sweden, immigrants (or people crossing over to immigrant varieties of Swedish) are often heard in the role of news reporters; and even somebody who does not speak 'correct' Swedish, but has clear Norwegian elements in their Swedish, can be the weather (wo)man. It is inconceivable at present to imagine a near future when the Swedish-language TV-channel FST5 in Finland would use a Finnish speaker with a less than 'perfect' command of Swedish.[10]

But we also predict that (2), if it is the case that variation is more acceptable in Sweden and Finland Swedes more and more often watch Sweden Swedish programs, then the implicitly transmitted view that variation is acceptable in public usage will also reach Swedish-language Finland one day.

In the interviews Mattfolk (forthcoming) carried out within the MIN Project, the interviewees were in considerable agreement with the view that Helsingfors Swedish is not to be seen as the standard for Finland Swedish. According to Mattfolk's interviewees, one should use standard (Finland) Swedish in serious programs on the radio, because – so the argument goes – we need to give our children good language models. Dialect on the radio is for entertainment. In programs sent from local TV-stations (e.g. När-TV), most of the speakers may be dialect speakers, but when they are placed in front of a camera, they do their utmost to speak some kind of (town-regional) standard. Even the most outspoken pro-dialect people in the local communities tend to attempt a standard when interviewed by the local TV; TV is public, and dialect is not for public and official purposes, seems to be the underlying view.

With the advent of digital satellite-TV, which has given Finland Swedes the possibility to see (at least some) Sweden Swedish programs all over Finland, it will not be surprising if the trend we already now see in Ostrobothnia (where some Sweden-Swedish TV-channels have been available for decades) will grow stronger: young Ostrobothnian children play in Sweden

[10] But journalists with Sweden-Swedish pronunciation are welcomed and are increasing in number.

Swedish, and this play-language is starting to appear in their everyday Swedish. We call this Bolibompa Swedish – on the basis of the most well-known children's program. If this way of speaking is not dropped as the kids get older, it may have a considerable impact on the Swedish of Finland a couple of decades from now.

FINLAND-SWEDISH IDEOLOGY IN LIGHT OF LANGUAGE ATTITUDES

Within the MIN-project, Mattfolk has looked quite extensively into the opinions and attitudes of Finland Swedes as regards language (cf. Mattfolk 2005, 2006, forthcoming; Mattfolk and Kristiansen 2006.) The grid we have developed for investigating attitudes and opinions is given in Figure 1 (cf. Mattfolk and Östman 2004: 76). Opinions are here marked as explicit (overt, conscious) expressions, and attitudes as implicit (covert, subconscious) expressions of views on language. For analytic purposes, both are further separated into ideology and praxis (discourse and utterance, respectively).

	IDEOLOGY 'Discourse'	**PRAXIS** 'Utterance'
EXPLICIT	Ways of conceptualising aspects of how to behave in society; e.g. how to interact, how to write a death notice	Propositional content; 'rational' argumentation; the traditional sphere of linguistics
	OPINIONS	
	ATTITUDES	
IMPLICIT	Culture, tradition; presupposed ways of being and behaving	Ways of participating in dialogic interaction and expressing affect

Figure 1: The difference between explicit opinions and implicit attitudes.

One of the most interesting findings in Mattfolk and Kristiansen (2006) is that, despite what the informants in Mattfolk (2006 and forthcoming) express as their opinions, e.g. that they do not like English words to creep into Swedish, in a matched-guise test (accounting for their subconscious attitudes), they show in several respects that they evaluate a speaker who uses English words more positively (more 'efficient' and more 'interesting') than when the same speaker refrains from using English words in a Swedish-language news broadcast.

There is a general sentiment among Finland Swedes that Finland Swedish is 'good' Swedish (mostly because it retains some older linguistic features), and this feeling has been strengthened recently by the frequent and openly expressed view by Sweden Swedes that Finland Swedish is beautiful. As a general view this is fairly recent, and has clearly come about through the media (mostly TV) and a number of radiant personalities speaking Finland Swedish (Mark Lewengood, Andrea Reuter, André Wikström and the cartoon figure Moomin, to name a few). Again, this is in line with the recent, general pro-a-multitude-of-varieties view in the Sweden-Swedish media. But Finland Swedes are no doubt proud to hear that somebody – especially somebody from Sweden – thinks highly of the Finland-Swedish variety. This view of Finland Swedish as a good, old, fine kind of Swedish was also explicitly expressed by informants in Mattfolk's (forthcoming) interview study. This is, then, the explicit opinion that Finland Swedes have of themselves and of their language – albeit that it is couched in the form that 'others' are of this opinion.

On the basis of the interviews in Mattfolk (forthcoming), we also find that Finland Swedes see Sweden Swedes as being more positive towards variation and as being more positive towards the use of English in Swedish than the Finland Swedes themselves are.[11] We saw earlier that Finland Swedes do not openly express their appreciation of spoken Sweden Swedish, but the general ideology is still that Finland Swedish has to follow, and be in tune with, the changes in Sweden Swedish. This seeming incompatibility might in fact be due not only to a difference in speech and writing, but to a failure to keep explicit opinions and implicit attitudes separate in constructing one's linguistic identity and ideology. Thus, Finland Swedes may have an indifferent, if not negative view (i.e. as an explicit opinion) of (spoken) Sweden Swedish as a common standard (especially in relation to their own variety of Swedish), but the effect of the Finland-Swedish language planning agency has successfully shaped the implicit attitude the Finland Swedes have towards Sweden Swedish – or some (written) version of it – into being more positive. This is a hypothesis that needs further investigation in order to get a deeper understanding of the Finland Swedes' ideology of 'the standard language'.

CONCLUSION

The term 'standard Finland Swedish' has a somewhat unclear referent; ideologically it is (supposed to be) equivalent to whatever 'standard Swedish' refers to, but formally it includes loanwords from Finnish, and it has gone through diverging developments with respect to many of its lexical, prosodic and grammatical features. Functionally, 'standard Finland Swedish' is at the intersection of (Sweden) Swedish and the Swedish dialects of Finland, with a small 'path of Finnish' joining in. Standard Finland Swedish has four town-regional varieties, which are oriented towards in more official situations, but which are not equivalent to the regional standards that have emerged from within the dialect communities on the basis of the widening of the school districts.

On the continuum suggested by Kristiansen (2009b; cf. the introduction to this volume) of languages with strong single standards at one end and languages with multiple or ambivalent ('Norway-type') standards at the other end, Swedish might indeed – as suggested by Kristiansen – fall somewhere in the middle, but Finland Swedish seems to be fossilised in time with respect to standardisation, and thus would belong closer to the 'strong standard' end of the continuum – with Denmark, Iceland and France.[12]

It is extremely pertinent to do research on standardisation and the ideology of a standard language in communities that are not nations, not only in order to see how such a community construes its standard in real time, but also in order to pinpoint the ideological undercurrents of the very notion of standardisation. Here dialects and their varying statuses will have to be taken as important actors from the very start.[13] There is a strong in-group feeling among na-

[11] Although it has to be mentioned, for the sake of completeness, that there were also informants who were of the opposite opinion.

[12] One additional, functional reason for the prominent status of spoken standard Finland Swedish might lie in the practicalities of the minority situation as such: in order to be sure that one is understood by a majority speaker (of Finnish), one has become accustomed to use a clear, written-like spoken Swedish in contacts with others than those in one's immediate surroundings.

[13] For instance, in Swedish-language Finland dialect writing has a long tradition, and the question of how to write dialect is not just a question that interests scholars. Here (dialect) standardisation emerges from below – albeit very slowly, but with few demands 'from above'. What sells, and what is read, works.

tive periphery-speakers in Swedish-language Finland that the dialects are languages proper; it is only when these speakers are in contact with 'core group', majority members of the society at large that their views waver as regards the status of their own language/dialect.

As Östman (2008) has shown, there is a considerable ideological difference between dialect levelling as a manifestation of 'globalisation' on the one hand, and regionalisation as a manifestation of 'glocalisation' and dialectal appropriation of community space on the other. This is a distinction that needs to be maintained for the proper understanding of processes of standardisation, too.

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Language variation and (de-)standardisation processes in Germany

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THE HISTORICAL STANDARDISATION PROCESS

The German language area is characterised by a range of different dialects. The fundamental division into the Low, Middle, and Upper German area (see Figure 1) is based on a phonological process called *the Second Consonant Shift (Grimm's Law)* (Barbour and Stevenson 1998: 85ff.). This classification will also serve as the starting point for this chapter. For the development of a German standard language as a variety accepted nation-wide, two processes were particularly important, which, according to Mihm (2000), can be called processes of *Überschichtung* (superimposition of acrolectal strata) (Auer 2005: 28).

The first process of *Überschichtung* falls into the period of Early New High German (approx. 1350–1650) with its new socio-cultural conditions (urban development, foundation of universities, reformation, etc.) – the period where a German written standard is considered to have been founded (Wolff 2004: 103ff.; Ernst 2005: 138ff.). Martin Luther's translation of the Bible into German (between 1522 and 1545) had a great influence on this process. Luther's geographical and linguistic origin in the eastern middle German region close to the Low German area is generally regarded as a favourable condition (Besch 2000: 1717) for him to include both High and Low German features in the translation.

Another important factor, both in the process of *Überschichtung* and for the distribution of Luther's translation, was Gutenberg's invention of the printing press. Between 1522 and 1546 one in five German households owned an edition of Luther's translation (Ernst 2005: 166). The introduction of a written standard led to a situation where ‘a spoken standard came into being which affected many parts of morphology and syntax and some parts of phonology, while other features, particularly in phonology and in the lexicon, remained dialectal’ (Auer 2005: 28). In the northern parts of Germany the bourgeoisie adopted more High German forms (in the 16th and 17th centuries), which led to the development of a High German (standardised) H-variety with Low German substrate (see the *Low German* area in Figure 1) and no standardisation process (Stellmacher 1997: 34). In the western and southern areas this led to convergence (Mihm 2000: 2112) and the emergence of regional spoken varieties with a much larger geographical scope than the local dialects. However, these new-emerging varieties were still so regionalised that it makes no sense to talk about a spoken German national standard yet.

The second process of *Überschichtung* took place in the late 19th and early 20th centuries: A spoken German national standard came into being as an actual *Substandard*[1] to the written standard, or an *Umgangssprache* that was available nation-wide alongside the local (geographically bound) dialects (Schmidt 2004: 285ff.). The two most important book publications were Theodor Sieb’s ‘Deutsche Bühnenaussprache’ (literally German stage pronunciation) in 1898, which determined a Low German pronunciation of High German, and Konrad Duden’s *Orthographisches Wörterbuch* in 1902. Once more the bourgeoisie of northern and central Germany adopted a spoken variety which was closer to the written language and had

[1] Here we refer to the German meaning of *Substandard*, i.e. a type of variety close to the standard pole with minor regional influences.

developed in the cultural elite in Eastphalia (the area around Hannover). Hence, 'the modern standard was formed by superimposing another variety on the previous repertoires which was much less regionalised, particularly in phonetics' (Auer 2005: 28ff.).

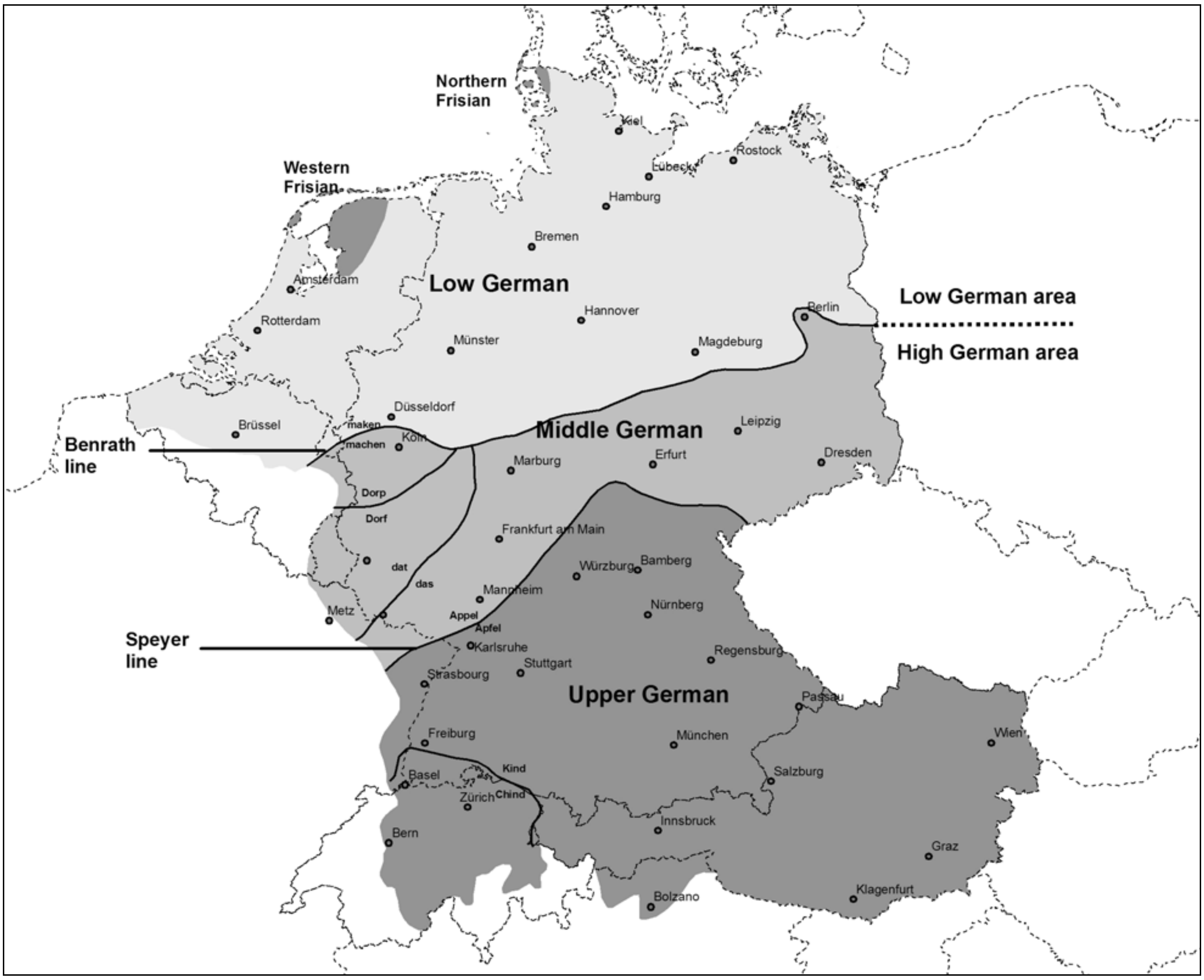

Figure 1: Map of the traditional German dialects (red Stoeckle following König and Paul 2001: 230f.)

THE PRESENT SITUATION

Even though Germany has a uniform written and spoken standard language there are large differences in the usage of a spoken standard in different types of communication as well as in the relationship between local dialects, regiolects, and the standard language. Auer's (2005) typology of different dialect–standard constellations will be used to describe the three major dialect areas, Low (Northern), Middle (Central) and Upper (Southern) German – in particular the typological distinction between (1) a *diglossic* situation, where the standard and the dialects are structurally related but clearly separated (a High, mostly written and rarely spoken standard variety, and Low, rarely written and mostly spoken dialect varieties) (Auer 2005: 10); and (2) a *diaglossic* situation, where there is a standard-dialect continuum with 'intermediate variants between' (Auer 2005: 26).

The Low German area

A large part of the population in this area are speakers of standard German who use a vernacular distinct from the standard language, but with very few regional features, even in informal situations (Mihm 2000: 2113), and no domains of communication are exclusively reserved for the traditional dialects (Stellmacher 1990: 200). To a large extent the local varieties have been or are being replaced by (fewer) more standardised varieties. Accordingly, the Low German area is characterised by a widespread loss of dialects, 'dialect loss after *di*glossia' in Auer's typology (2005: 37ff.; we have added italics here and subsequently in the terms *di*glossia and *dia*glossia, for clarification).

The Middle German area

In the Middle German area there is a tendency towards base dialect loss, and most speakers are able to use a variety of the (spoken) standard language in any situation (Dingeldein 1997: 131). Nevertheless, there are still regional differences concerning the variability of language use, and the diversity results in three scenarios (see Figure 2):

1. In the Upper Saxony area (the eastern part) and the Ripuarian area (the north-western part) the base dialects hardly exist anymore – dialect loss after *dia*glossia (Auer 2005: 34). Most local forms of the dialects are abandoned and replaced by new more standardised varieties but still contain discrete, regionally bound structural features (Dingeldein 1997: 131).

2. In Northern Hesse and Thuringian (the central part) the dialects have disappeared and the spoken standard language has become the main variety used. Dialect is regarded as the language of the older generation and often associated with lower social class and is in most cases not even passed on to the younger generation. A situation of 'dialect loss after *di*glossia' is found (Auer 2005: 37).

3. In the Moselle- and Rheno-Franconian areas (the western part) the traditional dialects are still in use, alongside more intermediate varieties on the dialect-standard continuum. However, Lenz (2003: 412) shows that the base dialects, which are mostly used by older speakers, are being replaced by regiolectal varieties, typically used by younger speakers, who mostly consider dialect as a cultural heritage, which is of no importance anymore in everyday life. Thus, it can still be called a *dia*glossic situation (Auer 2005: 26ff.), but with a probable tendency towards the loss of the basilectal forms.

The Upper German area

Here, dialects are still in use, and the internal differentiation regarding the conditions and fields of dialect and standard use reveals an east–west division. In the Bavarian language area (east) there is more tolerance of the use of (regional) dialect. In the Alemannic and Eastern Franconian area (west) the rural varieties and the regional dialects are commonly avoided in public and formal situations (Ruoff 1997: 145). The dialects in the south-west of Germany do enjoy a rather high overt prestige[2], though, but they are not used as extensively as in Bavaria.

In the Alemannic and eastern Franconian area there is a *dia*glossic situation (Auer 2005: 26ff.) with many different strata between the dialect and standard language poles. In the Bavarian area there are intermediate forms but the structural distance between the dialects and the standard language is generally larger in comparison to the Alemannic and eastern Franconian area. Nonetheless, the situation here, too, can be characterised as *dia*glossic (Auer 2005: 26ff.).

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[2] In 1999 the Federal State of Baden-Württemberg started a publicity campaign with the slogan *Wir können alles. Außer Hochdeutsch*. ('We master everything. Except for High German.') (http://www.badenwuerttemberg.de/de/-Werbe-_und_Sympathiekampagne/124658.html [Accessed on June 10, 2010]).

Figure 2: Generalised map of dialect–standard constellations of today's Germany
(red. Stoeckle)

The large cities merely have an indirect linguistic influence: They function as a model for regional identification and thus strengthen the linguistic self-confidence of their related dialect areas (Munich for the central Bavarian, Stuttgart for the Swabian, Nuremberg for the Franconian, etc.). Ruoff (1997: 143) states that dialects in the south of Germany are changing, but that this change does not appear to be in the direction of the standard language.

STANDARDISATION AND DE-STANDARDISATION

Even though there are so many different developments in German with a range of regionally conditioned influences (Lenz 2003: 32), it still makes sense to talk (cautiously) about a nation-wide language change in direction of a more standardised *spoken* language, a change that is defined both as a reduction in the use of traditional or base dialects and a conversion of these into more standardised regional varieties (Bellmann 1983: 117). The question is, in which direction is this development going?

1. Towards a normative, written standard – *die Standardsprache*. The assumption here is that there is only one correct way of speaking German, and that is to speak it exactly as it is written. This means a strict normative standard which is highly codified with rather fixed definitions through dictionaries, grammars, etc. This is the standard taught and used in the education system (Huesmann 1998: 21). The underlying ideology is based upon correct and incorrect language mediated through education, the formal media (news, debates, etc.), the bureaucratic system, and the idea of the nation state ('one nation-state, one language').

2. Towards a plurality of regional standards – *Regionale Standard-varietäten*. These standards are developed from dialects that have either levelled, converged, or otherwise become more standardised to the extent of an independent regional standard being clearly distinguishable (pragmatically) from other regional standards. This means a range of co-existing regional standards which have developed independently of the normative, written standard, ideologically rooted in a strong (geographical) local identity (which might be the case in Bavaria).

3. Towards a spoken standard – *die Umgangssprache* (sometimes known as *der Substandard* [Bellmann 1983] in German sociolinguistics). This spoken standard is a continuum with room for variation and it is negatively defined by that the majority of its features are *not* dialectal/regional, *nor* are they standard features (Lenz 2003: 35; Spiekermann 2004: 10). The speakers are no longer dialectal/regional nor do they move towards the normative, written standard language. Due to its divergence from the normative standard this is also called a de-standardisation process (Mattheier 2003) and it is ideologically underpinned by a global identity with (probably) a bias towards urban areas and youth culture and the more informal media (reality or talk shows, etc.).

It might be argued that all three are parts of a standardisation process. The development towards a spoken standard could be defined as incorporating both of the other developments, and as such it could be regarded as a nationwide variety with inherent variation in German. Recent studies in south-west Germany support this, in that the use of both dialect and the traditional standard is returning in favour of *allegro* features, non-standard features and non-regional (dialectal) features (Spiekermann 2004: 100).

SELF-EVALUATION AND LANGUAGE ATTITUDES

In 1983 and 1998 the *Institut für Demoskopie Allensbach* (Allensbach institute for opinion polls) asked about 2000 people 'Are you able to speak the dialect of your region?' (Niebaum and Macha 2006: 165ff.; Allensbach 1998: 3). Some of the results will be highlighted in the following discussion.

Dialect seems to play a more important role in the southern than in the northern parts of Germany. Comparing the results from 1983 and 1998 it is possible to observe that dialect competence diminishes in all regions except for Bavaria.[3] Interestingly, the number of informants who report that they do not speak their local dialect diminishes too, but the group of informants who claim they know their dialect 'a little' is growing (except in Bavaria). In brief, there is a growing number of speakers who report a reduced form of dialect competence – a variety which may correspond to what is commonly called a regional dialect.

[3] In 1998 72% of the informants in Bavaria stated that they are competent in the local dialect, whereas in 1983 only 66% stated so. In all other parts of the country, the number decreased – e.g. in Northern Germany from 43% in 1983 to 39% in 1998.

Subjective evaluations of the different German varieties were also investigated (Allensbach 2008). The most popular German dialects/varieties were said to be Bavarian (35%), Low German (29%), Berlinese[4] (22%) and Swabian (20%). The most unpleasant dialects/varieties were said to be Saxon (54%) and Bavarian (21%). Particularly interesting in this context are the contradictory attitudes towards Bavarian and the relatively high prestige attributed to Low German. One explanatory factor is that Bavarian is relatively prominent in broadcast media, so that most Germans have an idea what it sounds like. Varieties like *Mecklenburgerisch* or *Saarländisch* appear at the very bottom of such scales (Allensbach 2008: 2f.), simply because they are unknown to most speakers.

Since dialects are used very rarely nowadays in the north of Germany, it could be assumed that the poll respondents did not refer to the base dialects of this area, but rather to a variety close to the standard language with only some regional features. This assumption is supported by Hundt (1992), who studied attitudes towards the regional standards of Hamburg, Berlin, the Palatinate and Bavaria using the matched-guise technique. Even though the number of regional features in each speech sample was the same, the variety of Hamburg was (unlike the other varieties) not regarded as a regional way of speaking, but as a normal way of speaking *Hochdeutsch,* i.e. the standard language (Hundt 1992: 69).

LANGUAGE IDEOLOGY AND THE ROLE OF THE SPOKEN MEDIA

Empirical studies of the media's role in the construction of language ideology in German society are still lacking (Brandt 2000: 2164; Holly 1995: 364). Straßner's (1983) overview of the development of dialect use in the mass media since their beginnings reveals a clear predominance of the standard variety, with only some 5% dialect use in radio and even less in television. The omnipresence of the spoken standard language in the media has had two important consequences: It led to a 'popularisation of the standard language' (Holly 1995: 365) which guaranteed access to (at least) a passive knowledge of the standard variety. At the same time the spoken standard variety gained importance compared to its written counterpart (Brandt 2000: 2165).

Since World War II the highest amount of dialect use is found in fictional genres like radio plays and televised popular theatre. Dialects predominantly seem to fulfil a function of establishing contrasts between different characters or of characterising certain locations. In this respect traditional ideologies, which generally link regional varieties with local culture, still play an important role. This is also reflected in the fact that programs oriented towards a more local audience employ more vernacular varieties than programs which are more distant from a local context (Androutsopoulos 2010: 750). Local identity is often not established by the dialects themselves but by prominent representatives of the particular region. Lameli *et al.* (2008) found evidence that such representatives are often associated with a region by their local origin or by a certain regional image rather than by linguistic features[5] (Lameli *et al.* 2008: 79).

The relationship between standard language and dialects in the media in Germany no longer appears to be particularly salient (Burger 2005: 364). Although public discourse still shows an interest in linguistic norms[6] and the print media regularly publish articles about the decline of the German language, these worries mostly concern certain low-prestige linguistic

[4] Berlinese is the only urban variety on the list, which may have to do with Berlin's status as the capital and cultural centre of Germany.

[5] The comedian Otto Waalkes, who was often mentioned as a typical representative of the Frisian German dialect area in the study by Lameli et al. (2008), can be considered a typical case for this: He is easily locatable as originating from the northern part of Germany but he does not speak (or very rarely speaks) Frisian.

[6] The high popularity of the books by Bastian Sick (Sick 2002–2009), in which the author deals with questions about 'right' and 'wrong' German, can be seen as symptomatic of this.

forms (which are difficult to locate geographically)[7] and the use of anglicisms (Spitzmüller 2006, 2007). This may be an indicator that the traditional dialects have lost their relevance in public discourse, at least for people who are not regionally bound.

However, considering not only the poles of standard and dialect but also including the whole range of varieties between them, a different picture is obtained. Vernaculars enter broadcast language as original voices (*O-Töne*) in magazine programs, features, and games (Straßner 1983: 1519). It is important to consider the linguistic status of these varieties: The transmission area of shows does not coincide with the corresponding dialect area and this results in the use of a kind of synthesised dialect, i.e. a compromise form which can be understood everywhere but which nobody actually uses anywhere else (Straßner 1983: 1519)[8].

There has certainly been a rise in the prevalence of original voices in television with the appearance of commercial broadcasting in the mid-1980s, which resulted in a dramatic increase of 'light' programs. Earlier, new TV formats such as talk shows or *Big Brother* paved the way for more ordinary speakers (i.e. people without special speech training) to feature in broadcasts. An increase of natural speech in the spoken media could be observed, which led to a 'relaxation of norms in the spoken standard varieties' and to a better 'knowledge of other varieties' (Holly 1995: 365f.).

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[7] A prominent example of this case is the subordinating conjunction *weil*, which is often used in the spoken language with verb-second word order, instead of verb-final word order as requested by the standard norm.

[8] Androutsopoulos (2010: 749) warns of a 'reflection fallacy', since vernacular varieties often used in contrast to the common, non-local codes do not necessarily have to coincide with the actual dialects spoken outside the media.

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Language ideology and standardisation in Iceland

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LANGUAGE AND IDEOLOGY IN THE EARLY PERIOD

It can be claimed that the standard modern Icelandic language is more or less the same idiom as the language of classical Old Icelandic literature, in terms of morphology and syntax at least. To the extent that this is true, this linguistic continuity and modern homogeneity renders Icelandic unique in the European context. There is no reliable reference to linguistic variation or problems of norm selection in the early grammatical literature of Iceland, and Icelandic’s relative linguistic homogeneity over such an extended period of time is an anomaly (Árnason 2003a, 2004; Gu m undsson 1977).

Few attempts have been made to reconstruct language ideologies in early Iceland, i.e. shared beliefs about language which serve to rationalise and justify certain linguistic usages within a speech community. Although the literary language can be said to form a sort of norm or standard, it is difficult, strictly speaking, to discuss the early period in terms of standardisation. However, an argument can be made for some kind of linguistic ideology having been present almost *ab initio*, i.e. shortly after the settlement of Iceland in the ninth century. Twelfth century texts such as Ari orgilsson ’s *Íslendingabók* (‘The Book of Icelanders’) contain references which border on the ideological. Although Ari is writing at an early period in Iceland’s history, it is clear (but surprising) that the author has an ‘Icelandic’ perspective, as implied by the very name of the text.

In addition, one of the objectives of the twelfth century First Grammatical Treatise, which proposes a spelling standard for the writing of Icelandic, may have been to create a kind of Icelandic linguistic self-awareness. One finds passages such as: ‘I have written an alphabet for us Icelanders too’ (Benediktsson 1972: 208), and it is interesting to note that reference is *not* made to the Norwegians. The very fact that Ari wrote in the vernacular rather than in Latin, which was probably not an obvious choice at the time, restricted his audience to Norse (or rather Icelandic) speakers – rather than opening it to a more international audience. There is in the text an expectation that legal codes are written in the ‘national’ language, but interestingly the author refers to it as generally *vár tunga* (‘our language’) and not explicitly *íslenzk*. The First Grammarian chose not only to write in Icelandic, but also to use Norse (and not Latin) terminology or calques such as *raddarstafr* (not *vocalis*) and *samhljóðandi* (not *consonans*). The Latin terms must have been readily available and yet in a process reminiscent of the much later linguistic purism of the nineteenth century, the Norse terms were used.

It might thus be said that the First Grammatical Treatise and *Íslendingabók* represent the first evidence of Icelandic cultural nationalism, or at least a confident cultural self-awareness on the part of the authors. The First Grammarian may be invoking ideology when he clearly defines the Icelanders and implies that the ‘them’ are those who do not speak (or at least write) the Icelandic language. In thinking about language and ideology in early Iceland, one should also consider the Prologue of the *Snorra Edda*, a handbook of poetry written in the 13th century. It represents a remarkable early linguistic awareness and at the same time a strong belief that the Nordic heritage and language was a noble culture on a par with Græco-Roman literature. The whole venture of writing this unique handbook of poetry can in fact be taken as a sign of an ideological inclination toward elevating the status of the vernacular to the same level as Latin or Greek. Icelandic may be unique in the sense of its relative linguistic homogeneity which has prevailed over the course of a millennium, but also because of its culture of persistent linguistic self-awareness.

But although some of the early grammatical literature could be interpreted to be ideological in nature, the meaning of ideology (if there was one) in the medieval period is likely to have been very different from any understanding of the term in a modern context. In linguistic discussions today, ideology tends to be often coupled with ideas of preservation, standardisation and nationalism. What we can say is that there was a very early linguistic awareness in Iceland and that there seems to have been a pre-occupation with the Icelandic language, the language of the poets and the sagas.

NORM-MAINTENANCE

The maintenance of this norm has been the objective of language planners in Iceland through the centuries. (For a recent overview on language planning and language policy in Iceland see Hilmarsson-Dunn and Kristinsson 2010.) The basis of the norm is a body of revered texts (the Icelandic sagas as well as Eddaic and skaldic poetry) and the lack of dialect fragmentation over the course of a millennium has enhanced the perception that it is a relatively homogenous, archaic treasure that is being preserved. The lack of norm variation may have facilitated subsequent language planning because it meant the object of language policy was something that was commoditised, i.e. there is wide-spread agreement on the social symbolism of the variation that exists.

During the Reformation in the 16th century and later, church leaders such as Gu brandur orláksson and scholars like Arngr ímur Jónsson were very conscious of the value of the norm of the sagas and Eddas for the continuity of Icelandic culture. It was taken to be of paramount importance to present the word of god in the correct way and to follow the rules of venerable poetry in the new Lutheran hymns. It is sometimes said that Arngrímur Jónsson was the first purist and there is a record in his book, *Crymogæa* (1610), of disapproval regarding the influence of traders' language on Icelandic. Eggert Ólafsson, the enlightenment reformer, travelled around Iceland between 1752 and 1757 and described the state of the Icelandic language as 'lamentable', especially the language spoken on the coast. Iceland having been a Danish colony for centuries, the influence of Danish on the Icelandic language in certain contexts was clearly quite strong at this point in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, and the anecdotal evidence suggests that Icelandic was threatened to some degree (see Ottósson 1990 for an overview). But historical research indicates that there was little linguistic variation through the centuries. We do not know much about the potential effect that the official or semi-official ideology had on actual language use, but it can be argued that the relatively high level of literacy and the important role that literature played in the culture had a stabilising effect. The changes (mostly phonological) that took place did not cause major problems for writing and orthography, and most of them have been spread over the whole area (Árnason 2003a). The result is that written Old and Modern Icelandic look very much alike, although the pronunciation has changed considerably.

It is in the 19th century when the preservation ideology was coupled with Romanticism and the separatist movement that linguistic purism (mainly against Danish) came to the forefront and language became a political tool. Much of the linguistic and cultural renewal in the 19th century was driven by intellectuals based in Copenhagen. The emphasis was on ensuring the existence of an archaising linguistic 'other', one that is maximally different from Danish and as close as possible to the historical norm and the language of the rural communities on which the linguistic identity was established. This ideology prevailed into the 20th century and today there is widespread support for the language policy of norm-maintenance. It would be wrong to suggest that a standardised written language as such led to homogeneity in the spoken language. We know that the lack of dialectal fragmentation in Icelandic goes deep into its linguistic history, but it appears instead that an early standardised written language was developed alongside a relatively homogenous vernacular.

The Icelandic language has been described in the 20th century as the *fjöregg* 'egg of life' of the Icelandic nation. This metaphor implies that language is at the root of an Icelandic identity and is a cohesive force. It is this one relatively uniform language that ties all Icelanders to their early written traditions and culture. It acts as a symbol of linguistic continuity. Using the metaphor of an 'egg' is also suggestive of the fragility of Icelandic. Although the language is not endangered in any way, the status of such a small language could potentially change quite rapidly.

In accordance with this ideology, archaism is held in high regard – there prevails a romantic notion of preserving a museum piece. Archaism is thought to be indicative of linguistic purity and Icelanders employ metaphors of pathogenic organisms to discuss grammatical phenomena (dative disease, genitive phobia, non-Icelandic words are described as 'blemishes'). There is a tendency to emphasise (and exaggerate) the homogeneity of the language, to gloss over sociolinguistic differences and to present Iceland as one monolithic language community.

MODERNITY

During the Second World War, Iceland was occupied by the British military and later by the Americans. Ever since, English has been seen as the main threat to the ideology of linguistic preservation. In the 20th century the focus of linguistic purism thus switched from Danish to English and terms like *málvernd* 'language protection' and *málrækt* 'language cultivation' featured prominently in the discussion. The 'egg of life' was thought by some to be threatened by the availability of American television transmitted from the controversial US military base in Keflavík from the early 1960s onwards. Subsequently, the task of preserving the 'old' Icelandic language was seen as becoming significantly more difficult with the introduction of new media channels such as video and Internet, the costs and inconvenience of streaming Icelandic and developing local media channels being simply too great for such a small speech community.

The question of the status (as well as the form) of Icelandic used to be very clear and simple: Icelandic was the language of the Icelanders, and not anybody else. However, the trend of advancing globalisation has brought about two fundamental changes. On the one hand, Icelanders started using other languages (principally English), for example in pop music, education and science. On the other hand, immigrants to Iceland have now started using Icelandic. This has made the sociolinguistic situation more complex and language attitudes seem sometimes to be contradictory: people who demand that immigrant workers use Icelandic are eager to show their own proficiency in English at work, for example. Although the main issue is a status problem and centres around the value and domain of Icelandic *vs.* English, in public debate and folk-linguistics the discussion is mostly about form: preserving the pure form of the standard, strengthening it and getting rid of the loanwords.

With rapid urbanisation, it would seem increasingly that Reykjavík and its surroundings now form the norm centre. The only potential alternative to the Reykjavík norm would seem to be the North and Akureyri. In the early 20th century the speech of the people in the North of Iceland was often seen to be better and less corrupt, although these perceptions are now gradually changing. The main result of a survey completed in the 1980s was that majority variants were gaining ground regardless of geography (Árnason 2003a; Árnason and Thráinsson 2003). This suggests that the typical pattern regarding change is being repeated, namely that innovations end either by spreading throughout the community or being 'driven back' and superseded by more common variants. An interesting case in point is the so-called *flámæli* or 'slack jawed speech', a merger of mid-high and mid-low front vowels, which started in the 19th century in more than one location. This variant was heavily stigmatised, and the 1980s survey showed that it was virtually extinct. Here public opinion and official policy were in agreement, and it is not totally clear which was the more influential.

DEMOTISATION OR DESTANDARDISATION?

The form of the modern Icelandic ideal standard has been clearly defined: it is 'pure Icelandic' which is effectively the language of the sagas. When it comes to defining 'non-standard usage', the myth has been that there is no such thing. And there are no clear definitions of low or local varieties, comparable to what one finds in many other societies. However, there is a clear distinction between 'good' and 'bad' usage (*málfar*). Most of the examples of 'bad' usage come from the speech of the younger people, and manifest themselves is terms of lack of phonetic clarity and the use of foreign 'stains' or 'blemishes'. If one were to define a form-function mapping which could be used in this context, one could talk in terms of 'pure' Icelandic *vs.* 'impure' Icelandic as two separate (high *vs.* low) varieties. Alternatively, one might label these simply as different styles or registers.

In any case it is clear that the advent of English has not (from the functional point of view) 'destandardisised' Icelandic in favour of English, creating for example an exogenous standard. There is arguably some degree of 'demotisation' in the sense that the (formal) puristic demands on official language use are not as strict as they used to be. It seems to be the case that 'impure Icelandic' is gaining ground both by form changes, so that Icelandic today is commonly spoken in public (including prime time TV presentations of the daily news) with features which used to be associated with 'impure' Icelandic, and by functional changes so that some sort of low variety is allowed to be heard in new domains, like radio and other media.

Features of this 'impure' Icelandic speech are being adopted by younger people, who also evaluate this way of speaking more positively than other 'accents'. It is thus likely that the modern and 'less pure' Icelandic is replacing 'pure' conservative Icelandic as the 'best language', especially when the evaluative perspective is 'speaker-dynamism'. In other words, modern, 'less pure' speech indexes an 'effective, straightforward, self-assured, interesting, cool…' persona – i.e. a successful media personality. It is ironic that a significant number of young Icelanders think that speaking English has some prestige, but that 'non-standard' Icelandic is at the same time defined principally in terms of use of *slettur* (i.e. English words).

THE CURRENT IDEOLOGY

The current ideology is still the one of linguistic continuity or 'holding the thread'. The role of the Icelandic Language Council (established in 1964), according to the recently passed law (2006) is to advise authorities on the matters of the Icelandic language (*málefni íslenskrar tungu*) and put forth proposals for an official language policy. It can of its own accord comment on good or bad treatment (*meðferð*) of the language in official domains. As before, the priority is the preservation of the form, but in a document ratified by the Icelandic parliament in 2009 the main objective is a status one, to secure the use of Icelandic in all spheres of society.

And some ideological changes may have been taking place. Thus, according to Fri riksson (2008: 80), school curricula from 1989 to 1999 show differences in emphasis. Early in this period it is seen as imperative that a strong link is maintained between the old and the modern language, but later, there is more emphasis on strengthening Icelandic national identity (presumably because some believe that national Icelandic identity is in some way threatened by globalisation).

In looking to understand better the attitudes that underpin such language ideologies, we must bear in mind that the level of 'linguistic consciousness' remains very high in Iceland.

The matched guise part of the MIN project was unsuccessful in eliciting hidden values for Icelandic (Ewen and Kristiansen 2006: 46), but this does not mean that they do not exist (cf. Óladóttir 2009; Kristiansen 2010). It seems that Icelandic language attitudes are in fact contradictory. The phonological survey referred to above suggests that phonological variables which are focused (markers) are more sensitive to change, but that the direction is not predictable. In some cases the 'recommended' variant gains ground, but in others it loses ground. Variables with low focus (indicators) show a slower rate of change. The basic ideology of preserving the language and securing its place vis-à-vis English has the 'official' support of the majority, although the presence of English is very strong indeed.

THE ROLE OF THE MEDIA

Ari Páll Kristinsson has shown that traditional national radio has helped to define a standard for spoken language (broadcasters used to be typically speakers from the North of Iceland). The State Radio (*Ríkisútvarpið*) may have had some standardising effects on the vocabulary too (Kristinsson 2009: 80). However, Kristinsson's data are from 1995, and the situation may have changed considerably since then. It is our impression that radio is not as dogmatic as it used to be in implementing language policy. It is likely that new radio channels (the first one launched in 1986) have had an effect and perhaps created new 'communities of practice' and associated styles or registers.

As for newspapers and other written media, these became established in the 19th century in Iceland, but great changes have taken place. In the middle of the 20th century, Icelandic had four national newspapers, but now there are three; the industry seems to be struggling and losing ground in competition with other media and the Internet. *Morgunblaðið*, the oldest newspaper, tends to be conservative in style and represents a clear norm that most of the written media adhere to. The role of the newspapers still seems to be important in acting as a mechanism to introduce neologisms into the language – a process that has a history and continues to work very well. However, due principally to the use of the Internet, newspaper reading is on the wane. And the form of the written language used in electronic communication, private or public, is undoubtedly less formal than in the printed media. In general, it can be said that public communication has been decentralised so that it is no longer the case that every Icelander reads at least one of the national newspapers and listens to Channel 1 on the State Radio.

American films dominate the cinema culture, but an incipient Icelandic film industry seems to be growing and this may prove to be a medium to promote the language. Icelandic television went on air in 1966 to combat the threat from English, although there is a great deal of English and American content on Icelandic television. It is interesting to note that the threat has been considered to be a linguistic one, as much as one linked to concerns over cultural hegemony. Whilst the threat was recognised, there are few television programmes transmitted in Icelandic, and non-Icelandic programmes are subtitled, rather than dubbed. This means that spoken English is the most commonly heard language in film and television.

CONCLUSION

Language purists are now much less vocal than they used to be, and there has been surprisingly little discussion amongst language planners of the use of English as the language of the Internet. It is true that there are a high number of bloggers who write in Icelandic, but it is difficult for any small nation language policy to confront the issue of the language of the Internet. Many of the websites that Icelanders look at are inevitably in English. The interest in keeping the language 'pure' seems to have subsided slightly in the face of increasing globalisation. Special radio programmes prescribing 'correct' Icelandic grammar are no longer on the air, for instance, and there seem to be fewer articles in the newspapers devoted to language. From both the speakers' and the language planners' perspectives, the enthusiasm for insisting on the ideology of linguistic purism appears to have begun to wane over the last 20 years. The linguistic ideology in Iceland remains one of 'holding the thread' and caring for the well-being of the standard, but it is arguably less actively enforced than it was previously.

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The perception of Standard Irish as a prestige target variety

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INTRODUCTION

This contribution describes the current state and status of Official Standard Irish, *Caighdeán Oifigiúil na Gaeilge*, the standard language variety of the first of the two official languages of Ireland. The other official language is English, called *Sacs-Bhéarla* in the Constitution, clearly referring to Standard English, rather than any Irish variety. Standard Irish, as in many other national contexts, has had the function of providing a unified linguistic tool for the practical purposes of state governance and education. Although it was first defined for official purposes and explicitly does not ban other varieties, in the contexts of an historic popular language shift to English and the ideologically driven national language revival project, it has also played a central role in providing the target learner variety for the majority population who do not speak Irish as a home language.

The standardisation process can be contextualised by the role ascribed to Irish by the nineteenth century nationalist movement, through the resultant state-building of the early twentieth until its codification and publication in 1958 (Rannóg an Aistriúcháin 1958). Its development conforms closely to the stages of language planning in Haugen's model (Haugen 1959), based on Norwegian, with which the standardisation of Irish was contemporary, and reflects the power of European state administrations in the period to impose such language choices. The handbook of Standard Irish was published, however, just as substantial adjustment and innovation occurred in the way that the state interacted with the population with regard to Irish and in the nature of governance style. During this period the Gaeltacht was first defined by statute in order to define the geographical area of action for the new Department of the Gaeltacht (set up in 1956), one of a number of changes that led to the political 'Irish language revival question' being located within specific areas of action rather than its previous place across all aspects of Irish governance and society, language policy becoming increasingly regarded in terms of management of a remnant linguistic minority on the one hand and concentration on language as heritage and a school curriculum subject for the majority population on the other. Ó Riagáin (1997) has argued that state policy on Irish thus went into stagnation and retreat for lack of the clear goals of the pre-1960s. However, this period also saw the rise of new forms of Irish language pressure groups, particularly in the Gaeltacht areas, demanding higher status for the language as a right. It also saw the start of a trend for the national authorities to launch consultations with the public, through national opinion surveys and commissions of enquiry, in a late modern construction of democratic inclusiveness in language policy, which nevertheless resulted in much indecisiveness on issues of linguistic development and the status of Irish in the national arena (Ó hIfearnáin 2009, for a detailed discussion).

DEFINING AND REFORMING STANDARD IRISH

Ideologically, the standard's origins are in the cultural nationalist revival movement of the nineteenth century, and contain a fundamental paradox. The movement sought a unified national language but also had an ideological commitment to the development of *caint na ndaoine*, 'the speech of the people', a dialectally diverse language with an impoverished spread of domains of usage. Irish is generally described as having three main regional varieties which correspond approximately to the three (of four) provinces where there is a residual traditional native speaker community.

Map 1: The Gaeltacht areas (shaded) and main regional dialect regions

Numerically the most widely spoken group of dialects is that of Connacht, which includes the coastal region west of Galway city, Conamara and the Joyce Country mountains further west and north, the Árainn islands and parts of Co. Mayo in the far northwest of the province. The dialects of Ulster are the second most widely spoken Gaeltacht varieties, and are concentrated in the West Ulster dialect area of Donegal. Munster varieties are spoken in the diverse Gaeltacht regions of the south and southwest. Traditional varieties are classically described (O'Rahilly 1932) as being on a geographic dialect continuum with poles in the northeast and south where different innovations started in the late medieval to early modern period and gradually exerted influences south-westwards and northwards respectively. Among the most striking differences between southern and northern dialects is the stress pattern within words. In Old and Middle Irish (before c.1200 AD) stress was on the first syllable of the word. This became accentuated in Ulster where long unstressed second and final syllables became shortened. In Munster Irish the stress shifted to the second syllable of two-syllable words if the second vowel was long and to the third syllable of three-syllable words if the third vowel was long but the first two short. In his contemporary study of Corca Dhuibhne Irish (West Kerry, Munster), Ó Sé (2000: 46) calls this lexical stress pattern the 'principle of the heavy syllable', which marks where the listener's ear falls, and argues that this is a most salient feature of that Munster dialect, common to all speakers who grew up in the first half of the twentieth century. In addition to the stress patterns, the popular perception is that Munster dialects generally distinguish themselves markedly by a range of pronunciation features, certain syntactical constructions and in particular a preference for synthetic over analytic verb forms and the use of some verbal particles which are obsolete in other regional dialects. This folk linguistic perception is based on historical linguistic facts, but all dialects are currently experiencing regional and national levelling as well as some internal innovation, in the context of a speaker population which is bilingual with English gaining functional dominance. Contemporary dialect studies such as Ó Sé (2000) in Kerry and especially Ó Curnáin (2007) in Conamara, have shown how regional features are becoming less marked and the spoken language has become unstable, with wide variation among younger speakers.

The small size and disparate nature of the rural Gaeltacht population has resulted in planned linguistic development in the national context most often being concentrated on the community of professional language users, mostly in education and administration. The Official Standard was the work of *Rannóg an Aistriúcháin*, the translation service of the Irish parliament. Its origins are in the need for internal consistency in the provision of Irish translations of government and legislative documentation. The major work in establishing the final content took place under great pressure during 1957. In the standard handbook's introduction, it is declared that 'helpful advice was given by native speakers from all the Gaeltacht areas, from teachers, and from other people who had particular knowledge of the language, and it was agreed with the Department of Education that this booklet should be published as a standard for official usage and as a guide for teachers and the general public.' (translation of Rannóg an Aistriúcháin 1958, viii). The standard was thus developed by a small group of language professionals who sought advice from unnamed experts and acquaintances for the specific purposes of government administration. Having developed this useful tool for internal use, it was crucially then adopted by the Department of Education, and so guaranteed its central position through schooling. The standard was set out in more detail in 1960 in *Graiméar Gaeilge na mBráithre Críostaí* (the Christian brothers' Irish grammar), revised in 1999 to take account of a number of implicit revisions based on Niall Ó Dónaill (ed.) *Foclóir Gaeilge-Béarla* (the standard Irish-English dictionary) and advice from Rannóg an Aistriúcháin. In the absence of authoritative volumes on 'good usage' that exist in many other languages, these three volumes are thus the references for official standard practice. Since then, small revisions on points of grammar and the expansion of lexicon have been proposed regularly by An Coiste Téarmaíochta (the national terminology commission).

The Official Standard is undergoing revision. Firstly, a government body had to assert ownership of the Standard as its original authors, Rannóg an Aistriúcháin, were no longer its primary users. It is being reviewed by a committee within the Department of Arts, Heritage and Gaeltacht Affairs. That Department is also responsible for *Foras na Gaeilge*, the state agency responsible for the new English-Irish Dictionary and the commissions for terminology and place names. Since announcing a public consultation on reforming the Standard in May 2010, the committee has invited opinions on a number specific proposals.

While setting out its preferred forms, the current standard's handbook professes not to impose itself as the only acceptable language norm:

> Tugann an caighdeán seo aitheantas ar leith d'fhoirmeacha agus do rialacha áirithe ach ní chuireann sé ceartfhoirmeacha eile ó bhail ná teir ná toirmeasc ar a n-úsáid ['This standard gives recognition to particular forms and rules but it does not remove the validity of other correct forms, nor does it forbid their usage']
> Rannóg an Aistriúcháin (1956, viii)

The aim was to provide a neutral written tool for state purposes, but however much the authors may have wished to reconcile the existence of the standard with the continued vitality of the regional dialects, the two have not existed in total harmony. The dialects, being the native forms of Irish, have continued to lose their vitality as part of a well documented language shift that continues in the Gaeltacht, and are given negligible recognition from the education system and state agencies precisely because the standard is the prescribed variety for official and semi-official matters, which dominate the use of language in the public space. The standard does not prescribe a particular dialect word over one widely used in another region, for example, but in unifying the spelling such words may no longer reflect local pronunciation. It prescribes certain verbal forms which many dialect speakers see as non-traditional. After more than half a century of usage, professional practitioners have come to see many regional features as incompatible with standard usage, despite the original aims of its authors. In professional workshops on good practice for editors and writers, Mac Lochlainn (2010) remarks, for example, a strong tendency for participants to 'correct' regionalisms which are actually acceptable within the standard. It is the perception and practice of the standard rather than its theoretical basis which has most impact on regional varieties. Indeed, the decline of the dialects may not simply be a coincidence but partially a consequence of the promotion of the standard as a prestige form (Ó hIfearnain 2008).

THE STANDARD AS A SPOKEN VARIETY

Caighdeán Oifigiúil na Gaeilge is a written standard, emphasised by entitling its replacement *Caighdeán Oifigiúil do Scríobh na Gaeilge 2011* [2011 Official Standard for Written Irish]. Its association with a prescriptive spoken standard variety has only been addressed peripherally in academic research. Ó Baoill (1986) first proposed the *Lárchanúint* ('middle dialect') resulting from a working group that established a pronunciation guide for the 1986 pocket Irish-English-Irish dictionary, *an Foclóir Póca*. It was widely welcomed, in theory, particularly by educationalists at all levels who saw in it a useful tool to guide learners in the first stages of acquisition, with potential benefits for teachers and the broadcast media. However, in a review of the proposal, Ó Baoill (1990) himself highlighted a number of areas where agreement would still need to be reached, for example suggesting that some alternative pronunciations should be allowed to accommodate certain stress features of the Munster dialects in particular, and in the pronunciation of single syllable words that end in double consonants in the various regional varieties.

Most Irish speakers who live outside the Gaeltacht regions tend to gravitate towards one of the regional dialects, broadly defined, as a target speech variety, either because of direct association with one of the regions or because of experience through school of one such variety. Areal koines (Ó Dochartaigh 2000: 22) based on the core features of west Ulster, southwest Connacht or Munster dialects provide the spoken targets favoured by the education system from primary schooling through to third level. However, as Mac Mathúna (2008: 87–89) says, the tendency is put under great strain when revivalist groups, often associated with *Gaelscoileanna* (Irish-medium schools), do not have constant access to such traditional language models, and adds that 'most non-native speakers of Irish converse almost exclusively with other non-native speakers, interaction with the Gaeltacht community being peripheral to their social and economic needs and interests'. This has led to the emergence of a variety of Irish which is often described, pejoratively, as *Gaelscoilis*, which does not share the common core of all traditional Gaeltacht Irish varieties as described, for example by Ó Siadhail (1989). There is a perception in some Gaeltacht communities that the standard and this learner speech are elements of the same variety. This impression is not completely unfounded in that fifty years of using the standard as the dominant, if not only written variety has led to its oralisation among learners and professional users of the language. The emergence of levelled language varieties, be they spoken forms of the written standard through education or by speakers' accommodation of different dialectal varieties through the broadcast media and general social mobility, is a reality, but little studied. The Irish of young Gaeltacht speakers, however traditional their linguistic background, is now also moving very rapidly from the local variety to one that is influenced by English, but also by the kind of Irish practiced in the broadcast media, at school and in the non-native revivalist speech community. This is heard at phonological, lexical, grammatical and syntactical levels in everyday speech. As neither the traditional local variety nor the standard target variety provided by schools appears to exercise linguistic authority in contemporary times, it is important to understand how the prestige attributed to different linguistic forms plays a role in the language practices and ambitions of the younger generations.

THE STANDARD AS A LEARNER VARIETY

Current initiatives and discourse on Irish language revitalisation efforts focus, almost solely, on patterns of language use and intergenerational transmission in the Gaeltacht to the neglect of robust debate on the variety of Irish acquired and promoted within and beyond the Gaeltacht. Subsequently, target language varieties and targets for language excellence remain ambiguous.

While the dialectal speech of the Gaeltacht has traditionally been valorised, some argue for the promotion of a more unitary and standard spoken form of Irish to function as a high variety, and as a target variety for education and for learners, i.e. a prestigious spoken standard (Ó Dónaill 1951; Ó Baoill 1990; 2000). It can be hypothesized, however, that such a variety may already exist in the form of Irish particularly prevalent in Irish-medium education outside the Gaeltacht and, to a certain extent, in the broadcast media, although it may not meet the conservative criteria typical of a high prestige standard.

As is the case with many other minoritised languages, for example the case of revived forms of Breton, sometimes described as *néo-breton* (Jones 1998: 302–304), this variety of Irish, associated with the Gaelscoil movement and non-Gaeltacht speakers, operates with an independent set of norms. Ó Duibhir (2009) in his analysis of the speech of Gaelscoil pupils' spontaneous speech describes 'frequently occurring features that deviate from native speaker norms', mainly those of syntax. Maguire (1991: 191, 200–201), describes the speech of a large group of people who were brought up with Irish as their home language in Belfast as that of 'second generation learners', and divergent from traditional varieties in several important manners: the case system, particularly the genitive case where initial mutation and morphological alteration are somewhat redundant; English influence on the phonemic system, on vocabulary, on morphology and on syntax; omission of grammatical lenition; and overall simplification of the target language. She also notes that some traditional grammatical and phonological norms are actively rejected. Non-Gaeltacht speakers, therefore, operate without frequent interaction with more traditional speech communities (Mac Mathúna 2008) and independently of what Ó Duibhir refers to as 'native speaker norms'.

While Jones (1998) describes the learner variety of Breton as a *xenolect,* George (1986: 321) remarks that *néo-breton* equates to 'standard speech', a view which has now become widely held in Brittany (Ó hIfearnáin 2011) where the revival variety is often described in French by its users as *breton littéraire,* adopting a term previously mainly used for the literary style and register used by creative writers and the clergy, as opposed to the spoken, dialectal *breton populaire*. In so doing, they discursively create the notion of the learner variety as a proto-national prestige standard form. Similarly, there is now a common perception among Gaeltacht speakers that non-Gaeltacht Irish is in effect a spoken form of the standard, although lacking overt prestige. This issue was investigated in the winter to spring of 2009–2010 in the context of a wider project on Munster Gaeltacht teenagers' perceptions of differences between varieties of Irish and their own linguistic affinities and practices, which is more fully described in Ó Murchadha (forthc.).

Using a development of the matched guise technique, following Kristiansen (2003), 259 15–19 year-old participants were asked to listen to and evaluate 15-second recordings of 11 female speakers extracted from Irish language radio programmes. The speakers represented three varieties:

i. *Traditional Gaeltacht speech*: conservative local dialectal speech, showing little or no influence from English and especially prevalent among Gaeltacht speakers born before 1960;
ii. *Non-Gaeltacht speech*: non-Gaeltacht speakers practise a broad spectrum of speech styles and varieties, some of which are close to or identical to the core features of traditional Gaeltacht speech, but it is widely accepted that a learner variety with its own norms has emerged among the revival speech community, which we label 'non-Gaeltacht speech' for the present purpose.
iii. *Gaeltacht youth speech*: displaying many features of traditional Gaeltacht speech, particularly in terms of prosody and pronunciation, also displaying some features common to non-Gaeltacht speech, especially English influence on syntax, vocabulary, and the phonemic system where English phonemes are used in cases where Irish consonants and clusters differ from those in English.

Participants evaluated local Gaeltacht youth speech and non-Gaeltacht speech as more 'standard' than traditional local speech, despite the fact that *An Caighdeán Oifigiúil* remains neither a learner nor a spoken variety. Non-Gaeltacht speech is a variety governed by its own norms, operating independently of traditional targets and while 'speaking in a standard manner' may or may not be the speakers' overt aim, frequent substantial deviation from both the prescriptions of the standard and from the traditional Gaeltacht dialects on which it was based illustrate that the learner varieties tested should not be considered as a spoken form of the written standard in purely linguistic terms, but are actually considered as such by Gaeltacht speakers.

Although increasingly prevalent (Nic Pháidín 2003), these learner varieties are nevertheless overtly regarded pejoratively by Gaeltacht speakers and language professionals. The use by the Gaeltacht teenagers in this experiment of predominantly derogatory labels such as *Gaeilge na Leabhar* ['Book Irish'], *Gaeilge Bhaile Átha Cliath* ['Dublin Irish'], *Gaeilge na Scoile* ['School Irish'] and indeed *Gaeilge Chaighdeánach* ['Standard Irish'] for this variety are indicative of its perceived inferior status. As one participant says:

> *Níl aon bhlas acu. Níl sí nádúrtha, níl siad in ann í a labhairt go nádúrtha.*
> ['They don't have the right sound. It's not natural, they can't speak it naturally.']

The legitimacy and correctness of dialectal Gaeltacht speech was, however, also contested by some speakers of this non-Gaeltacht variety, as indicated by interview data from one such speaker, a non-Gaeltacht university student:

> *Amanta anseo cuirtear sprioc os ár gcomhair go mba cheart go mbeimis in ann dul dtí an Ghaeltacht agus nach n-aithneofaí nach as an nGaeltacht dúinn. Níl sé sin mar sprioc agam riamh. Níl sé mar sprioc in aon chultúr eile san Iarthar go mbeifeá ag iarraidh labhairt ar nós gur duine tuaithe tú chun ardchaighdeán teanga a bheith agat.*
> ['Sometimes a target is put before us here that we should be able to go to the Gaeltacht and that we would not be recognised as not being from the Gaeltacht. That's never my

aim. It's not the aim in any other Western culture that in order to speak high-standard language you try to speak as if you were a rural person.']

This attitude was also noted among second generation learners in Belfast (Maguire 1991: 151). Hindley (1990: 218) refers to it as stigmatized and 'a jargon of the middle-class, incomprehensible to native Irish speakers'. If a schism exists between traditional Gaeltacht Irish and revival Irish (Kabel 2000) it is, however, a divide more concerned with issues of authenticity, legitimacy and prestige than social class or intercomprehension. The speaker-evaluation experiments with teenagers in the Gaeltacht indicate that while overtly downgraded, there is a covert value system which valorises non-Gaeltacht varieties of Irish and that prestige is actually attributed to them in this manner.

NON-TRADITIONAL SPEECH AS A PRESTIGE VARIETY

Overt evaluations from the speaker evaluation experiment yielded the expected value judgements in respect of traditional local speech, local Gaeltacht youth speech and non-Gaeltacht speech. As in the case of Welsh (Robert 2009), traditional local varieties were evaluated most positively, followed by contemporary local varieties, then by the revival variety. The experimental evaluation was further confirmed by participants during focus group interviews. However, participants' evaluations of the speakers' personality traits on adjective scales during the same speaker evaluation experiment indicated a hidden value system operating in relation to the evaluation of speech forms. Significantly, speakers of non-Gaeltacht speech are evaluated most positively; followed by local Gaeltacht youth speech; and then traditional local speech.

In conclusion, while overt evaluations of the speakers confirmed the traditional hierarchy of values, covert evaluations suggested that traditionally low prestige non-Gaeltacht speech and contemporary youth Gaeltacht speech are valorised through a process of covert prestige, where speakers of non-Gaeltacht varieties are consistently held to be more intelligent, self-assured and fashionable. Results support the contention that, in the context of contemporary Gaeltacht teenage culture, a value system below the level of consciousness accords prestige to and reinforces the use of overtly stigmatised speech forms and legitimises non-traditional linguistic features. In a speech community undergoing continuing language shift to English, where access to conservative speaker models is becoming more scarce (Ó Curnáin 2007; Ó Cuív 1951), the attribution of prestige to non-traditional speech varieties and their identification with a perceived national standard is highly salient.

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Language ‘nationalisation’: One hundred years of Standard Lithuanian

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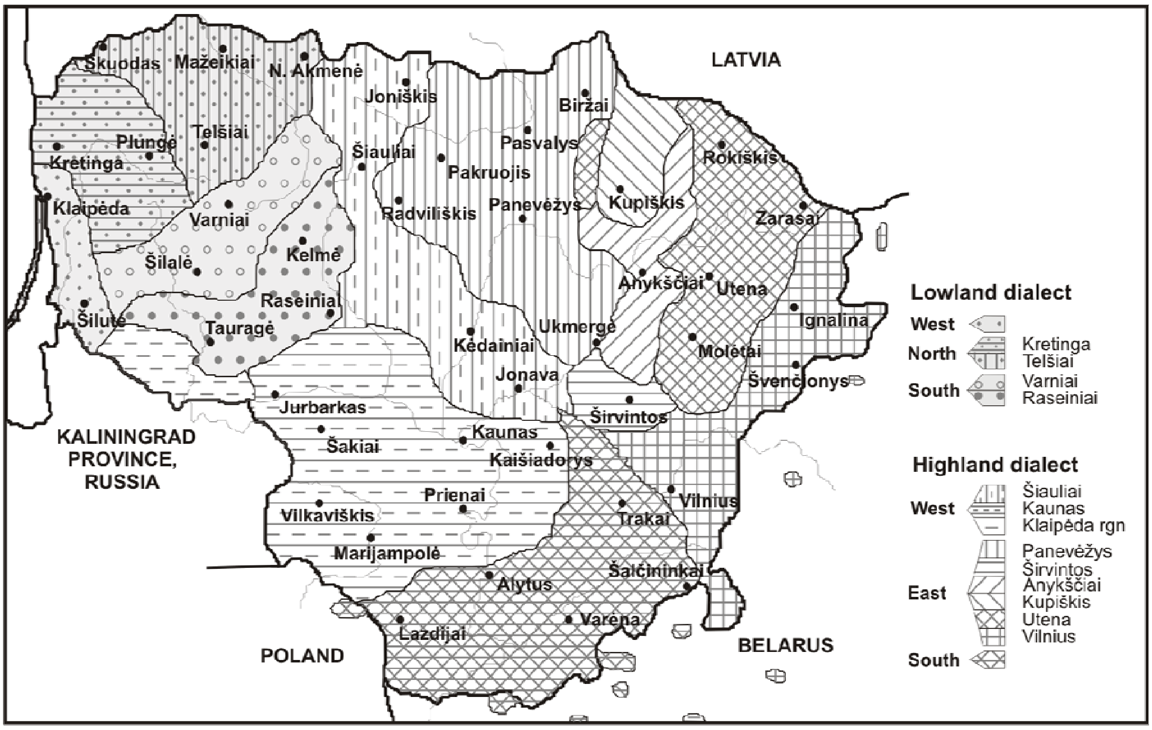
More than a hundred years have passed since Lithuanian was shaped into a standard language. The chronology of the period marks key changes in language functioning and ideologies. This chapter introduces the period of formation of Standard Lithuanian (SL), then the years of Soviet modernism and, finally, the period of accelerated globalisation, with its outset coinciding with the restoration of Lithuania’s independence. Much attention is given to the historic context, which has led to a clearly articulated ideology of standardisation. Reference is made to fairly scarce data on SL usage.

NATIONAL STATE AND SL FORMATION

Lithuanian language historians categorise written SL as a late, consciously engineered dialect-selection standard; the process of selecting one dialect was reinforced by national movement and completed at the end of the 19th century. The selected dialect was the southern sub-dialect of West Highland (WH) (see Kaunas on Map 1).



Map 1: Lithuanian dialects (Institute of the Lithuanian Language, 2005)

There were several reasons for selecting the WH dialect. The region had a strong economic position and a number of patriotic intellectuals originated from there. The dialect had been used for writing since the 17th century in Lithuania Minor, a historical ethnic region of Prussia (which later formed part of the German Empire, East Prussia; most of the territory today is part of Kaliningrad Province of Russia). At the time of dialect selection, Lithuania Major was governed by the Russian Empire, which in 1864–1905 imposed a ban on publications using the Roman alphabet. Newspapers were, however, illegally brought in from Prussia. Using the same dialect for first Lithuanian periodicals was probably more practical.

Alongside tradition, dialect selection might have been determined by symbolic factors to do with the high status of Lithuanian within historical linguistics as an 'archaic' Indo-European language. The WH was described in German grammars of Lithuanian in the 19th century (August Schleicher 1856; Friedrich Kurschat 1876). The model was taken over by German scholars of that time and adopted in comparative linguistics; due to its better-preserved Proto-Indo-European morphological features, it was considered more valuable from the scientific point of view. Codification of SL was decisively influenced by West Highlander, Jonas Jablonskis (1860–1930) and his grammar (1901).

At the time of selecting a dialect for SL, the dialect of the capital Vilnius played no major role; the dominant language here was the local variety of Polish. When Lithuania became independent, the region of Vilnius was occupied by Poland and the capital was transferred to Kaunas, the second largest city.

At the beginning of the 20th century the urban population of Lithuania was only 20% of the overall population, and it was either bilingual or trilingual. Lithuanian was used sparingly; Polish was dominant; Russian and Jewish were also prominent. The chances of either Vilnius or Kaunas becoming normative centres for spoken usage were slim, also because the written standard was taken to form the basis of spoken standard. Between the two world wars, Lithuanian was finally standardised (primarily the written code) and acquired the status of the national language. Efforts were made to 'purify' it from Polish and German loanwords. One of the principles of implementing SL was the following: 'Lithuanian spoken and written standard is an ideal to be pursued by all Lithuanians' (Zinkevičius 1992). As we shall see, this principle is still adhered to.

The spoken standard, adhered to by schools and the radio, was implemented slowly. To speed up the process, several pronunciation guides were published. Actors and newsreaders were to follow the codified norms and set an example to the people. The engineering of a strict standard ideal is a general characteristic of late standards. Based on already existing models of written and spoken standards of other languages, they have adopted the idea of invariance and required homogeneity of language usage almost at once; no variation was welcome (Subačius 2002). In other words, the boundaries of SL were clearly defined and interference from other dialects or languages was not tolerated.

STANDARD LITHUANIAN DURING SOVIET MODERNISM

Ideologies of culture and language

With natural processes of modernisation continuing in Western countries, re-occupied Lithuania lived through a period of stagnation. Sociologists referring to the development of the Eastern Block tend to adopt the term 'Soviet modernism', since social systems at that time acquired the specific features of a totalitarian regime. At first sight, Lithuania underwent the same industrial development. Urbanisation was rapidly changing the ratio between urban and rural populations; a major shift is claimed to have occurred around 1970, when cities made up half of the population (Anušauskas 2005). Soviet internationalisation, however, was rather specific: a policy of 'mixing nations' led to transferring Russian populations into the cities.

A major shift in forming SL was the monitoring of public life. Compared to pre-war Lithuania and developments in the West, the conditions of SL were rather different (cf. developments in Czechoslovakia, Hedin 2005). Retrospective analysis of the Lithuanian press shows that the ideological bias of the Soviet press was so strong, and public language so stiff, that it subdued any features of either genre or individual style (Marcinkevičienė 2008). Paradoxically, because of the intense monitoring of the public domain, the spoken language could come very close to the ideal SL. As seen from the normative texts of the period, high standard speakers included actors and newsreaders, i.e. those whose speech was either pre-planned or based on a written text.

For Soviet ideology, the unification of behaviour seemed to have been most instrumental. Public language was under the strict supervision of language editors. Language planning ideology was based on the priority of preserving ‘pure’ language. Still, it is difficult to say whether and to what extent this attitude was influenced by pre-war tradition, the use of historical forms of Lithuanian for Indo-European studies, and opposition to Russification, and to what extent it was the hidden ideology that strove to suppress symbols of national identity being used for the purposes of modern nationalism. Current research has shown that many cultural forms and practices were purposefully turned into museum exhibits. Either due to the above, or to the fact that natural development of a national state was suspended for 50 years, the ‘purity’ of SL as a symbol of national identity was declared as a priority over its instrumental function and remains so today.

Another distinctive feature of the Soviet value system was the presumption that people are inclined to negative influences, and hence needed to be educated. Individual language features, dialects and vernaculars were treated as impediments to the targeted linguistic ideal. As already pointed out, striving for uniformity is characteristic of late standards; however, in Soviet times and afterwards, this ideal was set very high. The following definition of SL featured in a textbook on the history of SL: ‘[a] cultivated, model language whose norms we treat as well-formed, obligatory to all and which we would not violate’ (Palionis 1979: 5).

Soviet times witnessed a number of publications on language norms. The Commission for the Lithuanian Language was set up in 1961; a glossary of lexical and grammatical corrections was prepared in 1976 and it became the bible of language editors. All the same, linguistic usage developed independently. The gap between the real and the ideal might have been one of the reasons why, in normative texts, standardisation was described as ‘work earning no gratitude’ from the ‘uneducated society’.

The language ideal and real usage

One of the most distinctive negative factors in the development of SL in Soviet times was the explicit policy of promoting Russian. Bilingualism limited the usage of SL to public domains. A decisive factor in SL development from the very beginning was annihilating intellectuals, mainly through deportation, mass murder and emigration. However, dialect levelling and the spread of SL were determined by the same factors as in other countries: mobility of the population, urbanisation and mass media.

Data on tendencies in SL usage is rather scarce and hardly ever based on a systemic analysis of empirical data; they derive mainly from normative articles of that time. Language corrections show a tendency to mostly criticise spoken urban language – semi-private and rarely occurring spontaneous public speech, since written and spoken (or rather, read) media was subject to editing. As already discussed, the ideal was only attainable by newsreaders and actors, albeit not all of them. Linguists, editors, some journalists and writers were also among those who were categorised as more or less conforming to the set spoken norm, and this group comprised a few hundred or so language users. Other educated people, let alone ordinary people, were treated as unable to learn SL. Bilingualism and dialects, including different vowel qualities and different accentuation, were identified as threats. It had thus become common practice to require public speakers to undergo specific pronunciation training.

The ideological climate was unfavourable for dialects. The Soviets imposed an attitude that dialects ‘hindered communication, were indicators of low education and remnants of feudalism’ (Girdenis 1981). In some provincial schools children were not allowed to speak dialect even during the breaks; in local meetings people were requested to speak SL, which contributed to the feeling of being ashamed to speak the dialect. Since the 1980s, dialectal speaking has been rehabilitated. However, boundaries between dialect and standard have continued to be imposed. Dialects were influenced by inter-dialects emerging in cities. The linguistic literature makes some reference to the preference given to the language spoken in Vilnius. The capital is claimed to have exerted an influence, albeit not exclusively positive, over the whole country (thus the Vilnius dialect did not have the characteristics of an ideal). As late as 1970s the claim was made that the 'ratio of standardisation' of spoken SL was not very high, since there were no people who would be born with that standard language (Girdenis 1973).

THE PERIOD OF INDEPENDENT LITHUANIA

Post-Soviet ideologies of language standardisation

In 1989 the restoration of an independent Lithuania instigated a national movement and the revival of a historical link with the pre-war state. At the same time, Lithuania experienced the impact of globalisation processes and developments in information technology, as well as post-modern ideas which were blocked under the Soviet regime. This contradictory situation, together with inherited practices of administering relations between the state and its citizens, influenced standardisation ideologies.

To protect SL from 'too much democracy' and globalisation, efforts are being taken to strengthen the institutional apparatus of language supervision. The State Language Commission is fully authorised to regulate language usage; its regulations are *compulsory* for public space. The State Language Inspection and municipal language police has been established to oversee the implementation of policies and impose fines for the grammatical, lexical and pronunciation 'errors' included into the *List of Major Language Errors*. Television and radio are required to take responsibility for disseminating established SL norms. Journalists are closely watched; those who not adhere to the codified norm are advised… to leave their jobs.

To justify such an extensive system of monitoring, romantic rhetoric is used: the preservation of language is said to be related to the preservation of the nation. Historical conditions as well as ignorant language users are blamed for the gap between prescriptive norms and actual usage. When code implementation fails and the codified norms are not adhered to by users (first of all in public domains), an attempt is made to change language habits rather than the norms. Society is referred to in paternalistic tones: people are said to be in need of instruction and advice as to which norms should be given preference, for their own sake. Urban surroundings are treated as particularly detrimental for the ideal language system; urban language is often called 'semi-language'. Even regional schools are blamed for 'skill gaps' in standard pronunciation. However, the idea of preserving dialects as a symbol of ethnic identity has been introduced, and this ideological *détente* becomes noticeable in initiatives from below: some local newspapers are published in dialect, a Wikipedia entry in Lowland dialect is being set up.

Thus in post-modern Lithuania language standardisation has become even more institutionalised. According to cultural philosophers, post-Soviet mentality can still be characterised by an opposition to modernisation. Language policy has become part of the Lithuanian culture of preservation, which 'sacrifices its vitality and relevance in an attempt to preserve stability' (Daugirdas 2008: 83–91).

At the same time, life conditions have changed *radically*. Post-modern values and the possibility of freely expressing one's ideas have uncovered a discrepancy between official language ideologies and the attitudes of language users. Though there is much support for the idea of preserving one nation and one 'pure' language, a great deal of criticism is levelled against the top-down language policy, both by *vox populi* and by intellectuals. The normativists are accused of taking possesion of the language and creating ‘artificial’ SL.

Alongside public discussions, a unique genre of parody has developed in Lithuania. Since the very first years of state independence, prime-time weekly TV, radio (later also Internet) comedy sketch shows have included scenes with normative linguist characters who use ideal pronunciation and prescriptive rhetoric and correct the language of other speakers (five different shows with such sketches have been produced so far). Both archive copies and new sketches are being posted on *YouTube* alongside more amateurish equivalents. Popular folklore mimicking new coinages of replacements for borrowings is flourishing on web forums too. Another symptomatic phenomenon is a common phrase: ‘I apologise to the gate-keepers’. This is very often pronounced before uttering a norm-violating (usually colloquial) form in public and is meant as an explanation that a speaker is aware of the SL norm, but needs to use an ‘incorrect’ form for some purposes (and it might imply an effort to insure the speaker against retribution from the Language Inspectors).

SL under the conditions of free state and free public language

As can be seen from the historical review, there have been considerable efforts to implement an ideal spoken standard. However, in independent Lithuania public space has been rocked by enormous changes. In 1993 commercial TV channels appeared, the number of broadcasters increased and, most importantly, spontaneous language use by different speakers to different audiences began to occur. It has been noted that contemporary mass media, both written and spoken, can be characterised by a much lesser degree of formality, by intertextuality, humour, elements of slang and borrowings (Koženiauskienė 2001; Marcinkevičienė 2008). Monitoring public space has become almost impossible, and it has turned out that the ideal standard could hardly be realised *live*: ‘Democracy opened the door to the language *what it is now* rather than what it *should be* [italics added]’ (Miliūnaitė 2009: 68).

Prescriptivists are not satisfied with the ‘what it is now’ orientation to SL, and their reports conclude that ‘norms are falling apart’ and that the language ‘is approaching the boundaries of degeneration’. Numerous journalists are severely criticised for common prosodic and phonetic deviations from WH-based ‘received pronunciation’ and for their informal, ordinary style of speaking without pre-edited and correctly accentuated written text. In this context, research into the attitudes of well-known and experienced TV and radio journalists was launched. A qualitative analysis using six parameters (concept and models of good language, own linguistic behavior, attitudes towards language variation in media, willingness to conform to the SL norms, evaluation of language policy) showed that most journalists, even when asked directly in an interview, to a greater or lesser extent expressed a preference for the ordinary standard and are unwilling to obey the prescriptive values of official ideology. Modern SL is mostly supported by professional popular programme leaders, but even the ‘serious’ TV sector is marked by swinging individual attitudes. The primary data show a correlation between the attitudes of the respondents and their own language usage, but even the most formal and conservative code of academic programs fails to conform to the ideal standard (Vaicekauskienė 2011).

A tendency to give preference to ordinary language has been confirmed by other tentative research. It has become obvious that, for more than a hundred years, no ideal usage has actually evolved. According to one journalist, ‘it is abnormal that each mass medium has to have a linguist who corrects each text, because people do not speak like this. It means that the official Lithuanian is a dead language’. The above-mentioned parodies can also serve as an indication of the gap between codified ideal norms and actual usage. Normative publications also themselves conclude that ‘exemplary’ speech is used by very few. Regional surveys claim that spoken SL competence of both students and teachers has been negatively influenced by dialects.

Regional dialects are still present in Lithuania; however, it remains unclear to what extent regional centres function as reference points for language prestige. It has been shown that social correlates of dialectal speaking include more mature age and lower education; the dialects are considered appropriate for private communication or jokes; it is still rare to find open preference for dialects as compared to SL being expressed. However, dialects are maintained by group solidarity (Aliūkaitė 2005; Ramonienė 2006). It should be noted that surveys focusing on attitudes do not specify the content of SL, and it is not very clear which variety of SL is being evaluated. It is highly improbable that it could be the rarely heard ideal variety, and 'standard' most likely refers to an unofficial modern standard identified with the dialect of Vilnius city. The linguistic literature also has some hints that the language of Vilnius is the preferred norm (Grumadienė 1980). According to pilot experimental research, the personal traits of speakers of the Vilnius variety are evaluated more positively than those of dialect speakers, except in the dimension of social attractiveness.

DISCUSSION

From a sociolinguistic point of view the situation of SL is particularly interesting. Up to today ideologists of standardisation have made efforts to establish an ideal standard based on so-called prestige norms. In practice, the ideal language, both written and spoken, is realised only at very great cost, with the help of professional editing work. Other varieties of SL are practically not acknowledged, and variation is accepted only to a small degree. SL is by definition treated as a fixed, norm-based construct which must be regulated in terms of correctness. This 'very best' variety is said to serve as identification symbol of the nation.

Thus, standardisation ideologies in Lithuania have largely remained unchanged over the years, except that the argumentation has changed. At the beginning of the 20th century a common language for the nation had to be created – in Soviet times as a defence against Russification, later, against the dangers of globalisation and democracy. Attempts to engineer extreme language homogeneity cause dissatisfactions: there were some tensions in this regard in pre-war Lithuania, and now they have become even greater. What could be interpreted as a modestly positive ideological shift relates to dialects; however, SL has preserved its official intolerance of dialect interference.

Changes in broadcasting have instigated the emergence of *actual* spoken SL. This is a variety with distinctive features of prosody and phonetics, which might be related to informal style. Its relationship with the sociolects of Vilnius awaits investigation. Another issue to be clarified concerns relations between media language and audience uptake. As one journalist involved in the above-mentioned study put it:

> There is a tendency for mass media to become more and more stratified in attempting to identify *their own* audiences. […] The standard language, obviously, is needed; an attempt is made to use it, since it would be important to have *all* the audience; however, there is a tendency to speak to your audience *in your own…their* language.

A tendency to use an unofficial standard in public has shown that the reference point for the preferred norm is changing. It remains to clarify *whose* language variety is given preference.

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The standard language situation in The Netherlands

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INTRODUCTION

This report focuses on contemporary evolutions in the Standard Dutch spoken in The Netherlands. It makes no reference to the (complex) situation in Flanders, the Dutch-speaking part of Belgium (see Willemyns 2003 and Grondelaers and Van Hout [to appear] for extensive overviews of the Flemish standard language situation).

The report discusses three recurrently observed examples of norm relaxation in Netherlandic Standard Dutch (first section), and ensuing changes in the Standard Language Ideologies which negotiate and construct these phenomena (second section); in the third section we illustrate on-going ideological change on the basis of a brief content analysis of viewer reactions to a televised debate on the most notorious innovation in Standard Dutch.

RECENT INNOVATIONS IN NETHERLANDIC STANDARD DUTCH

Although the Dutch spoken in The Netherlands meets the standardisation criteria outlined in Haugen (1966) – see De Vries (1987) and Smakman (2006) – there is some controversy as to *how* standard Standard Dutch (still) is. As in other European standard languages (Deumert and Vandenbussche 2003), the recent history of Netherland Standard Dutch is characterised by the emergence of norm extensions which lead to conflicting opinions about the future of Dutch.

Three changes have by now been widely discussed. As early as the 1950's linguists observed a certain tolerance towards minute regional characteristics in standard speech (see Smakman 2006: 48 for an overview) which did not, however, threaten the dominance of Western-sounding speech at that time. In present-day Standard Dutch, however, there appears to be regional flavouring in a clear majority of standard speakers. In order to investigate this hypothesis, Van Hout *et al*. (1999) compiled the Teacher Corpus, a stratified database of sociolinguistic interviews with secondary school teachers of Dutch. Building on this corpus, Adank, Van Hout and Van de Velde (2007) demonstrated that the regional background of the teachers could be automatically determined on the basis of no more than vowel formant measurements.

The second phenomenon is a more recent evolution (noticed first in Stroop 1998) which concerns the lowering of diphthongs – notably [ei] – in the speech of young, educated middle class females (indexing 'intellectualism, commercialism and pop culture' [Smakman 2006: 50]). Jacobi (2008) reported that the phonetic lowering of the onset of some diphthongs has now also spread to educated *male* standard speakers.

While both developments represent phonetic extensions to the spoken standard, the youngest and most controversial development involves an ongoing *morpho-syntactic* change. For a couple of decades linguists have noted the rapid spread of the object form *hun* of the 3rd person pronoun in subject position, as in *Als je zo speelt krijgen hun natuurlijk altijd kansen* 'If one plays like that *them* will always get chances' (Van Hout 2003: 277). In contrast with the norm extensions discussed in the previous paragraphs, this change excites (extreme) irritation on the part of teachers and language purifiers (see for instance the quotes in Van Hout 2006: 42). A recurrent argument for this irritation – as Van Hout (*ibid.*) summarises it – is that the erroneous use of *hun* is thought to 'spring from ignorance or worse still, from stupidity. For the rule is so evident: use *zij* or *ze* for the subject.' Van Hout, however, convincingly argues that the use of *hun* as an emphasised subject pronoun is system-internally advantageous because it reduces the massive double-duty inherent in the current pronoun system, as a result of which it is also natural that it occurs so early in child language (see especially Van Hout 2006). Since, in addition, there is evidence that *hun* is also rapidly spreading in the dialects, and since it indexes the language of famous Dutch football players (which lends the phenomenon covert prestige), Van Hout predicts that '*hun* will eventually win in Standard Dutch' (p. 285), in spite of his personal abhorrence of the phenomenon. We will come back to this controversial innovation in the third section.

HOW ARE THESE CHANGES CONSTRUCTED IN NETHERLANDIC STANDARD LANGUAGE IDEOLOGY/IES?

It should be noticed that the increasing variability outlined in the previous paragraphs is not in itself indicative of decreasing standardness. Language is in constant flux and even among prototypical standard speakers of Dutch, there is evidence of variation (Smakman 2006). The basic question to ask, therefore, is how and to what extent the increasing variability is negotiated in the communal assessment which ultimately determines what is standard or not. The latter amounts to an investigation into 'standard language ideology' (SLI). SLI designates a normative ideology imposed and sustained by institutions such as (formal) education and the media, but maintained by (silent) agreement between the language users. The term 'standard language ideology' was coined in Milroy and Milroy (1985: 23) to denote 'a set of abstract norms to which actual usage may conform to a greater or lesser extent'. On a related note, Silverstein (1979) defines 'linguistic ideology' as a 'set of beliefs about language articulated by users as a rationalisation or justification of perceived language structure and use' (Silverstein 1979: 193; repeated in Woolard 1998: 4).

If the latter is correct, then how do Dutch SLIs reflect the increasing variability in today's Standard Dutch? The available evidence suggests that there are two ideologies, a conservative and a liberal one. Early discourses about Standard Dutch are typically conservative. Building on Jespersen's definition of a standard language, Van Haeringen (1924) postulated that cultured Dutch should not contain any trace of the regional origin of the speaker. While he agreed to some personal variation in the implementation of this ideal, Van Haeringen strictly rejected systematic variation which was indexical of a speaker's geographic origin.

It is unlikely, however, that this 'strong' ideology ever corresponded to a widely used accent-free 'best' language. Kloeke (1951: 8) rejected the regional neutrality ideal of a uniform standard language as a 'myth', and estimated that actual competence in a variation-free variety was limited to no more than 3 % of the Dutch (Willemyns 2003: 110). In actual fact, the standard variety of Dutch which emerged between 1920 and 1940 was modelled on the speech of the (upper) middle class inhabitants of the Western cities of the Randstad (Willemyns 2003, Smakman 2006). This middle class Randstad variety was promoted through the educational system and the media (Willemyns 2003: 110), though its gradual acceptance appears to be consensus-based rather than enforced: there has always been national agreement that Randstad Dutch is the best variety of Dutch (De Vries 1987: 127–128; Smakman 2006: 162), and the Western dominance is also rooted in the subconscious conceptualisations of the Dutch, who invariably award the highest status ratings to Randstad speech (Heijmer and Vonk 2002, Grondelaers *et al*. 2010, Grondelaers and Van Hout 2010). A concrete indication of how conservative ideology gradually ratified the Western variety is the fact that typically Western pronunciation features – such as the diphthongisation of the long middle vowels (/e/, /eu/ and /o/) and uvular realisation of /g/ – which were previously labelled non-standard are now considered to be standard, even by speakers who do not use these features themselves (Willemyns 2003: 120, fn. 17).

Prior to the last decades, SLI in The Netherlands reflected and constructed a relatively uniform usage without systematic variation beyond the Western roots of Netherlandic Standard Dutch. The post-war influx of immigrants whose native language is not Dutch, however, and the progressive informalisation and norm relaxation (which affects all European standard languages, cf. Deumert and Vandenbussche 2003) have given rise to increasing variability in Standard Dutch. This new linguistic reality has spawned a more liberal ideology in addition to existing conservative views and discourses.

There are three types of evidence that SLI is being 'relaxed' to accommodate (some) variability. On an anecdotal note, Willemyns (2003: 113) observes the striking difference between the definitions of Standard Dutch forwarded in the two editions of the *Algemene Nederlandse Spraakkunst* ('General Grammar of Dutch'). Whereas the first edition insists on a variation-free definition of Standard Dutch (Geerts *et al*. 1984: 10), the second defines Standard Dutch as a 'language variety in which no elements appear which clearly stand out as non-general' (Haeseryn *et al*. 1997: 16), a characterisation which appears to leave some room for variation. In addition, the actual implementation of the standard norm in the Dutch media is also indicative of increased tolerance towards variation. Van de Velde, Van Hout and Gerritsen (1997) argue convincingly for a 'continual interplay between radio language (...) and standard language', to the extent that radio language is indicative of prevailing opinions on standardness. In this view, the fact that a regionally neutral pronunciation is no longer a prerequisite for Dutch radio presenters (Smakman 2006: 48; Stroop 2000) testifies to a gradual acceptance of accented standard speech.

More importantly, there is attitudinal evidence which confirms the subconscious acceptance of variation in Standard Dutch, but which also allows us to determine the nature of the ongoing ideological change. All the available speaker-evaluation evidence pertaining to Netherlandic Standard Dutch (Grondelaers *et al*. 2010) confirms that the Randstad accent is deemed the most beautiful variety of Dutch, and the most appropriate variety for formal interaction. Yet, there is no general downgrading of non-Western accents. While Limburg-accented speech is considered somewhat less beautiful than Randstad speech, it is not downgraded for formal interaction (when compared, for instance, to Northern or Eastern-sounding speech which receives very low ratings). And the listener-judges in Van Bezooijen (2001) likewise consider non-accented spoken Standard Dutch to be the most beautiful variety of Dutch, but especially younger listeners find Poldernederlands equally appropriate for formal interaction. We will come back to the consequences of this evidence in the concluding section.

In the following section we will report a third type of evidence which strongly indicates that ideological change has lead to the emergence of a 'liberal' ideology in addition to the conservative ideology.

IDEOLOGIES IN ACTION (AT WAR)

Although language ideologies are driven and maintained by concrete institutions such as (formal) education and the media, they are for the most part hidden; according to Fairclough (2001: 71), ideology is more effective when 'its workings are least visible'. Ideologies are therefore difficult to access and articulate explicitly (Woolard 1998), and we have accordingly cited different sorts of evidence in support of the ideologies we distinguish.

But sometimes one gets lucky. On February 9th, 2010, the notorious Dutch television show *De wereld draait door* – which means 'The world goes on' in Dutch, but also 'The world is becoming mad' – featured a debate between the Nijmegen professor of linguistics Helen de Hoop and Ronald Plasterk, the then Minister of Education, Culture and Science. De Hoop and

Plasterk had been invited on account of the former's postulation that no matter how controversial, the subject use of the object pronoun *hun* (cf. above) is a system-internally logical and useful innovation of Dutch, because it exclusively refers to persons, whereas the available pronouns *ze/zij* are ambiguous as between persons and objects. Because of the controversy of the matter, De Hoop's theoretically well-founded position – which converges well with Van Hout's earlier claims (2003, 2006) – made it to a national newspaper. So did Plasterk's reaction that he would 'never officially allow *Hun hebben* ['them have'] in the Dutch language'.

The actual debate in *De wereld draait door* did not solve the matter – the format is awfully short, and the presenter appeared to be more intent on stirring up animosity than on assisting the protagonists – but the more than 100 online viewer reactions testified not only to the controversy of the issue, but also (and much more importantly for the purpose of this overview) to conflicting language ideologies. We believe, more specifically, that the strong emotions and the overall lack of restraint in the ensuing online debate revealed underlying ideologies more clearly and transparently than other (explicit) articulations.

The best evidence for the existence of two ideologies (instead of one which is being relaxed) is the fact that the debate split viewers in two camps. Some viewers supported Plasterk and instantiated an ideology in their comments which could be paraphrased as 'a sensible community makes agreements on the linguistic choices it allows, and community members should accordingly have the intelligence and decency to acquire and obey these agreements'. Other viewers followed De Hoop's argument and instantiated an underlying ideology which can be paraphrased as 'language inevitably changes, and the norm should (be flexible enough to) accommodate functionally advantageous changes'.

Space limitations preclude a full overview of the viewer comments from which we have inferred these ideologies, but there are quote-worthy passages which highlight some (unexpected) aspects of the ideologies. First, it is interesting to note that conservative viewers sign their contributions significantly more often with their real name and surname than their progressive opponents. This tendency reflects the larger societal prestige of the conservative ideology – people will identify themselves more easily when they represent a socially accepted view –, but it also allows us to retrieve some of the demographic properties of the conservative viewers (in as far as they are available on the internet). This investigation shows us that although identifiable conservative viewers are almost always representative of the 'bloc institutions' which impose and sustain ideologies (they are university professors – but not linguists, see below –, secondary school teachers of Dutch, publishing professionals, members of the legal profession), they typically focus on the consensus-based aspect of normative behaviour:

> Her explanation for the popularity of 'hun' may be scientifically interesting, but the justification (which will inevitably follow in the eyes of the common people) for the appropriate and inappropriate use of 'hun' is a horrible prospect. You may be right in claiming that this matter is not about right or wrong, Mrs. De Hoop, but about what *we agree on amongst ourselves. If we ignore these agreements, then the end is near.* (Italics ours; all quotes cited here are English translations of a Dutch original)

> Language *agreements* exist in my view to ensure that language remains sufficiently uniform in order not to cause confusion among people who want to communicate.

All professional linguists among the viewers, however, agree with De Hoop:

> It often happens that the standard language changes on account of the dialects. And then it is not possible, as Plasterk alleges, to declare that one wants to stop this. That's the greatest nonsense I've ever heard. Language is language, and language changes. In France they have an official institute to protect their language (ridiculous!), but they can't avoid that the spoken language changes. Consequence: I can't follow any conversation in the French streets with my secondary school French.

While the linguistic establishment used to be the driving force in the standardisation of Dutch (Geeraerts, Grondelaers and Speelman 1999; Stroop 2000), this evidence seems to indicate that linguists have 'changed camp'. There are other indications that Dutch linguists are increasingly reluctant to uphold one uniform best language. Bennis's (2003) contentions that the Dutch language 'is no longer the exclusive property of an elitist upper class of the Dutch population' and that 'the norm-imposing establishment is us all', for instance, are strongly indicative of a 'relocation' of the responsibility for standard language maintenance to the layman.

CONCLUSION

We have shown that increasing norm deviation in Netherlandic Standard Dutch has given rise to a liberal Standard Language Ideology, in addition to a conservative SLI. This liberal ideology transpires in the treatment of variation in the media and in the standard grammar of Dutch, but it is also reflected in lay conceptualisations of Standard Dutch, and it fuels anti-normative views of language.

Yet, there is no indication that The Netherlands is losing its standard language, or relaxing its standard language ideal: there are simply more varieties of Dutch (regionally accented standard speech, Poldernederlands) which satisfy that ideal. We have proposed elsewhere (Grondelaers and Van Hout, to appear) that this public acceptance of variability in Netherlandic Dutch is proof of the stratification the Netherlandic standard is undergoing in order to carry regional and social identities. In this respect, the downward norm relaxation attested in this chapter is not a form of substandardisation or standard demise – as purported by influential linguists like Stroop (2010) or Van der Horst (2008) – but a form of standard enrichment: while it becomes less general, the standard also becomes less sterile by acquiring social meanings and adapting to more diverse contexts of use.

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Language culture in Norway: A tradition of questioning standard language norms

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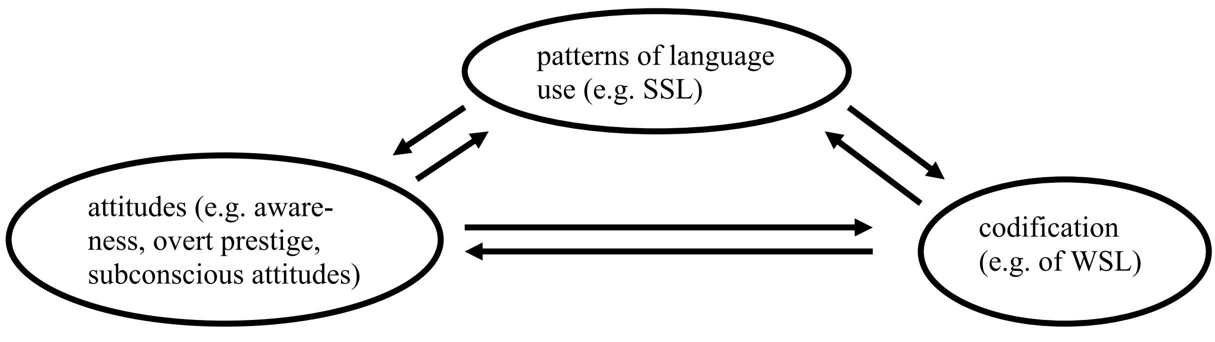
SPOKEN STANDARD LANGUAGE (SSL)

The term 'standard language' is not widely known in Norwegian. A traditional term in Norway has been *normalmål*, meaning 'language norm authorised by the state', and this has applied first and foremost to our two written language versions: Bokmål and Nynorsk.

With respect to spoken language, the situation is more complex, as no single language variety has been authorised as a standard for spoken Norwegian, and language conflict in Norway has stressed exactly the political issue that authorising one variety would give privileges to some specific social group and be intolerant towards other groups. The verb *normalisere* has been used for 'speaking in accordance with the norms for written language', and this corresponds to the use of 'spoken standard language' (SSL), as described below. Here we should note, however, that this language is standardised with respect only to vocabulary, syntax and morphology – where the norm for written language is easily transferable. This standardisation does not apply to phonology, as people use the phonology of their local dialect. This is also how we read texts aloud at school. A Norwegian speaking one of the standards is therefore expected to replace local words, to adapt to the standard's distribution of pronominal case forms, stick to the standard's declensional classes etc., however, not to replace his or her retroflex flaps or intonation pattern. As a consequence of this language policy, dictionaries published by the authorities do not include information on pronunciation (except for some foreign words).

There are several ways of defining the term 'standard language'. In order to compare the standard-vs.-dialects conflict in different communities it is important to define the key concepts precisely. In order to study the interplay between the many forces involved in this conflict, our definition of SSL should be based on as few criteria as possible, to avoid the concept overlapping with other necessary concepts. My suggestion, very much inspired by Swann *et al*. (2004: 195ff.), is: *a common language variety to which people switch in certain settings or with the intention of communicating to a broader public*. Thus, the relevant data for observing SSL include only observations of sociolinguistic patterns of code-switching.

The other factors in the mix will be defined independently of SSL, and they can draw on various types of sociological data (ideological included), for instance whether or not the language variety is authorised and codified, is described (grammatically and lexically), corresponds to a written standard language (WSL), has influence on dialect changes, and has prestige. Having defined the various factors/notions of interest for the research question as independent of each other, we are able to avoid circular argumentation and to study empirically whether some of them correlate and to discuss whether one is an effect or a cause of the other:



Most important in our discussion is to keep the notion of prestige apart from the notion of SSL because it is relevant in the Norwegian context to discuss the two different historical lines that Ammon (2004) has indicated: on the one hand that a prestigious language variety can become the standard language, on the other that a standard language can gain prestige. This aspect of Norwegian language history will be outlined in the following section.

STANDARDISATION INTO THE 1960S

In 1814 Norway acquired almost full sovereignty and started a radical democratisation process, after having been subordinated to the Danish crown since the Middle Ages. For the next century, i.e. until 1905, the country had a personal union with Sweden under the Swedish king. The sudden turn of history in 1814 coincided with the prelude to National Romanticism.

Since the Late Middle Ages the Danish written language based on the Copenhagen spoken variety had been accepted in Norway. The bourgeoisie and people of the official authorities had, during the 18th century, established a spoken class-variety of Danish based on the written code, but with many compromises to local Norwegian phonology. In 1814 the Danish written language was taken as the given Language – a common language to two from now on independent states. This turned soon out to represent a dilemma, from which the Norwegian authorities tried to escape by using the term 'mother tongue'! The most prestigious pronunciation of the common Danish-Norwegian language was the Copenhagen one, which was practised for instance in theatres.

In the middle of the century it became essential for the cultural elite to establish the characteristic criteria of a Nation, i.e. literature, music, folklore, language, etc., and Ivar Aasen's coinage of the New Norwegian written language took advantage of this historic opportunity. But during the last half of the century a new awareness arose that language was a matter of social and cultural distinction and of democracy. There was also progress in economic life, and the bourgeoisie had developed a pride in its own language variety independent of the previous Danish ideal. The educationist Knud Knudsen was a catalyst in this development in his advocacy of 'the daily language of the cultured in towns'. He was at the same time a spokesman for modernising the school system, i.e. of introducing new subjects and relinquishing the classical languages. This implemented the alternative national language route: to change the Danish written language into a Norwegian one, and several spelling reforms were introduced in textbooks. Thus, from the last decades of the 19th century Norway has had two competing written language versions, and the state authorities have been an active participant in language policy.

The Left party demonstrated its social and democratic perspective by supporting the rights of the New Norwegian written language, and determinedly supporting the nationalisation of the Danish written language, with the argument that this would be advantageous for common people, pedagogically and socially. From 1910 there was a proclaimed policy that the two written language versions in some future should become fused into one, changing step-by-step in the direction of ordinary people's vernacular. New spelling reforms were introduced in 1917, 1938 and 1959 with this aim (spelling refers here to both orthography and morphology) (Haugen 1966; Vikør 1975, 2001).

An effect of the competition between two language versions and the consecutive changes has been an awareness that there is not one single self-evident written language form. In the political efforts to model one future common language the authorities were pragmatic and introduced quite a lot of free spelling choices within the written norms, in order not to challenge the conservative groups too much and in order to allow for a change in people's writing habits to take some time. This rather extensive freedom of choice opened up a wide range of accepted writing practices. This language situation has certainly undermined centralised authority and challenged what might otherwise have been the indisputable status of the language norm; it has also influenced Norwegians' awareness and understanding of language.

In 1878 the Norwegian Parliament included in a school law a section saying that teachers should adapt their language of instruction to the local dialect, and pupils were both allowed and encouraged to use their own dialect. This was, of course, a provocation to the cultural and social elite, since their prestigious language varieties were no longer self-evident models. In towns, however, this section was ignored by many teachers, and incidents of correcting pupils' vernacular in the classroom continued there into the second half of the 20th century. In the historical context of 1878, this decision was part of the 'National Question'; the language and culture of the social elite were not fully accepted as national values.

On the other hand, there has been a long tradition for adults to tend to standardise their language when speaking with people from other parts of the country, especially with persons from higher classes. Rural people have also tended to standardise when they went to town. This inclination to code-switching was, however, not universal. Blom and Gumperz's (1972) well-known study from Hemnesberget describes a society where code-switching was learnt at school and where switching depended on situation and topic when people met. The study is sparsely documented, and it has been criticised by scholars for not being a trustworthy description of a Norwegian community (Mæhlum 1987).

The situation in the 1960s was still characterised by the post-war period, with strong centralisation economically as well as culturally. The main goals after the war were to rebuild industry and welfare, improve general education, secure economic efficiency, etc. People often moved from local communities in the periphery, and cultural life was stamped by the values of economic centres. In this respect, Norway showed tendencies of becoming a 'normal' European nation in which language reflected authority. In 1966 a government committee presented a report on the language situation, and a majority wanted pupils to be instructed in using a standard language. However, this proposal was not approved.

The areas with a strong tradition of standardisation are theatre, media and some formal public situations. Actors learnt to pronounce Bokmål and Nynorsk (New Norwegian) with South-East Norwegian phonology, whereas in radio the two standard languages were pronounced with the speaker's own dialectal phonology. This has also been the situation for priests, public servants, salesmen, etc., who all were expected to use a standard language in their professional work. Students too normally standardised their spoken language.

THE NORWEGIAN 'DIALECT BOOM' FROM THE EARLY 1970S

In the middle of the 1960s a political discussion began on depopulation of the periphery, and political measures were introduced in order to change the situation. Little by little, regional awareness arose and political discourse over the next decade very much revolved around economic decentralisation. The referendum of 1972 on membership of the EEC (now EU) greatly enhanced this perspective and considerably broadened political involvement. This political shift had several cultural parallels, including an organised struggle for the general usage of dialects.

In public life, patterns have differed from area to area. At universities the tradition of speaking standard language was rapidly phased out in the 1970s and 1980s, and today it is normal for both teachers and students to use their own dialect or idiolect. In 1978 Omdal showed that 54% of students in Bergen claimed to switch between dialect and standard language; today such code-switching would be quite unusual. In the *Storting* (parliament) politicians also tended towards standardisation, but less so after the 1970s.

In business, the dominance of the Bokmål standard lasted much longer. As late as the 1970s, shop and office employees were instructed to abandon their dialects and switch to a Bokmål standard. In 1979 Strømsodd asked Oslo people about their tolerance of dialect use, and 77% accepted a plumber retaining his dialect, while only 43% accepted a lawyer doing so.

MORE MEDIA AND DIVERSE MEDIA

The Norwegian Broadcasting Company (NRK) had a monopoly of radio and television until about 1990, and its language form was considered essential in evaluating the quality of the broadcasts. This meant that NRK has been the most important intermediary for the two standard spoken languages. Ever since NRK was established in 1933, it has been important for it to be loyal towards the language policy provided by the state (Dahl and Bastiansen 1999: 262–270). A consequence of this loyalty was that great tolerance was practised towards dialectal variation in pronunciation of the standard languages. As formulated in the 1996 version of the guidelines: 'Staff members can freely choose among the forms accepted in the norms for written language. NRK appreciates that staff members in their choices of forms and pronunciation give the standard language a regional stamp'.

Standard *contra* dialect language turned out to be a hot-button issue. In more and more broadcasts journalists started using dialect. A considerable increase in dialect use was observed as early as the 1960s (Nesse 2007: 120). From the 1980s only news broadcasts and announcements were expected to be made in a standard language. In the 1990s the rules were relaxed one step further: only news headlines and announcements read from manuscripts were mandated to be in a standard language, and eventually, from 2010, even news may be read in dialect.

These changes in the language policy of NRK are certainly a result of challenges from other radio and TV channels. Alternative radio channels were introduced in the 1980s, and TV channels in the 1990s. These channels developed a more informal style, and using local accents or dialects was a characteristic from early on. While those advocating standard language in NRK still argued that a precondition for efficient communication was that the broadcaster's personal language should not distract from the message itself, TV2 – the most serious challenger – justified its liberal policy with the assertion that good broadcasting was achieved only when it had a personal stamp. TV2 was thus a forerunner in the change of media style, and NRK had to play catch-up. Despite this, however, we should bear in mind that even in TV2 standard language is still extensively used, especially where the texts are based on written manuscripts. In a Nordic Gallup poll, summarised in Kristiansen and Vikør (2006: 208ff.), it appears that Norway is by far the most liberal society with respect to attitudes to the use of non-standard varieties in spoken media.

Regional features have been more and more accepted, even preferred. For the last decade (or perhaps two), actors are more and more often allowed to speak their own dialect on the stage. This new trend can be a way of making theatre more realistic, as in daily life people talk together in different dialects. This 'realistic style' has been normal for a long time in film production.

In church the priests normally used a standard language. However, since the 1970s the pattern has gradually changed, and priests nowadays often use the standard language for the liturgy but switch to their own dialect when preaching their sermons. Recently, some have even started using their dialect consistently throughout the church service.

DESTANDARDISATION AND DEMOTISATION

The Norwegian language community has experienced an extensive destandardisation, demonstrated in Table 1. Nowadays, complaints about incomprehensible dialects have become rare in public discourse, and a governmental report of 2008 on language policy (St.meld.nr. 35) does not comment on spoken standard language, but notes the fact that media style has become informal during the last decades (p. 158). The white cells in Table 1 illustrate how use of dialect instead of standard (grey cells) becomes socially acceptable in an increasing number of social contexts in the period 1950–2010.

Table 1: Social acceptance of dialect use (white cells) in various domains at various times

Situation / role	*Among friends*	*Within the family*	*Pupils*	*National politicians*	*Teachers**	*At service points Speaking with strangers*	*Students*	*Lecturing*	*Strangers on the phone*	*Managers*	*Radio reports*	*From the pulpit*	*Reading the Liturgy*	*News reading*
2010														
2000														
1980														
1950														

*The social norms were different for teachers in towns versus in the countryside, so that urban teachers in practice stuck to the SSL of Bokmål.

This table is based on my own and several colleagues' intuitions, and supported by various descriptions in historical literature (Jahr 1981; Nesse 2008: 116; Ims 2009; Papazian 2009). Comparable data in a stricter sense is naturally not available, as the table refers to acceptance and not to frequency. An interesting study from 1995, however, has quantified the use of different types of Norwegian, and the results tell us that, in the four radio channels studied, the average percentage of SSL is 4.9 of New Norwegian and 65.9 of Bokmål. Thus, 29.3% of oral broadcasting time was already presented in a Norwegian dialect (Alsnes 1995: 12).

Table 1 demonstrates an extensive *destandardisation* with respect to oral language, but an obvious parallel in written language is that it has become quite normal to use dialect or dialect-stamped language in new media such as SMS and Internet. Within the frames for optional spelling forms (see the section on standardisation into the 1960s, above) there has been a certain move over the last two decades, evidently most in Bokmål, where some previously prestigious variants have become stylistically obsolete, and they were abandoned in the largest Norwegian newspaper *Aftenposten* during the 1990s (Nygaard 2003). This move can be covered by the term *demotisation*.

Since the turn-of-the-century a corresponding move is observable in the SSL of Bokmål in broadcasting. The dominant tradition has been to use optional variants corresponding to upper-class varieties, e.g. a pattern of preferring a two-gender noun system, more monophthongs, special past-tense endings in verbs, etc. However, in 2008 some new newsreaders started using demotic Bokmål (Ims 2009), and this seems to be influencing other newsreaders and reporters gradually to change their style.

LANGUAGE ATTITUDES

Conscious attitudes

Some patterns of language attitudes seem to be rather homogeneous all over the country. Urban dialects have normally been judged more prestigious than rural ones and dialects of Central Eastern Norway more prestigious than dialects from the rest of the country. This pattern also held in recent empirical studies in Western Norway when respondents were asked how they thought other people evaluated various dialects in terms of social status. However, when asked about personal preferences, the tendency was to prefer their own local dialect as the most ‘beautiful’ one, and the prestigious Central-East Norwegian dialect was not ranked highly at all (Aasmundseth 2010). The same pattern of ‘self-admiration’ was found by Helge Omdal in the 1970s: two-thirds of the university students thought their own dialect was beautiful, and one-third expressed a negative attitude towards it (Omdal 1978).

Subconscious attitudes

In a verbal guise test carried out in the large town of Drammen (Eastern Norway), Elsa Kristiansen (1999) found that informants using non-prestigious forms were evaluated as unintelligent and with little education. However, the voice containing only the most prestigious variants did not rank highest on the evaluation scale; highest in rank were the speakers with some occurrences of the non-prestigious forms. Those people were considered both intelligent and likeable, and, as Kristiansen underlines, they used a language variety very similar to the informants’ dialect.

Also, in a verbal guise study in the small town of Sandnessjøen in Northern Norway, Husby (1987) found that an increasing degree of standardisation in the voices correlated with the evaluation that the person was intelligent, educated, had social status, etc. Here too the intermediate variety was considered most attractive and convincing.

Recent studies in Western Norway show that voices with a Central-East Norwegian dialect most often rank highest when evaluated on a set of positive personal traits, but on a level with one of the regional dialects.

Language awareness

Very little research has been done on how people think and reflect on language and in what concepts they categorise their observations of language variation. However, in a comparison of Iceland and Norway, Kari Gjerdevik (2005) tried to elicit the notion of ‘standard language’ and found it very difficult, especially among the Norwegians. She asked what the opposite of ‘dialect’ was, but no one answered ‘standard language’. In the awareness of most of her informants, all Norwegians spoke a dialect or they mixed their dialect with the written language.

Very often we observe that people from the Oslo area refuse to call their language variety a dialect; they prefer to call it either ‘Oslo language’ or Bokmål, and sometimes ‘normal’ (Skolseg 1999). In a survey among teachers from Southern Norway attending a course in Denmark, 40% indicated that they spoke one of the standard languages, the rest reported that they used some other kind of spoken Norwegian (Kristiansen 2008: 45f.).

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The Norwegian language community has experienced an obvious destandardisation since 1970 and a demotisation since 2000. The fact that these changes of Late Modernity are so evident and great in Norway may be an effect of language conflict since the 19th century, which facilitated reflexive focussing on language in Norwegian culture. In the long run, the liberal orientation to authorised written standards paved the way for non-prestigious variants to come into formal usage, and thus released them from the traditional stigma.

There is no space in this sketch to discuss in more detail all possible relations in the figure in the first section, but so far it seems reasonable to assume that, over time, awareness (i.e.

conscious attitudes) has an indirect impact on SSL by being one of the prerequisites for changes in codification, and has a direct impact on SSL by influencing speakers' preferences of optional forms within the codified language norm. However, we still lack data to have a full grasp of relations between the historic changes in SSL and subconscious attitudes. Nevertheless, the Norwegian situation reveals that there is a rather complex interplay of several forces in the standard-vs.-dialects conflict.

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Standardisation and Standard Language in Sweden

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The Swedish language has a long and varied history of standardisation. More detailed surveys of the subject have been provided, in particular by Gun Widmark (1992) and Ulf Teleman (2003), and my background sketch will build to a large extent on their accounts. Other themes that will be considered in this brief overview are competing ideologies surrounding standardisation and the relationship of the media and the language of young people to Standard Swedish.

THE WRITTEN STANDARD

Like Danish and Norwegian, Swedish came into being in a North Germanic dialect continuum where, to begin with, there were neither linguistic nor national boundaries. The first surviving evidence of a distinct (but far from uniform) Swedish language is provided by Viking Age runic inscriptions from the 9th century AD onwards. Early traces of dialect divisions within Swedish are to be found, for example, between the tribes of the *svear*, or Swedes (in the provinces around present-day Stockholm and to the north) and the *götar*, or Geats (to the south and west of that region). Situated within the *götamål* dialect area was Vadstena (some 250 km south of Stockholm), which, with its abbey, became an important centre in the late Middle Ages for the production of texts and hence for the standardisation of written Swedish. Here, in the 14th and 15th centuries, religious texts were translated and copied on an almost industrial scale (cf. Wollin 2005). By the time the first Bible translation appeared in the early part of the 16th century (when it could also be distributed in print), Stockholm had long been the undisputed religious and political centre of the country. This period marks the transition from *Old Swedish* to *Early Modern Swedish*.

During the 17th century, the church saw to it that the entire population received instruction in the art of reading. A more widespread ability to write, however, would not emerge until some way into the 19th century. As the kingdom expanded in the course of the 17th century, it also became important to construct a glorious past for the national language and to assert its position against other tongues like Latin, German and French. As early as around 1700, individual pioneers introduced academic lectures in Swedish (Ronge, Tjäder and Widmark 1999), and, helped along by institutions such as the Academy of Sciences (1724) and the Swedish Academy (1786), Swedish now began to establish itself as the language of both science and letters, at the expense of Latin.

The appearance of Olof Dalin's groundbreaking weekly *Then Swänska Argus* (The Swedish Argus) in 1732 ushered in a new era in the development of the language, *Late Modern Swedish*. The fact that until as late as 1766 all secular publications had to be approved by a royal censor had something of a normative effect, but more important in the standardisation of written Swedish were private printing and publishing houses (Santesson 1986). By the beginning of the 19th century, the written language was essentially standardised. Although it did of course continue to develop, the norm remained largely stable. The decisive step came with Carl Gustaf af Leopold's *Afhandling om Svenska stafsättet* (Treatise on Swedish Spelling), published by the Swedish Academy in 1801.

Before the 19th century was at an end, Adolf Noreen had formulated the maxim of language cultivation that has subsequently guided the standardisation of Swedish down to the present day. He called it the *principle of fitness for purpose*, by which he meant that, the more a language simplified communication, the fewer misunderstandings it caused and the easier it was to learn, the better that language was (Noreen 1895). Today, Noreen's aim may seem innocent enough, but at the turn of the last century it was considered radical and provoked ideological debate. Sven-Göran Malmgren (2010) has illustrated this with examples from different editions of the Swedish Academy's one-volume dictionary, *Svenska Akademiens ordlista* (*SAOL*, first published in 1874).

A manifestation of a *historical* approach to language, for instance, was Academy member Johan Erik Rydqvist's opposition to the pronoun *den* ('it') in anaphoric reference to inanimate words with older grammatical gender (*duken* 'the cloth' – *han* 'he' and *boken* 'the book' – *hon* 'she'). Only in its 8th edition (1923) did *SAOL* stop indicating in entries for such words whether the noun in question was masculine or feminine. A *purist* approach is probably reflected in the fact that, in the first five editions of the dictionary, 'thousands of well-established loanwords…were omitted, e.g. *absolut* 'absolute(ly)', *abstrakt* 'abstract', *acceptera* 'accept' and *analys* 'analysis' (p. 275). Not until the 6th and above all the 7th edition (1900) were borrowings such as these admitted.

As an example of *functionally* motivated guidance of the language, Malmgren mentions that, right up to the 9th edition (1950), *SAOL* resisted the change in spelling from *godt* to *gott* (neuter inflection of the adjective *god* 'good') decided on by the Swedish Parliament in 1906, in order to maintain the coherence of the inflectional paradigm. Malmgren describes as *demographic* the kind of guidance which meant that the dictionary only stopped giving the plural forms of verbs (*de gå* 'they go'; *vi gingo* 'we went') in its 10th edition (1973), even though they had been extinct in speech since the 18th century and rare in writing since at least the late 1940's. The Academy's argument in this case was that it did not wish to contribute unnecessarily to generational differences in language. Both the last-mentioned approaches (functional and demographic) can of course just as easily be seen as manifestations of a historical (conservative) view of language. *Educational* motives were behind the Swedicised spellings of the 8th edition, such as *skaut* and *visky* (for *scout* and *whisky*), but by the next edition these had disappeared.

The 6th edition of *SAOL* (1889) was the last one officially adopted by Parliament as a norm for schools. To this day, however, the dictionary – now in its 13th edition (2006) – is regarded as an unofficial guide to the vocabulary, spelling and inflection of Swedish. Since 1906, there has been no spelling reform bearing the royal seal; the one introduced that year replaced the spellings *hv*, *fv* and *f* for the *v*-sound (*hvad* 'what', *blifva* 'become', *haf* 'sea') with *v*, and substituted *-tt* or *-t* for *-dt* spellings of adjectives (*godt*, cf. above) and participles (*kalladt* 'called'). Clearly, Sweden does not have a great deal of experience of official standardisation of its language – even when it comes to written Swedish.

THE SPOKEN STANDARD

A commonly held view is that, down to the 16th century, the spoken language of Sweden was characterised by considerable geographical, but fairly insignificant social variation. Noblemen and peasants from the same area spoke in largely the same way. With the emergence of a nation state under Gustav Vasa and his sons in the 16th century, social differences grew. The nobility became a class of officials, many of whom spent extended periods in the capital Stockholm. Through mutual mixing of dialects, and under the influence of written Swedish, an embryo of a standard spoken language developed (Lindström 1993). Internal contacts between towns – especially along the Baltic Sea coast – gave rise early on to a kind of urban koine (Teleman 2007: 175). That language probably had similarities to what some sources refer to as 'court Swedish' (*hovsvenska*, Widmark 2000). It also served as a kind of lingua franca when there was a need to bridge dialect differences in other parts of the country. The spoken Swedish of public authority which ordinary country folk had previously come into contact with consisted primarily of readings of conservative written language in conjunction with attendance at church – of Bible passages from the pulpit and royal proclamations outside the church door.

The struggle between *talsvenska* (a cultivated colloquial Swedish) and *boksvenska* ('book Swedish') for acceptance as the spoken standard norm would assume great importance in the course of the 19th century. The former was the conversational language of the more fashionable drawing rooms of Stockholm, while the latter, more closely tied to written Swedish, was promoted on the one hand by teachers in the public elementary schools (established in 1842), and on the other by popular movements seeking to win the language of the public domain for their members (Josephson 1991). Both teacher training colleges and the popular movements' study circles recruited primarily among ordinary people without educational traditions.

Eminent philologists like Adolf Noreen and Gustaf Cederschiöld had a deep concern for the problems of the schools and wanted to remove one of the obstacles to young pupils by working for closer agreement between the spoken and written languages. Their approach was to adapt writing to speech, and not to defend the writing-based pronunciation known, somewhat condescendingly, as 'schoolteacher Swedish'. Accordingly, both Cederschiöld and Noreen called for more space to be given to cultivated colloquial Swedish, and in addition Noreen wanted to see a greater emphasis on stylistics in the curriculum, to enable pupils to broaden their repertoires and develop their feeling for style. Noreen also founded an orthographic society that advocated a radical reform of spelling.

The standard spoken language that finally became established in Sweden was something of a compromise between cultivated colloquial and book Swedish. Or rather, book Swedish probably won the day, but by then the written language that served as its model had already incorporated a good many features of cultivated colloquial speech, such as singular verb forms with plural subjects and contractions such as *ta* 'take' and *ge* 'give' for *taga* and *gifva*. The result was radical in the sense that the norm of accepted speech now became accessible – through writing – to anyone who could read. The loser was the hidden and capricious norm of cultivated colloquial Swedish, which had only been transmitted orally among the better families of the Mälaren provinces, and which tended to exclude and even stigmatise speakers with other backgrounds and with a reading pronunciation.

By far the most important consequence of this breakthrough for book Swedish, however, was that it provided a fixed normative principle for standard speech, a principle that was consolidated and reinforced in the 20th century: namely, that what we conceive of as correct spoken Swedish is in many respects guided by the written language (rather than vice versa). The doyen of language cultivation, Erik Wellander, wrote about this in his book *Riktig svenska* (Correct Swedish) from 1939 (p. 13): 'Our mother tongue has probably never, in its incalculably long development, experienced so profound a transformation.'

MAJOR DEVELOPMENTS IN THE 20TH CENTURY

Three key tendencies in the development of Swedish during the 20th century were a convergence of speech and writing, levelling of dialects, and growing Anglicisation.

It is often claimed that the written language has continued to serve as a model for standard spoken Swedish, and chiefly of course as regards phonological and morphological features – one example being the tendency for weakened variants such as *flicker* 'girls', *huse* 'the house' and *dansa* 'danced' to make way for the full forms of written Swedish, *flickor*, *huset* and *dan-*

sade. Eva Sundgren (2004), in her follow-up of Bengt Nordberg's study of the urban language of Eskilstuna in the 1960s, has shown that, in the regional speech of central Sweden, this development is neither without exceptions nor particularly rapid. More evident, probably, is the influence of the spoken language on the written, and the elements in the melting pot here are above all syntax and choice of words or word forms. Standard Swedish has become markedly more informal – a shift clearly exemplified in more recent times by the '*du* reform' of the 1970s, which generalised use of the familiar form of address. As a result, words, forms and constructions previously regarded as colloquial or everyday (such as *inte* 'not', *också* 'also', *sa* 'said', instead of the older forms *icke*/*ej*, *även* and *sade*) are now stylistically neutral and hence the normal variants of the written language. The trend towards simpler sentence structure really gathered momentum after the Second World War, when the evening newspapers, anxious to boost their circulations, embarked on a campaign to improve readability.

As early as the closing years of the 19th century, burgeoning industrialisation and urbanisation were beginning to pose a threat to old rural dialects. There is much to suggest, though, that the critical turning point came in the 1950s and 1960s. The dialects of more peripheral provinces (northern Norrland, Värmland and Gotland) were worst affected, a possible reason for this being that that was where, in the mid-20th century, unemployment was highest and the exodus to the industrial towns of central Sweden most inexorable (Thelander 1985). The levelling and disappearance of dialects have also been linked to the influence of the media and education, a suggestion which Dahlstedt (1970) has rejected as a less plausible explanation than geographical and social mobility. For people to abandon their dialects and thus break with established patterns of language choice in their local communities, he argued, it would surely take more than simply to provide them with a model of what the standard language sounded like.

Over the course of the 20th century, Swedish – like other languages in the Nordic region – was exposed to the influence of English. As long as this influence is confined to the borrowing of individual words and constructions, it is not a matter of concern to language cultivators and planners. Experience of earlier and larger waves of loan words (chiefly from Low German and French) tells us that imported words tend either to be integrated or to disappear again; Swedish as a language system is scarcely threatened. What has been taken far more seriously from a language planning point of view is the danger of Swedish losing domains of use to English more or less entirely, including areas such as research and higher education, certain aspects of popular culture, and so on. This problem was one of the factors prompting a Swedish government inquiry that resulted in 2002 in the report *Mål i mun* (English summary: *Speech: Draft action programme for the Swedish language*).

NEW TENDENCIES

As a result of the governmental inquiry, Sweden has, since 2007, had a strengthened language planning structure and, since 2009, a Language Act. The role of the Language Council of Sweden (*Språkrådet*) – which replaced the Swedish Language Council (*Svenska språknämnden*) – is not restricted to Swedish, but covers the languages used in Sweden, i.e. also including the five official minority languages (Finnish, Sami, Meänkieli, Romani, and Yiddish), Swedish Sign Language and various immigrant languages (with an emphasis on status rather than corpus planning). One of the aims of the Language Act was to safeguard Swedish as a 'complete language, serving and uniting our society'.

As I tried to show in Thelander 2009, interest in Standard Swedish is fairly lukewarm in Sweden today. A conceivable explanation could be that standardisation has now progressed so far and people are so secure in their use of language that further discussion is quite simply felt to be superfluous. Subconscious attitudes on the part of language users to different ways of speaking Swedish, however, are one area that needs to be studied more closely.

The broadcast media may not have been the decisive reason for the decline of Sweden's dialects, which have lost both domains of use and speakers. But they have been of enormous significance for the Swedish population's familiarity with the prevailing standard norm – for the standardisation of the standard language, as it were. Into the 1960s, radio and television were a stronghold of standard spoken Swedish in the public sphere. The personalities given access to the airwaves were normally highly educated, and virtually everything that was broadcast was either read out, rehearsed or carefully prepared (Svensson 2005). Most standardised in linguistic terms were news programmes, and as late as 1976 strong reactions and heated debate ensued when a newsreader with a southern Swedish intonation and a back *r* was heard on radio (*ibid*.). Today, broadcasters tend, rather, to make a point of giving exposure to presenters or newsreaders with either a regionally coloured pronunciation or a foreign accent. Bruce (2010: 218f.) even notes that there are special expressions for mixed dialects that are recognised from the radio. Thus, *P1-skånska* ('P1 Scanian', P1 being one of the public service radio channels) refers to a way of speaking that combines central Swedish speech sounds with a southern Swedish intonation. *Kundradio-svenska* ('in-store radio Swedish'), on the other hand, involves a mix of southern Swedish pronunciation features (diphthongised vowels and back *r*) and a central Swedish intonation pattern.

But as important as radio and television initially were as guardians of a strict and well-articulated standard norm, just as important did they become as arenas for linguistic diversity and disseminators of new words and expressions, once the ice was broken. That happened when the growing informality of the 1970s found its way into Swedish public service broadcasting and when, in the 1990s, commercial and local channels with no other ambitions than to entertain (and sell) were also given broadcasting licences. Completely new programme formats appeared, often involving ordinary people and with spontaneous conversations between guests and between guest and presenter as a typical scenario. We ended up with what Eva Mårtensson (1998) has called 'private conversations in public'. Unfortunately, little research has been done on the tangible implications of the media for the development of Swedish today (Svensson 2005: 1802f.).

This revolution in the form and impact of the broadcast media in the closing decades of the 20th century was of course not confined to Sweden. It was if anything global, and the same can probably be said of the invasion of the public sphere by the new younger generation, which has coincided in an interesting way with the transformation of the media. Whereas sparse settlement conserves language (as children and young people have to rely more or less entirely on their parents as linguistic models), a higher density of population is assumed to favour an independent, creative youth culture that develops and changes language (Teleman 2007). Concentration of the population is very much a characteristic of Sweden at the beginning of the 21st century. As well as wanting to be seen and heard, young people are a trend-sensitive target group for advertisers, and one with money to spend: 'A public cult of youthfulness, spontaneity and "naturalness' developed and resulted in an increased representation of the young generation in media and advertisement' (Teleman 2003: 426).

By this reasoning, the youth language of Stockholm ought to be well placed both to lead change in spoken Swedish and to be the variety which, with the media's help, reaches the country at large. In her account of the speech of young Stockholmers, Ulla-Britt Kotsinas (1994) has noted, in particular, their use of slang, 'unnecessary' particles such as *typ* 'like' or the quotation marker *ba* (from *bara* 'only, just'), and certain features of pronunciation. In a comparison with the role of 'Low Copenhagen' dialect in Denmark (Kristiansen 2009), it is interesting that the youth of Stockholm rarely seem to take over the speech habits associated with the traditional 'Low Stockholm' variety (*ekenssnack*), such as the merger of long *e* and *ä* in words like *leka* 'play' and *läka* 'heal', or rounded pronunciation of long *a* in words such as *tavla* ‘picture, board’. Pronunciations identified in Kotsinas’s study as the principal characteristics of young people’s speech are more often features that have appeared in Stockholm relatively recently and that were originally part of more or less neighbouring dialects outside the capital, such as fricativisation of long *i* and *y* (*vin* ‘wine’, *flyga* ‘fly’) and open pronunciation of *ä* and *ö* in positions other than before *r* (*kläder* ‘clothes’, *röka* ‘smoke’).

Opening of *ä* and *ö*, and to some extent back articulation of *sj*, have spread in a remarkably short time to young language users across much of the country. In her thesis on the pronunciation of vowels in Swedish dialects, Leinonen (2010: 198) confirms that it is becoming part of standard spoken Swedish no longer to maintain the allophonic distinction between an *r*-variant and an *r*-less variant of *ä* and *ö*. Such a development would simplify the vowel system of the language. A syntactic detail that has gained ground with the same astonishing speed, in written as well as spoken Swedish, is the dropping of the obligatory infinitive marker (*att*) in the future-forming auxiliary verb phrase *kommer att* ‘will, is going to’. Where that change began is difficult to ascertain, but it cannot be ruled out that it is through the youth language of Stockholm that it has gathered momentum. One could get the impression that, while linguistic innovations do not need to originate in Stockholm to be successful, they do have to pass through the capital to spread effectively to other parts of the country (and perhaps also to gain a foothold in the standard language). It seems to be in Stockholm, in other words, that innovations ‘catch their connection’ (via the media) to the rest of Sweden.

It is still the case, of course, that dissemination among the younger generation is no guarantee that a linguistic feature will also become established in the standard language. Many peculiarities of a multi-ethnic suburban youth language such as Rinkeby Swedish, for example, seem to have difficulty both achieving a wider geographical impact and accompanying its speakers into adulthood (Kotsinas 1994: 168f.; Bruce 2010: 221f.).

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Standardness and the Welsh language

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INTRODUCTION

The 20th century saw significant changes both in the numbers and proportions of Welsh speakers in the population of Wales, as well as in the functional distribution of Welsh. These changes provide the context in which the story of the standardisation (or not) of Welsh since the mid-20th century needs to be understood. Before the 20th century, Welsh had not been used in state administration after the Act of Union of 1536 stipulated that English was to be the only language used by the courts in Wales, and that nobody who made use of Welsh was to possess any public office within crown territories (J. Davies 2007: 213). However, Welsh was used in religious institutions after Elizabeth I ordered the publication of a Welsh version of the Bible. The model used for the translation was the strict pan-Wales code developed in the bardic schools of the Middle Ages (G. E. Lewis 1987), and thereafter it was the religious mode that provided a model for Welsh in literature and poetry, journalism and education. It can be assumed that a large proportion of the Welsh population became familiar with this model. There are two reasons for this assumption: firstly, the translation of the Bible had a profound effect on Welsh society, comparable to the influence of Luther's Bible on German society (J. Davies 2007: 221). Secondly, by the second half of the eighteenth century the majority of the population of Wales was literate, a rarity in Europe. The widespread teaching of Welsh literacy had been achieved through privately-funded schooling that had a religious and a social advancement agenda (*ibid*.: 280).

However, the 20th century saw a dramatic decline in the numbers and proportions of Welsh speakers in Wales. More significantly, there was also a shift in the functional distribution of Welsh. The Nonconformist chapels, through which literacy and knowledge of the literary standard had previously been acquired, were losing their authority and appeal (Morgan 2000). Furthermore, the 1870 Education Act ensured that English would become the official language of the British state education system (C. H. Williams 2000: 642), although some provisions were later made for the teaching of Welsh within state-funded schools (Evans 2000). The Welsh-speaking population largely switched from being taught literacy in Welsh to being taught literacy in English. On the other hand, during the second half of the century an intensified feeling that the Welsh language was under threat, most notably expressed by S. Lewis (1962), led to a revitalisation effort. This effort concentrated on the provision of Welsh-medium education, as well as the expansion of the use of Welsh to other state domains. Increasing numbers of pupils received Welsh-medium education, including many who had not acquired Welsh at home. In 1965, there were 142 pupils in designated bilingual schools. By 1990, this figure had risen to 11,519 (Evans 2000: 353). In addition, the 1993 Welsh Language Act required public bodies to offer services to the public in both English and Welsh, as far as that was reasonably practicable.

THE DISPLACEMENT OF THE RELIGIOUS STANDARD?

These developments have led to some debate and disagreement concerning the existence of a Welsh standard language. This debate has focused largely on spoken Welsh. For example, writing in the 1960s, C. Thomas claimed that Welsh had 'a standard spoken language acceptable to all Welsh speakers, whether they be illiterate, whether educated, a language which is familiar to all Welsh speakers and used by them if they are actively competent in it' (1967: 242, my translation). Elsewhere Thomas identifies this standard as the religious medium – 'The Welsh of the pulpit has been the standard of spoken Welsh to ordinary Welshmen' (1982: 102).

In both texts these examples have been taken from, Thomas is defending the literary/religious medium, arguing against an attempt to forge a new spoken standard, under the label *Cymraeg Byw* ('Living Welsh'). *Cymraeg Byw* was an initiative in the 1960s and early 1970s, funded by the Welsh Joint Education Committee (WJEC), which aimed to provide guidelines for teaching Welsh. There is some debate regarding whether *Cymraeg Byw* was intended as a model for both second-language and first-language teaching, and whether it was intended as a model for spoken as well as for written Welsh (C. Davies 1988). However, Davies clearly presents evidence that *Cymraeg Byw* was part of a broader effort to close the gap between spoken Welsh and the literary standard, which was felt to be archaic and conservative, and too far removed from spoken practices to serve as a model for second-language learning.

The authors of Cymraeg Byw claimed to be targeting the '"pure", but often conservative and archaic constructions' of 'book Welsh' (Welsh Joint Education Committee 1970: 4, my translation), which suggests a concern with syntax and morphology. The longest section by far is devoted to verb forms. There are also recommendations on other grammatical forms, such as the use of adjectives (whether plural and feminine forms should be used) and prepositions (setting out how each one should be conjugated). However, Cymraeg Byw also recommends on the pronunciation of a very small set of morphemes, where precedence is given to local/regional practices.

The *Cymraeg Byw* initiative is interesting since it shows that ideas about standardness were changing. There seemed to be a schism between those who still adhered to the more traditional norms of the literary and religious standard (such as C. Thomas, who vociferously opposed *Cymraeg Byw*) and those who felt that the literary standard was too conservative, and wasn't a 'living' form of Welsh. This was indicative of a shift in authority on standardness, from institutions that had previously authorised literary/religious Welsh (notably the Nonconformist chapels) to the (pre-university) education sector, which eventually replaced the chapels as the principal agent through which Welsh literacy was taught.

Nevertheless, it is difficult to measure the effect of *Cymraeg Byw*. C. Davies (1988) claims that it continued to be used in teaching, albeit modified slightly, particularly through the incorporation of regional characteristics, depending on the broad location in which it was taught (north or south Wales). But it is unclear today to what extent *Cymraeg Byw* is still used as a model in the teaching of Welsh, second-language or first-language, spoken or written, and to what extent the forms it recommended have come to be seen as any more than an educational model, and a controversial one at that. Nevertheless, *Cymraeg Byw* was the first attempt by an emergent Welsh-medium education sector to forge a model for teaching that did not take the religious medium as its authority.

Welsh-medium education is inevitably having some standardising effect on Welsh. As Sayers notes, 'If education is the main reason for increasing Welsh use, then the kind of Welsh being used is more likely to be influenced by that education' (2009: 293). There is evidence to that effect, although we must conceive of 'standard' somewhat differently than the sense assumed in the preceding discussion. 'Standard' was conceived of as a form of language that is (in theory) seen to be correct, and which is, in C. Thomas' conception, acceptable to all speakers of the language. A different conception of 'standard' is as a vernacular form used by speakers, having come to replace regional dialects in all their functions. 'Standardisation', in this alternative view, is one of the explanations that Jones (1998) postulates for the 'dialect death' that she found evidence of in the two communities she studied in Wales.

Jones interviewed a number of Welsh speakers of different ages in two communities, one in south-east Wales (Rhymney) and the other in north-east Wales (Rhosllannerchrugog). She analysed their casual speech, taking significant differences between age groups in each locality as evidence of language change. Most interesting for this discussion is that in Rhosllannerchrugog she found differences within school-age first-language Welsh speakers, according to whether they attended a Welsh-medium or an English-medium school. In relation to some (although not all) region-specific features, first-language Welsh speakers who attended English-medium schools showed results more similar to the older age groups than did their counterparts in Welsh-medium education. Jones infers that those who attended English-medium schools were retaining dialect features which their counterparts in Welsh-medium education were losing in favour of standard features. These results suggest that Welsh-medium education may be having a standardising effect on those who receive it.

In the same locations, Jones also conducted a matched guise experiment, where respondents were asked to judge pre-recorded examples of speakers reading near identical texts – one in the local dialect and one in what Jones calls 'Standard Oral/Northern Welsh'[1]. Respondents were asked which of the two guises presented they would be more likely to employ as a teacher, a nursing home assistant and a presenter on the Welsh-language television channel, S4C. In both locations 'standard' guises were chosen more frequently over dialect for teacher and S4C presenter. This suggests that 'standard' is associated with education as well as the Welsh-language broadcast media.

The association of a particular way of speaking with S4C presenters suggests that the language used on S4C is fairly uniform. However, S4C's written language guidelines (S4C, 2008) suggest otherwise. The guidelines highlight a problem for S4C in having to broadcast to a linguistically diverse audience (in terms of practice and attitude). The guidelines aren't draconian, asking producers to consider the nature of the programme in deciding on the appropriate language. Yet they do allude to notions of 'correct', 'standard' and 'rich' language, although these concepts are not well-defined. What is striking is that 'correct' and 'standard' don't necessarily mean 'uniform' for S4C. It doesn't seem therefore, that S4C is advocating a particular variety of Welsh as 'standard', at least not through written policy.

On the other hand, it is clear from the guidelines that what does count as 'correct', 'standard' or 'rich' language can be defined in some way – it is a matter of language purity. For example, in attaining a 'high standard of correctness', presenters are expected to 'avoid needless literal translations of English expressions' (§1.7, my translation). The S4C guidelines also have a relatively long section dedicated to the use of English words and clauses in programming, asking programme makers to regulate the use of English words to ensure that the language used is 'in keeping with the standard appropriate for the programme' (§2.5, my translation). This is a matter of language contact, which I will turn to next.

LANGUAGE CONTACT AND LEXICAL PLANNING

The long-standing presence of English in Wales has inevitably had an influence on the language practices of Welsh speakers. This is particularly evident on the lexical level. A. R. Thomas (1987) identifies the use of loanwords and the calquing of English phrasal verbs as the major lexical characteristics that distinguish 'colloquial' from 'standard' usage, which he also labels 'casual' and 'formal'. He claims that there are a number of 'doublets (…) in which

[1] Unfortunately, Jones doesn't define what she means by 'Standard Oral Welsh' or 'Standard Northern Welsh' (used in the south Wales and north Wales experiments respectively), nor does she describe the linguistic differences between the guises.

a loan and an indigenous word occur respectively in casual and formal contexts' (107). These 'doublets' include, for example standard/formal *cerddoriaeth* ('music') and colloquial/casual *miwsig*. Similarly, he presents *diffodd* ('to extinguish') and *rhoi allan* (a calque of the English phrasal verb 'to put out') as formal and casual variants. He ascribes this differentiation only to the language practices of 'educated' speakers of Welsh, claiming that a number of other Welsh speakers are 'style-attenuated' 'with no need of access to a standard variety' (*ibid*.). Consequently, they are only competent in casual/colloquial speech, and possess only the (English) casual/colloquial variants of English/Welsh lexical 'doublets'.

Thomas' claims are speculative. However, Jilg (2003) presents some evidence of variation in lexical competence that supports Thomas' claims. Jilg studied the lexical competence of Welsh speakers in Blaenau Ffestiniog, a town in north-west Wales. He compared competence across the two most salient social networks that he'd identified in the town: 'Pobl y Dafarn' ('the people of the pub') and 'Pobl y Pethau' ('the 'pethau' people')[2]. Using visual stimuli, Jilg elicited lexical items for a number of concepts (e.g. relating to machines, household items, job titles, etc.). He found that 'Pobl y Pethau' were more likely to respond with Welsh forms (rather than English) than were 'Pobl y Dafarn'. One of the extralinguistic differences he found between his groupings was that 'Pobl y Pethau' tended to have attained a higher level of education than 'Pobl y Dafarn'. This supports Thomas' claims that more educated speakers are more likely to posses Welsh words for certain concepts. Nonetheless, the study doesn't shed light on how lexical resources are deployed.

This finding also raises questions about lexical competence and social class. 'The essence of standardization lies in the relationship between the status of any particular form as a reflection of the speakers of that form and its prestige or value for social mobility. Thus any debate about language purity is inevitably a debate about class' (G. Williams 1987: 96). In as far as the use of more extensive borrowing is a reflection of 'Pobl y Dafarn' and the use of more 'Welsh' forms is a reflection of 'Pobl y Pethau', we need to ask whether there is a class difference between these groups. Unfortunately, Jilg doesn't make class a salient aspect of his interpretation. Theorising class and social mobility in Blaenau Ffestiniog, and amongst Welsh speakers more generally, is beyond the scope of this chapter. But it is a question that needs to be asked, in particular in light of recent efforts to elaborate the Welsh lexicon.

Lexical elaboration is one of the major efforts currently underway in forging a standard Welsh. It occurs under the label 'terminology planning' or 'standardising terms', and is a clear instance of language planning. It involves the codification of carefully selected lexical forms, ultimately in order to 'facilitate' the functional redistribution of Welsh. Current efforts began in earnest in the 1950s, and involved projects to compile bilingual English-Welsh glossaries in particular subject areas, such as music, history, mathematics and physics. These glossaries were designed for use in the compilation and use of teaching materials. Terminology planning has increased dramatically since the 1993 Welsh Language Act, and since then much of the work has been carried out ostensibly to facilitate the provision of Welsh-language services by the state. More recent thematic glossaries have included those in the fields of finance (e.g. Prys 2000a) and health (e.g. Prys 2000b). Many of the fields covered straddle, but are not restricted to, the public sector.

These efforts are coupled by (or perhaps feed into) a more popular awareness of a need to coin Welsh terms. For example, a well-known DJ on Radio Cymru (the BBC national Welsh-language radio station), Hywel Gwynfryn, invites listeners to phone in to his show with suggestions for 'Welsh' words where none exist. There is an on-line dictionary of Welsh swear-words, *Y Rhegiadur* (www.rhegiadur.com), which invites readers to contribute their own innovative ways of articulating profanities in Welsh. There is also a lively mailing list called

[2] 'Y pethau' is a culturally-specific term, literally meaning 'the things' but referring fairly obliquely to cultural institutions and activities, such as the Eisteddfod, drama and poetry.

'WELSH-TERMAU-CYMRAEG', a forum for people to discuss how they would express certain concepts in Welsh.

Planning initiatives are seen to be filling a lexical gap, a gap which has developed as a result of the historical exclusion of Welsh from certain domains, such as science and business, and in particular from state institutions. As Prys notes '[minority] languages usually have very poor terminological resources. If they are not used for affairs of the state they will not easily develop the necessary vocabulary to deal with these matters, and may be excluded from domains such as public and private administration, science and technology, business and industry' (2006: 41). Terminology planners seek to fill this gap, making minority languages *usable* in affairs of the state, and in so doing play a role in securing language rights.

There is a need to theorise the lexical standardisation endeavour, and to ask whether there is a real need to develop a common, uniform 'Welsh' lexicon, or whether such an endeavour is actually driven by a language ideology that sees borrowings as illegitimate. Far from 'developing a form of Welsh which is popular, useful and used' (Welsh Langauge Board 2005: 36), terminology planning could be seen as responding to and reproducing an ideology that creates restrictions on linguistic expression, and which stigmatises the language practices of those who show evidence of borrowing. This seems paradoxical in the case of minority languages, since efforts to promote and facilitate their use (including standardisation) are framed as counter-hegemonic and as means of empowering the powerless. For example, Prys (2007) certainly sees her work as a democratic endeavour. She presents the approach taken to terminology planning by herself and her colleagues as 'consensus-based', and positions herself against linguists and lexicographers who 'take it upon themselves to prescribe to the public what is acceptable and unacceptable use of language' (2007: 118).

It does seem that borrowings and contact phenomena more generally are frowned upon by those who concern themselves with language standards. As a piece of anecdotal evidence, Williams (1999: 42) defines the language used in a particular Welsh text as *standard* partly because it is free from English words. Another example, this time regarding syntactic influence from English, is seen in P. W. Thomas' introductory section to his Welsh grammar (P. W. Thomas 1996), where he tries to rationalise how he has decided what to include as 'Welsh' and what not to include. He explains that, according to the rules of Welsh, an uninflected preposition must be followed by a noun-phrase. Consequently, the following is ungrammatical (1996: 7):

ble chi'n dod o?
where you PARTICLE come from
['where do you come from?']

What he doesn't note, however, is that the sentence isn't meaningless. It isn't the case that it cannot be interpreted. And the interpretation is the same whether the uninflected preposition 'o' is placed at the end of the sentence (as in the example) or at the beginning of the sentence, as Thomas would prefer ('o ble chi'n dod?'). After further discussion he revealingly states that in an endangered language situation it is crucial in defining correctness to separate those language features that follow 'teithi'r iaith' ('the characteristics of Welsh') from those which are a result of interference from the majority language. He concludes that influence from English (an effect of language contact) is the most likely explanation for the placement of the preposition in the example. Therefore, 'ble chi'n dod o?' isn't ungrammatical because it is meaningless; it is ungrammatical because it ostensibly follows patterns of English grammar. It doesn't follow an assumed 'natural development' of Welsh, but shows unnatural corruption resulting from contact with English. There is an implied criticism that the speaker is unable to keep both languages separate, and it is suggestive of a blending of languages, which Thomas considers undesirable.

This seems to be the most prevalent aspect of standard language ideology in relation to Welsh. The apparent threat posed by English pervades Thomas' introduction. He warns that 'the monolingual Welsh speaker is nothing but a memory (…) And no matter how persuasive the arguments in favour of bilingualism, the harsh truth is that the influence of English is seeping deeper into the essence of the Welsh language' (*ibid*.: 11, my translation). In its most intense articulations, such as this, Welsh standard language ideology is fervently monolingual and protectionist. And despite the difficulties of locating any particular form of standard Welsh, as I outlined above, the issue of contact phenomena seems to be one where there is little disagreement amongst those who concern themselves with language standards.

CONCLUSIONS

The 20th century saw significant changes in the institutions that authorise models of Welsh as standard. These changes were the result of social and political developments, as well as of efforts to revitalise Welsh. This led to a contestation of the model which was previously held as standard Welsh, and to a number of efforts to standardise Welsh anew. These efforts have focused primarily on syntax, morphology and lexis. Despite these efforts, it is unclear whether there is a consensus around how to define standard Welsh, or if a clear standard exists at all. There is some evidence that language practices are becoming more uniform towards a 'standard' variety, based on educational and media models. However, the evidence is too insubstantial to draw any strong conclusions, and it is uncertain to what extent the media are actively driving any change.

Moreover, the social changes and revitalisation efforts have created their own contexts for language use, where language practices and ideologies are inevitably evolving. There is evidence of structural change away from traditional or standard models of Welsh. P.W. Thomas' comments, above, might be seen as reacting to these changes, which he interprets as the unnatural and threatening influence of English. There does seem to be agreement within certain circles that ideal Welsh is pure Welsh, where 'Welsh' is often constructed in opposition to English. Nonetheless, it isn't clear to what extent the meanings attached to 'English' by current planners and others who seek to make their voices heard are shared by other Welsh speakers. For example, we need to question whether these meanings are class-related, and consequently whether lexical planning serves the interests of a particular class. It is also unclear whether these meanings will continue to be prevalent, in particular since there has been increased bilingualism in Wales in recent years, as well as a dramatic increase in the production of Welsh by those who do not learn Welsh as a first language. These Welsh speakers must have a different orientation to the languages they speak, in particular to English (or Englishes) as the language of their homes and families.

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Part 2
Theoretical contributions

Language change and digital media: a review of conceptions and evidence

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INTRODUCTION

While writing this chapter, two personal experiences illustrated language change in computer-mediated communication (CMC): First, I conducted a quick survey among 20 students taking a course on CMC, in which all of them reported using emoticons and around 90 per cent also reported using written prosody and expressive punctuation in their private CMC exchanges. The students reported lower frequencies for these features in public CMC contexts, while differences by gender were rather insignificant. Second, I attended a comic interpretation of Romeo and Julia recontextualised in the digital era. The play's dialogues were now carried out on facebook walls, with the protagonists' entries sprinkled with emoticons such as ' :-/ ', laughter acronyms such as *rotfl* ('rolling on the floor laughing'), expressive punctuation, and the like. If a discussion of language change and digital media focused on just features of this kind, we could safely assume that a process of change has largely been completed. These anecdotal observations suggest that certain new features of written language are part of the usage of a generation sometimes called the 'digital natives', and subject to mediatised stylisation and popular representation. But such a narrow view of language change in digital media is unsatisfactory. It lacks embedding into a broader picture of sociolinguistic change, which would consider written language in its own right, deconstruct the very notion of 'language' into various domains of language practice, and distinguish potential trajectories of change within online written usage, from digital to non-digital written language, or to spoken usage.

Questions and scenarios of this kind circulate in the transnational research literature that has emerged in this area since the mid 1980s. Its prototypical empirical domain is variably called CMC, computer-mediated discourse or 'interactive written discourse' (Ferrara, Brunner and Whittemore 1991). In this paper I also use the term 'digital networked writing', a term that emphasises the dialogical and process-oriented character of written language use through technological networks and within social networks (see boyd 2011).

All networked writing is carried out on digital technologies that enable private or public, asynchronous or near-synchronous exchange among individuals and groups on various applications or platforms. While these technologies enable all sorts of written communication (including carefully drafted, subject-oriented and institutionally framed texts), I argue that prototypical networked writing is shaped by four main conditions (Androutsopoulos 2007): (a) it is vernacular, in the sense of non-institutional writing that is located beyond education or professional control; (b) it is interpersonal and relationship-focused rather than subject-oriented; (c) it is unplanned and spontaneous; and (d) it is dialogical and interaction-oriented, carrying expectations of continuous exchange. These properties set the frame for a prototype of new writing, which first materialised in pre-web applications such as personal emails, newsgroups and chat channels, then carrying on to forums, texting and instant messaging. Written language shaped by these properties captured researchers' interest and imagination from early on, and virtually all discussion on language change in and through digital media examine networked writing in the sense outlined here.

However, the reach of CMC has for some time outgrown these conditions, and the relevant literature is full of discrepancies between early and contemporary accounts, visionary scenarios and empirical evidence. An example of the high expectations voiced in early literature is this aphorism by the German linguist Sigurd Wichter from 1991: 'The history of digital networks cannot be written yet, but it is not improbable that these new developments might reach the consequences of the printing press at the beginning of the modern era or of telecommunications technologies in the beginning of the 20th century.'[1] Projections of this kind often surface in public discourse, their frequent dystopian versions motivated by 'a deeper concern: that Internet language is corrupting the way we craft traditional writing or even speak face-to-face' (Baron 2008: 176). But they have become less common in the 'Internet linguistics' literature nowadays, as exemplified by David Crystal's recent claim: 'The phenomenon is so recent (…) that we might expect very little to have happened' (2011: 57).

This chapter offers a critical synthesis of research literature as a backdrop against which to develop a perspective on digital media as sites of sociolinguistic change.[2] I start by discussing evidence for written-to-spoken and written-to-written effects of CMC language, thereby concluding that findings have been negative, inconclusive, or fairly restricted. Moving to language innovation and change within CMC, three main themes are discussed: the mingling of spoken and written features, strategies of economy, and compensatory means for prosodic and visual cues. The last part of the chapter outlines a broader perspective on digital media and sociolinguistic change, in which literacy (as a differentiated domain of linguistic practice) and written language (as graphic and visual materiality of language) feature in their own right. I argue that digital media enable an expansion of vernacular writing into new domains of practice, and therefore a diversification of writing styles and pluralisation of written language norms. The expansion of digital literacy practices affords vernacular written usage more space, visibility and status than ever before, and vernacular usage itself is diversified in what we might call 'old vernaculars', representing locally bound ways of speaking that traditionally didn't find their way into (public) writing, and 'new vernaculars' – new patterns of differentiation from written standards, indexing practices and networks of digital culture. In public discourse, however, new media language is discursively constructed as a homogenous and distinct language variety against the backdrop of a technological determinism ideology.

FROM CMC TO WHERE? SCENARIOS OF 'EFFECTS' AND 'INFLUENCE'

Public discourse sometimes raises the effects of digital media on 'a language' as a whole (Thurlow 2006, 2007; Squires 2010). But from a research viewpoint, 'when it comes to speech, the potential effects of the Internet (at least as of now) are negligible at best' (Baron 2008: 180). The occasional appearance of CMC-typical abbreviations or acronyms, such as *LOL*, in spoken language is often anecdotally mentioned, in English or other languages. Apart from that, evidence for effects of CMC on spoken language are restricted to lexis, an area often neglected by researchers in Internet linguistics.

The spread of lexical innovations from the field of information and communication technologies (ICT) in newspaper discourse is well documented (e.g. Shortis 2001, Wichter 1991). In languages other than English, the link between technological innovations and Anglicisation was also made early on (e.g. Königer 1997). In German, for example, English ICT lexis is either morphosyntactically integrated or loan-translated, and variation between these two op-

[1] Original: '(D)ie Geschichte der Vernetzung kann noch nicht geschrieben werden, aber es ist nicht unwahrscheinlich, dass die neuen Entwicklungen durchaus die Auswirkungen erreichen können, die dem Buchdruck zu Beginn der Neuzeit oder der Fernübertragungstechnik im Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts zukommen.' (Wichter 1991: 89, my translation.). All translations of German excerpts in this chapter are by the author.

[2] The extensive use of German-language literature in this chapter reflects the fact that German scholarship addressed relations of digital communication and language change from early on, and in considerable detail. I integrate it with literature on and in other languages, as my aim is to offer a wider perspective on the vernacularisation of post-standardised (public) written language.

tions may occur. However, these accounts do not specifically distinguish between broader changes and the more specific phenomenon of net neologisms, that is, 'words that have arisen directly as a result of the Internet' (Crystal 2011: 58). A methodological challenge here is how to account for the actuation and propagation processes of net neologisms: How can we determine which lexical innovations really emerge in CMC, and what are their paths and trajectories of diffusion across other domains of written usage and modalities of language?

David Crystal's (2011) approach to net neologisms is to identify areas of technical innovation such as popular platforms and applications and to examine the lexical fields emerging in these areas. He discusses examples of lexical creativity around *twitter* and *blogs*, with cautions as to their persistence: 'Most of these are likely to have a short linguistic life' (2011: 59). An alternative procedure for identifying 'new digital vocabulary' is described by Smyk-Bhattacharjee (2006) who studied lexical innovation in blogging. She developed a computer-aided analysis comparing blog data with the British National Corpus and the Webster online dictionary, followed by manual verification. This enabled her to identify new terms coined on blogs, such as *blogaholic*, which were neither codified in dictionaries nor attested in large newspaper or spoken language corpora.

Such comparisons can help to understand the spread of lexical innovations across domains of written usage. A German example is the productivity of new prefixed and compound verbs around *google*, such as *ergoogeln,* a verb roughly meaning 'to google it out for oneself'. A google search yields 216,000 hits for this item (as per 28 July 2011), but a search in the largest corpus of public written German[3] yields only one hit for the infinitive form (set in quotation marks) and seven hits for the participle, *ergoogelt*. This is a clear, if rough, indicator that a net neologism such as *ergoogeln* will be around in public net usage for a while before it hits mainstream newspapers. But it does not solve its cross-mode actuation: did this new word first occur in networked typing, or traditional writing, or maybe in talk among net experts? This question can be raised for each of the numerous net neologisms documented in vernacular lexicography projects such as *Urban Dictionary*.[4] Strictly speaking, the cross-mode actuation of net neologisms is impossible to determine, unless it is done anecdotally or ethnographically for specific items. On the other hand, the modality of actuation does not predict the cross-media propagation of a net neologism, i.e. the paths and trajectories of its spread across domains of spoken and written usage, and the mediatisation chains that might lead to its eventual codification.

Moreover, we need to consider not only lexis that designates new technologies and applications, but also people's practices with and negotiations of digital media. Consider expressions such as *facebook stalking* (the practice of following someone's activities on facebook) or the verbs *befriend, unfriend,* and *defriend*. The latter two – underlined by my spellchecker as I am writing this, but scoring 3,810,000 and 550,000 Google hits as per 17 July 2011) – lexicalise a digital literacy practice, whereas *befriend* is an older form that gains a new meaning and thus a chance for revival. New lexis of that sort is successful precisely because it lexicalises people's social practices with digital technology.[5]

The influence of CMC on spoken language seems less of a concern to public discourse and popular imagination than its potential effects on other domains of written language production, especially school writing. The idea that pupils might use 'netspeak' or text-message style in their school essays is a widely publicised linguistic myth on CMC (Thurlow 2007). Related

[3] See http://www.ids-mannheim.de/cosmas2/. *Ergoogeln* is also discussed in the forums of the widely used translation dictionary *leo* (http://www.leo.org/).

[4] The *Urban Dictionary* features hundreds of word-formation products with *google*, but not all of these can be expected to be in current usage. For example a search for the word *googletowngirl*, which is listed in *Urban Dictionary* as a common noun, produced only a few pages of results, with the word featuring as dictionary entry or user nickname.

[5] *Unfriend* was the New Oxford American Dictionary's word of the year in America, see Savill 2009. Thanks to Sali Tagliamonte for discussion on these verbs.

is the notion that CMC might foster an uninhibited decline of literacy culture (Beißwenger 2010). Most linguists are very cautious with claims of this sort, but the fact is that robust evidence against them is missing. There is to my knowledge only one large-scale empirical study specifically comparing digital to non-digital writing. Called 'How youth write' (Dürscheid and Wagner 2010), it was carried out in German-speaking Swiss schools and compared pupils' school essays to their out-of-school digital writing, based on 1148 digital texts, 953 school essays, and questionnaires to pupils (N=754) and teachers (N=47). This study draws on a normative conception of salience (*Auffälligkeit*) as deviation from standard written language norms. The digital texts are analysed for 'salient features' at the levels of punctuation, orthography, morphosyntax, lexicon, and textual organisation, and compared to the school essays. In addition, the 'writing portfolios' of nine pupils from different school types are examined in qualitative case studies. The results suggest that out-of-school digital writing does not have any influence on institutional language production. Out-of-school digital texts contain some features that do not appear in school essays, but features of networked writing are not transferred to school writing. Conversely, an orientation to standard language in informal digital writing does not imply normative writing at school. Some of the case studies confirm what would be expected as the default case: normative writing is used at school and 'deviant' writing out of school; but other configurations occur too. Young people's writing is diverse and quite individualised, but 'interferences' from informal to institutional writing are not part of the picture.

A wider perspective is to ask about the spread of CMC features to other domains of private or public writing. The use of emoticons in private hand-written texts is sometimes reported, but there certainly are predecessors to such practice, as personal letters were always subject to multimodal enrichment (see e.g. Kataoka 2003). Anecdotally, I have seen emoticons and other 'netspeak' features used in stylisations of 'digital youth' in the press; novels on digital crime using 'leet speak' (see below) to decorate their covers; and emoticons finding their way into advertisements, especially in representations of young professionals at work. Such purposeful stylisations of CMC landmarks can be understood as instances of language crossing, with CMC features indexing some (positive or negative, affirmative or distanced) orientation to stereotyped digital-media users and practices, thereby drawing on emerging popular ideologies of new media language. However, what constitutes change here is the availability of new resources for the design of public discourse rather than some new, fixed patterns of non-digital written usage.

An even more inclusive approach would centre on the effects of computer-based writing as opposed to earlier forms of written language production. Schmitz (2001: 2170–2171) distinguishes four levels at which the computer as a writing-machine changes the nature of writing: (a) *monologic* (computer-writing enables flexible composition techniques and a 'less disciplined' and 'uninhibited' writing); (b) *dialogic* (new writing styles emerging in sites of public, anonymous participation, a 'playful anarchy' of hybrid, spoken/written patterns); (c) *non-linear* (hypertext as new principle of information structure); and (d) *interactive* (collaborative writing and the fuzzy distinction between author and reader). Clearly, scholarship on language change has concentrated on level (b), to which we now turn.

INNOVATION AND CHANGE WITHIN DIGITAL WRITTEN LANGUAGE

It seems fair to say that the issues covered so far have often been raised, but rarely systematically studied. What has moved researchers since the mid 1980s was innovation and change in CMC language itself. Early accounts often proceeded on a 'butterfly collector' basis, exploring data from various sources and often focusing on a single mode, such as e-mail or Internet Relay Chat (IRC). They generally belonged to the 'first wave' of CMC linguistics scholarship, focusing on the effect of digital technologies on language (Androutsopoulos 2006; Herring 2003).

A key methodological issue in these as well as later studies has been what to compare interactive written discourse with. The most obvious benchmark, as some researchers have pointed out, would be non-digital vernacular writing, such as private letters or note-taking (Elspaß 2004; Quasthoff 1997; Ferrara *et al*. 2001). Others have opted for large corpora of written or spoken language (Yates 1996; Jucker 2006). However, the mainstream approach has been to draw on frameworks that juxtapose typical features of spoken and written language on situational and linguistic parameters. While these frameworks differ by language and country,[6] they share 'the analytical foundation of a strong distinction between spoken and written language' (Squires 2010: 462), leading to a certain idealisation (and implicit normativity) of typical spoken and written language properties, setting a benchmark against which CMC could be conceptualised as a blend or hybrid of written and spoken aspects of language.

The main dimensions of innovation in digital written language, as they emerge in research across languages and countries, from early exploratory accounts (e.g. Werry 1996) to later textbooks (e.g. Crystal 2006), can be encapsulated in three themes (Androutsopoulos 2007): *orality, compensation,* and *economy.* To offer a brief summary: *conceptual orality* includes all aspects reminiscent of casual spoken language in written discourse. Ulrich Schmitz (2001: 2172) coined the term 'secondary literacy' drawing on Walter Ong, and Naomi Baron viewed CMC as part of a 'general tendency for writing to become a transcription of speech' (1984: 124). The second theme, the *semiotics of compensation*, includes any 'attempt to compensate for the absence of facial expressions or intonation patterns' (Baron 1984: 125) by the standardised means of keyboard and typeface. Compensation devices include emoticons, abbreviations that signify various types of laughter, simulations of expressive prosody by iteration of letters and punctuation. The third theme, *linguistic economy*, includes any strategy of shortening the message form. This theme is most clearly predicated on technology effects, attributed to the necessity of speed in synchronous exchanges, to financial considerations or to constraints on the size of message. Its counterpart, implicit in the preceding two themes, is the economy of expressiveness, the tendency to contextualise exchanges as informal, engaged and jointly accomplished, drawing on means that often run counter to linguistic economy.

These themes are already present in one of the earliest empirical studies in the field, Wichter's (1991: 62–96) analysis of 1980s mailbox communication. He observes simplifications, conversational ellipses, representations of colloquial pronunciation, expressive iterations of letters and punctuation signs, and a 'playful relationship between the phonematic and the graphematic level'. He views mailbox dialogues as 'a complex meeting of media' that displays both 'collaboration and antagonism of orality and literacy, as it is characteristic for phases of media shifts' (p. 89).

A more detailed account of 'Internet communication and language change' by Haase *et al*. (1997) featured a classification of grammatical, lexical and discourse innovations from German mailing lists and newsgroups. Although the authors' classification of Internet language as 'group-specific special language of internet users' is obviously outdated now, their classification illustrates the continuity that exists between early observations and contemporary conceptions of 'typical internet language'. Some of their features directly fit the three themes introduced above. They identify compensatory devices such as emoticons; new means of expressing feelings and affective states, including acronyms such as *rotfl* and bare verb stems (discussed below); and innovations in punctuation and spelling that serve to 'emulate prosody'. They also identify economy strategies such as a proliferation of clippings and acronyms,

[6] In the English-language literature, the categories used by Crystal are based on Chafe, while Biber's framework has also been used. In German and Romance literature, Koch and Oesterreicher's model of conceptual orality and literacy has been influential (see discussion in Androutsopoulos 2007; Haase 1997; Dürscheid and Wagner 2010).

and simplifications in punctuation and orthography, such as lack of noun capitalisation or 'sloppy' punctuation. They further mention spoken-like syntactic constructions such as list-building instead of complete sentences and a frequent use of modal particles.

Beside these Internet language evergreens, their classification includes phenomena that seem ephemeral and restricted from today's viewpoint. They found an overgeneralisation of technical and jargon terms, satirical puns on company and software names, and a so-called 'P convention', that is, the transfer of a programming language command, *p*, to informal networked writing where it is used as interrogative particle. Features like these seem contingent on particular user groups, which at that particular empirical point happened to be among the technology experts that made up a large part of early Internet users. The authors also noted the playful use of 'emulated whispering', i.e. a chat-room command to switch into private chat mode, which was also used in public chat in order to mark a turn as intimate. Such usage again seems characteristic of early Internet users who explored the creative possibilities offered by the reallocation or recontextualisation of particular technology affordances.[7]

A third group of features are best described as *discourse strategies* for new CMC modes and genres. The authors note that new conventions for salutation emerge in newsgroups and chat channels. They discuss new means of textual cohesion, strategies for quoting and addressing in multi-party environments, and strategies for resolving misunderstandings with deixis, e.g. by means of the acronym, *rl* 'real life'. These observations are on new ways of meaning making, creating coherence, and contextualising digitally mediated interaction. They suit an understanding of change that includes genres and literacy practices. Writers use the resources afforded by a given technology in order to build up and sustain dialogical context, create joint deictic anchoring, and develop appropriate framing. That said, the boundaries to lexical innovation are fluid, salutations and farewells being a case in point: in some languages, at least, the strongly expected use of salutation and farewell in emails leads both to diversity and innovation in salutation forms and to a heightened awareness of stylistic choices, their appropriateness and their potential for strategic combination in self-presentation and relationship management (see Kiesendahl 2011).

Haase *et al*. (2007) conclude with the insight that innovation and change in CMC entail contradictory tendencies: a loss of morphosyntactic complexity, largely attributed to technical constraints for language production, is counterbalanced by an increase in pragmatic complexity, as writers attempt to contextualise joint production of discourse and manage relationships among spatially (and temporally) distant interlocutors.

More recently, researchers working with larger corpora have pointed out that contrary to popular perception, the frequency of typical 'netspeak' features can be rather low. Tagliamonte and Denis found that abbreviated forms such as *nvm* 'nevermind' in instant messaging are 'much rarer than the media have led us to believe' (2008: 12), thereby casting a critical light on media fears of 'linguistic ruin'. This discrepancy between metadiscourse and empirical evidence is independently confirmed by Squires (2010). Researchers who compare CMC to earlier vernacular writing, ranging from 19th century private letters to contemporary popular culture (Baron 2008; Bergs 2009; Elspaß 2004; Shortis 2009), conclude that the novelty of digital writing is often exaggerated or lacks historical depth. Moreover, there is a striking lack of systematic micro-diachronic studies within CMC. While the implicit assumption seems to be that digital language innovations are here to stay, 'rise and fall' patterns are just as possible.

One recent study pointing to this effect (Henn-Memmesheimer and Eggers 2010) looks at German 'inflectives': bare verb stems used without an inflectional morpheme (e.g. *lach* is the stem of *lachen* 'to laugh'). Originating in US comics translated into German, inflectives emerged as a feature of youth language in the 1980s, used as exclamations outside the clause

[7] Another example of this pattern is the use of HTML conventions as a contextualisation cue, or the *Twitter* hashtag <#> as a marker of a thematic unit outside twitter (see also Crystal 2011: 65).

structure. In CMC usage, especially in chat channels, they index affective states and perform 'virtual' actions, upon which much playful chat discourse unfolds. Inflectives can be reduplicated or abbreviated, and compound verbs or even verb constructions can be turned into an inflective construction (Schlobinski 2001). Henn-Memmesheimer and Eggers (2010) looked at the 'career' of one popular inflective, *grins* (verb stem of *grinsen* 'grin'). Like other popular inflectives, *grins* can be clipped to *g*, which is then again elaborated by iteration, *ggg*, or typographic mark-up, **g**, and expanded through complements, as in **frechgrins** ('cheeky-grin', p.19). Based on 24-hour samples from four chat channels and four time slices, from 2002 to 2009, they distinguish three phases in its usage: an early consolidation of chat-specific conventions; then a reorientation toward standard-language usage; and a decline of chat usage. Here, the initial development of a markedly distinctive chat convention is reversed by an orientation to standard norms. This finding seems to echo the sociolinguistic pattern of age grading, in which the linguistic behaviour of young speakers becomes more standard-oriented as they grow older. However, this study lacks an analysis of participant structure and discourse practice in the chat channels. It is therefore not possible to tell whether the decline of inflectives indexes a change of usage by the same writers over time, or a change of activities in the channel, or even a change of participants altogether. Still, the study reminds us of the connection between linguistic change and discourse that lies at the core of grammaticalisation theory. Inflectives are important means of enhancing sociability and indexing engagement in a chat room, and the emergence of new grammatical structure can be expected from linguistic items that are important to the communicative practice of a social network. However, such grammaticalisation may be transient if people grow out of networked writing or particular applications lose their appeal, as this seems to be the case with public, anonymous chat channels.

'GRAPHOSTYLISTICS', 'NEOGRAPHY', 'RESPELLING': CONCEPTUALISING VARIABILITY IN SPELLING

There is agreement across a number of studies that the grapheme structure of written language (Crystal 2011:67 uses the term graphology) gains importance as a level of linguistic variation in CMC. Some authors argue that networked writing breaks with the traditional sociolinguistic assumption that spelling is the most invariant level of linguistic structure (Sebba 2009; Shortis 2007; Androutsopoulos 2007). Some observations to this effect focus on conformity to or deviation from orthographic norms. It has been noted that CMC increases insecurities in spelling, but also tolerance towards typos, which are reinterpreted as outcomes of speedy text production rather than indices of lacking competence (Baron 2008: 177; Königer 1997: 172–177; Quasthoff 1997). Here I argue for a wider perspective on the diversity of spelling practices in this domain of partially regulated (Sebba 2009) or 'unregimented' (Shortis 2009) writing.

Variability in spelling is a common denominator to the three themes in innovation and change identified above. In order to represent spoken and vernacular forms, simulate prosody or shorten the message, writers must handle spelling in ways that go beyond normative orthography. Driven by the absence of institutional control as much as by the need to do contextualisation work with the written materiality of language, networked writers explore gaps between standard and non-standard representations, and exploit the polyvalence of grapheme-phoneme correspondences that is inherent in most orthographic systems in playful, evocative or subversive ways. The outcome is a distinctively visual variability, which draws on difference from normative orthography, rather than representation of spoken variation, as a source of indexical meaning. A prime example of such practice in CMC is the remarkably unresearched *leet speak* – as Wikipedia informs us, 'an alternative alphabet for the English language that […] uses various combinations of ASCII characters to replace Latinate letters'.

Terms that have been proposed to account for spelling variability in CMC include 'graphostylistics' (a term originating in stylistics), 'neography' (a term coined by the late French linguist Jacques Anis), and 'respelling'. Androutsopoulos (2007) uses graphostylistics as a cover term for spellings that differ from standard orthography without representing spoken language features. Examples include homophonous graph-by-graph substitutions (e.g. <oi> for <eu> in websites by the extreme right in Germany) or word-by-graph substitutions, which at the same time can be analysed as economy strategies, such as *<cu> for 'see you'*.

In his work on French CMC, Anis (2007) proposed a 'typology of neographic transformations' based on a corpus of French private SMS texts. The three main 'neographic processes' are logograms (such as <@> for at, <f> for female, <+> for plus); syllabograms or rebus-like spellings (such as <b4> for before); and phonetic spellings including numerous subcategories: single phonetic spellings such as <qu> to <k> (e.g. *ke for* 'que') or <c> to <k> (*komen* for 'comment'); simplification of digrams and trigrams (e.g. *aussi > oci; nouveau > nouvo*); substitution of digrams (*moi > mwa*); deletion of silent letters; and consonantal skeletons, e.g. <vs> for *vous*. These procedures can co-occur in a single message or even within one word. Spelling variants produced through different procedures can occur (e.g. *demain, dem1, 2main* or *2m1*), and polyvalent forms may represent different full variants and are disambiguated in context, as in *<t>*, which can stand for *tu, te* or *tes.*

For Anis, 'neography is not a standard, but a set of procedures each writer uses in a particular communication situation while writing a specific message, and under the pressure of various constraints' (2007: 110). These constraints are economic, technological, 'psychosocial', communicative or linguistic ones. Anis emphasises that neographic strategies are not determined by digital technologies. Their usage varies by the degree of synchronicity afforded by CMC modes, the social relation between interlocutors, and the genres they engage with. From his observations, neography is marginal in emails or newsgroup postings, and widespread in SMS or chat exchanges, but can also occur in other domains of writing such as advertising.

Like Anis, Shortis views respelling as a resource whose use is subject to a variety of factors, including users' 'technoliteracy', their considerations of audience and purpose, and physical constraints of message production. His notion of respelling is more inclusive, covering all three themes introduced above: respellings may offer 'a simulation of spoken language', 'incorporate graphical and kinaesthetic devices', are used 'for economy and text entry reduction' (2009: 230–231). While respelling 'remains bound to its relationship with the standard orthographic iteration' (p. 236), its indexical potential is broader than just linguistic economy. CMC respellings introduce new indexicalities by virtue of their continuity with spelling practices in other domains: popular culture, ICT, trade names, and specialised shorthand. *Leet speak* is a uniquely digital writing style, but other patterns of visual variability have pre-digital forerunners; for example, single letter respellings such as <r> for 'are' and <u> for 'you' have predecessors ranging from African-American poetry to heavy metal record sleeves, and graph-by-graph substitutions are used by some political subcultures (Sebba 2009, Shortis 2009).

While these accounts have not yet produced a unified theoretical framework, they represent attempts to conceptualise change in spelling at a higher level beyond simple insecurity or normative deviation. For Shortis, the impact of the Internet is not so much that it produced specific new forms of respelling – on the contrary, the techniques themselves were in use before – but that it introduced 'a looser, more permeable sense of what counts as spelling. Spelling is becoming a deployment of choices from a range of options (…) It is a matter of appropriacy and identity rather than a matter of rectitude and uniformity.' (2009: 240)

An inclusive account of these diversities of visual language in the digital age needs to include script choices, in particular the practice of Romanised transliteration, which is reported for languages with Arabic, Greek and Cyrillic script (see Androutsopoulos 2009 and papers in

Danet and Herring 2007). Romanisation started out as a vernacular response to technological necessity at a time where the Internet was restricted to a small set of Roman-only characters at the exclusion of Roman diacritics and all other scripts, and continues today despite the fact that current CMC enables the representation of (practically) any script. Vernacular Romanisation has been shown to follow different spelling patterns, which vary between transcription (i.e. phonetic representation of native spoken language) and transliteration (i.e. visual representation of native script). Romanisation has been noticed for the language-ideological debates it triggers, whereas its implications for literacy development in diaspora wait to be explored. This is yet another area of change in digital media which goes beyond a 'narrow' conception of language change.

THE ELABORATION OF VERNACULAR WRITING: TOWARDS AN INCLUSIVE CONCEPTUALISATION OF CHANGE

If we assume that 'the study of media and language change can benefit from CMC research' (Herring 2003: 8), then the implications of this discussion for an adequate conception of language change in digital media must be considered. This discussion suggests, first, that the location of language change in digital media is not so much in the influence of new media language on other domains of written or spoken usage, but in processes of innovation and change within digital written usage. Second, what is new in 'new media language' is not just a number of innovative constructions or structures, but new resources and strategies for written language production and meaning making, from graphology to discourse structure. Third, the impact of the Internet is not primarily an acceleration of processes of language change that are prior to and independent of it; rather, it is the evolution of digital writing as a new domain of communication that is at stake. I therefore argue that networked writing questions the adequacy of the feature-based approach and spoken language bias that have dominated conceptions of language change in sociolinguistics.[8] An alternative and inclusive conceptualisation is needed: one which addresses sociolinguistic rather than linguistic change; which includes processes of repertoire and language-ideological change; and which does not separate language from its materiality and mediation.

One such alternative, I suggest, is to view language change in digital media as an elaboration of vernacular writing. I conclude this chapter with a few building-blocks for a theory of language change and digital media yet to be written. Its elements include: a change of scale in the volume and publicness of vernacular writing; a diversification of old and new vernacular patterns; an extension of written language repertoires, and a concomitant pluralisation of written language norms. These will be briefly discussed in turn.

It seems useful to clarify the notion of elaboration by referring to a related sociolinguistic concept, *Ausbau*. This describes an elaboration of function, by which a language is used for increasingly abstract and technical written prose (see Haarmann 2004 for an overview). The notion of *Ausbau* is useful in that it suggests an extension of written language use into new (institutional) domains. However, the development of networked digital writing differs from a traditional understanding of *Ausbau* in a number of points. Traditionally, *Ausbau* is thought of as part of language standardisation; but networked writing, at least in Europe, is a post-standardisation process, in the sense that it is carried out against the backdrop of fully standardised national languages whose *Ausbau* is already accomplished.[9] *Ausbau* extends the written use of a language beyond the field of 'everyday prose'; but the elaboration of vernacu-

[8] See Sebba (2009) on spoken language bias in sociolinguistics and Coupland (2009: 43–45) for a notion of sociolinguistic change that brings together the concepts of linguistic change and social change.

[9] This point would require modification with regard to non-European sociolinguistic contexts.

lar writing is located precisely within that field, which is now being extended and reconfigured by means of digital media. The notion of *Ausbau* does not consider the materiality of writing; but the technologisation of writing, that is, its material dependency on hardware and software, is central to all networked writing.

Metaphors of scale (see e.g. Blommaert 2010) are useful in conceptualising the new dimensions of vernacular writing in the digital era. Simply put: more people write, people write more, and unregimented writing goes public. As an outcome of higher literacy rates, more people write than ever before. Arguably, people write more, as digital media extend the opportunities to use writing into social interaction and community-related purposes that were earlier dealt with in face-to-face speech or by phone. Therefore, networked writing is different from 'traditional views of writing as a non-involved, solitary activity lacking a copresent audience' (Ferrara *et al*. 1991: 9). CMC created a need to make written language suitable for social interaction, and the three main themes of innovation and change discussed above, i.e. orality, semiotic compensation, and economy, can be viewed as responses to that need. If *Ausbau* increases the capacity of written language for abstraction, vernacular elaboration turns writing into a medium of sociability.

At the same time, vernacular writing experiences an unprecedented scale of publicness. For the first time after the standardisation of national languages, at least in Europe, a massive amount of publicly available written language escapes editorial control (Crystal 2011: 68). Mass media content is of course still subject to editing and correcting. But it now co-exists, and in some cases competes for attention with genres beyond institutional control, such as reader comment, blog entries, customer reviews or forum discussions. Public vernacular writing is thus intertwined with professionally crafted, institutionally framed language (see also Androutsopoulos 2010). As Shortis (2009) argues with regard to spelling, alternative or counter-cultural usage is now transferred much more easily into mainstream public spaces of discourse. These are sociolinguistic manifestations of the intermingling of the private and the public that characterises late modernity.

These changes of scale give vernacular writing unprecedented space and visibility; at the same time, this nexus of digitisation and publicisation brings change to vernacular writing itself. It seems useful to roughly distinguish old from new vernacular written usage. 'Old' vernacular writing represents locally bound ways of speaking that traditionally didn't find they way into public writing, such as regional dialects or other localised nonstandard features represented, notably, through variability in spelling. 'New' vernaculars are patterns of difference to elaborated written standards without being rooted in local speech. They too capitalise on spelling variability, albeit of different kind, and are contingent on the affordances of keyboard production. Examples are the hyper-expressive uses of punctuation found on teenage homepages or the typographic play in female Hebrew blogs discussed by Vaisman (2011). Some of these vernacular explorations of visual language remain idiosyncratic and individualised, others develop into distinct writing styles that are tied to particular digital genres and cultures. Consider again *leet speak* or the non-standard usage associated with *Lolcats* (in English) and *Padonki* (in Russian), two quite different net cultures that share a fondness for non-normative experiment with written language form.[10]

With the development of networked writing, written language repertoires at the individual and societal level are extended and reconfigured. CMC users develop distinct styles of writing online and metapragmatic awareness of written style choice. Evidence in support of this comes from research that has shown style differences for genres on the same website, style-shifting for contextualisation purposes, and users' awareness of writing styles that are deemed suitable for different modes and genres (consider also the anecdotal survey mentioned in the

[10] No published linguistics research on *Lolcats* seems to be available; I thank Robin Queen for her hints on this issue. For *Padonki*, see the volume be Lunde, I. and M. Paulsen (2009). Both terms are explained on Wikipedia.

introduction).[11] It is not obvious whether the outcome of style variation and awareness will be 'new rules', as Baron (2008: 172) puts it ('users are still in the process of settling upon conventions that ostensibly will become the new rules to be followed or broken'). I would rather argue that we are witnessing written language repertoires extending to approximate the stylistic range available in spoken language, at least on the axis of formality. 'New rules', if that term may be used at all, are rather expected at the level of emerging genre conventions like the ones reported for emails, chat or forums, these conventions being themselves socially situated and thus variable not (just) by mode or application but (also) in terms of their socially-situated appropriation.[12]

Repertoire extension implies a reconfiguration of written language norms and the emergence of new indexical regimes. Digital language practices fragment the locus of normative authority. Written language norms are *pluralised* to the extent that different styles of writing can be deemed appropriate in different environments and genres and to different user groups. Visiting a gamer forum or joining the Twitter profile of a rap star will expose a user to quite diverse ways of claiming symbolic capital through language. They are *localised* in the more specific sense of being limited to particular online communities or networks. One chat channel may prohibit the use of foreign languages, the other encourages multilingual play; the lack of noun capitalisation in German is stigmatised in some forums, but commonplace in others. In domains of unregimented writing, stylistic appropriateness is opened up to localised negotiation, for example with regard to spelling and punctuation or the representation of regional dialects (Shortis 2009, Sebba 2009). Elaboration of vernacular writing thus implies a pluralisation of the ways in which written language can index identity or status with regard to a networked audience. In this process, the meaning of vernacular writing extends beyond traditional indexical values of region or class. As elsewhere in late modern mediatised societies (see Couland 2009), 'old' vernaculars are recontextualised to index lifestyles and associated social types, whereas 'new' digital vernaculars may index a range of political, cultural or aesthetic orientations that are simultaneously localised within digital culture and linked to global semiotic and cultural flows (see Shortis 2009 and discussion above).

The elaboration of vernacular writing is linked to processes of destandardisation, a notion with various definitions in sociolinguistics. Auer (1997) distinguishes three potential meanings: the first describes a process by which the standard variety 'descends' or 'slides down' towards dialects, with dialect features finding their way into the standard variety. In a second sense, which Auer discusses in more detail, destandardisation is a process of horizontal convergence between regional dialects from adjacent areas, leading to the emergence of larger-scale regional varieties or dialect *koiné*. In a third sense, which is of interest here, destandardisation describes change of status rather than change of structure: the standard variety loses (some of) its generally-binding normative claim and is replaced in that regard by a number of regional standards, which take on the functions of standard language in formal and official situations. A formal standard still exists, particularly in (orthoepic) pronunciation, but is losing its relevance for most institutional contexts, with educated and professional speakers shifting to supra-regional colloquial standard or to regional standards. This is similar to Coupland's notion of de-standardisation, which he defines as 'a type of value levelling that washes out status meanings formerly linked to "standard" and "non-standard" varieties'

[11] A particularly good example for is Beißwenger's (2010) analysis of the representation of colloquial clitisations in expert chat sessions. He finds that the tendency to spell out these allegro forms is lower in the moderated part of the session and higher in the subsequent, non-moderated portions of the same chat session.

[12] An approximation of such a 'new rule' can currently be observed on social network sites, where people perform friendship to relevant others for a networked public. It seems that expressive punctuation with iterative use of <?> or <!> becomes increasingly expected as a default case, whereas 'normal' punctuation is presumably reinterpreted as index of distance or indifference. But empirical research is needed to substantiate this.

(2009: 44). De-standardisation is a language-ideological shift, whereby formerly stable indexical meanings are neutralised or reconfigured in particular contexts (p. 44–5).

Neither Auer nor Coupland specifically consider written language; however, a concept of destandardisation focused on status/value change suits well the processes discussed here. The elaboration of vernacular writing does not induce changes in standard language structure, apart from lexical innovations discussed above; in graphology, vernacular spelling conventions do not replace standard orthography nor do they lead to a loss of its prescriptive awareness. However, the normative claim of standardised written language, particularly in orthography and punctuation, is partially replaced by smaller-scale conventions, often limited to particular networked groups and their online platforms. As discussed in this chapter, networked writing brings ample evidence for 'a more multi-centred sociolinguistic culture', in which 'singular value systems (…) are being replaced by more complex and (…) more closely contextualised value-systems' (Coupland 2009: 45). This process is most obvious in spelling and punctuation, i.e. the written materiality of language online.

We may ask whether destandardisation equals 'linguistic whateverism', an attitudinal shift towards written norms diagnosed by Baron (2008) in her discussion of language online. According to Barton, 'whateverism' manifests in 'a marked indifference to the need for consistency in linguistic usage' (2008: 169). 'Whateverism' suits to a certain extent the elaboration of vernacular writing, particularly when said indifference is related to usage across groups rather than intra-writer variation. Indeed, pluralisation of written usage in a post-standardised era presupposes that networked users themselves accept that written language online entails much more variability than standard language ideology is prepared to acknowledge. However, it seems important not to confuse this attitudinal shift with a) the emergence of localised norms or b) public metalinguistic discourse on language online. Indifference (or tolerance) to written language variation does not prevent networked writers from focusing on contextualised norms of limited reach, readjusting their written language repertoire according to their digital media usage. Moreover, whateverism is probably not an adequate label when it comes to public discourse on language online, at least with regard to mainstream media in post-standardised societies.

Media representations of new media language are predominantly shaped by concerns over the future of language, technological determinism, and a narrow view of 'newness'. As Thurlow (2006, 2007) and Squires (2010) have shown, their discourse is shaped by an 'exaggeration of difference' (Thurlow 2007). News reports and other genres construct language online as a distinct language that may be indecipherable, thus raising a need for explanation that can then be served by glossaries and related products. A homogenised perception of 'new media language' or 'netspeak' is made possible by technological determinism, a view that gives agency to media technologies as shapers of commonalities in usage. Effect and influence scenarios directly follow from that, as they assume media agency on language, separating the two from each other and from discourse practice. The authentication of this construction in media discourse may run counter to empirical evidence, in that features that are rather rare in data are constructed as icons of new media language (Squires 2010). Thus the diversity of networked writing is 'lost in the translation' into popular, and perhaps also some expert constructions of new media language. However, it is important not to lose sight of the pluralism of metadiscursive activity on the Internet. Besides stigmatisation of vernacular writing, the Internet offers ample opportunities for what Gorham (2009) calls 'democratic norm negotiations', which include folk-linguistic practices that mimic and parody top-down language policies.

I conclude with the observation that the gap between popular and some academic conceptions of new media language is not that wide, at least at the level of metaphorical conceptualisation. Metaphors of 'effect' and 'influence' have been common in both discourses, and the aim 'to understand the way CMC might affect our language' (Smyk-Bhattacharjee 2006: 69) has been a legitimate scholarly approach. Alternative metaphors may help us move beyond the implicit technological determinism that still shapes much thinking on language and new technologies (Squires 2010; Thurlow 2007; Androutsopoulos 2006). Such an alternative might be a view of digital media not as containers that determine the language they contain, but as resources for social practices, which do constrain, but do not determine the shapes and styles of network writing. This way, the elaboration of vernacular writing can be viewed as a process of change facilitated and enabled by digital media, but materialised and performed by networked writers in late-modern, post-standardised societies.

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Demotisation of the standard variety or destandardisation? The changing status of German in late modernity (with special reference to south-western Germany)

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DESTANDARDISATION AND DEMOTISATION: CONCEPTS AND DEFINITIONS

Recently, Tore Kristiansen (MS) has suggested that the development of European standard languages in late modernity can be characterised by two alternative developments. He calls these two developments destandardisation and demotisation, the latter being more widespread than the former, and defines them as follows:

> (i) Destandardisation: We will use this term to refer to a possible development whereby the established standard language loses its position as the one and only 'best language'. (…) Such a development would be equal to a radical weakening, and eventual abandonment, of the 'standard ideology' itself. (…).
>
> (ii) Demotisation: We choose this term (…) to signal the possibility that the 'standard ideology' as such stays intact while the valorisation of ways of speaking changes. (…) The belief that there is, and should be, a 'best language' is not abandoned (Kristiansen 2003), but the idea of what this 'best language' is, or sounds like, changes. (…) Demotisation is [the] revalorisation, ideological upgrading, of [a] 'low-status' language to 'best-language' status. (…) To the extent that this upgrading is linked to the development of the media universe, as the new and dominant public space of late modernity, one might argue that the media are instrumental in creating, ideologically, a new standard for 'language excellence', and also instrumental in its elaboration (spread to new usages) and implementation (spread to new users).

Both destandardisation and demotisation, according to Kristiansen's view, weaken the status of the *traditional* standard languages which emerged, became codified, and spread throughout the general population in the age of modernity, i.e. – for linguists – from the 16^{th} to the middle of the 20^{th} century. This is compatible – as Kristiansen argues – with Giddens' (1991) conception of late modernity as an age in which traditional values and authorities are no longer accepted. However, only demotisation is compatible with the other central ingredients of that particuliar economic-political-cultural mixture of developments which make up late modernity, including the prevalence of a certain kind of media culture which creates and disseminates ways of speaking characterised both by supra-regionality (even globalisation) and informality. Kristiansen sees the sociolinguistic – structural and ideological – trends in Denmark with regard to the Danish standard variety as prototypical of demotisation, whereas Norway exemplifies the opposite extreme of destandardisation. He also argues that the 'Danish model' (demotisation) is more typical of the European trend in general, while the 'Norwegian model' (destandardisation) is marginal.

Kristiansen's proposal is based on his extensive research on language attitudes in Denmark (cf. Kristiansen 2001, 2003, among others) and against the background of a sociolinguistic situation in which the traditional dialects are no longer used by younger people, and regional ways of speaking are largely reduced to differences in prosody (see Gregersen this volume). This indicates a strong standard ideology (which we will discuss in more detail below). In contrast, Norway is known for the strong position of the dialects in everyday and even formal situations, and an ideology which favours regional ways of speaking (local dialects, regional dialects) over the use of a spoken standard variety which does not exist in the same way as it exists in Denmark (cf. Røyneland 2009; Sandøy this volume). In this paper, we will discuss the applicability of the demotisation/destandardisation distinction to the situation in the German language area. More specifically, we will focus on the south-western part of Germany (the state of Baden-Württemberg), for which empirical data have been analysed in detail by the second author (cf. Spiekermann 2005, 2008). We will start with a discussion of the terms demotisation and destandardisation, and then zoom in on southwest Germany, presenting some results on the changes of the standard language there.

DEMOTISATION OF THE STANDARD VARIETY AND DESTANDARDISATION: OPPOSITE DEVELOPMENTS?

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

In (German) historical sociolinguistics, the term *demotisation* usually refers to the spread of literacy in the educated classes of (late) medieval and early modern societies (cf. e.g. Maas 1985; Knoop 1988). Kristiansen, however, links its definition to a short article by Mattheier (1997) – *Über Destandardisierung, Umstandardisierung und Standardisierung in modernen europäischen Standardsprachen* 'About destandardisation, restandardisation and standardisation in modern European standard languages' – in which he uses it (for the first time) to refer to the situation of the European standard languages in Europe (1997: 7). Pedersen (2009a, b) has applied Mattheier's ideas to the Danish situation. Let us have a brief look at Mattheier's and Pedersen's uses of the term 'demotisation' (of the standard language) first.

Mattheier observes that in some European countries, the codified standard language undergoes a loss of prestige, which also implies a loss of *Autoritätsloyalität*, i.e. an unwillingness to accept the standard as prescribed by the authorities. He links this tendency to the spread of the spoken standard language to all layers of society in the course of the 20th century, while its original codification was the work of small circles of intellectuals, and its acceptance in the 19th century restricted to the middle classes. The new popularisation turned the standard variety from a middle-class symbol of national unity into a 'multi-functional new standard', ideally mastered by all members of a language community and used in all 'socio-communicative constellations' (Mattheier 1997: 6). As the standard spreads across speakers and situations, it takes away domains of use from the older oral varieties, the dialects, i.e. the demotisation of the oral standard has as its necessary corollary the disappearance of the dialects. On the other hand, the old standard is also bound to change while it becomes demoticised. It develops the kind of internal variability which is necessary to serve its manifold functions, and becomes stylistically and socially stratified (Trudgill's 'reallocation', 1986). It even shows diatopic variation, thereby displaying the regional affiliation of its speakers as well. Mattheier makes another important point with regard to the demotisation of the oral standard: once it was no longer under the control of the bourgeoisie and its normative institutions, for the first time in its existence it ceased to be influenced by the written standard language. On the contrary, for the first time, the opposite happened: the written language began to be influenced by the spoken language (p. 8).

Since normative institutions such as schools still cling to the traditional, non-variable codified standard, a clash between authoritative norms and factual standard use emerges as a consequence of this demotisation. The language communities may react in two different ways. If the codified standard has a strong position (as Mattheier claims for Spain and France), all divergence from it is stigmatised as 'mistakes'. If a society follows a usage-based idea of a standard, the standard will be adapted and variation within the standard will be accepted (as Mattheier claims for England and presumably Germany). Note that Mattheier uses the term destandardisation to refer to these developments which *result from* the demotisation of the oral standard variety.

The short sketch given by Mattheier is fully compatible with what we know about the development of the spoken standard variety of German. The written standard was firmly established and codified throughout the German-speaking countries by the end of the 18th century, but only a small section of the population (the educated, urban bourgeoisie) used it for oral communication, and presumably only in very few, often official situations. This spoken standard usually (i.e., in most areas) mingled standard morphology and phonology (where coded by orthography) with dialectal phonetics, i.e. it was still highly variable in geographical terms. It was also deeply influenced by writing, and since only few people used it on few occasions (in addition to their dialect, or a foreign language such as French), this was unproblematic (cf. Schmidt 2005): the oral standard could 'afford' to be close to the written language from which it had originated and to which it was still linked in many ways (for instance, through reading texts aloud). Remnants of the regional standard varieties of spoken German that emerged in the late 18th century and assumed some normative status in the early 19th century are still reflected today in ways of speaking that are considered non-standard, and even regiolectal (cf. Mihm 2000). For instance, they are documented in recordings of the regional standards as spoken in the mid-20th century in those areas of Germany, Austria and Switzerland in which the dialects were still relatively strong at that time (i.e. the southern part of Germany, see next section).

In these regional standards spoken, e.g., in Baden-Württemberg, the influence of the *Schriftsprache* is as easily detected as the influence of the dialectal (Alemannic) substrate. One example of how the oral regional standard norm was influenced by the written standard is the non-reduction of non-accented /e/ in native affixes which, according to orthoepic (and northern German spoken standard) pronunciation, should be reduced to schwa. An example is the participle prefix *ge-* (*ge+sagt, ge+standen, ge+nommen*, 'said', 'stood', 'taken', etc.). In the High German dialects (e.g. in Bavarian and Alemannic), the vowel in this prefix is elided altogether (cf. Bav. *gsagt, gstandn, gnumma*), but in the 'elevated' style typical of 19th-century middle class and 20th-century lower class standard speakers, it is pronounced as a full [e]. This is because these full forms were only learned at school together with the writing system. They were therefore pronounced in a way which made them maximally distinct from the dialectal zero vowels and as close as possible to the written letter <e> (which in isolation is pronounced [e:] in primary school). Today, we observe the opposite tendencies of these spelling pronunciations, as a consequence of the new role of demoticised writing in the new media (social networks, e-mail, text messages, online auctions). Here, function (and sometimes performance, creativity and identity-management) takes precedence over correctness. Although visual-graphic innovations are observed in this kind of writing, its modelling on the spoken (standard or dialect) vernacular is obvious. However, oral-based writing practices also seem to be spilling over more and more into written text genres in which normativity used to prevail. An example is the increasing number of phonetically-induced reductive writings (still considered mistakes) for the suffix *-en* after hiatus, stem-final /b/ and nasals. Thus, traditional (and orthographic) *mein+en, hau+en, hab+en* 'to mean, to hit, to have' are written <mein>, <haun>, <ham> which is exactly the way they are spoken in modern Standard German.

Pedersen (2009a) has taken up Mattheier's notion of demotisation which, in her opinion, is applicable to Denmark as well as Germany (2009a: 162f.). As Denmark belongs to the group of countries with a usage-based type of standard ideology, the norms of the standard are adapted to the new spoken vernacular. She also notes that in Denmark as in Germany, for the first time in its history, the spoken standard is no longer influenced by the written standard (also cf. Pedersen 2009b). Pedersen also underlines that the demoticised standard has found a new medium to ensure its spread, since written texts have lost that function: the mass media. There is, however, one important aspect in which Pedersen's account of the modern Danish situation differs from Mattheier's account: she insists that the recent Danish developments instantiated another step in the *standardisation* of Danish, whereas Mattheier speaks of *de-standardisation*. As we have seen, the demotisation of a standard variety does not imply eo ipso its destandardisation or standardisation, as the two terms refer to different phenomena. In order to come to a better understanding of the problem, we now turn to the definition of de-standardisation (and standardisation).

Destandardisation can mean a variety of things, depending on what we mean by 'standard'. In Auer (2005) a definition of standard is used which refers to a variety (not a norm) that has three features: (1) It is a common language, i.e. it is valid across a territory in which various regional (non-standard) varieties are present. (2) It is an H-variety, i.e. one which is taught in school, used for writing and in formal, public situations, and therefore has official prestige. (3) It is at least to some degree codified (which doesn't necessarily imply the existence of a state-administered codex). These three features can be present to a greater or lesser degree, i.e. standardness (of a spoken variety) is a gradable notion:

(1) A (spoken) variety's 'standardness' is maximal if it covers all of a language area (the area in which the regional varieties can be perceived as being structurally related, e.g. dialects) in terms of its normative reach, i.e. speakers in this area accept it as the appropriate way of speaking in formal, public situations (even though they may not be fully competent in it themselves). This defines the geographical dimension of standardisation. As a consequence, standardisation means that a certain variety widens its reach. Destandardisation, then, means that within a language area, certain regions leave the roof of the established standard variety and establish their own standard instead (or remain without any standard variety, i.e. roofless).[1]

(2) A variety's standardness increases with its official prestige. Accordingly, standardisation means that the status of the standard is enhanced. Since we are speaking of overt prestige here, this implies that speakers of the standard variety are considered to be more intelligent, powerful, authoritative, etc. than speakers of the non-standard varieties (such as the dialects or regional dialects). In Europe, the official prestige of the standard is often connected with its being a symbol of national unity. In this sense, its prestige is usually enhanced if the leading classes accept it as 'their' national symbol of identity. Destandardisation in this sense means that the standard variety loses (official, overt) prestige.

(3) A variety's standardness increases with its internal consistency. As a consequence, standardisation increases to the degree that internal variation is eliminated (this includes but is not restricted to geographical variability). Destandardisation from this view refers to processes of increased variability within the standard variety. It may imply that several regional alternates are all equally accepted as norm-conforming (i.e. adequate for use in

[1] An indirect way of measuring the status of a national standard variety along this dimension is to look at its impact on ongoing processes of change in the dialects or regional dialects. Maintenance of the old dialects and/or interdialectal contact-induced change (e.g. levelling) without any influence of the standard is obviously a corollary and therefore a symptom of a weak standard, while vertical advergence towards the standard is a corollary and therefore symptom of a strong standard (cf. Auer 1997; Auer, Baumann and Schwarz in press).

formal situations, and supporting the prestige of its speakers), or that former non-standard forms (e.g. those used by the working classes) are promoted to alternative standard forms.

Note that there is one process which does not count as destandardisation according to this model, namely language change which Mattheier calls *Umstandardisierung* ('restandardisation'). Like most cases of language change, it may imply variation, but this variation is temporary and transitional. Even though changes in the standard variety may promote former non-standard features to the level of accepted standard features, and even though these changes may come from below and imply the introduction of articulatory lenition in phonology ('sloppiness'), restandardisation is not destandardisation. It is simply language change, even though proponents of the older standard tend to evaluate it as a debasement of the old standard (and therefore negatively).

We can now come back to the situation in Germany and to the fate of the phonology and phonetics of the spoken German standard variety. Its codification came late (shortly before 1900), and its spread over the German language area at large ('implementation') took place in the first half of the 20th century only. It was promoted by the new mass media and certainly also by the fascist formation of the state in the 30s and 40s. Before that, regional standards were used. However, we claim that this process was not yet completed in the second half of the century, i.e. despite the existence of a 'media standard' (the orthoepic variety agreed upon around 1900 was dubbed *Bühnenaussprache* ('stage pronunciation') not by chance when it was invented shortly before 1900, and then used in movies, radio broadcasts, and political speeches), there continued to exist a multitude of regional standard varieties. As the orthoepy was based on the northern standards (cf. Mihm 2007), the more southern standard varieties diverged most from it. Nevertheless, all regional standard varieties avoided the forced over-articulation which was characteristic of the nation-wide media standard (and justified in its use on stage and in the media at times of poor recording and transmission equipment). An example is the orthoepic realisation of /r/ in all positions as an apical [r], while the regional standards mostly realise coda-/r/ as a low schwa, and the uvular, sometimes fricative realisation of /r/ as [ʀ] or [ʁ] is preferred over the older apical one. (The exact realisation is often a copy of the dominant substrate dialects.)

Around 1970, the situation changed, and a split occurred which reinforced the relevance of the state borders: the Austrian and Swiss German standards ceased to converge with the German German standard and formed their own norms, which are relatively well established today and are the reason why German is considered a polycentric language (but cf. Auer in press on the problems surrounding this term). Alsace and Luxembourg left the roof of the German standard entirely. Thus, the German language became destandardised with respect to its territorial reach. However, at the same time, standardisation within the national borders of Germany continued so that, at least for the younger generations, it is doubtful whether regional standards still exist (perhaps with the exception of Bavaria).[2] This modern standard is no longer the old media standard, i.e. it lacks the typical over-articulations. This means that despite the divergence of the German, Austrian and Swiss German spoken standard varieties, the trend within Germany continued toward standardisation; this standardisation implies language change, as the old media standard is no longer in use and has been replaced by a new standard (which, of course, is also reinforced by its use in the media, but is by no means restricted to them).

The second dimension of (de)standardisation, i.e. changes on the attitudinal level, is more difficult to evaluate. There can be no doubt that the German standard has lost much of its

[2] We do not question the fact that, at a sufficient level of phonetic detail, it is still possible to tell young standard speakers of Standard German in Germany apart, but the cues that can be used for this localisation are no longer the traditional dialect features (see below).

symbolic value of national unity in public discourse. Other than in the 18th and 19th centuries, Germany's unity is a reality today, and is not perceived as threatened, and it seems that the nation does not need strong symbols at all. It is simply taken for granted that the language of Germany is Standard German. The picture is slightly different in Austria and Switzerland. Particularly in Austria, the new, Austrian standard is increasingly used as a symbol of national identity and as a way of distancing Austria from Germany. In Switzerland, the symbol of national unity is multilinguality and multidialectality, i.e. the status of the Swiss German standard is different. Since it does not fulfil the function of a national symbol, its prestige is lower and seems to have deteriorated over the past decades. This surely implies an (attitudinal) process of destandardisation.

Despite the disappearance of the old discourse of the unity of Germany being based on its common language (a discourse that went hand in hand with the discourse of German nation building), the prestige of (spoken) Standard German is nevertheless high. There is hardly any empirical research on this matter, but the national spoken standard which prevails today seems to be more a symbolic expression of a modern, young lifestyle than of the German nation. First results of experimental studies to elicit the covert prestige of Standard German by Svenstrup (2011) indicate that the regional standard is evaluated negatively (by young southwest German speakers), even if they speak it themselves. This negative evaluation applies to all dimensions tested, i.e. the 'superiority' dimension as well as the 'dynamism' dimension. This issue needs further research, but it seems fair to conclude that although the ideology attached to the standard variety in Germany may have changed, the prestige of the standard has not suffered.

Finally, we turn to the question of variability within the spoken standard variety. Here we can resort to our empirical data and report on a diachronic comparison, taking southwest Germany as the prototypical case of a region in which the dialects used to be strong and today the traditional dialects are under strong pressure from the standard. In the final section, we will again take up the question of destandardisation in German and link it back to the demotisation of the standard variety.

CHANGES IN THE SOUTHWEST GERMAN STANDARD VARIETY IN THE 20TH CENTURY FROM A DIACHRONIC PERSPECTIVE

The following discussion of variability and change in the southwest German standard variety (as spoken in Baden-Württemberg) is a summary of Spiekermann (2008). The study is based on a comparison of two corpora of rather formal interview data (i.e. done by a standard-speaking linguist who interviews an informant he does not know personally).

The older corpus is a subset of the so-called Pfeffer corpus which was recorded in 1961 (and is available from the Institut für Deutsche Sprache – IDS – in Mannheim) (cf. Pfeffer and Lohnes 1984). Following the initiative of the American Germanist Alan Pfeffer, the recordings were made in 57 urban centres in the German-speaking area. The sample is mixed with regard to age, gender and educational background. Pfeffer's intention was to document German in toto, i.e. not only Standard German, but also local ways of speaking (dialects, regional dialects). We selected those recordings in which the speaker was (a) able to speak Standard German and (b) intended to speak it. Therefore, only those southwest German recordings were used in which the speaker had a higher level of education (*Abitur* or higher) and which were classified by Pfeffer and his colleagues as 'standard speakers'. This led to the inclusion of 29 recordings from Freiburg (5 informants), Heidelberg (5), Karlsruhe (6), Mannheim (4), Stuttgart (5) and Tübingen (4). All these urban centres are located in Baden-Württemberg, but their dialectal substrates vary: Mannheim, Heidelberg and Karlsruhe are part of the South Franconian dialect zone, while the remaining locations are in the Alemannic dialect zone (Low Alemannic in the case of Freiburg, Swabian in the case of Stuttgart and Tübingen).

The modern corpus (called SW-standard corpus and collected by the second author in 2001–2003) was chosen so as to make comparison possible. It consists of interviews with 34 male and female speakers of different age groups from the same urban centres (Freiburg (7), Heidelberg (6), Karlsruhe (4), Mannheim (6), Stuttgart (5) and Tübingen (6)). All speakers were teachers or would-be teachers.

For a German speaker who is able to adapt his or her language at all, the situation of an interview with an unknown researcher is clearly one in which it is appropriate to use the standard. We can assume that all informants, both in the older and the recent data set, aimed at the standard. Although this ensures the closest-possible comparability of the two corpora, there are some factors that cannot be controlled. In particular, it is obvious that the speech activity of the 'interview' has changed over the decades. Sitting in front of a microphone and being recorded on tape was a different social encounter in the early 1960s than it is today, and constituted a more formal type of interaction. (This was due to the obtrusiveness of the recording equipment in the 60s.) All other things being equal, we would therefore expect the speakers in the older data to more closely approximate the standard and avoid non-standard features. However, as we will show, the difference between the two corpora is not the amount of non-standard features but their quality: i.e., it is not the overall frequency of these non-standard features that has changed but their type. This cannot be explained on the basis of the 'formality' of the interview situation alone.

Table 1: Overview of the two corpora

	Date			Speakers
Parts of the Pfeffer-corpus (IDS Mannheim)	1961	29 recordings taken in six towns in southwest Germany	each about 12 minutes	Different ages Different genders Highly educated people
Parts of the Südwest (SW)-Standard-corpus (Freiburg)	2001–2003	34 recordings taken in six towns in southwest Germany	each about 20 minutes	Two different age groups Different genders (future) teachers

Twenty-five phonological features were selected for investigation (Spiekermann 2008). The features represent three types of non-standard forms: (a) regional forms (usually from the dialect substrate), (b) allegro forms of the spoken standard and (c) hypercorrections. The following discussion will focus on regional and allegro forms only.

The following dialectal features (or: 'primary substandard forms', Albrecht 2005) are discussed in the present paper:

1. coronalisation of /ç/ in coda position after front vowels, as in *dich* 'you' (ACC): [dɪʃ] vs. std. [dɪç];
2. lowering of /eː/, as in *lesen* 'to read': [ˈlɛːzən] vs. std. [ˈleːzən];
3. palatalisation of /s/ before a tautosyllabic and tautomorphemic obstruent, as in *Fest* 'feast': [fɛʃt] vs. std. [fɛst];
4. lenis realisation (lenition) of intervocalic fortis consonants, as in *hatte* 'had': [ˈhad̥ə] vs. std. [ˈhatə];
5. raising of the vowel /a/ in *das*, i.e. [dɛs] vs. std. [das], in the homophonous forms of the neuter pronoun, neuter article and demonstrative pronoun.

The variables are all highly frequent in the dialects and regional dialects; coronalisation, palatalisation and lenition are regular (post-lexical) phonological processes, while the lowering of /e:/ is a dialectal merger of std. /e:/ und /ɛ:/ and therefore a prelexical process. The raising of /a/ is lexicalised, but concerns a high-frequency grammatical element. The features 1–3 are highly salient (for Middle German, Swabian and Alemannic as a whole, respectively), whereas features 4 and 5 are not.

The following figures (1)–(5) show that the relative frequencies of the regional forms 1–4 all follow a general tendency when the two corpora are compared: the dialectal substrate features are realised less often today. However, feature 5 is exceptional.[3] Let us look at them in turn.

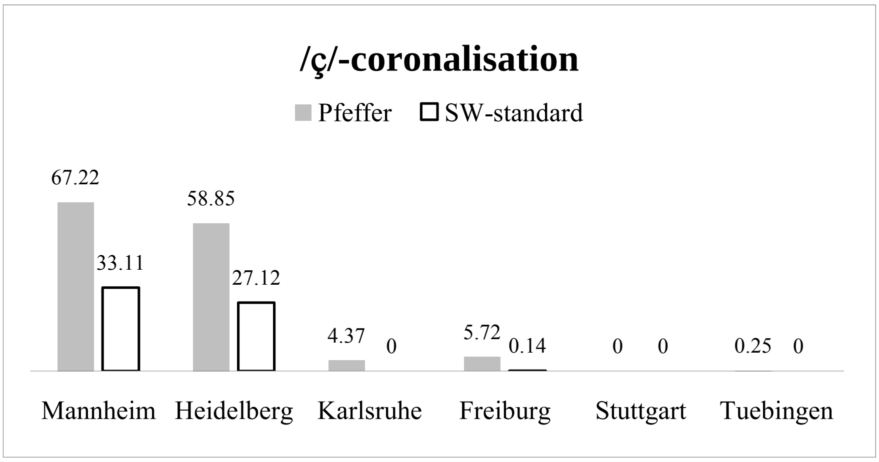

Figure 1: The coronalisation of /ç/ in speakers from six urban centres in Baden-Württemberg in 1961 (Pfeffer = grey) and in 2002–3 (SW-standard = white)

The coronalisation of /ç/ is a feature of the rather small Southern Franconian dialect area in the north of Baden-Württemberg (Lausberg 1993: 150), i.e. it is not usually found in Alemannic (including Swabian). It is 'backed', however, by a large area north of Baden-Württemberg, in which the same process is found. In accordance with our claim that in the middle of the last century the German standard language was still regionalized to a high degree, and that the intended standard speech of most members of the educated middle classes showed many regional traces (despite the existence of a national orthoepy), the interviewees in Mannheim and Heidelberg use a considerable amount of coronalized /ç/ in the Pfeffer-corpus of 1961 (grey columns in the diagram). In the other four cities in which the dialect substrate has no coronalisation, it is almost absent, which is of course also predictable. However, in the 2002–3 data set, the relative frequency of /ç/-coronalisation in Mannheim and Heidelberg is reduced by about half. This means that despite the more formal character of an interview in the 1960s, the speakers in the modern data are much closer to the standard than those 40 years earlier.

The same tendency is found in the second variable considered here, the lowering of /e:/. This is a typical feature of the Swabian dialect, i.e. a more restricted area in Baden-Württemberg prototypically associated with the capital (Stuttgart) and its surroundings (Tübingen). It

[3] Twelve dialectal substrate features were investigated in total; for details, see Spiekermann (2008: 228). Of these features, 10 show the same pattern as 1–4; all differences between the two corpora are – in nine cases at 0.001-level, in the case of variable 2 only at 0.01-level – significant. One feature (the realisation of std. *nicht* 'not' as *ned*) showed the same tendency as 5 but did not reach significance.

is absent in the non-Swabian Alemannic dialect area (Freiburg) as well as in the Franconian area.[4]

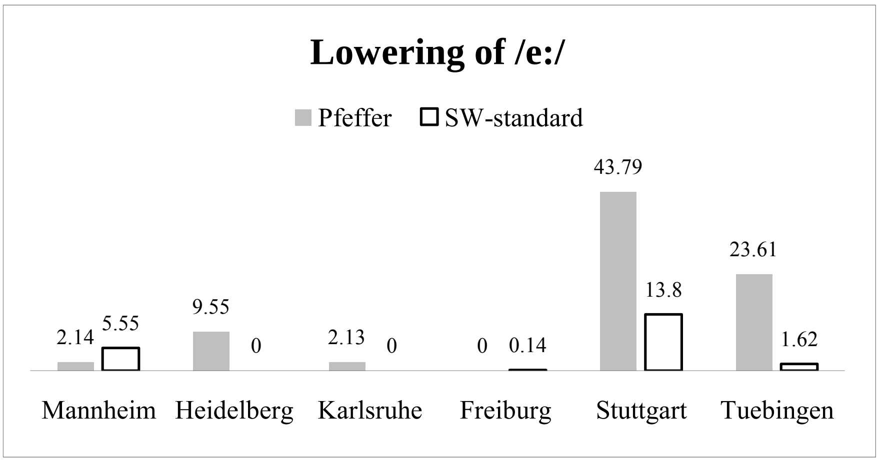

Figure 2: The lowering of /e:/ in speakers from six urban centres in Baden-Württemberg in 1961 (Pfeffer = grey) and in 2002–3 (SW-standard = white)

As predicted, the speakers from Tübingen and particularly Stuttgart showed high rates of /e:/-lowering in the 1960s. Forty years later, the feature has almost disappeared in educated Tübingen speakers and has been reduced to around one third of its original value in Stuttgart. This is a dramatic change within one generation.

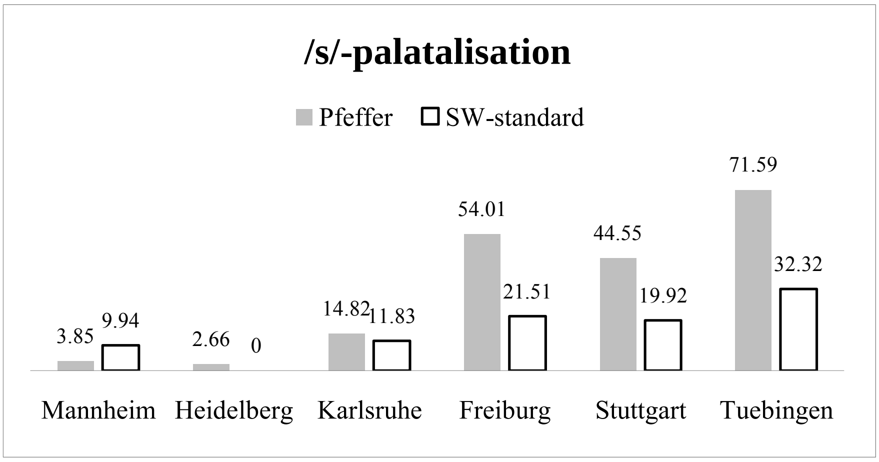

Figure 3: Palatalisation of /s/ before coda obstruents in speakers from six urban centres in Baden-Württemberg in 1961 (Pfeffer = grey) and in 2002–3 (SW-standard = white)

The palatalisation of /s/ is a typical feature of the Alemannic area as a whole, and is often associated with the state of Baden-Württemberg by outsiders. The feature is hard to suppress and one of the best candidates for a southwest German standard marker. However, comparison of the two data sets makes clear that the feature has become much less popular over the last decades. The Pfeffer data prove that palatalisation was indeed highly frequent in the three Alemannic cities of the corpus, where educated standard speakers in the early 60s used it, on average, in every second or even in two out of three possible environments. /s/-palatalisation

[4] The relatively high number of lowerings in Heidelberg can be seen as a spread of this regional standard feature into neighbouring areas in which it has no dialectal basis, and thus as an indicator of the strength of the regional standard variety, a central feature of the (at the time) well-known *Honoratiorenschwäbisch* ('Swabian of the dignitaries') which enjoyed considerable prestige.

is also found in the Franconian dialects of the Palatinate (Beckers 1980), which may explain its occurrence in Karlsruhe.[5] Compared to these data, the relative frequency of /s/-palatalisation has declined by at least half in all Alemannic cities, even though there remains a residue of some 20–30%.

The lenition of intervocalic fortis consonants is shown in Figure 4. This feature is typical of many Upper German (and even some Low German) dialects. It is therefore not particularly associated with Baden-Württemberg or any of its dialect areas. As we can see, this has a preserving effect. Although the ratio of lenited to non-lenited intervocalic stops decreases in most cities (particularly in Heidelberg, Freiburg and Stuttgart), no significant changes are found in Mannheim, Karlsruhe and Tübingen. The dialectal substrate cannot explain these differences. Rather, it seems that the feature is only selectively perceived as a regional feature and only some urban communities include this feature among the dialectal features that are to be avoided in Standard German.

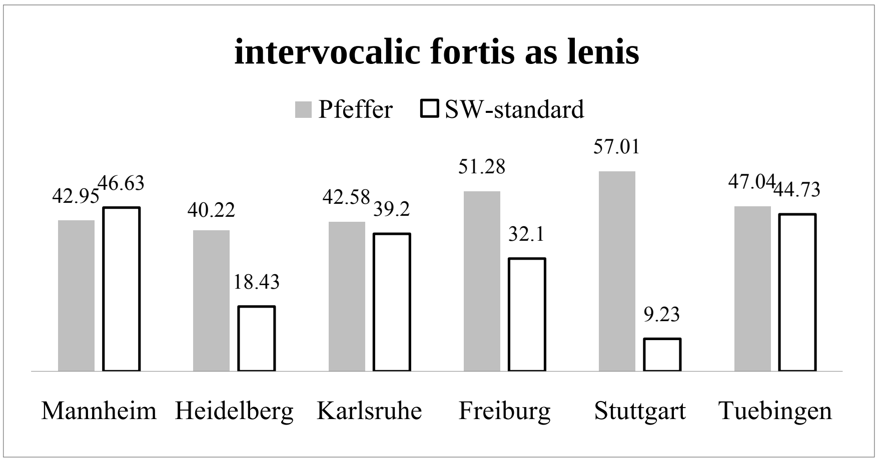

Figure 4: Lenition of intervocalic stops in speakers from six urban centres in Baden-Württemberg in 1961 (Pfeffer = grey) and in 2002–3 (SW-standard = white)

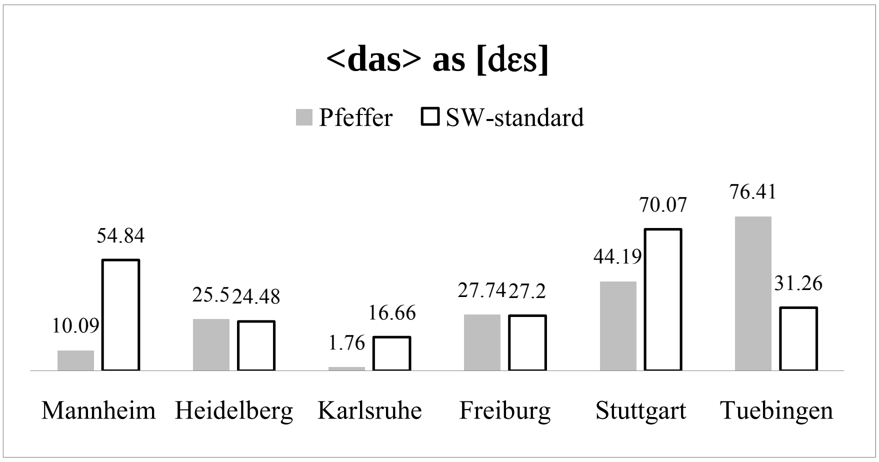

Figure 5: Realisation of std. *das* (neuter definite article, demonstrative, pronoun) as *des* in speakers from six urban centres in Baden-Württemberg in 1961 (Pfeffer = grey) and in 2002–3 (SW-standard = white)

[5] However, s-palatalisation is much less frequent here and it is almost absent in Mannheim and Heidelberg. An alternative explanation is that, as in the case of /e/-lowering, the feature was about to develop into a general feature of Baden-Württemberg Standard German, independent of its dialectal substrate.

Finally, let us have a look at the form *des* instead of std. *das*. Here, the picture is different (see Figure 5). All in all, [dɛs] is more frequent in the 2002–3 data (40.36 vs. 30.95%, a highly significant difference), and the breakdown into urban centres shows a chaotic distribution, with no changes in Heidelberg and Freiburg, an increase of the regional form in Mannheim, Karlsruhe and Stuttgart, and a decrease in Tübingen.

One possible explanation might be that *des* is widely spread in the German language area, particularly in the southern part, and is considered to be a typical feature of the colloquial German there (Mihm 2000) (cf. http://www.philhist.uni-augsburg.de/lehrstuehle/germanistik/-sprachwissenschaft/ada/runde_2/f25a/). In any case, the form is not associated with any particular dialect area, and therefore cannot be considered a stereotype. A possible conclusion might therefore be that this form is no longer understood as a regional (let alone dialectal) form by many speakers, but rather as spoken standard.

As an intermediate summary, we can conclude that the more salient dialect features are, particularly when they are stereotypically associated with a dialect area, the more they recede in Standard German. The more enduring regional features in the standard varieties are low-saliency, high-reach ones.

We now turn to the second group of variables investigated, i.e. non-standard features that can be called allegro forms (or 'secondary substandard forms', Albrecht 2005). The features investigated under this heading are reductions or cliticised variants of standard forms (cf. Meinhold 1973; Dressler 1975). The following discussion concentrates on the phonological reductions of morphological markers or lexical items.[6] The following variables will be discussed:

1. deletion of the first pers. sg. suffix, e.g. *ich hol+e̲* [hoːlə] = *ich hol* 'I fetch';
2. final /t/-deletion in the copular form *ist* ('is') which is realised as [ɪs];
3. final /t/-deletion in the negative adverbial *nicht* 'not', which is realised as [nɪç];
4. cliticisation of the indefinite article *eine(n)*, which is realised as *ne(n)*.

All these allegro features can be found in standard speech in all parts of Germany.

This group of features behaves in exactly the opposite way as the regional substrate features discussed before: in all cases, we find a considerable *increase* in frequency when comparing the relative occurrences in the two corpora.

The frequency of the deletion of schwa in the first pers. sg. (Figure 6) oscillates between 79% and 91% in the SW-standard-corpus, while it was in the range of 33% to 78% in the Pfeffer corpus. It is fair to say that it must be regarded as the normal standard realisation today.

The same interpretation applies to final t-deletion in *ist* (Figure 7) and *nicht* (Figure 8). In the first case, the codified standard variant [ɪst]was the predominant form in the 1960s.[7] At that time, the deletion of final /t/ exceeded its preservation only in Heidelberg. In the forty years after, deletion tripled in Mannheim, Stuttgart, Tübingen and Freiburg. In Mannheim, it almost reaches 100% today and can be regarded as the only oral standard realisation.

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6 Other variables investigated in Spiekermann (2008) are the cliticisation of the pronoun *es* 'it', the prefix *ge-*, and the definite articles *der, die, das*. The number of realisations for these variables is extremely small in both corpora so that they are neglected here (cf. Spiekermann 2008: 229). All differences between the two corpora were significant at 0.001 level.

7 The dialect variant [ɪʃ] (palatalisation of /s/ plus t-deletion) has been ignored in this count since s-palatalisation was discussed before. The form [ɪʃt] with t-preservation and s-palatalisation is well attested in the dialects but occurs only very rarely in the standard data.

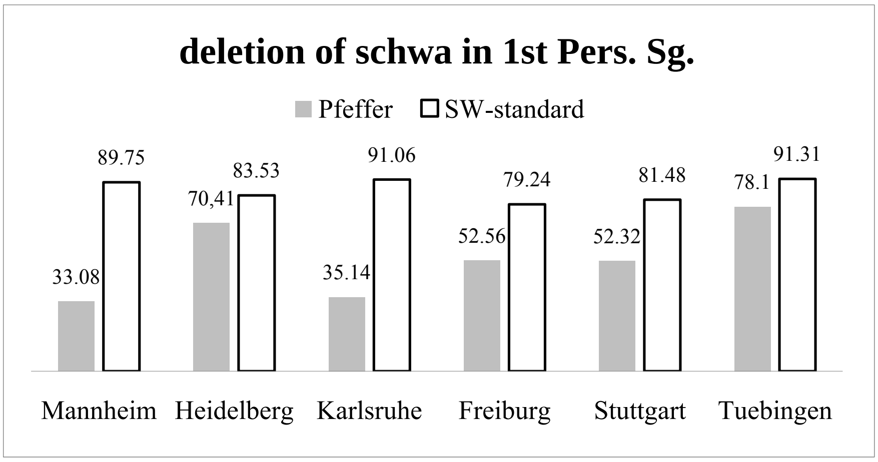

Figure 6: Deletion of the first pers. sg. suffix /-e/ in speakers from six urban centres in Baden-Württemberg in 1961 (Pfeffer = grey) and in 2002–3 (SW-standard = white)

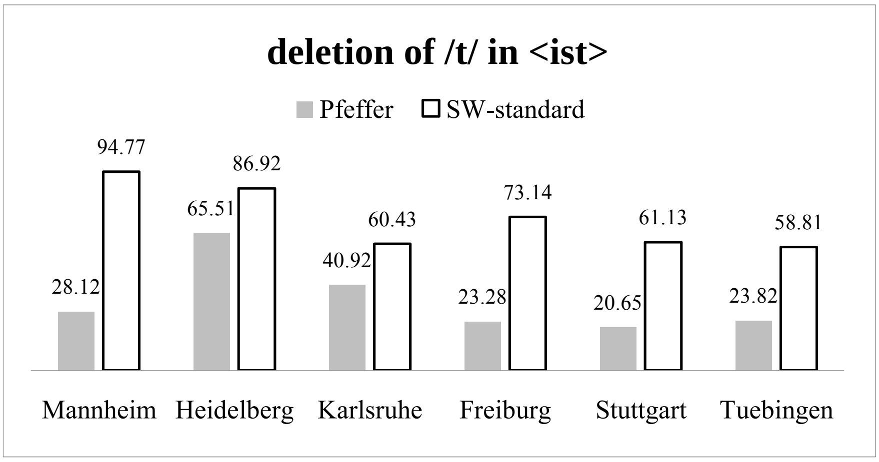

Figure 7: Final /t/-deletion in the copula form *ist* (third pers. sg. pres.) in speakers from six urban centres in Baden-Württemberg in 1961 (Pfeffer = grey) and in 2002–3 (SW-standard = white)

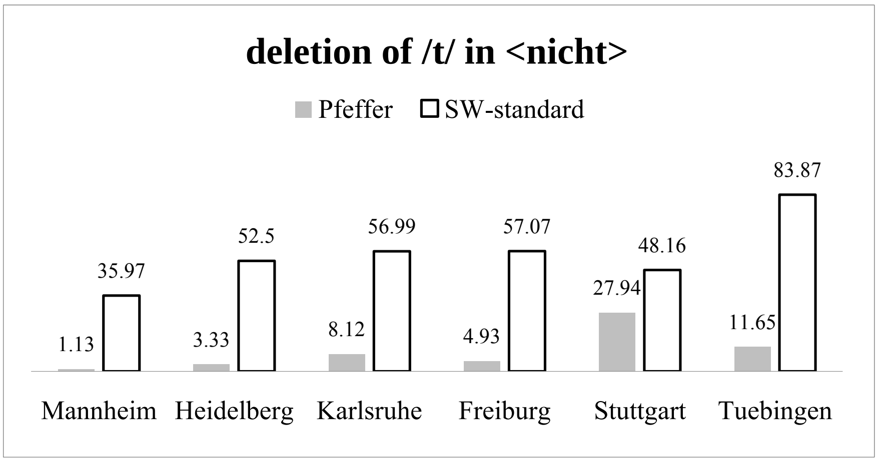

Figure 8: Final /t/-deletion in the negative adverb *nicht* in speakers from six urban centres in Baden-Württemberg in 1961 (Pfeffer = grey) and in 2002–3 (SW-standard = white).

The changes in final /t/-deletion in the word *nicht* are even more remarkable (Figure 8). However, they need to be seen in the context of the fact that the old spoken standard had a regional alternate for *nicht*, i.e. *ned*. In the Pfeffer corpus this regional alternate was still moderately frequent (total of 15.78%), and it only became slightly less frequent in the new data set (13.2%). The *ned*-alternate was particularly frequent in Freiburg, Mannheim and Tübingen, and it was in Tübingen and Freiburg that its use decreased (cf. Table 2). However, the loss of the regional variant, where it occurred, did not result in an increase of traditional standard forms (*nicht*), since at the same time, the allegro standard form *nich* became much more popular. While in the Pfeffer corpus, the traditional form (with final /t/) was by far most frequent, in the 2002–3 data it is no longer dominant. The form which has replaced it is the allegro form.

Table 2: Development of regional and non-regional (allegro) elements in the southwest German standard between 1961 (Pfeffer corpus) and 2002–3 (Southwest-German Standard corpus). All shaded differences are significant at 0.001 level, while the remaining are not significant. Differences in the traditional standard realisation (*nicht*) were not tested for significance.

	% ned		% nich		% NICHT	
	1961	2002–3	1961	2002–3	1961	2002–3
Mannheim	18.18	23.33	1.13	35.97	80.69	40.7
Heidelberg	7.50	9.92	3.33	52.50	91.17	37.58
Karlsruhe	2.78	6.9	8.12	56.99	89.1	36.11
Freiburg	31.33	7.25	4.93	57.07	63.74	35.68
Stuttgart	10.00	14.53	27.94	48.16	62.06	37.31
Tübingen	18.86	0	11.65	83.87	69.49	16.13

Finally, Figure 9 shows the reduction of the indefinite article *eine(n)* to *ne(n).* Its relative frequency in the SW-standard corpus varies between 47% and 94%. Compared to the Pfeffer corpus, this is an increase from approximately 20% to nearly 70%.

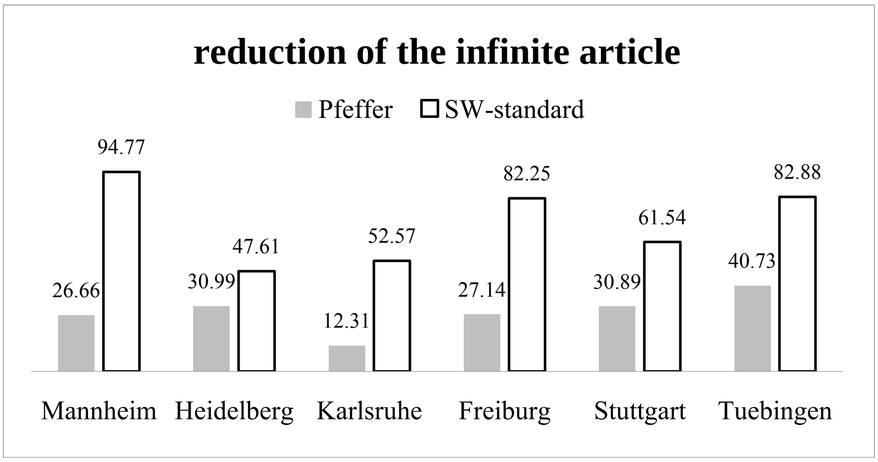

Figure 9: Reduction of the forms of the indefinite article (*eine/n)* to *ne(n)* in speakers from six urban centres in Baden-Württemberg in 1961 (Pfeffer = grey) and in 2002–3 (SW-standard = white)

In sum, the allegro forms are advancing rapidly in all six of the investigated locations. They clearly diverge from the written standard and also from the old norm established in the late 19th century. The spread of allegro forms in the spoken standard is compatible with other studies as well, especially with Berend's (2005) study of interview data from the 1980s in about 45 cities in West Germany (a kind of intermediate stage between our 1961 and our 2002–3 data). The allegro forms were more or less spread over the whole country, except for some regional forms in the south. The traditional standard forms, on the other hand, should be regarded as minority realisations.

CONCLUSIONS

We now return to our initial question: is there evidence for the demotisation and/or destandardisation of German today? We have already argued in the first section that of the three ingredients of standardisation (spread to the entire area, prestige, reduction of internal variability), the first and second do not hold for the destandardisation of spoken Standard German. Although the three large nations[8] in which German is the national standard have established (slightly) different norms, the reach of the German German standard variety within Germany is complete today. In addition, the (covert and overt?) prestige of the German standard in Germany seems to be high, particularly when compared with that of more regional ways of speaking. However, it seems that the attitudes attached to this variety have changed: because it has become available to everybody, and can be used in all domains of life, it has also become independent of the values attached to the *written* standard (such as formality, monologicity, complexity, elaboration, lack of spontaneity, and aesthetic and national values). This spoken standard sounds more informal – mainly due to its increasing independence and divergence from the written norm. In part, this is also due to the fact that, in former times, the oral standard was learned at school together with the written standard. This kind of coupling has disappeared: for many Germans, the standard is the language they grew up with (not the dialect). What they learn in school is literacy, i.e. the written variant of the spoken standard they are already familiar with.

The question of internal variability can now be answered as well: regional forms are increasingly disappearing from the spoken standard, i.e. the standard is becoming more homogeneous across Germany. This process is gradual, however, and consciousness as well as salience seem to play a role here. If a feature is stereotypically linked to a certain area, it will disappear particularly fast. If it is regional but more unconscious, it will be less suppressed and will therefore recede at a slower pace. While diatopic variability is therefore disappearing, allegro forms of the spoken standard are rapidly becoming more frequent. All evidence suggests that we are not dealing with increasing variability in the sense of a relaxation of norms here, but rather that we are in the middle of a process of language change: it is likely that the new standard features will in the end take over entirely and that pronunciations such as *nicht*, *einen*, or *ist* will sound old-fashioned and bookish. Seen from a historical perspective, this is just a further step in the emancipation of the spoken standard and its differentiation from the written standard. As long as the spoken standard (orthoepy) was nothing but an oral version of the written standard and was designed for articulatory strength and even over-articulation in light of its media use (theater, film, radio broadcast, electrically amplified political speeches), it could not become demotic: the standard that was used by the educated middle classes therefore remained indebted to the old regional standards that were developed in the 18th and propagated in the 19th century.[9] It was only in the last 60 years that a spoken standard could emerge which avoided both the over-articulation and formality of the old orthoepic standard

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[8] We leave out the discussion of the minority areas in which German has official status, i.e. Belgium and Italy, and also disregard the special situation of German in Luxembourg where it is considered a second language.

[9] This seems to be the main difference between Germany on the one hand, and Denmark on the other: the German oral standard could not eliminate all regional traces before it became demotic. In Denmark (as well as in other European countries, such as in England) the Copenhagen-based traditional standard (*rigsmål*) was already established as the national spoken standard *before* a more informal new standard started to arise. In fact, due to the size of the country and the huge structural differences in the dialect substrate influences in the territory, the process of the elimination of regional features from the standard is far from being finished in Germany.

and the regional restrictions of the old regional standards. The new standard (doubtlessly supported again by the media, which now, however, combine informality with non-regionality) is finally a demotic standard. This process implies destandardisation only if the spoken standard is defined by the particular constellation of attitudinal elements which go back to (and are mostly identical with those of the) the written standard. However, if we allow for changes in both the standard's phonological structure and prestige, there is no reason to assume that the present-day, demoticised standard variety is undergoing a process of destandardisation.

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Leaving Home:[1] De-europeanisation in a post-colonial variety of broadcast news language

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INTRODUCTION

Recent decades have witnessed considerable shifts in media systems and technologies, and in the configurations of language resources in the media. Such changes have affected Europe, but also those major sectors of the world which were once colonies of Europe. This chapter examines the concept of change in post-colonial language and media in one such ex-colony, New Zealand, interpreted through a lens of 'de-europeanisation'. It does so partly through revisiting empirical and theoretical work of my own from the 1970s and 1980s which made New Zealand broadcast language one of the most described varieties of the time. It then compares the scenario and findings of that period with the contemporary situation in 2011.

In the 1980s I published a series of articles (Bell 1982a, 1982b, 1983a, 1988) which examined the nature of broadcast language in New Zealand, largely on the basis of my doctoral research conducted in the mid 1970s. At 30 years' distance, some of the contents of those publications read like a time capsule. New Zealand cultural systems, including media and language, appeared as still strongly colonialist, largely oriented to standards set in Britain. This was notably the case in language attitudes and broadcasting practices, and especially at the interface of these two. Language attitude studies of the time confirmed that New Zealanders oriented to Received Pronunciation as the model of good English (e.g. Huygens and Vaughan 1983). RP tended to be classified as part of – one pole of – the accent continuum of New Zealand English. And the same situation held for parallel post-colonial varieties elsewhere, and not just of English but of French in Canada (e.g. d'Anglejan and Tucker 1973), and of Spanish in Latin America. New Zealand public broadcasting modelled the language of its prestige National Programme radio network on the BBC Overseas Service. It retransmitted BBC world news live several times daily, and many of its own announcers were British born and bred.

The empirical basis of the 1980s publications adduced evidence from a Labovian study of sociolinguistic variables in the news language of radio stations in Auckland in 1974 (Bell 1977, 1982a). These quantifications showed a gradient of styles across the stations, with the BBC at the prestige end. The higher the social status of a station's audience, the closer its linguistic features approached the BBC's. But there was also evidence of two countervailing trends. First, some localism showed in the language of community-oriented stations, which for some diagnostic features adopted a style distant from the British prestige norm. Secondly, youth-audience music stations showed a divergent orientation for some features whose inventory included an apparently American-oriented variant.

The present chapter revisits New Zealand radio as a case study in social, cultural, political and linguistic change across the late 20th and early 21st centuries. It examines changes specific

[1] The upper case 'Home' is a signifier: through to at least the 1950s the word could be capitalised in New Zealand to refer to Britain and was used by older New Zealanders who had never been there. For this chapter I am indebted to Nik Coupland and Tore Kristiansen for the perceptiveness of their comments on an earlier draft, and for the commission which has enabled me to go back to my first (doctoral) project to see what has become of some of this language in the intervening decades. I ask readers' tolerance of the amount of self-citation, given that this chapter is in part a retrospective of my own work.

to broadcasting structures and technologies, developments in broadcast genres, and finally shifts in linguistic styles. Many of these macro-level changes are paralleled in other nations (e.g. in Chile: Challies and Murray 2008) although always with local inflections. Empirically, this study proceeds mainly by means of a real-time comparison of one feature of news English in 2011 against 1974.

RESTANDARDISATION, DESTANDARDISATION

In a 1983 article on 'Broadcast news as a language standard', I discussed the ways in which national broadcast news media functioned as standardising flagships for their language communities. Building on Leitner's close historical work (e.g. 1980) on the place of prescriptivism and standardisation in the early BBC, it seemed fairly obvious why in its early days broadcast news would adopt the standard language as its own mode of speech – because of its use in other prestige domains, its authoritative connotations, its association with 'high' culture, the social standing of the groups from which announcers were recruited, and the assumption that it is the most widely understood variety.

Less obvious was why broadcast news then came to be identified as the standard by which the standard is itself judged. There seemed to be a number of related factors, including:

- the public accessibility of broadcast language
- its place as the most commonly heard use of the standard
- the identifiability, scheduling and frequency of broadcast news
- the sociopolitical importance of the subject matter of 'the news'
- the language professionalism and codification activities of news broadcasters
- public acceptance of the authority of such codifications
- public sensitivity to breaches of broadcast language standards
- the broadcasting of metalinguistic programmes prescribing correct speech.

These dimensions embody the mechanisms of a circulating ideology in which broadcast news serves as the working definition of the standard language – such as 'BBC English'. Agha's study of the enregisterment of RP as a prestige variety (2003) notes the BBC's role in replicating images of exemplary speakers of RP, picking up that torch from broader groups such as former public school boys and army officers. He also points out that although the 'characterological figure' of the BBC announcer remained the same for decades, the linguistic content of their persona changed over time from a conservative RP of the 1920s/30s to a more 'mainstream RP' in the 1970s/80s.

If these are the processes of standardisation, what are its alternatives and opposites, and how can we characterise them? Central here are two concepts which are easily confused but which need to be kept distinct: *re*standardisation and *de*standardisation. Restandardisation involves a redirection of the standard towards another target. Referencing the situation of standard Danish, Kristiansen (2009: 2) equates restandardisation with 'demotisation': 'the belief that there is, and should be, a "best language" is not abandoned, but the idea of what this "best language" is, or sounds like, changes'. The notion of 'standard', then, is retained but its content is reconfigured so that it differs from the hitherto accepted standard. The reshaping of RP referred to above could be interpreted as a mild form of such restandardisation. Mild because RP remains the standard, but restandardised because what constitutes acceptable RP changes – has indeed changed significantly over the past 70 years or so. The linguistic content of 1940 RP is no longer standard today. Presumably such a redirection can tolerate the existence of only one – or at least, very few – alternative standards. An example of restandardisation would be the acceptance in the U.S. of 'Ebonics' (African American Vernacular English) rather than 'standard' English (Rickford 1999) as a medium of instruction. A case where the restandardisation is towards several alternatives rather than just a single target could be the post-Soviet shift from Russian to a range of national languages such as Estonian, Georgian and Kazakh (Pavlenko 2008). However these new standards are geographically dispersed because they were consequent on territorial breakup, and therefore no longer compete in the same national space.

Much more radical is destandardisation, the loss of the notion that a standard even exists, with all the ideological repercussions that involves. One approach to this is through Bakhtin's concept of the centrifugal and centripetal forces in language (Bell 2007). Bakhtin maintained that language is a site of struggle between the dynamic centrifugal forces which whirl it apart into diversity and difference, and the centripetal forces which strive to normalise and prescribe the way language should be, usually from the top of society. He acknowledges the forces of standardisation, the centripetal, but celebrates the divergence and variegation of the centrifugal:

> Alongside the centripetal forces, the centrifugal forces of language carry on their uninterrupted work; alongside verbal-ideological centralization and unification, the uninterrupted processes of decentralization and disunification go forward. Every concrete utterance of a speaking subject serves as a point where centrifugal as well as centripetal forces are brought to bear. The processes of centralization and decentralization, of unification and disunification, intersect in the utterance. (Bahktin 1981: 272)

Bakhtin saw this as no neutral struggle but as a crusade for the centrifugal, for the liberation of human discourse from 'the hegemony of a single and unitary language' (1981: 367). Centrifugalisation or destandardisation involves a scattering away from the standard in all directions, and a concomitant unshackling of language from the idea of the standard. While such a movement might be temporarily focused in one unitary trajectory away from the existing standard, its object is the abolition of the standard not the replacement of one standard with another (which would be re- rather than destandardisation).

Taking the concepts of restandardisation and destandardisation as central, a number of other terms arise in the same semantic fields. In a 1982 article entitled 'This isn't the BBC', I both exemplified and challenged the then-colonialistic nature of New Zealand attitudes to language, especially in the media. Over the intervening decades there has been a long process away from these eurocentric standards, which we can characterise broadly as 'de-europeanisation'. In principle this implies a form of destandardisation, that is, the former European standard is deconstructed and not replaced. In practice, it will often be a restandardisation, with the eurocentric standard being replaced by another, whether local or otherwise. In the conclusion I will examine the extent to which 'de-europeanisation' is a viable and insightful way to view the findings I present below.

A further term, foreshadowed above in the introduction, is 'americanisation'. This is one form that English-language restandardisation can take, a shift away from the 'British base' to the 'American connection' (Bell 1988). An example would be a schooling system which restandardised on American rather than British pronunciation as the target of instruction. When an American model is exerting pressure on a former colonial scenario such as New Zealand, americanisation could equate with de-europeanisation – that is, a restandardisation. But clearly de-europeanisation may be more than or quite different from americanisation, involving de- rather than restandardisation.

A final pair of terms are in potential overlap with the above but may not directly equate with them: conversationalisation and vernacularisation. The former has been identified as a trend by which features of colloquial language colonise hitherto more formal forms of public discourse. Fairclough (1992) interprets conversationalisation as a potentially democratising shift. It could be classed as a weak form of restandardisation, since it extends the content of what counts as standard to include forms which are mostly used by the 'right' people but hitherto only in casual contexts.

Vernacularisation, on the other hand, implies a much more wholesale challenge to the standard. It involves the use of forms that are local, group-based, non-standard, even stigmatised. The vernacular may be constructed as unitary – e.g. Greek Demotiki – but it is in reality likely to be variegated both linguistically and socially. It therefore involves, at least potentially, destandardisation. Coupland (2011) examines the extent to which popular music genres may be said to have contributed to the vernacularisation of cultural forms, including through their packaging of 'non-standard' linguistic features. Conversationalisation may be regarded as a (mild) version of vernacularisation.

After presenting empirical findings on news style in contemporary Auckland radio, I will turn to gauging whether such changes can be read as 'de-europeanisation', the extent to which they may be re- or destandardisations, and whether processes of vernacularisation or conversationalisation may also be playing a part in these scenarios.

AUCKLAND RADIO AND ITS LANGUAGE IN 1974

In 1974 Auckland had five radio stations that broadcast news (plus a classical music station). Three of those were outlets of the public corporation, the then New Zealand Broadcasting Corporation (NZBC). Two were private stations – a relatively recent phenomenon initiated when legislation permitted a hitherto pirate station to come ashore and broadcast legally from 1969. There were distinct stylistic groupings of stations. First was the NZBC's prestigious National Programme. My original characterisation captures something of the style of the station at the time:

> The tone and self-image … are accurately summed up in the name 'National Programme'. It carries no advertising and invites no audience participation. Its programmes are segmented (i.e. scheduled to distinct, shortish time-spans), publicised in detail, and run strictly to time. Announcers speak in a measured, detached way: there is no attempt (except in specific programmes) to establish any personal rapport between announcer and listener. Programmes include classical concerts, current affairs, radio drama, comedy (usually ex-BBC 1950s), broadcasts to schools… [It] is the prestige station of public corporation radio, the definitive news and weather service. The language style of its announcers is the prestige standard of New Zealand English, and it is quite in keeping that it relays several news bulletins daily from the BBC Overseas Service… The programme content gets the audience it invites – average age nearly 50, the better educated, those in the professions. (Bell 1977: 98–99)

The National Programme carried frequent news bulletins of its own, as well as rebroadcasting live several bulletins per day from the BBC World Service. Auckland also had two middle-of-the-road, community-oriented stations, including station ZB, the NZBC's commercial-network outlet in Auckland, targeting a mid-status audience of the younger middle-aged and their families. Finally, there were two rock music stations, of which the NZBC's ZM is one, with a young and largely male audience. See Table 1 for details.

Table 1: Character and continuity of Auckland radio stations 1974 to 2011

1974 designation	2011 designation	Audience	Character
BBC Overseas Service	BBC World Service	Older, higher status	Prestige international news service
National Programme	Radio New Zealand National	Older, higher status	Prestige station of publicly owned radio, definitive news service. No advertising
ZB	Newstalk ZB	Middle-aged, family, mid-status	Middle-of-the-road, local information and issues
ZM	91ZM	Younger,mainly males	Popular and contemporary music

In 1974 I recorded a 35-hour random sample of these stations' news, and analyzed a selection of linguistic variables in the context of an ethnography and audience survey of the stations (see Bell 1982a for published detail). In this chapter I will deal only with the stations which were part of the public corporation NZBC in 1974, since they give the best comparability with 2011. The accents of Auckland radio news fell into four groups in 1974:

- There was the BBC itself, definitionally Received Pronunciation at this period (cf Gimson 1970). The BBC also maintained very formal syntax in its news writing, evidenced for example in the absolute non-occurrence of negative contraction, a rule that is indexical of in/formality. By contrast, the National Programme contracted over 25% of negatives, and all other stations over 50%. Because the BBC news was generated by an external broadcaster, although re-transmitted in New Zealand on the National Programme, I class it as a separate station.
- At the RP end of the NZ English continuum was the National Programme. Many of its announcers were British. Some of the New Zealanders' accents were almost pure RP, others had more local flavour but always at the 'cultivated' end of the then New Zealand accent continuum (Bayard 1990). They were led by a trio of men[2] who were also the long-serving national television news anchors of the 1970s–80s, and whose accents ranged from pure RP (Bill Toft) through NZ-English-shifted RP (Philip Sherry) to RP-shifted NZ English (Dougal Stevenson).
- The local- and community-oriented commercial stations, including ZB. These newsreaders used a much more distinctly New Zealand English, although still with a broadcast formality. For some phonological variables (Bell 1983a) it is clear that in 1974 they were orienting away from a standard pronunciation and towards something with more local flavour.
- The youth music stations, again oriented away from the standard. The newsreaders were firmly New Zealand accented but not radically so. On the publicly-owned stations, these were still trained public-service broadcasters.

For comparison between 1974 and 2011, I take one syntactic variable investigated in the earlier study, which indexes orientation to competing international news style norms.

DETERMINER DELETION, 1974

Initial mentions of people in the news usually take the form of two appositional noun phrases. The first NP is descriptive of the person, followed by an appositional NP which names the person. A variable syntactic rule which operates on these expressions is characteristic of – perhaps unique to – the language of news reporting. It deletes the determiner in the first of the appositional expressions:

(the) Finance Minister Bill English
(a) City Council spokesperson Richie Moyle
(its) Chief Executive Roger Sutton.

The deletion also restructures the apposition, elevating the name to equal status with the description. It treats the description as a pseudo-title on a par with 'President' or 'Professor'. This implies an exclusivity for the class of persons described by the pseudo-title, parallel to the exclusivity of full titles. It invites the reinsertion of the definite article rather than the in-

[2] One statistic that is striking now is that, of the 52 newsreaders that I recorded across all stations in 1974, only two were women.

definite, even when context indicates the indefinite would be required. It thus embodies a person's entitlement to be newsworthy. The rule is a variable one, disfavoured by possessives (except *our* as in 'reporter Katie Bradford'), by syntactic complexity in the descriptive phrase, and by following last name only (* 'Chief Executive Sutton'), which would imply full title status on a par with 'President Obama'. For detail on the structure, see Bell (1988). The rule is an exceedingly functional one for news language, since it compresses structure at the same time as highlighting informational content.

Table 2 shows how the four stations registered on this the rule in 1974. All have low deletion. BBC Overseas Service radio serves as an absolute norm with zero deletion, closely imitated by National Radio, and with the community station ZB had 7%. Only the rock music station ZM showed any appreciable deletion at 23%.

Table 2: Determiner deletion in news of four Auckland radio stations, 1974

	N Det retained	N Det deleted	Total N	1974 Percentage
BBC	47	0	47	0%
National Programme	59	1	60	2
ZB	42	3	45	7
ZM	33	10	43	23

The sociolinguistic interest of this rule was that it indexed orientation towards a British or an American norm. Or at least, this is how I interpreted it, on the basis of two kinds of evidence. Firstly, the rule was the subject of explicit comment, for example in New Zealand news writing guides which warned journalists 'not to follow this American style'. Secondly, a survey in the early 1980s of prestige media in the US and UK (Bell 1988) showed that quantitatively they represented two opposing norms: a semi-categorical low-deleting British norm of below 10% (e.g. BBC-1 Television, *The Times*) and an equally semi-categorical high-deleting American norm at about 90% (e.g. CBS television, *Washington Post*). In terms of the 1974 New Zealand radio stations, it is expectable on the grounds of the character of their content and audiences that the National Programme would adopt a British low-deleting model, and a rock music station would be the highest deleting (albeit not in fact very high at this time). Later in the chapter we turn to a comparison of the 1974 and 2011 data, including questioning the extent to which high deletion can be interpreted as Americanisation.

CHANGING NEW ZEALAND, 1974 – 2011

We now turn to trace through the macro and micro changes which have taken place in New Zealand society, politics and culture, in its broadcasting systems and technologies, and in broadcast genres and language over the past three decades. There is a strong globalised dimension to these changes, many of which are shared with other nations, particularly smaller countries and those with colonial histories.

Sociopolitical reshaping

The context for New Zealand broadcasting in the late 1970s and early 1980s was one of a highly regulated economy, a two-party electoral system, political consensus on a major economic and social role for the state, a largely subservient foreign policy, and an official monoculturalism and monolingualism dominated by the Pakeha [Anglo] majority. Much of that was swept away in the following decade.

Until the 1970s the colonialist tradition of supplying raw materials (especially agricultural produce) to the mother country dominated the New Zealand economy (Belich 2001). The accession of the United Kingdom to the then European Economic Community in 1973 seriously reduced New Zealand's access to the UK market (Challies and Murray 2008). The enforced economic re-orientation spurred a loosening of political ties, especially with the increasing influence of the United States in the Pacific region. A Labour Government was elected in 1984, however, with a foreign policy that rejected participation in nuclear defence. The consequent refusal to accept visits from American nuclear warships (Belich 2001) led to the lapsing of the ANZUS alliance and a stand-off with the United States which is only just being resolved three decades later. Socioculturally, this marked a rise in national consciousness and independence that reverberated through many dimensions of society.

From the 1980s there was increasing recognition of the rights of the indigenous Māori people – parallel to the 'ethnic revival' which affected many nations (Fishman *et al*. 1985). Legal structures and procedures were set up for hearing cases, under the founding Treaty of Waitangi, over Māori grievances for past injustices, largely in the taking of land (Holland and Boston 1990). Settlements have involved reparation of considerable parcels of land and/or sums of money, and explicit official apology for the injustices involved. Language played a part in these changes. The *kohanga reo* movement of 'language nests' arose in the 1980s as a grassroots revival mechanism for the threatened Māori language (Spolsky 2005), which became an exemplar for endangered languages in other countries. In 1987 Māori was legislated as an official language. *Kura kaupapa* immersion schooling in Māori followed, and from the 1990s *te reo Māori* had an increasing public presence, although the language continues to be endangered.

Paradoxically, the same 1984 Labour government also initiated wholesale neoliberalisation of the New Zealand economy (Kelsey 1995, cf Fairclough 2000). Within a few years this had changed the face of the economy and decimated much of the public sector (Boston *et al*. 1991, with direct impact on broadcasting. Finally, from 1996 the electoral system was transformed from a traditional Westminster first-past-the-post system to Mixed-Member Proportional Representation. This ensured that future governments were unlikely to hold their own majority, and that minority emphases such as indigenous rights (through the Māori Party) and the environmental movement (through the Green Party) were represented.

There were thus through the 1980s and 1990s a clutch of post-colonial shifts away from the imperial mother country as well as from its putative successor, the post-war American empire. These form the context for a growing national identity, and for changes in both New Zealand broadcasting and New Zealand English.

Institutional change in broadcasting

The market liberalisation of the 1980s–90s revolutionised the structures as well as the context of broadcasting in New Zealand. Until 1989 television was entirely publicly owned, and radio was still dominated by the public corporation Radio New Zealand (formerly part of the NZ Broadcasting Corporation). In line with neoliberal practice elsewhere, the state began to divest itself of assets from the mid 1980s (Kelsey 1993, 1995). At this point language became a direct player in the restructuring of broadcasting. The Government's proposals for public broadcasting were opposed by Māori interests on the grounds that they would reduce the state's ability to meet its Treaty of Waitangi obligations to support the Māori language (Kelsey 1993). Successive cases were argued through all levels of the New Zealand courts for a decade from 1987 (Bell 2010). After the final appeal was lost in 1997, the commercial radio component of Radio New Zealand was sold. The courts nevertheless required the state to honour its Treaty obligations to the Māori language, leading to the establishment of Māori Television as a stand-alone channel in 2004 (Hollings 2005).

With deregulation, radio outlets have proliferated over the past three decades, restructuring the configurations and ownership of the medium. Some of the stations I studied in 1974 have changed beyond recognition, but there is a remarkable continuity in the character of the four stations I have chosen for this longitudinal study. The BBC is no longer broadcast by Radio

New Zealand, but is transmitted locally on its own station. Radio New Zealand National is the direct successor of the National Programme (Table 1), and still remains part of publicly owned broadcasting. ZB is now Newstalk ZB, sold out of public ownership in the late 1990s, but still with a local information orientation and a mid-level audience. And ZM has become 91ZM, owned by the same company as Newstalk ZB, and targeting contemporary music to an audience segment only slightly older than ZM's demographic in 1974.

New technologies and their impacts

Political changes in broadcasting were parallelled by the technological developments. Between 1990 and 2010 technological change transformed aspects of broadcast media, both from the audience's and the producer's viewpoints. These changes involved shifts in accessibility, immediacy, and interactivity, the proliferation of media outlets, and diversification. Central to much of this is digital technology in its varied manifestations.

Immediacy

The impetus of news production across the past 150 years has been towards maximum immediacy. Near the start of the 20th century, when Captain Scott reached the South Pole and perished on the return journey, news took a year to get out of Antarctica and into the press (Bell 2003). In mid century, Sir Edmund Hillary overland arrival at the Pole was reported within hours by radio. At the end of the 20th century, his son Peter Hillary was interviewed in real time by satellite on television when he too reached the Pole overland. The ultimate in immediacy is live coverage, which technological developments now enable from situations that were inconceivable twenty years earlier. News anchors can conduct live interviews to any location in the world where they can get a microphone or a camera and a feed back to base. In 1974, this did not occur even on radio news bulletins. Internet availability of news gives print media the immediacy that was once the prerogative of broadcasting. These changes have considerable repercussions for the character of news and news discourse – increased frequency and sophistication of voice reports, scripting for immediacy, and frequent updating.

Accessibility

The audience experience immediacy at their fingertips, through the facility to go on to media websites and follow coverage of events as they unfold almost in real time, without having to wait for the next scheduled broadcast bulletin or newspaper edition. The kind of immediacy that radio has long offered (and in which it still in fact leads) is now being approached by press and television through their online provision. Internet access has revolutionised availability to the audience. The contrasting affordances of the technologies involved in the two data periods presented in this paper make the point. My 1974 sample of radio news required arduous and logistically demanding live recording or logging of the news as it was broadcast. For my simultaneous sample of Auckland radio stations, I ran a suite of five reel-to-reel tape recorders wired to five radios. When I came to update that sample in 2011, I went online to the stations' websites and clicked to access the audio of their archived bulletins.

Interactivity

For centuries the nearest media could approach to interactivity were letters to the editor – published at least a day after the issue to which they referred, and very much on the newspaper's terms. 'Talk' radio – initiated in the US in the 1940s – changed that. Phone-in, talkback radio came to Auckland in the 1970s. This immediately resulted in linguistic vernacularisation of the airwaves. Lay people were given a voice in the media, and that voice was not that of the BBC-oriented professional but of everyday New Zealand English, broadcast on more or less equal terms. What talk radio did for the airwaves from the mid 20th century, the internet has done over the past few years for interactivity across a wide range of content, including news.

Individuals can comment immediately on news, redistribute stories to friends, customise what they receive, expand their database on chosen topics through following hyperlinks, and so forth. They can tailor the shape of news to their interests, and can even generate and upload their own news – video footage generated by members of the public is commonplace on news websites. The affordances of the internet mean that the centuries-long dominance of news by professionals is being loosened, and linguistic prescriptivism with it (Bell and Smith in press).

Proliferation

In the mid 1970s Auckland had six radio stations, dominated by ZB, which commanded 40% of the commercial-radio audience (Bell 1977: 147). In 2011 there are forty stations. ZB Newstalk still has the biggest audience share, but that is only 12%.[3] These changes involve both proliferation and diversification. Initially the new stations involved an expansion of ownership away from state domination as pioneering radio entrepreneurs founded their stations. But quite rapidly such diversity consolidated into relatively few hands, so that today most of the non-public radio stations are owned by just two companies, MediaWorks and the Radio Network.

Satellite and cable technologies have enabled the delivery of multiple television channels, and the suite of channels available through the Sky Network in New Zealand are now the most-watched in the country (29%: source Nielsen). The audiences are dispersing across the newer channels, weakening the dominance of the original terrestrial channels. Weakening but not eliminating: the three long-established terrestrial TV channels still share a majority (58%) of viewers even in 2010. Newer terrestrial channels muster only a few percent of audience share.

The proliferation includes the new availability of traditional media through the internet, especially press and radio, along with the flexibility and changing affordances that this involves. But it is important not to over-estimate the repercussions of technological or other change. The Auckland radio stations may each have greatly diminished audience numbers, but in many cases they have retained similar formats to the 1970s and similar audience demographics.

Diversification

With proliferation has come diversification, perhaps most obviously in information sources. Twenty years ago the news sources readily available in New Zealand were limited and countable. In 1988 when I undertook a study of public understanding of climate change in New Zealand (Bell 1994), I could claim with justification that local and national press, radio and television provided almost all the information input on this issue to almost all the population. Two decades later the availability of diverse sources, particularly through the internet, would make such a study impossible now. Time and again as events unfold in different sites around the world, it becomes clear that governments now have great difficulty in restricting the information that goes out of, into or around their own country. In political practicalities as well as the imaginary (Appadurai 1996), the nation-state is increasingly challenged.

Diversification in Auckland radio has had two main dimensions. Stylistically, as indicated earlier, in 1970s radio there was a three-part configuration of a national public service station (National Programme), local information/commercial stations (e.g. ZB), and youth/rock music stations both private and public (e.g. ZM). The first two of these sectors remain recognisable. Today's Radio NZ National maintains the continuity of a publicly funded and oriented service, although under pressure. There are a handful of commercial 'talk' stations, focusing on either general news/current affairs or sport, still led in 2011 by Newstalk ZB.

Meanwhile, the third, the music sector of the Auckland radio marketplace, has diversified and segmented beyond recognition. Music was already the main style differentiator in the

[3] http://www/rradios.co.nz/radio_research/survey_area_results/Auckland/auckland.htm (retrieved 8 March 2011)

1970s, but with few stations, the range was limited. Now there are stations devoted to classic rock, urban contemporary, easy listening, oldies, dance, classical, and so on. And a fourth category has been added – the ethnic-minority stations. New Zealand has received considerable immigration in the past three decades, initially from the south Pacific islands, then from various Asian and African countries. Over a quarter of the population of Auckland speak a first language other than English. In the 1970s it was probably no more than one in ten. This has instigated a shift from monocultural (Pakeha) to bicultural (Māori and Pakeha) to multicultural which has transformed much of the social landscape and created intergroup issues of the kind that are familiar in many European nations (Fleras and Spoonley 1999). Ethnic-minority radio includes a diversity of language alternatives for Māori, Pasifika and Asian groups (cf Cormack and Hourigan 2007). New languages are heard on the Auckland airwaves, older languages have more airtime, and ethnic varieties of English new and old are heard. This represents, especially in radio, a form of vernacularisation. It brings hidden, alternative voices on to the air, which were not heard – or not much heard – in public in 1974. The number and kinds of people who become broadcasters has multiplied and broadened, so that the voices of Auckland radio are no longer those of the elite few, as we will explore further below.

New genres

New genres are often the outcome of technological development. The media are technological creatures, and contemporary mediated genres are the direct or indirect result of such developments. Talk radio was an innovative combination of the technologies of the telephone and radio. The internet changes the configuration of media, enabling online as well as traditional delivery, but also incorporating a media outlet's website as a part of its functionality which scarcely existed a decade ago. The interplay between what happens in hard-copy and online newspaper, between broadcast and online radio, opens new possibilities. Media cross into different platforms and genres, with the embedding of video or audio clips on internet newspaper sites, and of scripted news on broadcast sites.

New genres have been created apace in recent years. Interactivity and immediacy have led to blogs, chatrooms, newsrooms etc. with their potentials for participation, activism and alternative debate (e.g. Smith 2011). The ability to archive content alters the affordances of existing genres when they become digital. An audio interview retrieved online is a very different experience for a listener than live listening, allowing interactive control over playing, replaying, selecting, etc. But there are important continuities amidst the changes. The traditional news formats remain the core of internet news. The news story stays much the same in discourse structure and syntax (Bell and Smith in press), although its peripherals and reading context are greatly altered. There is a convergence of press and broadcast news styles, often in the direction that Fairclough (1992) has termed 'conversationalisation'.

New accents

How has language fared amidst the above suite of changes? Contrary to popular expectation of the 1970s, spoken NZ English has in the interim become more itself, more distinctive rather than more British or more American or even more Australian (Bell 1997a). New Zealand prime ministers from David Lange onwards (1984–89) sound like New Zealanders rather than British subjects. Where RP was once classified as part of the NZ English continuum, this is no longer so, at least for younger New Zealanders. NZ English is also diversifying locally as immigrant ethnic groups establish their own recognisable varieties of the language.

These different voices are heard on the nation's media, variegating the range of language in the New Zealand public sphere. Even before the 1970s, radio stations other than the National Programme were always locally oriented, whether to youth or to family. That was reflected in recognisably New Zealand accents – although on public-service radio this included trained radio voice production (such as hyper-precise consonants). But National Programme radio and national news on Television One, the lead public channel, remained determinedly RP-oriented. From the late 1980s that broke down fast, simultaneously with the rise in national consciousness and independence outlined above. Since the 1990s, the accents of television and radio – with one exception – have been distinctively New Zealand. RNZ National remains the exception, with a mix of presenters who have markedly NZ English alongside others whose accent is equally markedly RP-shifted.[4]

We have thus an interweaving of changes from the macro political and international level, their local outworking in structural, together with technological development and consequent genre creation, and linguistic shift, all interlocking to produce a news media landscape that is unrecognisable compared to the 1970s.

DETERMINER DELETION, 2011

In 2011 I revisited the four stations and sampled determiner deletion through non-random scanning of the core genre of radio news, the hourly or half-hourly ‘bulletins’. A total of 117 bulletins were accessed on the stations’ websites, amounting to a little under 6 hours of broadcast news (see Table 3). In these there occurred 301 eligible tokens of referring expressions, which were logged, transcribed, analysed and quantified.

Table 3: Determiner deletion sample and frequency in news on four Auckland radio stations, 2011

	N of bulletins monitored	Minutes of news monitored	N Det retained	N Det deleted	N Total	2011 Percentage
BBC	38	190	98	4	102	4
RNZ National	9	46	67	8	75	11
Newstalk ZB	10	43	5	48	53	91
91ZM	58	70	3	68	71	96
TOTAL	117	349			301	

In 1988 I had been bold – or foolish – enough to publish three ‘tentative speculations’ on the directions determiner deletion might take in the future.[5] Returning to the rule 37 years after the original data and 23 years after that article offers the chance to test these guesses against what has happened in real time. Given the nature of determiner deletion and its semiotic repercussions, it will also allow me to draw wider conclusions concerning the significance of the shifts that these represent in news language and discourse since 1974.

Speculation 1

> The prestige media in New Zealand and Britain will be inevitably drawn into deleting more and more of the determiners… In Britain, even the *Times* and BBC Overseas Service will lose their rearguard action and be drawn into increasing determiner deletion. By the

[4] In the interim, the BBC has also been diversifying. Non-RP voices are now commonplace on BBC World Service news, most obviously Scottish and Welsh, but also including newsreaders with ethnically marked or non-British accents. Most striking in my 2011 monitoring was a voice report from a journalist in the Middle East with a registrably Cockney accent, including vocalization of postvocalic /l/, a fronted-onset /au/ diphthong, assimilated word-final nasals, and a strongly disyllabic pronunciation of ‘power’.

[5] A fourth speculation was not testable on this 2011 sample – that determiner deletion would spread to adjacent non-news registers.

end of the century, they may well be where the popular press was in 1950 [i.e. 38%]. (Bell 1988: 342)[6]

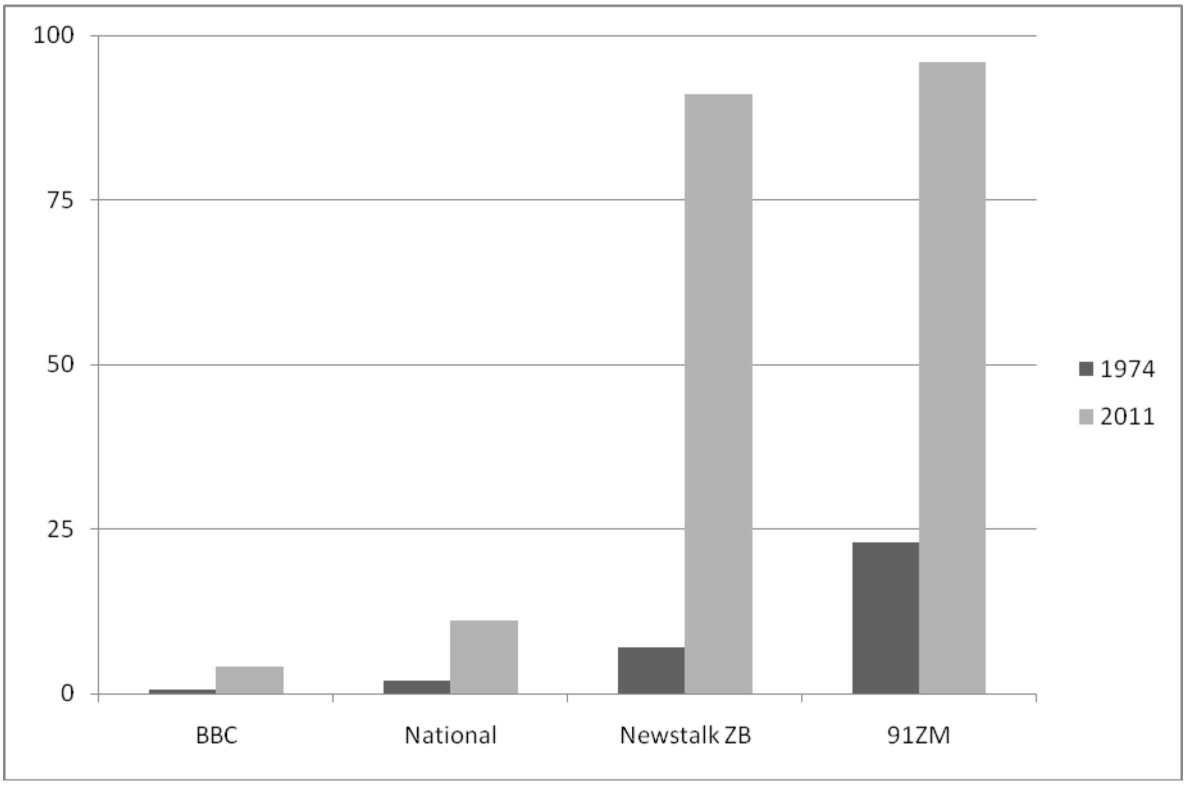

Figure 1: Percentage of determiner deletion on Auckland radio, 1974 and 2011

In broad terms, this is what has happened. Table 3 and Figure 1 show that the bastion of BBC World Service radio news is indeed showing some cracks. Now in 2011 the BBC deletes determiners, albeit at the low level of 4% – but the interest is that it is doing it at all. Radio NZ National has 11% compared with its minimal 2% in 1974. Clearly there is a shift underway for both these stations, with the BBC registering on the deletion scale and National showing an appreciable number of deleted determiner tokens. Equally clearly, that shift nowhere near reaches the level I had anticipated on the basis of historical work on the progress of determiner deletion across the 20th century in the UK *Daily Mirror*. This part of the 1988 study tracked determiner deletion in Britain's most stable popular newspaper by the decade from zero deletion in 1910, through 6% in 1930, 10% in 1940, to 38% in 1950, and on to 80% in 1980.[7] Change in the BBC and RNZ National has been much slower than that.

These figures come from the core of the news genre, the bulletins (as do all the data in Table 3), but we can see the way in which change progresses by looking more widely at other news genres. The BBC carries versions of its broadcast stories on its website, which I monitored for comparison with the broadcast sample. Determiner deletion occurs observably more often in the scripted website news, even when the broadcast items are shorter versions of these scripts. That is, a referring expression which when broadcast on air retains its determiner is quite likely to have the determiner deleted in the parallel BBC website 'print' version of the story:

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[6] In 1980-82 I sampled determiner deletion in two U.K. prestige media. BBC-1 Television News had 8% deletion, and *The Times* 5%. I have not been able to revisit these in 2011.

[7] I have had no reason to suspect that the rule is not comparable across different media: much broadcast news, for example, originates in reports written for the press, and there do not seem to be any quantitative or qualitative indicators of differentiation according to medium for determiner deletion.

the American State Department spokesman P. J. Crowley (BBC radio news)
U.S. State Department spokesman P.J. Crowley (online print version)

Similarly, voice reports by reporters other than the news anchor function as a subgenre which favours determiner deletion more.

We can also compare the level in Radio NZ National's bulletins with what the news anchors of the daily 'Morning Report' news programme produce after the bulletin is over. The Table 3 figure of 11% is derived from the half-hourly bulletins (which are read by a separate news reader), whereas in the magazine-like format of the remaining 20–25 minutes of each half-hour slot, the two news anchors delete at 23%. The news bulletin, then, appears as the centre of the news genre – the most newslike news – in which a conservative, status-oriented station retains the maximum level of determiners. But we see higher levels of deletion encroaching through related genres such as the less formalised, hosted news programme. Most interesting is the cross-media platform situation at the BBC, where website news appears to be the Trojan horse through which loosening of a rule such as determiner deletion moves into the heartland of prestige news.

Speculation 2

> Quantitatively, the popular media … seem certain to take the rule to virtual completion, so that determiner deletion becomes as unremarkable in these media as it is in the United States. This shift is likely to be complete within another decade. However, as long as the prestige media within a country hold to determiner retention, the rule will keep its social force. (1988: 342)

This forecast appears to have been fulfilled quite precisely (although the current data do not tell us whether that did happen within ten years, i.e. by the mid 1990s). The 'popular' stations Newstalk ZB and 91ZM now delete determiners at 91% and 96% respectively (Figure 1), that is, a nearly categorical level. With 23% 91ZM had been in the vanguard of what was already an incipient shift in 1974, and 2011 it is this youth music station which approaches the fully categorical. For Newstalk ZB the shift is across almost the full 100% spectrum of possible deletion for ZB, which in 1974 had a level of only 7%.[8]

In 1974, there was a retaining norm, to which stations approximated to a greater or lesser extent depending on their audience status, and which was led by BBC and RNZ National. The youth music stations like ZM were tugging away from that standard. By 2011 they have clearly succeeded in 'leaving home' – the hold of the prestige norm has been broken (probably for some time), and we are dealing with competing and opposing norms. But since the retaining norm continues to subsist within the New Zealand broadcast speech community on RNZ National, the rule keeps its social force, indexing prestige versus popular. [9]

[8] A second related structure also shows a marked shift between 1974 and 2011. The use of an honorific such as *Ms* or *Mr* in these referring expressions connotes respect, social distance and unfamiliarity. In 1974, 75 percent of people in the news received a respect term on first mention. The exceptions were those who were too junior (children), not deserving of respect (criminals), or – interestingly – celebrities such as a sportsperson or film star, with whom familiarity may be projected. In 2011 the shift from this norm is absolute – there is not a single token of an M-term in first mentions of news subjects in the 2011 sample (N = 309). This holds for all stations, even the BBC. We may speculate on the social meaning of this change.

[9] I did in fact re-sample several stations in 1984, and the numbers at that time caution against too literal an interpretation of the statistics. In 1984 BBC World Service radio news continued with a 0% record of determiner deletion. But National reached 23%, well above the level I have found in the 2011 sample, so clearly there have been some fluctuations. More strikingly, station ZB was at 89% in 1984, almost identical to its 2011 level. I cannot tell if it has held that level over the intervening years or (more likely) has also been subject to fluctuations.

Speculation 3

> I think we will see the refinement of this expression continue, increasing its staccato, formulaic nature. Some pseudo-titles will gradually become so accepted that they pass into the realm of fully accepted titles. I would expect that within five years *Prime Minister* will be in such a position in New Zealand, no more unusual than *President* without a determiner. Other ministerial titles may eventually follow suit. (1988: 341–342)

Already in my earlier work, the structural reshaping of these naming expressions was obvious to the extent that I labelled them 'pseudo-titles' because they were clearly shifting towards the status of fully accepted titles such as 'Bishop'. The rule is not just a matter of deletion but involves a honing of the whole descriptive part of the referring expression towards crisp, pithy, formulaic titles which are part of the semiotic resource of news language. Material is preposed before the head noun, the shift eliminating the function words and leaving only the lexical, meaning-bearing nouns and adjectives behind, thus:

the Chief Executive of the Insurance Council Chris Ryan (RNZ National)
Insurance Council Chief Executive Chris Ryan (Newstalk ZB)

Three function words are lost here, and the prosodic focus goes strongly on to the preposed items rather than being diffused by the intervening weak syllables of the function words. The rule thus achieves two of the primary goals of news writing, abbreviation and emphasis. The increasingly canonical form of the name apposition over the past decades is:

(A/N)	(A/N)	N	F	L
embattled	property	tycoon	Terry	Serepisos

In this section, unless otherwise indicated, I draw examples from the 2011 91ZM sample, whose referring expressions are palpably formulaic in this way. The station's near-categorical level of determiner deletion is accompanied by an extreme formulaic refinement of the structure of the expression. Minimally required is a head noun in the first phrase of the apposition, followed by First and Last Names:

Aucklander Natasia Downey
Kiwi Sarah Carter

These 'bare' forms are, however, relatively rare. The canonical form includes an additional one or two adjectives or nouns preposed before the head noun:

Christchurch mayor Bob Parker
U.S. President Barack Obama
England rugby captain Mike Tyndall
former ACC manager Malcolm Mason

Longer preposings are possible, but they do not occur on 91ZM, hence the claim of the formulaic shape of the expression on that station. But Newstalk ZB does have long expressions:

Weather Watch head weather analyst Philip Duncan (Newstalk ZB)
New Zealand Defence Force Commander Colonel Roger McElwain (Newstalk ZB)
Business Association Central City manager Paul Lonsdale (Newstalk ZB)

The differences between Newstalk ZB and 91ZM are all the more striking because the two stations are owned by the same company and share the same news base. 91ZM's news is almost certainly rewritten from Newstalk ZB copy, meaning that any differences are the result of focused stylistic choices by copy editors (Bell 1983b). For 91ZM the rule to prepose all modifiers and thus eliminate their associated function words is absolute. The one exceptional token is in a compound phrase where preposing would be ungrammatical – 'mother of four Patricia Fraser'.

I speculated that 'Prime Minister' would establish itself as a full title like 'President'. In the Newstalk ZB and 91ZM samples, this has come about: there is no token of the form 'the Prime Minister John Key' (however, N = 4 only). Whether that happened as early as I speculated (by the mid 1990s), these data cannot tell us. On the BBC and RNZ National, he and his kind remain categorically 'the Prime Minister John Key/Naoto Kan/Vladimir Putin'. In line with what we saw above with style in core news bulletins compared to other subgenres, there can be a contrast between referring expressions occurring in the bulletin versus the adjacent magazine programme:

the National Civil Defence Controller John Hamilton (RNZ National bulletin)
Civil Defence Controller John Hamilton (RNZ National news magazine)

When a rule is nearly categorical in its application or non-application, the exceptional tokens are of particular interest. As one would expect, the structures in which the BBC's few deletions occur are in the favoured, canonical environments, and with some semantic triggers (e.g. for human interest or celebrity referents). RNZ National's deletions are less explicable, with two tokens in disfavouring syntactic environments. The rare determiner retentions by Newstalk ZB all occur in environments that favour retention – possessive determiner, or complex structure. 91ZM's three retaining tokens are all possessives.

THE CONVERSATIONALISATION OF NEWS

91ZM's news is different. It is called 'Newsbeat', and runs a constant music beat under the voice of the newsreader, although not enough to mask audibility. Bulletins are frequent in the morning (half hourly), but always short – one to one-and-a-half minutes long. Their structure represents an advanced instance of the 'morselisation' of news in New Zealand broadcasting foreshadowed by Atkinson (1994). Bulletins pack in as many as 10 items in 80 seconds, averaging less than 10 seconds each (the BBC will have five items in five minutes).

Lexicon

Colloquial lexicon is routine in 91ZM news:

1 Police in Napier are *pretty stoked* with the *haul* of *pot* they've *grabbed.* Over forty people arrested after a *sting* targeting cannabis growers seizing around twelve thousand plants worth around forty *mill*.

The italicised words represent a vocabulary that quite simply would not figure in the news of any of the other stations in this 2011 sample, nor in the ZM of 1974. In #1, this involves importation of a popular lexicon into the news, in this case for drug crime, translatable as 'Police in Napier are *very pleased* with the *load* of *cannabis* they have *seized*…'. A similar transfer of everyday vocabulary occurs in many other stories, particularly covering sports:

2 gutted, guy, bits, ditched, Aussie, champ
feel the pain, not get any better
St Paddy's Day [St Patrick's]
across the ditch [i.e. across the Tasman Sea – to Australia]

A second aspect of colloquial lexicon is the use of phrasal verbs instead of more formal alternatives:

3 (A) little better news: Prince William *gets to* Christchurch today. First stop – *checkin' out* the damage in the CBD [Central Business District]… [voice report] … And tomorrow he's back in Christchurch to *check out* Sumner and then *turn up for* the National Memorial at Hagley Park.

'*Visit* Sumner and then *attend* the National Memorial' would be standard news wording. We can note that this occurs not in light news but covering the visit of Prince William to Christchurch, where an earthquake in February 2011 had killed nearly 200 people and destroyed much of the city. Phrasal verbs were commonly used in many stories – 'get spread around, cheer up, be off to, let on, be back on, take off with' and so forth.

Syntax

Colloquial syntax is also part of this style. Note the use in #3 above of present tense plus time adverbial to denote the future – 'gets to Christchurch today', 'tomorrow he's back'. Colloquial elisions abound, for example of copulas (4) and of subject pronoun-copula-article sentence-initially (5):

4 *Police* [are] *pretty sure* they were the only one on board.

5 [it's a] busy trip for him too.

Auxiliary contraction is common enough in news generally but here it is attached to unusually long noun phrases:

6 *A guy in Palmerston North's* been arrested…
Dunedin Mayor Dave Cull's…

There are non-standard comparatives (7), and use of 'they' for singular indefinite reference, most strikingly in an example where the complement of the following copula is 'one' and would militate strongly against the colloquial plural (8):

7 And America's top nuclear official says the situation there is a lot *worse than what* they're letting on.

8 The name of the person who died in a plane crash north of Auckland yesterday will be released today – police pretty sure *they* were the only one on board.

Phonology

The speech rate is fast, in harmony with the quick underlying musical beat, and the phonology is that of allegro speech: use of 'gonna'; [ɪn] for 'ing' even in a disfavoured prevocalic environment, 'checkin' out' (#2 above); /t/ elision in 'plenty'; elision of 'asked' to [a:st].

There are also features characteristic of colloquial New Zealand English (as well as other dialects): vocalisation of postvocalic /l/, and glottalisation of intervocalic /t/. Most frequent and local are repeated very close DRESS vowels, a strongly distinctive marker of NZE, and the occasional NEAR/SQUARE merger. Alongside all these allegro, colloquial and local features in English, the pronunciation of Māori words such as place names occurring in the bulletins is carefully native-like.

Discourse

As well as the colloquial lexicon, casual syntax and allegro phonology, the discourse conventions of this news are different (cf Bell 1991). We find a high level of reduced anaphora (9), and colloquial extraposition of a conjunction (10):

9 Flying's about to cost more. Air New Zealand's bumping the price of flights by seven to eight percent. Qantas and Singapore Airlines have already *done that to theirs.*

10 Libya's army spokesman announced this morning they will stop their attacks, *though*.

Snatches of voice reports and interviews are dropped in to the text, often abruptly and without linkage to the surrounding text, violating or at least stretching usual cohesion requirements. Frequently these inserts do not source the speaker at all, something which is obligatory in conventional news discourse. Sometimes voice quotes begin an item with no pre-announcement or prior background text:

11 "Now somebody said, what doesn't kill you makes you stronger and as far as we're concerning he's come out of this stronger." – Labour Deputy Annette King. The party's top MPs met with Phil Goff and are backing him over how he handled the Darren Hughes complaint.

The headlines at the beginning of the bulletin are colloquial and self-awarely smart, in the manner of press tabloid journalism, requiring the listener to supply a lot of contextual information in order to interpret them:

12 Fans take it on the chin –
Get your wallet primed for the Foos – [band concert]
And games shifting all over.

There are echoes in much of this of Bernstein's 'restricted code' (1971), with its assumptions of shared ingroup knowledge and absence of background information. Mainline news tends to make fewer assumptions and provide more of the context behind a story.

There is also a colloquial-evaluative dimension to some of the clauses of these stories, which recalls the role of evaluation in the classic Labov and Waletzky schema for story telling (Labov 1972). The difference is that such evaluation is eschewed in traditional news as unacceptably opinionated. These include the kind of comments that one might expect to surface in a conversational exchange or narrative about such events, rather than what is normally written within the news. Prince William's visit in particular triggered evaluations:

13 Prince William's touching down in Christchurch about now – busy trip for him too.
Everyone in Greymouth obviously pretty excited about that.
Prince William getting to Christchurch today might cheer a few people up

The colloquial features are by no means limited to light-hearted news items, as we saw in example 3 above. They also occur about topics such as paedophile ring victims (14) and murder (15):

14 Three poor kids weren't as lucky.

15 A murder trial that was ditched last year is back on today.

Finally, it is unlikely that these structures are produced ad lib by a reader deviating from a script. They are voice too rapidly to have occurred without scripting or rehearsal, but they are also frequently recycled almost verbatim when an item is repeated in later bulletins. More likely is that they have been *re*-scripted for 91ZM from more conventionally styled versions prepared for Newstalk ZB.

What is salient about many of these features is that they involve the surfacing of an implied addressee within the languaging of the news. The 2nd person is a participant in this news. The audience is hearably co-present in the projected pseudo-interactivity of the syntax and discourse structures, most obviously in the news headlines (note the overt use of 2nd person in #12 above). The case, then, for conversationalisation seems quite clear here, particularly when compared with the traditional news style that Newstalk ZB maintains – let alone RNZ National – in 2011, and in salient contrast to the ZM news of 1974.

CONCLUSION

We have seen above the range of changes in the New Zealand sociopolitical scene over the past thirty years, changes which have parallels in many countries, albeit with local nuances. These form the context for an increasing – and increasingly conscious – New Zealand identity, and for changes in broadcasting and in NZ English. Indigenous and nationalistic emphases have counter-balanced an often rampant neoliberalist economics. Political and technological shifts have remapped broadcasting, its genres, and the ways in which it interacts with audiences. Diversification has opened the airwaves to new voices, with their potential for destabilising accepted cultural and linguistic norms.

I take determiner deletion to represent an evident case of restandardisation, specifically away from a European standard and towards an American one. Newstalk ZB and 91ZM have (semi-categorical) deletion, contrasting with (semi-categorical) determiner retention on BBC and RNZ National. BBC is expectably the most conservative, shadowed closely by RNZ National. 91ZM is the most innovative, followed by Newstalk ZB. On these two stations, it is now the retained determiner that is remarkable rather than the deleted token. What we see then in 2011 is a total quantitative polarisation on this rule. In Figure 1 Newstalk ZB and 91ZM are the precise mirror images of RNZ National and the BBC.

Are New Zealand journalists aware of determiner deletion as an americanism? They certainly used to be three decades ago when the training manuals made that explicit. But it seems likely that the indexicality of the rule is less salient to 21st century media workers than is its functional payoff. New Zealand journalists may recognise in determiner deletion a linguistic rule that offers them brevity coupled with salience, and that is an incentive to adopt it regardless of its social meaning. Functionality and indexicality are not mutually exclusive, and it may well be that the functional benefit of determiner deletion is a prime driver that also – and perhaps only incidentally – shifts the social indexation.

To what extent determiner deletion still signifies an American orientation in the ears of the New Zealand audience is hard to say, and I regret my lack of attitudinal data that would address that issue. Gibson (2010) and Coupland (2011) suggest that the singing of popular songs in an 'American' accent may now no longer index 'American' so much as just 'singing a popular song'. This clearly depends on the time- and culture-depth behind the co-option of a given accent or feature to a particular genre. But I would not too hastily jettison the possibility that such indexicalities retain a long-term tinge of the American. New Zealand classical choirs have been targeting RP for much longer than pop singers have done American, but that does not prevent a New Zealand choir's pseudo-RP from indexing a saliently eurocentric orientation in local ears.

After some 40 years of increasing determiner deletion, my sense is that for listeners to Newstalk ZB and 91ZM, the rule now probably no longer means American. It is simply the way the referring expression is done in that audience's hearing, and the determiner retention of RNZ National is the quaint, status-oriented way that things used to be, once upon a time. The semiotic loading of a linguistic feature can change over time. In 1974, determiner deletion still meant American to everyone in New Zealand, I surmise, but in 2011 its sociolinguistic significance varies much more according to one's social positioning. For RNZ National listeners, it probably still retains that American indexation – to the extent that one could expect such a connotation to surface as a criticism if RNZ National began to shift to much higher levels (say 30~40%) and thus brought the rule to the conscious attention of its audience. Important here is to remember that the public may experience restandardisation as *de*-standardisation. That is, when listeners register that there is a shift away from the standard they may interpret that as the loss of all linguistic standards. The prescriptivist complaint tradition (documented for NZ English by Gordon and Abell 1990) tends to hear all such change as anarchic.

Determiner deletion vs retention offers a polarisation, an either/or choice. It is a de-europeanisation which is also specifically americanisation, but such salient polarity need not always be the case. A change could just be a shift away without also representing a shift towards, and in that case would represent de- rather than *re*standardisation. We require further external evidence, such as attitudinal studies or metalinguistic commentary, to clarify the status of such changes.

Since New Zealand determiner deletion represents de-europeanisation, it is interpretable as a post- and anti-colonial move. However, the rule also comes with an American tag, so the shift is neo-colonial rather than nationalistic. It is a change that is likely to be being shared with English-language media in many other countries. Determiner deletion may represent 'leaving Home', but if all the prodigal is doing is moving in across the road, this is not exactly independence. In a paper whose title proclaimed 'This isn't the BBC', I reflected:

> It appears, then, that New Zealand is in danger, culturally and linguistically, of falling out of the British frying pan into the American fire. One wonders if a small country such as New Zealand can find and maintain its own identity under the pressure of its (British) colonial past and threat of an (American) neo-colonial future. (Bell 1982b: 254)

That was written before the revolutionary changes in New Zealand life and politics that began in 1984. Most relevant in this context was the declaration of independence from America entailed in the nation's nuclear-free policy, which has had virtually universal popular and political support since its introduction. This is not to say that New Zealand is uninfluenced by U.S. cultural and political power: those are ever-present forces in this country as everywhere else in the world. But, as Gibson (2010) shows, there are vernacular alternatives even in an American-led domain such as popular music.

The news also offers its alternatives, flagged most obviously in this study by the way it is styled on 91ZM. Whereas determiner deletion can be characterised as a clear case of restandardisation on both this station and Newstalk ZB, the broader styling of 91ZM news is more complex. A large majority of the features that I identified in the study of 91ZM above can be classified as generally colloquial. They cover the linguistic spectrum of informal vocabulary, syntax, phonology and discourse. Much of that is shared with many if not most varieties of English around the world. This fits well with an interpretation of 91ZM's style as conversationalisation, and to a quite radical degree: radio news is traditionally scripted and presented in a style that is at the most formal end of the spoken spectrum. But some of 91ZM's lexical and phonological features are conspicuously informal – 'gutted', 'St Paddy's Day', 'forty mill.', and the elisions in 'asked' and 'plenty'. Most significant is the trend to importing the addressee, the 2nd person, into the news and its language. Traditional news is a 3rd-person genre, it holds the audience at arm's length. 91ZM news uses a variety of linguistic means to incorporate the listener into a news conversation. These shifts are arguably sufficient to constitute a restandardisation towards conversational forms in news English.

But there is also some vernacularisation on 91ZM, distinctively New Zealand usages as well as general colloquialism. NZ English syntax and discourse do not differ much from a general standard English (Bauer 1994), but the lexicon and phonology offer scope for the local vernacular. Above I gave examples of vernacular lexicon such as 'Aussie' and 'across the ditch', which occur in news only on this station (and are interestingly focused on the culturally salient relationship with Australia). Some of the phonology also registers as local. The raising of the DRESS vowel (Bell 1997b) and merger of NEAR and SQUARE (Batterham 2000) are distinctives of vernacular NZ English.

But what is more striking about the accents on 91ZM is not their difference to those on other stations, but their similarity. Except for the continuing presence of some RP-shifted accents on RNZ National, NZ English is now established as standard on all spoken media. As noted earlier, local radio has long been a site for the New Zealand accent, albeit in a modified version before the 1980s. But since the late 1980s there has been a trajectory of de-europeanisation in pronunciation, in effect a restandardisation towards vernacular New Zealand phonology. This shift is universal on national television news and, although so far only partial on RNZ National, it will continue to expand there.

The clearest site of vernacularisation in New Zealand, including its airwaves, is from established and establishing immigrant populations. The immense world-wide flows of migrants over the past half century have affected Auckland significantly. Other languages are now commonplace in the once monolingual city. More, the encounter of those languages with English is producing a range of newer varieties which are colonising the local dialect. Pasifika youth are cultural leaders for mainstream Pakeha, as evidenced in the success of fashion festivals and the animated comedy *bro'Town* (Gibson and Bell 2010). Their Englishes are prime contributors to linguistic innovation and diversification in NZ English. Similarly marginalised immigrant groups are having the same linguistic impact in major European cities. The centrifugal explosion of English varieties seen in multicultural London (Cheshire *et al*. 2011) is a coming reality for Auckland. It involves a much more radical and literal de-europeanisation, since its inputs are from non-European migrations, particularly Pasifika and Asian. This vernacularisation – and the destandardisation that it entails – will be the most significant influence on the future of New Zealand English. And the multilingual and multi-varietal presence which immigrant groups already have on Auckland radio is the precursor of their much wider and richer future cultural impact.

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A perceptual typology of standard language situations in the Low Countries

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INTRODUCTION

This chapter introduces and pools speaker evaluation data in support of empirical criteria to measure abstract concepts such as 'standard language ideology' and 'standard language ideal'. The four criteria – speaker prestige, accent status, perceived beauty, and communal consensus – are subsequently invoked to answer (controversial) questions about the current standard language status of Netherlandic and Belgian Dutch. The basic hypothesis to be tested in this respect is the suggestion that Netherlandic Dutch has retained but relaxed its standard, while Belgian Dutch is currently a standardless variety.

Let us first define a standard language in terms of the three criteria Auer (2011: 490) outlines. A standard language is:

1. a COMMON LANGUAGE, which ideally shows no variation in the territory in which it is used. Standardisation aims at uniformity and is typically hostile to variability (Milroy and Milroy 1985);
2. an H VARIETY, which has overt prestige and is used in formal situations;
3. a CODIFIED variety, to the extent that '*right* or *wrong* plays an important role in the way in which speakers orient towards it.'

It is a well-known fact (see Deumert and Vandenbussche 2003 for an overview) that all European standard languages are currently undergoing extensions which are regarded as a threat to their uniformity (in the country report devoted to Netherlandic Dutch [this volume] we have referred in this respect to the emergence of regional and social accent varieties, but also to the rapid dissemination of the subject use of the object pronoun *hun* 'them'). This chapter, however, challenges the claim that standardness can be determined in terms of uniformity on the level of language production. Apart from the well-known fact that any spoken language is inherently variable and can never be fully standardised (Milroy and Milroy 1985: 22), there is evidence that even speech which is unquestionably and emblematically standard is still variable: Smakman (2006), for instance, found considerable phonetic divergences between Dutchmen who had been selected by a large panel of informants as the 'best' speakers of Dutch. It is unsurprising, therefore, that 'the amount of variation which is allowed within the confines of the norm is not theoretically specified' (Willemyns 2003: 113), 'presumably because there is no way of describing or delineating it.'

We have argued instead (Grondelaers and Van Hout 2010a, 2011) that variability in the production of Standard Dutch does not equate to non-standardness when it is accepted in the communal assessment which ultimately determines what is standard or not. Sociolinguists have referred to this communal assessment in terms of the notion 'standard language ideology' (SLI). SLI designates a normative ideology imposed and sustained by institutions such as (formal) education and the media, but maintained by (silent) agreement between the language users. The term 'standard language ideology' (SLI) was coined in Milroy and Milroy (1985: 23) to denote 'a set of abstract norms to which actual usage may conform to a greater or lesser extent'. On a related note, Silverstein (1979) defines 'linguistic ideology' as a 'set of beliefs about language articulated by users as a rationalisation or justification of perceived language structure and use' (Silverstein 1979: 193; repeated in Woolard 1998: 4).

If standard language, therefore, is 'an idea in the mind rather than a reality' (Milroy and Milroy 1985: 23), defining and delimiting standard language or standard language change entails investigating SLI and changes within it. The basic question in this respect – how do contemporary SLIs reflect and construct the increasing variability in European standard languages? – is the main objective of the pan-European research network called 'Standard Language Ideology in Contemporary Europe' (SLICE), which unites scholars from 14 European communities (including The Netherlands). Ongoing work in the SLICE consortium is currently focusing on two scenarios for standard language change, one whereby increasing variability eventually leads to the abandonment of the standard language ideal (roughly converging with Fairclough's (1992) *destandardisation*), and one whereby increasing variability does not challenge or threaten the standard language ideal, but 'stretches' the standard to include regional and social variation (roughly converging with Mattheier's (1997) *demoticisation*).

While these two scenarios intuitively grasp some of the contemporary standardisation dynamics at work in Europe, they are difficult to apply to concrete standard language situations because the distinguishing feature – is the standard language ideal lost or preserved? – is for obvious reasons hard to measure. We will therefore concentrate on the standardisation of Dutch in this chapter, a European language whose national varieties – Belgian and Netherlandic Dutch – will be shown to embody both scenarios, and we will try to uncover the basic perceptual parameters along which the Belgian and Netherlandic standard language situations vary and change. In spite of the fact that the sociolinguistic tradition has attributed comparable standardisation processes to Belgian and Netherlandic Dutch, we have argued elsewhere (Grondelaers and Van Hout 2011) that while Belgian Dutch seems to be abandoning its imported exoglossic standard, the Netherlandic Dutch standard appears to be 'stratifying' to include some regional and social variation. In this chapter we will substantiate these claims with attitudinal data collected in a series of identically designed speaker evaluation experiments carried out in The Netherlands and Belgium. Both the Netherlandic and Belgian experiments build on speech samples extracted from the same corpus, a stratified selection of sociolinguistic interviews with Belgian and Netherlandic secondary school teachers of Dutch, a profession which regards itself as the last 'guardian of the standard' (Van de Velde and Houtermans 1999).

In the next sections we first summarise the (early) sociolinguistic history of the Low Countries that lead to the emergence of the national varieties of Dutch. The subsequent sections review the present-day standard language situation in The Netherlands and Belgium respectively.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND[1]

In the summer of 1585 the standardisation of Dutch as the national language of the Low Countries came to a dramatic halt in the southern provinces (present-day Flanders), when Spanish troops recaptured Antwerp, while the Northern provinces – the present-day Netherlands – managed to rid themselves of the Spanish at the same time. In The Netherlands the development of a Dutch prestige variety as part of the newly acquired national identity gained momentum in the 17th century, whereas in Flanders the subsequent Spanish, Austrian and

[1] In this section we limit ourselves to a succinct overview adapted from Geeraerts, Grondelaers and Speelman (1999), Geeraerts (2001a), Willemyns (2003) and Vandenbussche (2010).

French authorities rejected Dutch as a language for government, culture and education, and promoted French for these high purposes. Around 1800, as a result, Dutch was no more than a concatenation of dialects in Flanders, inappropriate for supra-regional use. The foundation of the Belgian state in 1830 did not alter this situation, because the French-speaking bourgeoisie which dominated the new kingdom was even more hostile to Dutch.

In the course of the 19th century, the so-called 'Flemish Movement' started to fight the discrimination of Dutch and speakers of Dutch in Flanders, insisting on the necessity of a supra-regional prestige variety of Dutch for low *and* for high functions. For the actual implementation of this variety, there was a particularist faction which supported the endoglossic standardisation of Belgian Dutch, and an integrationist faction which supported the adoption of the available Netherlandic standard. The integrationist faction eventually won out, and it has continued to determine the language-political agenda in Flanders up to this day.

It took until 1898 before Dutch was recognised as an official language in Belgium alongside French, and until the period between the World Wars before (some sort of) Standard Dutch had reached the greater part of the Flemish population, and had penetrated to the lower social strata. However, it was only with the advent of radio and television after World War II, and Flemish exposure to Netherlandic Dutch in these media, that the integrationist programme really gained momentum. The Belgian population was actively and consciously encouraged to take over the Netherlandic standard in a number of influential newspapers and TV shows designed to 'clean up' Belgian speech and writing. Remarkably, these efforts succeeded in providing 'almost an entire population in a couple of decades with a more or less new language or, to put it more correctly, with a less known variety of their own language' (Willemyns 2003: 111).

The Flemish diffusion of a standard variety of Dutch was sustained by a series of language laws whose main outcome was that after 1930, Dutch was the only official language in Flanders. Owing to its growing economic success and the successive reforms of the Belgian state, Flanders has developed into a largely autonomous community which has come 'of age on the cultural, social, and political level' (Vandenbussche 2010: 311). The latter has changed the Flemish underdog attitude into a spirit of self-consciousness directed against the French-speaking Belgians *and* towards The Netherlands. This new-found assertiveness is one of the main reasons for the dramatic changes in the present-day Flemish standard language situation that will be outlined shortly. First, we briefly zoom in on the current situation in The Netherlands (which has been reviewed in detail in the country report), but we also concentrate on a factor which has engendered standard language change in Flanders as well as in The Netherlands.

NETHERLANDIC DUTCH IN LATE MODERNITY

Recall from the country report that spoken Netherlandic Standard Dutch – the uncontested lingua franca of all the Dutch – originated from the speech of the higher social classes in the Randstad (the urban concatenation of Holland and Utrecht's major cities Rotterdam, Den Haag, Amsterdam and Utrecht in the west of The Netherlands). Recall also that the integrity of this Western-flavoured standard is currently 'threatened' by advancing regional and social accent variation. Especially the latter – the lowered pronunciation of some diphthongs associated with pop culture prestige (Smakman 2006: 50) – has been forcefully rejected by linguists such as Stroop (1998), who insists on a spoken standard without systematic variation. The emergence of regional and social group differentiation within the standard motivates Stroop (2010) to announce the upcoming demise of Standard Dutch in a number of influential publications.

In Grondelaers and Van Hout (2010a and 2011) we have proposed an alternative to Stroop's norm degradation-approach in which neither of the emergent regional and social varieties represent extensions outside the accepted norm. We have suggested instead that the standard is *stratifying* to become indexical of the speaker's regional origin – hence the emergence of regional flavouring – and of the speaker's social profile – hence the progressive acceptance of the lowered diphthongs. Two factors were proposed for this stratification. Since the 1980s, to begin with, Standard Dutch has no longer been the exclusive property of indigenous Netherlanders: the influx of migrants whose native language is not Dutch (inhabitants of the former colony Suriname, and migrant workers of especially Turkish and Moroccan descent), has changed the linguistic landscape dramatically. A more important factor (Grondelaers and Van Hout 2010a: 234–236, but see also Milroy and Milroy 1985: 108 ff. and Crystal 1994) is the socio-psychological fact that standardisation-induced uniformity runs counter to a quintessential function of human language, viz. communicating social meaning. Even though linguistic standardisation is incited and imposed from above for political, ideological, or commercial purposes, it is threatened from within by spontaneous socio-psychological motives of the language users themselves: in any society in which people have identities and allegiances to maintain and decode on the basis of (systematic) linguistic cues, variation is likely to persist.

Crucially, the most important linguistic vehicle for communicating regional affiliation is rapidly vanishing: massive dialect loss in The Netherlands has been reported in Willemyns (1997, 2003, 2007), Vandekerckhove (2009), Smakman (2006) and Hinskens (2007), although the southern province of Limburg seems to resist the trend somewhat. It is this demise of the regional dialects, we claim, which puts pressure on Standard Dutch to stratify and incorporate meaningful variation (see Willemyns 2007: 270–271 for a related view). In this tension between uniformity and variability, a mild regional accent represents the 'best of both worlds' (but see below). A regional accent is tiny, unobtrusive, and it takes years of training to get rid of, even for language professionals whose speech is standard in every other respect. At the same time, a regional accent is immensely meaningful because it indexes 'stable socio-regional groups that are associated with a number of (very) persistent stereotypes' (Grondelaers and Van Hout 2010a: 235).

The cited evolution in Netherlandic Dutch – standard stratification as a result of dialect loss – is one possible instantiation of the demoticisation scenario introduced in the Introduction, whereby increasing variability does not challenge the idea that there is a best language, but merely increases the number of varieties which satisfy this best language ideal. The term 'demoticisation' was coined in Mattheier (1997), but borrowed in Auer's account of standard change (which runs largely analogous to ours). According to Auer (2011: 500), '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'. In a more advanced situation still, Auer (2011: 501f.) goes on to argue, this development engenders a multi-stylistic standard variety which is 'demoticised', 'extended from a spoken version of the written standard to a variety suitable for spoken, face-to-face interaction, also by less educated speakers' (Auer 2011: 500). In order to steer clear of negative associations, we continue to use the term 'standard stratification' (also implied in Auer 2011: 501) instead of demoticisation.

No matter how plausible the standard stratification scenario sounds, our case against the (much more influential) norm degradation accounts of variability in the standard remains tentative until we can access the ideology/ies which negotiate or construct the variability. If, as Woolard (1998: 16) claims, language attitudes are 'socially derived, intellectualised or behavioural ideology', then an investigation into native speaker attitudes towards variability in the standard may return more reliable answers to questions such as 'how can we determine whether the standard language ideal is maintained or abandoned in Netherlandic Dutch?', 'which varieties in addition to the traditional standard satisfy that standard language ideal (if such still exists)?', and – ultimately – 'how much variability is accepted in a standard language?'.

In order to answer these questions we will report the findings from a series of speaker evaluation experiments based on speech clips from the Netherlandic component of the Teacher Corpus (Van Hout *et al.* 1999), a database of 160 informal sociolinguistic interviews with Belgian and Netherlandic secondary school teachers of Dutch, stratified for gender, age, and region (teachers were told in advance that their speech was being recorded for inclusion in a corpus of standard Dutch). The Teacher Corpus was compiled to document contemporary changes in the 'best' Netherlandic and Belgian Dutch available in actual practice[2]. While the Netherlandic speakers in the corpus are standard speakers in almost every respect, their speech manifests systematic variation to the extent that nearly all of them have a regional accent which can effortlessly be identified by untrained native speakers.

BELGIAN DUTCH IN LATE MODERNITY

Any discussion of the present standard language situation in Dutch-speaking Belgium is bound to be controversial at this moment, for there is no uncontested and vital variety of spoken Belgian Standard Dutch (BSD). The generally upheld model of spoken BSD has always been 'VRT Dutch', the variety spoken by official broadcasters on the Vlaamse Radio en Televisie ('Flemish Radio and Television'). Since its foundation in 1930, VRT has been a major proponent of integrationist ideology by actively promoting an exoglossic variety of Standard Dutch modelled after spoken Netherlandic Dutch (see Van de Velde, Van Hout and Gerritsen 1997 and Vandenbussche 2010 for a more extensive account). The result is a highly uniform standard[3], which adheres to the strict pronunciation criteria VRT imposes on its broadcasters, but which is also (and increasingly) regarded as a 'virtual colloquial variety (...), desired by the authorities, but rarely spoken in practice' (De Caluwe 2009: 19). Many linguists agree that the VRT standard of Belgian Dutch represents an unattainable ideal which is realised by only a small minority of Dutch-speaking Belgians, in a small number of contexts (see, amongst many others, Goossens 2000: 8; Geeraerts and De Sutter 2003: 57; or Beheydt 2003: 160).

The 'best' BSD attested nowadays in actual practice is the variety documented by the speech of the Belgian speakers in the Teacher Corpus (cf. above), but only a small minority of them approximates the strictest VRT norm. Like their Netherlandic colleagues, the majority of the Belgian teachers have an identifiable regional accent, and a sizeable proportion even manifests features which are generally regarded as non-standard (such as *t*-deletion in function words). Both VRT Dutch and Teacher Dutch – which can in fact be regarded as 'VRT Dutch light' – are currently losing ground to an endoglossic variety of colloquial Belgian Dutch which is neutrally referred to as 'Tussentaal' (literally, 'in-between language') because it is a more or less autonomous variant between the standard and the dialects. Although Tussentaal is immediately recognisable to Belgian speakers, it cannot easily be characterised in terms of necessary and sufficient features. Nevertheless, Goossens (2000: 9–11), De Caluwe (2002: 57–58), Geeraerts and De Sutter (2003: 57–60), and Plevoets, Speelman and Geeraerts (2007: 180–182) provide a list of defining features which pertain to the domains of pronuncia-

[2] According to Smakman and Van Bezooijen (1997), linguistically untrained listeners regard radio and television newsreaders as more representative standard speakers than teachers of Dutch, but their speech is typically scripted and non-spontaneous. In addition, teachers of Dutch have an acknowledged norm-instantiating function as first-line dispensers of the standard language (Van Hout *et al.* 1999; Van de Velde and Houtermans 1999).

[3] Although VRT Dutch was modelled after the most formal Netherlandic Dutch, its pronunciation is audibly different (Geeraerts and De Sutter 2003: 55), especially because long vowels are not diphthongised (as is typically the case in most varieties of spoken Netherlandic Dutch) and the voiced fricatives [g], [v] and [z] remain voiced (whereas they are frequently devoiced in Netherlandic Dutch).

tion and the lexicon, but also and crucially (Goossens 2000) to the morpho-syntax of Dutch. According to Taeldeman (2007), the defining characteristics of Tussentaal are dialectal elements which are not typical for one region and which have a 'low symbolic value' for specific regions (as 'carriers' of the linguistic identity of that region), as a result of which they can index a supra-regional variety.

Building on a statistical analysis of 80 variables in stylistically different sub-corpora of the Corpus of Spoken Dutch, Plevoets *et al.* (2007) argue that 'the Tussentaal characteristics do not occur with systematically equal probability over the various registers', as a result of which 'Tussentaal is not a uniform language variety' (Plevoets 2009: 11 confirms this conclusion). Yet there appears to be a growing influx of features from the central Brabant-Antwerp axis in Tussentaal. Vandekerckhove (2006, 2007) found a marked preference in supra-regional Flemish chat channels for features which are key elements in the Brabantic repertoire. And De Caluwe (2009: 8) suggests that, although Tussentaal is not yet a uniform variety, it is Brabant-flavoured Tussentaal which manifests 'the highest status and widest distribution' (see also Willemyns 2005: 30).

There is general agreement among all observers (of whatever ideological background) that the rapid spread of Tussentaal represents a case of 'autonomous informal language standardisation' (Cajot 1999: 375), although this view is rarely found in print as yet (but see Vandekerckhove 2007: 202 for a notable exception). The paucity of professional confirmation of the standardisation of Tussentaal reflects the cultural establishment's unease and panic (Jaspers 2001: 131) with respect to an endoglossic development which runs counter to the adoption of the exoglossic Netherlandic standard proposed and promoted by integrationist language planners. In the view of most professional linguists, Tussentaal represents a 'norm degradation' and even 'norm falsification' (Taeldeman 1993: 13) which is 'consciously' (*ibid.*) effected by a large proportion of the Flemish 'elite' (*ibid.* – quotation marks in the original), guilty of 'cheap arrivisme and opportunism'. The use of Tussentaal in situations which call for a standard variety is caused by a 'diminished sense of public responsibility' (Geeraerts 1993: 352) of a type of Fleming who is 'amoral in his compromising pragmatism' (Geeraerts 1990: 439–440). In addition, Tussentaal has been labelled unnatural, culturally inferior, non-prestigious, and totally void of cultural prestige products (Goossens 2000). In contrast with these integrationist rejections by the older generations of Flemish university teachers of Dutch, the youngest generation of professional linguists takes a more detached view, insisting on proper analysis of Tussentaal rather than unfounded rejection (see for instance De Caluwe 2009).

In spite of all rejections, Tussentaal is rapidly gaining currency, even by speakers and in situations typically associated with BSD. In an attempt to learn more about the social determinants of Tussentaal usage, Plevoets (2009) computed the linguistic distance between genders, professional categories, degrees of education, and age on the basis of 37 Tussentaal variables attested in the Corpus of Spoken Dutch. Plevoets found that the cultural elite – academics, researchers, media professionals, and artists – in general prefer BSD, whereas the economic elite – managers and other highly educated professionals – are more inclined towards Tussentaal. In addition, there was an effect of education, to the extent that all higher-educated professionals tend towards Standard Dutch, except, crucially, the highest-educated managers, who are *unmistakably inclined towards Tussentaal*. Plevoets also found an age effect: while the cultural elite has held on to BSD much longer than the economic elite, the youngest generation of Dutch-speaking Belgians manifests a general preference for Tussentaal in *all professional groups* (the almost general preference for Tussentaal in the youngest generations of Belgian Dutch speakers is empirically confirmed in De Caluwe 2009 and Van Gijsel, Speelman and Geeraerts 2008: 217–220). And as far as gender is concerned, it is the female speakers – who, according to conventional sociolinguistic wisdom, are the more prestige-sensitive sex – who manifest a significantly higher preference for Tussentaal. These and other data show that Tussentaal is showing an (unstoppable) rise in Belgium.

A number of factors have been suggested for this success. We have already referred to increasing Flemish political independence and economic success, which has changed former feelings of inferiority into attitudes of self-consciousness and superiority. All the cited authors also mention the increasing democratisation of our society as a factor which enhances the success of non-standard varieties (compare Jaspers 2001: 132–133, Goossens 2000: 5, Stroop 1998: 227, Geeraerts 1993: 352; Vandenbussche 2008: 190 refers in this respect to the post-1968 era as the period of the definitive crisis of a culture which was bourgeois to its core).

On a more linguistic note, Willemyns (2007: 270–271) proposes the same explanation for the emergence of Tussentaal as for the birth of accent variation in NSD (cf. above): the demise of the dialects in Flanders (which is only somewhat less advanced than in The Netherlands) necessitates an informal colloquial variety which indexes regional identity. This intermediate variety, Willemyns (2007: 270) goes on, is subsequently used in more situations and domains than it was before, taking over functions from the standard variety. While we basically agree with Willemyns that dialect loss in Flanders has spawned an intermediate variety in between the (evaporating) dialects and the standard, the demise of the dialects in itself does not explain why the new intermediate variety is penetrating H-areas and acquiring prestige. Neither can democratisation and globalisation be the only reason for Tussentaal to spread and standardise at this speed.

We propose that, in Flanders, post-1968 feelings of anti-authoritarian resentment were intensified by the 'foreignness' of the exoglossic norm imported from The Netherlands, which has never been a familiar or comfortable medium in which Flemish users feel at home. As a result, Belgian speakers consider the standard variety 'as a foreign variety appropriate for formal interaction but to be dropped as soon as the situation no longer demands it' (De Caluwe 2002: 61). In the same vein, Geeraerts (1999 and 2001b) and Taeldeman (2007) have referred to the standard as a 'Sunday suit', an indispensable piece of clothing which one takes off, however, as soon as the occasion no longer demands it. In addition, the VRT variety of Standard Dutch has been imposed from above without communal consent (Jaspers 2001; De Caluwe 2009), in an intellectual climate hostile to variation, and language planning efforts which all too often coincided with a crusade against endogenous Flemish varieties such as the dialects (Taeldeman 1993: 15). The repression inherent in the integrationist enterprise can be inferred from the moral condemnation of people who prefer Tussentaal, and from the data in Geeraerts and Grondelaers (1997) which demonstrate that 20th century language planning in Flanders has lead in particular to a rejection of stigmatised words the purists disapproved off, *not* to an increase of approved terms.

In addition, and crucially, the emergence of a new Flemish self-consciousness and the birth of a Flemish nation state have increased the desire for a Flemish standard, and decreased the need for (and the success of) integrationist language policies and ideologies. The latter process was accelerated by the advent of commercial television in Flanders: ever since commercial alternatives to national television have become available, Netherlandic television – responsible for a major influx of standard vocabulary in the speech of Belgian adolescents (Goossens 2000) – is no longer the preferred alternative to Belgian state television in Flanders.

As one can imagine, it is very difficult to gauge the Flemish standard language situation with any degree of precision at this moment, let alone make reliable predictions. Auer (2011: 499) suggests in his typology of European standard language configurations that the competition between an exoglossic norm and a newly emerging endoglossic standard can temporarily lead to bilingualism until the endoglossic standard is established. This is not the case in Flanders, however. Recall, to begin with, that while VRT Dutch is a prestige variety, it has little spontaneity or vitality: much of what is broadcast on radio and television is fully scripted, and its uniformity is artificially controlled and conserved by the broadcasting authorities. While, secondly, this VRT norm has always been difficult to attain, increasingly few present-day

Flemings make the *effort* to attain it, especially now that people in the public eye – politicians, managers, media people – are openly switching to Tussentaal, even on radio or television.

So where are we heading in Flanders? Probably not in the direction outlined by Ruud Hendrickx, the VRT's official language councillor, who claims that 'with the further spread of the use of Standard Dutch in Flanders, this tussentaal will disappear even more in its current form. It will be replaced by an informal variant of the standard language which relates in a natural and close way to the standard variety that is already accepted in Flanders in the formal register' (1998, cited in Vandenbussche 2010: 318). There is no evidence whatsoever that this prediction will come through: '9 years onwards, *Tussentaal* still appears to be on the rise in Flanders and no major shift towards the informal VRT-variant has been reported, so far' (*ibid*.).

It is much more likely instead that some sort of competition between VRT Dutch and Tussentaal will emerge, whereby the former is (at least) affected by the latter (De Caluwe 2009: 21). An obvious source of evidence for this development would be a speaker evaluation experiment in which Flemish listener-judges rate audio-taped samples of VRT Dutch, Teacher Dutch and Tussentaal. For two reasons, however, we propose a more indirect approach. We believe, to begin with, that any speaker evaluation design containing VRT Dutch will reveal little more at present than the deeply engrained dislike of non-standard varieties instilled by the integrationist repression, which has conditioned (brainwashed?) generations of Flemings to love a variety they rarely use themselves[4]. The presence of VRT Dutch in the design would in all probability even drain accented Teacher Dutch of whatever prestige it would be attributed in another design. And while we endorse Kristiansen's (2009a) claim that experimental speaker evaluation techniques can probe more private language attitudes in a design in which the experimental ambition remains undetected, we fear that Tussentaal is still so stigmatised that it will immediately and automatically alarm all but the youngest generations of Flemings.

A second reason not to include Tussentaal in a speaker evaluation design with 'higher' varieties is the unfinished state of its standardisation and the absence of the traditional perceptual standardisation indicators in its perceptual profile: what little attitudinal evidence is available (cf. Cuvelier 2007) suggests that Tussentaal elicits solidarity, but not status evaluations. It has repeatedly been observed, in addition, that Tussentaal is a language of 'insurrection' against the standard, most explicitly so in Plevoets (2009:5), who refers in this respect to the 'hypocorrect' inclinations of the new economic elite which embraces Tussentaal:

> While hypercorrection refers to an exaggerated polishing of language use which sounds rather artificial, hypocorrection refers to a sloppier and more careless language production (…): While hypercorrection is characteristic for a middle class (…) which expresses its uncertain position between the lower and higher strata in an artificial realization of its language use, hypocorrection is the characteristic of the highest class [which manifests] a careless indifference with respect to the norms in order to profile its acquired position.

According to Van Gijsel *et al*. (2008: 219 ff.), '*tussentaal* has young, even somewhat rebellious, connotations, as opposed to the "conformist" norm of the standard language'. If Tussentaal has any prestige, it will be the covert prestige associated with resisting an imposed standard.

Instead of combining Tussentaal, Teacher Dutch and VRT Dutch in one speaker evaluation experiment, we designed an experiment similar to the one proposed above for the investigation of the Netherlandic standard language situation, albeit with Flemish speakers from the Teacher Corpus and, of course, Flemish listener-judges. The experiment primarily ad-

[4] This has led to schizophrenic language attitudes whereby Flemings report that they are positively inclined towards Netherlandic vocabulary they never use themselves (see Geeraerts, Grondelaers and Speelman 1999: chapter 2 for an overview). Quantitative evidence for the idea that the integrationist support for VRT Dutch was based on repression rather than encouragement can be found in Geeraerts and Grondelaers (1997).

dressed the hypothesis that Belgian Teacher Dutch is less standard than Netherlandic Teacher Dutch on the criteria to be discussed in the next section.

The gradual abandoning of the exoglossic norm in Flanders and the provisional absence of candidate replacements is in fact suggestive of the process Fairclough (1992) refers to as 'destandardisation':

> (...) Fairclough (1992) proposes that the democratisation process can lead to a value levelling that will secure access to public space for a wider range of speech varieties. Such a development would be equal to a radical weakening, and eventual abandonment of the 'standard ideology' itself' (Kristiansen 2009b: 1–2).

Before we turn to our speaker evaluation investigations into Netherlandic and Belgian Teacher Dutch, we first review some perceptual characteristics of prototypical standard configurations that will be used as a standard of comparison for our analysis of Netherlandic and Belgian Dutch.

PERCEPTUAL CRITERIA FOR STANDARDNESS

The basic problem we face in this chapter (and in SLICE work in general) is an empirical one: how to determine in a reliable way whether or not a language has retained its standard language ideal (the ultimate distinction between the destandardisation and the demoticisation scenarios)? Since 'standard language ideal' is an abstract notion which cannot in itself be measured, we are bound to investigate standard language ideals on the basis of the perceptual characteristics of the variety which comes closest to instantiating the standard language ideal. We claim in this respect that a language has retained its standard language ideal when there is broad consensus among the standard language community members that one variety is more prestigious, more appropriate for formal interaction, and more beautiful than the others. Let us briefly zoom in each of these criteria.

Speaker prestige is arguably the most important indicator of a language variety's degree of standardisation, and the one most recurrently invoked and confirmed in speaker evaluation investigations of standardisation (see, among others, Garrett 2005). The idea that standard varieties are more prestigious than non-standard varieties diachronically derives from the fact that it is the economically and culturally dominant area whose dialect is typically promoted to standard status. Synchronically, the prestige inherent in the standard invariably surfaces in the observation that standard speakers are perceived as superior to non-standard speakers in terms of education, competence, and income. Since, however, prestige and standard need not automatically coincide – Arabic is a case in point (cf. Ibrahim 1986) – it is pivotal that we find other perceptual indicators of standardness.

In Grondelaers, Van Hout and Steegs (2010) we have argued on the basis of experimental data that it is not only the speakers of a specific variety which can be accorded prestige, but also the variety *itself*[5]. Again, evaluations of speaker prestige and **accent status** need not coincide: accents whose speakers are traditionally deemed non-prestigious need not be found unsuitable themselves in terms of their appropriateness for formal interaction – as we will see below in the case of Limburg-accented Dutch. Accordingly, we have urged researchers to include scales in their experiments which pertain to this accent status dimension, and we invariably do so ourselves (although accent status does not always show up as a separate dimension in the eventual factor analysis).

[5] In a 'conceptual' open response experiment (Grondelaers and Van Hout 2010b) where we asked people to name the first three adjectives which came to mind upon hearing two accent variety labels, 19.28 % of all the adjectives returned more than once clearly pertained to the varieties investigated rather than to their speakers. Notably, adjectives such as *(un)intelligible* or *standard* can only pertain to the status of the varieties themselves.

The perceived **beauty** of language varieties as an indication of their degree of standardness is a criterion which figured prominently in earlier work on the perception of standard vs. non-standard varieties (Giles 1970, Trudgill and Giles 1978). The strongest claim with respect to the central role of the perceived beauty of language varieties is Van Bezooijen's (2002: 13) contention that the aesthetic evaluation of language varieties is 'the most direct and compact means to gain access into language attitudes'. Crucially, standard varieties are invariably found to be more beautiful than non-standard varieties in the literature (see, amongst many others, Giles 1970, Trudgill and Giles 1978, Van Bezooijen 2002, Bishop, Coupland and Garrett 2005 and Coupland and Bishop 2007). We have accordingly elicited aesthetic evaluations in most of our experiments.

Let us, in order to calibrate the Belgian and Netherlandic standard situations, focus on British English first, a variety in which two of the cited criteria – speaker prestige and perceived beauty – divide all accents into standard and non-standard varieties, and in which the category of non-standard accents is globally downgraded on these criteria, manifesting little internal differentiation. In the UK Standard English has recurrently been adjudged to be more prestigious and beautiful than other varieties. Figure 1 diagrams strongly converging prestige and beauty perceptions of English accent varieties collected on the basis of two elicitation techniques in 1970 and 2005. Giles (1970) reports a conceptual experiment in which listener-judges rated 12 accent labels ('RP', 'Birmingham', 'Indian', etc.) on three evaluative dimensions; in a follow-up experiment involving a matched guise speaker evaluation experiment (SEE), the same listener-judges rated unlabelled audio-taped samples of (some of) these accents on the same dimensions. Bishop, Coupland and Garrett (2005) replicated Giles' (1970) conceptual task 35 years later[6]:

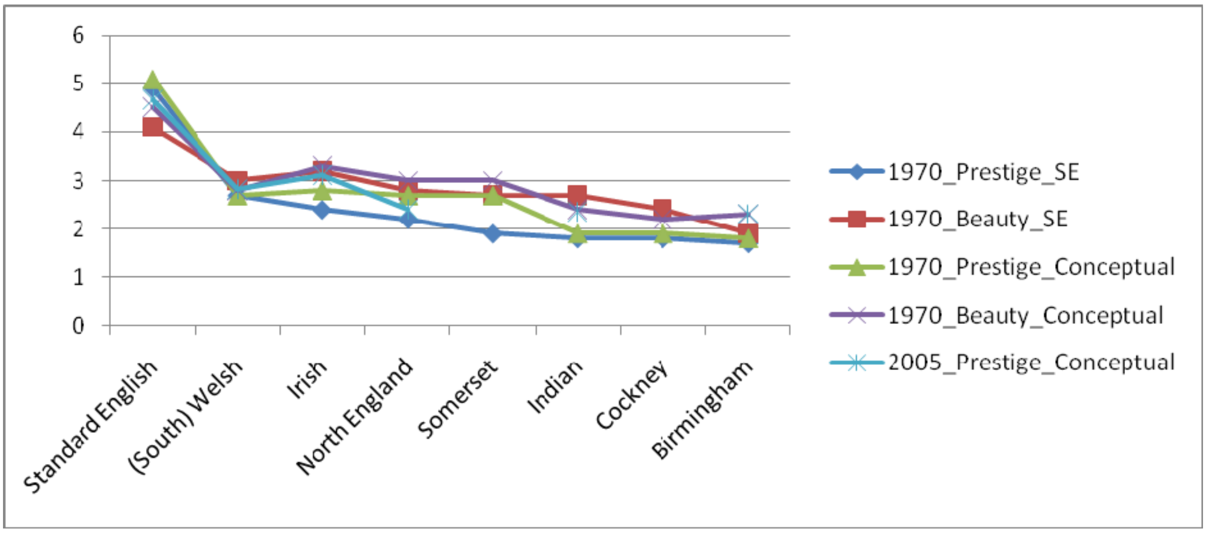

Figure 1. Prestige and beauty perceptions for 8 accent varieties of English, collected in 1970 in a speaker evaluation experiment and in a conceptual task, and in 2005 in a conceptual task.

Crucially, the data in Figure 1 demonstrate that while Standard English is rated the highest in terms of speaker prestige and beauty (with mean scores between 4.7 and 5.1 on a 6-point scale), all other accents are on or below the neutral point 3 on the vertical scale (mean scores between 1.7 and 3.3). The diagram also shows that there is almost no interpretable internal differentiation among the group of non-standard accents in terms of prestige and beauty. These data suggest, in short, that English does not allow 'dual identity' in the standard: *any*

[6] We restricted the data points in Figure 1 to accents for which data were available across the different techniques and periods; data were rescaled and reoriented to fit a 6-point scale with a negative left and a positive right pole.

regional affiliation in one's speech automatically leads to downgrading on dimensions which matter for one's perception as a standard speaker. English represents an extreme case because the categorical prestige divide between its standard and non-standard accents has remained stable over the years.

Interestingly, this categorical distinction does not seem to be related to the degree of standardisation of a language: in French, arguably the most standardised of all European languages, the Paris accent unsurprisingly combines the highest scores for the prestige traits included in Paltridge and Giles (1984), but the Provence accent is *not* downgraded for professional appeal and power. It is therefore probably more appropriate to conceive of the prestige values of accent varieties in one language or different languages as occupying different positions on a continuum which has the mono-varietal standard situation of British English as its left pole.

Finally, we will compare the standard language situations in Belgian and Netherlandic Dutch on a fourth criterion **communal consent**, which pertains to the degree of perceptual agreement between the listener-judges rather than to features of the accents themselves. We have repeatedly argued in our work on Netherlandic Standard Dutch (see especially Grondelaers and Van Hout 2011: 211–213) that a language variety is standardised when regionally flavoured standard speech – which indexes a dual identity of national and regional affiliation – invites *national* perceptions on the part of the listener, rather than regional or social in-group preferences and out-group rejections. A language X is standardised in this respect, when speakers of a specific accent X_i of X are willing to evaluate other accents of X as speakers of X rather than as speakers of X_i, and when their supra-regional evaluation adheres to the prestige distribution over accents X_i to X_n agreed on by all the members of the community delimited by X. For speakers of high-prestige accents the communal consent definition of standard language poses no problem, as they can remain loyal to their accents on the national level. For speakers of a low-prestige accent, however, this supra-regional attitude may entail abandoning emotions of accent and in-group loyalty to national stereotypes of their accent and its speakers as low status.

The communal consent definition of standard language is empirically reflected in the absence of demographic (and especially regional) bias in the evaluations, which indicates that ratings are converged on by *all* the members of the Netherlandic Dutch standard language community rather than by specific subgroups. Demographic data are also important in another respect: if it is not the absence of variability in production which makes a language variety standard, but the communal assessment which determines whether or not the variability is included in the variation interval that a language allows, a good view of the listener demographics in one's sample is essential.

In the next sections we will compare the perception of Netherlandic and Belgian Standard Dutch across the four criteria on the basis of speaker evaluation evidence specifically elicited in relation to them. Since most of the Netherlandic evidence has been reported elsewhere, we will restrict ourselves to a short overview, whereas the Belgian analysis – which is reported for the first time here – will be reviewed in more detail.

The perceptual profile of Netherland Standard Dutch in Late Modernity

Methodological specifications

All our own perceptual data come from speaker evaluation experiments which build on 20-second sound clips of unprepared spontaneous speech which (except in Grondelaers and Van Hout 2010*c* and Latour, Van Hout and Grondelaers submitted) was *not* selected on the basis of accent strength. Sound clips were extracted from the Netherlandic and Belgian components of the Teacher Corpus, and they were rated on a wide range of speaker and speech traits (between 13 and 18), in relation to a larger number of evaluative dimensions than is usual in speaker evaluation research, which is typically two- or three-dimensional (Status vs. Solidarity or Status vs. Personal Integrity vs. Solidarity; see Grondelaers, Van Hout and Steegs 2010: 102 ff.). Listener-judges were always selected in the accent zones included in the experiment.

Speaker prestige

Across all experiments, Randstad Dutch was typically rated the most prestigious variety of Netherlandic Dutch in terms of the status of its speakers. In all studies, ratings pertaining to 'speaking like authoritative persons', professional competence and accent appropriateness alternatively correlated into separate dimensions (i) for speaker prestige and accent status (Grondelaers, Van Hout and Steegs 2010; Grondelaers and Van Hout 2010b – see 6.3.), (ii) for speaker prestige and speaker competence (Grondelaers and Van Hout 2010a), and (iii) for speaker prestige (Grondelaers and Van Hout 2010c; Latour, Van Hout and Grondelaers submitted). On all of these, Randstad Dutch always received the highest scores.

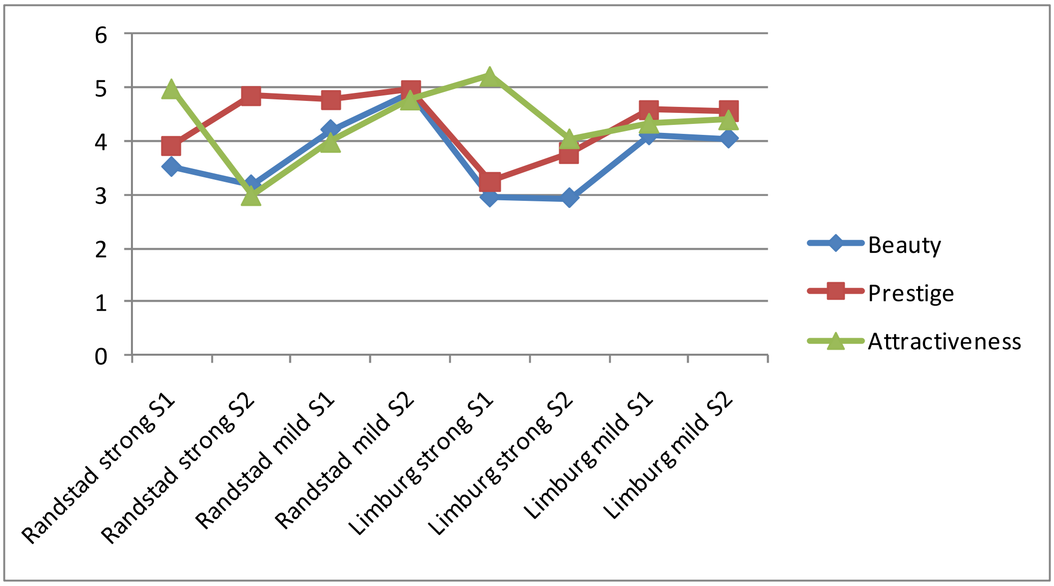

Figure 2. Prestige, attractiveness, and beauty perceptions for mildly and strongly accented varieties of Randstad-accented and Limburg-accented Dutch

Interestingly, though, Netherlandic Dutch is *not* the mono-varietal standard language English is, because there is no global downgrading of non-standard accents. Figure 2 demonstrates data from Grondelaers and Van Hout (2010*c*) and Latour, Van Hout and Grondelaers: submitted, in which the perception of mild and strong versions of a prestige (Randstad) and a non-prestige accent (Limburg) was investigated. In this experiment, for instance, we found only marginally lower speaker prestige scores for the two mildly accented Limburg speakers than for the mildly accented Randstad speakers (4.58 and 4.56 vs. 4.77 and 4.95); stronger accented Limburgers, by contrast, were much more downgraded than strongly accented Rand speakers (3.24 and 3.78 vs. 3.91 and 4.84). Since milder accented Limburgers were only slightly less identifiable than their stronger accented compatriots, and since they were never confused with high prestige speakers, the perception of a speaker's prestige is clearly not only dependent on absolute values such as the speaker's regional descent, but also, and crucially, on dynamic features such as the *strength* of his accent. By reducing his accent, a low prestige speaker can partially overcome the downgrading effect of his descent. In this sense, perception always interacts with production.

Accent status

In the experiments reported in Grondelaers, Van Hout and Steegs (2010) and Grondelaers and Van Hout (2010*c*), the accent status traits – all eliciting responses to statements such as 'you have to sound like this speaker when speaking to a news anchor, a diplomat, during a job interview, etc.' – correlated into a separate accent status dimension on which speech was evaluated in function of its appropriateness for formal interaction. In both experiments, unsurprisingly, Randstad speech was judged the only superior variety in this respect, while all other accents were harshly downgraded, except Limburg speech, which was *not* downgraded in Grondelaers, Van Hout and Steegs (2010)[7]. This finding seems to demonstrate some sort of attitude change with respect to the (previously depreciated) status of Limburg-flavoured Dutch. This attitude change, crucially, is noticeable only in indirect speaker evaluation techniques: the direct conceptual method with which the speaker evaluation data were compared in Grondelaers and Van Hout 2010b returned the ubiquitous, largely negative stereotypes with respect to the status of Limburg Dutch.

In addition to this emerging regiolectic competition for Randstad Dutch, there is a much more influential sociolectal competitor, viz. Poldernederlands (viz. Standard Dutch with a lowered pronunciation in the first part of a number of diphthongs, see section above on 'Netherlandic Dutch in late modernity'). In a speaker evaluation experiment similarly designed to ours, Van Bezooijen (2001) compared the perception of accentless, geographically neutral Netherlandic Standard Dutch (NSD), Poldernederlands, Randstad Dutch, and Dutch with an Amsterdam accent (each represented by three female speakers). Although Van Bezooijen (2001: 261) claims that the three non-neutral accents were similar in terms of strength, it is impossible to determine how her Randstad speakers compare to our Randstad Teachers. Nevertheless, it is revealing to notice that Poldernederlands was evaluated by younger listeners as only slightly less standard than regionally neutral NSD, and *more standard* than Randstad Dutch. On the dimension 'polished', Poldernederlands was rated as somewhat inferior to NSD, but not significantly different from Randstad Dutch! These data, again, suggest that while Randstad Dutch is deemed the best variety of spoken Netherlandic Dutch, there is clearly room for others.

Beauty

The perceived beauty of the different regio- and sociolects of Netherlandic Standard Dutch confirms the findings on the previous criteria: while Randstad Dutch is invariably deemed the most beautiful sort of Dutch, it has Limburg Dutch and Poldernederlands as (close) competitors. Compare in this respect the mean scores on the beauty scale in Figure 2, which closely follow the prestige scores (the only divergence between beauty and prestige is found in the ratings for the second strongly accented Randstad speaker, whose regional origin was significantly less identifiable than that of the other speakers in the experiment). In Van Bezooijen (2001: Figures 3 and 6, p. 265), the higher accent status of neutral NSD and Poldernederlands is mirrored in the fact that these varieties are also evaluated as more beautiful than Randstad Dutch.

The obvious convergence between, on the one hand, perceived beauty and, on the other, speaker prestige and accent status could indicate that the aesthetic perception of accent varieties of NSD is a function of the status of these varieties and their speakers, but that's an oversimplification. We have found two types of evidence that beauty perceptions in NSD are trig-

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[7] The fact that Limburg speech was downgraded in terms of accent status in Grondelaers and Van Hout (2010*c*) is arguably due to the fact that the latter included only adolescent listener-judges; interestingly, we also found (a small number of) age effects in Grondelaers, Van Hout and Steegs (2010) whereby adolescent listeners went against the more global tendency to upgrade Limburg speech.

gered by *all* the dimensions in the architecture of accent attitudes (viz. status *but also* attractiveness and solidarity). Observe to begin with that *mooi* 'beautiful' invariably distributes evenly over the dimensions returned by the Principal Component Analysis (PCA) of the ratings in all the speaker evaluation experiments in which beauty perceptions were elicited:

Table 1. Scores for *beautiful* on the factors obtained in the PCA of ratings elicited in three speaker evaluation experiments

	Speaker Prestige	Speaker Competence	Speaker Attractiveness	Accent Status	Accent Attractiveness
Grondelaers, Van Hout and Steegs 2010	.204		.549	.217	.336
Grondelaers and Van Hout 2010	.304	.484	-.373		
Latour, Van Hout and Grondelaers Submitted	.558		.368		

The data in Table 1 clearly indicate that accent varieties of NSD are evaluated as beautiful on account of their perceived status and attractiveness, and on account of the perceived prestige and attractiveness of their speakers. A linear regression analysis on the beautiful-ratings in Grondelaers, Van Hout and Steegs (2010) confirms that *all* attitudinal dimensions are significant determinants of perceived accent beauty, and that the latter can be reasonably well (average R^2 = .33) predicted from them. In view of the fact that Netherlandic accent attitudes are national constructs (see 6.5. below), and that the status components of these attitudes co-determine the beauty perception of accent varieties (in addition to and, judging from the lower rows in Table 1, sometimes to a higher extent than attractiveness, which is an arguably more intuitive beauty-determinant), we have claimed in Grondelaers and Van Hout (2010*d*) and in Latour, Van Hout and Grondelaers (submitted) that the beauty perception of accent varieties of NSD is fuelled to a significant extent by communal (standard language) ideology. We have suggested, in addition, that perceived beauty in the field of accent perception is an 'overarching evaluative judgment' which represents the proverbial 'cement' between the status and attractiveness ingredients of accent attitudes. If the latter is the case, then attractiveness ratings should be included in attitude-based measurements of the standard status of accent varieties. If standard varieties are evaluated as more beautiful than non-standard accent varieties, and if beauty perceptions are determined by status *and* attractiveness considerations, then the latter – the fact that some speakers and some accents are perceived as more attractive – may also motivate why some accent varieties are valued as more standard than others.

While we do not, at present, have the data to fully back up this suggestion, the attractiveness values we measured for the accent varieties of NSD offer some explanation for the fact that regional and social accent variation is acceptable in lay conceptualisations of NSD. As we have seen, one reason for this acceptance is that some accent varieties – notably NSD with a mild Limburg accent – are not downgraded on the speaker prestige and accent status dimensions. In addition to their different prestige and status values, however, all accents investigated have stereotyped attractiveness values which, in combination with the status values, make for rich social meanings. In any society in which people have allegiances and identities to maintain (and decode) on the basis of linguistic cues, a regional accent is a valuable cue because it identifies 'stable socio-regional groups that are associated with a number of (very) persistent stereotypes' (Grondelaers and Van Hout 2010a: 235). A Randstad accent was recurrently found to be associated in this respect with positive status categories such as 'competent,' 'professional', but also with negative integrity/solidarity features such as 'cold' and 'arrogant'. A Limburg accent, by contrast, projects negative stereotypes of lack of sophistication onto a speaker (especially when the latter's accent gets stronger), but also positive images of kindness and likeability (see Preston 2011 for a detailed account of the processing aspects of this attribution). The northern Groningen accent, finally, is evaluated negatively on all the investigated dimensions. This distribution of social meaning values over the accent varieties has invariably been confirmed in our work.

Communal consensus

One of the more revealing findings in our research is the almost total absence of demographic effects in the evaluations of accent variation in NSD. More precisely, perceptual work into NSD only seems to reveal some age effects. Recall from footnote 7 that in Grondelaers, Van Hout and Steegs (2010), younger participants did not always follow older listeners in their evaluations of Limburg-flavoured Dutch (though there were no systematic effects). And the age grading found in Van Bezooijen (2001) – whereby younger listeners are significantly more sympathetic to Poldernederlands than older listeners – suggests an attitude change which, according to Van Bezooijen, indicates 'a sombre future for Standard Dutch but a rosy future for Poldernederlands' (p. 269).

The absence of especially regional bias in the evaluations indicates that accent varieties of Netherlandic Dutch elicit *national* perceptions which are shared by all the Dutch. While there probably is no surer perceptual indicator of standardisation, there is also an important production aspect to this observation. If we conceive of the standard language configuration in The Netherlands as a diaglossic continuum (viz. without discrete intermediate strata, see Grondelaers and Van Hout 2011) between the evaporating base dialects and non-accented, neutral NSD (with the regiolects and the regional standards in-between), then at some point high on this continuum a variety of Dutch is spoken which, in spite of some regional flavouring, has its basic social meaning on the national level. This point has a double significance. From a production perspective it marks the lower threshold of standard Dutch: anything produced above is standard. But it is also at this point that positive sentiments of in-group loyalty within a given regional community give way to national stereotyping with respect to this community (which can be very negative and downgrading). A case in point is the northern accent: speakers of the low prestige accent of Groningen are apparently prepared to accept the global downgrading of their accent in its national perception[8].

While the previous strongly endorses the use of the communal consensus criterion as an indicator of standardness, some caution is necessary because perception experiments into English and French – both languages whose standardisation is beyond dispute – manifest substantial demographic bias among the listeners – listener age, regionality, gender (Giles 1970; Bishop, Coupland and Garrett 2005), and social class (Giles 1970) for English; listener age, regionality, and gender for French (Paltridge and Giles 1984). While this difference in conformity among French and British listeners on the one hand, and Netherlandic listeners on the other may indicate different conceptualisations of their standards, we cannot exclude the impact of lower-level differences between the speech stimuli employed in the respective experiments. Recall that we exclusively relied on the speech of (experienced) teachers of Dutch in our experiments (average age = 56.9 years, with a range from 41 to 67 years), who were told beforehand that they were being recorded for inclusion in a corpus of Standard Dutch. The communal consensus we found could therefore well be a function of the position of the speech of these teachers on the stratificational continuum, while we cannot exclude the possibility that the lack of consensus in the studies into French and English is a function of a lower

[8] Though there is some evidence that regional groups which suffer from negative stereotyping on the national level also exhibit a very negative self-image. A case in point is Frenchmen from the Alsace, who significantly downgrade their own accent on the social appeal-dimension (Paltridge and Giles 1984: 78–79), in contrast to Brittany-, Provence- and Paris-born Frenchmen who are loyal to their own accents.

position on the stratificational hierarchy of the experimental speech in these studies. In Giles (1970: 214), one male speaker maintained 'realistic guises' of '13 different and foreign accents of English' but there is more than a gambler's chance that phonetic idiosyncrasies of the accents in these guises were blown up to the detriment of their standard characteristics (criticisms to this effect have repeatedly been levelled against the matched-guise technique – see Garrett, Coupland, and Williams 2003: 54–61 and Garrett 2005: 1253 for an overview). Neither is it inconceivable that the 'male primary teacher trainees' whose speech was included in Paltridge and Giles (1984: 74) were not as standard as our experienced secondary school teachers. Giles is clearly aware of this possibility when he claims that the fact that the recordings used were all by trainee 'instituteurs' entails that the degree of accentedness is 'not the broadest possible' (1984: 82, footnote 4).

Conclusion

All the data collected in the previous paragraphs suggest that growing variability in Netherlandic Dutch does not challenge the idea that there is a best language, but merely increases the number of varieties which satisfy that best language ideal. We claim, in fact, that the Netherlandic Dutch standard language ideal is instantiated in 'a standard language space' which is vertically and horizontally stratified. This space is roofed by non-accented, fully uniform NSD, a variety which is 'more of an ideal than a reality, since few people speak it in a pure form' (Van Bezooijen 2001: 260). Building on our speaker evaluation data on regional accent variation and Van Bezooijen's (2001) perception findings, we know that Randstad-flavoured Dutch and – for younger speakers – Poldernederlands are the best 'real-life' varieties of NSD, both deemed more prestigious, functionally appropriate and beautiful than the other varieties. At the bottom of the standard language space, NSD is stratified into regional standards, albeit that these are vertically differentiated as well: recall that spoken NSD is equated in actual practice with Randstad Dutch, and that Limburg-accented Dutch is awarded a higher accent status than the other non-central accent varieties. Crucially, none of the varieties discussed occupies a fixed position in the stratificational 'matrix' of the standard space, except maybe for non-accented NSD at the top. For the accented varieties, the position in the space is dynamically and probabilistically determined by features such as accent strength: a lower prestige variety such as the Limburg accent significantly gains in status when it becomes milder.

THE PERCEPTUAL PROFILE OF BELGIAN STANDARD DUTCH IN LATE MODERNITY

Design

In order to gauge the Belgian standard language situation, the experiment reported in Grondelaers, Van Hout and Steegs (2010) was replicated with Belgian speech samples and Belgian respondents. Speech clips were extracted from eight speakers representative of four accent regions: the central zone (the Brabant-Antwerp axis, the nation's socio-economic hub), two peripheral zones (West-Flanders and Limburg, rural areas in which the base dialects are still frequently spoken), as well as a transitional zone (East-Flanders). Except for the latter, these zones feature well-identifiable regional accents.

19 scales were adapted from the experiments described in the preceding section. We included accent status scales, 'old' speaker prestige scales (pertaining to speaker competence and speaking like authoritative persons), 'new' speaker prestige indicators (pertaining to rhetorical competence and media ability), speaker integrity scales, speaker solidarity scales and, finally, accent euphony scales (pertaining to intrinsic sound qualities of the accents compared). Two specific scales were adapted to the Belgian situation. For the 'speaking like au-

thoritative persons' scales we included – in addition to the news anchor function previously used – two well-known Belgian speakers who are models of pleasantly civilised speech (media icon Marc Uytterhoeven and politician Karel de Gucht).

As listener-judges, 100 native speakers of Belgian Dutch were recruited in universities and university colleges in the four accent regions included in the experiment. Principal Component Analysis revealed that the 19 scales correlated into the four factor solution illustrated in Table 2 (from which scales loading on more than one dimension have been removed):

Table 2. Factor loadings for 14 scales on 4 components after varimax rotation

	Component			
	Competence 'old status'	Dynamism 'new status'	Solidarity	Integrity
beautiful	,316	,373	,604	-,154
arrogant	-,185	,229	-,094	**,798**
civilised	**,805**	,050	,237	-,132
could win a debate	,209	**,774**	,121	,074
highly educated	**,787**	,196	,124	-,023
honest	,086	,000	**,739**	-,108
norm during job interview	,253	**,765**	-,019	,018
monotonous	,266	-,488	,002	**,536**
news anchor	**,620**	,389	-,035	,049
social	,071	,086	**,843**	-,092
norm when speaking to news anchor	,378	**,696**	,034	,065
norm when speaking to prime minister	**,762**	,286	,145	,055
unfriendly	,022	-,001	-,206	**,760**
warm	,186	,021	**,760**	-,098

The four dimensions returned by the PCA can be labelled Speaker Competence 'old status', Speaker Dynamism 'new status', Speaker Solidarity, and Speaker Integrity. To compare the individual perceptions of the eight speech samples on each of the four dimensions, per sample and per dimension an estimate was computed that averages over the scores on the scales that received the highest loadings for a dimension (see Grondelaers, Van Hout and Steegs 2010: 113, footnote 4 for a justification of this method):

Table 3. Proportion of correct regional identifications, mean beauty scores, and PCA factor scores for 8 samples of Belgian Standard Dutch speech

			Factor Scores			
	% correct identifications	Beautiful	Competence	Dynamism	Solidarity	Integrity
Antwerp	75,00	3,27	3,601	3,610	3,533	2,940
Brabant	46,67	3,15	3,373	3,210	3,549	2,570
East-Flanders1	44,09	3,16	3,268	3,360	3,613	2,285
East-Flanders2	29,67	3,11	3,334	3,283	3,483	2,370
West-Flanders1	26,09	3,23	3,263	3,413	3,673	2,345
West-Flanders2	68,89	2,92	2,697	2,940	3,813	2,155
Limburg1	79,35	2,60	2,714	2,660	3,617	2,785
Limburg2	84,95	2,60	2,619	2,440	3,643	2,300

Table 3 contains, for each of the speech samples, the percentage of correct regional identifications (which reflects to what extent an accent is correctly located in the region in which it is spoken), the mean beauty scores on a scale from 1 to 6, as well as factor scores for the four dimensions identified in Table 2. While the regional identification of the samples was, on the whole, unproblematic[9], speaker 'West-Flanders 1' was incorrectly identified as an East-Fleming more often than as a West-Fleming (27,17 % > 26,09). The fact that his evaluations visibly concur with the evaluations for the 'genuine' East-Flemish speakers, plausibly derives from this misappropriation.

Speaker prestige & accent status

We found no general downgrading of accented speech in the Belgian data, but that is probably due to the absence of a clearly superior variety with respect to which non-prestigious speech *can* be downgraded: on the old status dimension, an (unintuitive) binary distinction was found between the prestigious central accent (Brabantic) and the transitional (East-Flemish) accent on the one hand, and the non-prestigious peripheral Limburg and West-Flemish zones on the other. Whereas, in addition, only 'old' status indicators emerged from the perceptual analyses of Netherlandic Dutch accent variation (education, civilisation, speaking like the prime minister, etc.), Belgian Dutch accents also elicited ratings which correlated into the 'new' status dimension of *dynamism*, on which scales pertaining to rhetorical skills and media ability loaded. Kristiansen (2009a) gauges the current rise in prestige of 'Lower' Copenhagen speech in terms of this 'Dynamism' component, which in his views indexes standards for the media rather than for the schools (Kristiansen 2001). Again, it is the Brabantic and East-Flemish accents which are deemed somewhat more dynamic than the peripheral accents. Observe, finally, that we did not find a separate accent status dimension in the architecture of Belgian accent attitudes: there appear to be no inter-subjective perceptions of the central Brabantic accent, or any other accent, as more 'appropriate' for formal interaction (recall that in Netherlandic Dutch, the status of the Randstad accent is repeatedly confirmed in this respect).

Beauty

The crude distinction between the peripheral and the central/transitional zone obtained on the prestige dimension is sustained by the beauty ratings, albeit that the distinction 'beautiful vs. ugly' is better rephrased here as 'not beautiful vs. very ugly': while the scores for the central and transitional accents hover around the neutral point, there is evident downgrading for the peripheral accents. Clearly, no accent of Belgian Teacher Dutch is evaluated as truly beautiful.

There are two possible explanations for this low beauty perception of accents of Belgian Dutch. Could it be the case that beauty perceptions are *not* ideologically determined in Belgian Dutch, as they are in Netherlandic Dutch? Could it be possible that beauty is in the eye of the beholder in Belgium rather than in the grip of ideology? The two sources of evidence we invoked to support the idea that beauty perceptions are communally and ideologically (rather than individually) determined in Netherlandic Dutch, demonstrate interesting differences between the Netherlandic and Belgian perceptions. Observe to begin with that the loadings for the *beautiful* scale do not distribute evenly over the dimensions returned by the PCA in Table 2, and that is it is in particular the Solidarity dimension on which *beautiful* gets the highest loading; this indicates that it is in the first place a speaker's social attributes which

[9] The lower identification proportions for the East-Flemish speakers can be attributed to the fact that the East-Flemish accent was included in the experiment as a transitional zone. The Antwerp and Brabant proportions are based on correct identification on the level of *province*: when correct identification is defined in terms of the central zone – Brabant *or* Antwerp –, the percentage of correct identifications of the Brabant accent rises to 91,3 %, and the percentage of correct identification of the Antwerp accent to 78,91 %.

determine whether an accent is deemed beautiful[10]. Recall that in The Netherlands, by contrast, *beautiful* was invariably distributed evenly over all the dimensions returned by the PCA of all the experiments conducted, whatever these dimensions were. In addition, it was especially the status-related dimensions which were the prime movers of beauty judgments. Whether these discrepancies indicate that beauty perceptions are not embedded in lay conceptualisations of BSD, as a result of which perceived beauty is not a good standardness indicator for this variety, is bound to remain unclear at present.

Note, however, that the absence of aesthetic appreciation for accented BSD could also be due to the fact that accented BSD is not regarded as standard because non-accented VRT Dutch is the only superior variety in that respect to Belgian listeners, no matter how virtual and non-vital that variety is (or maybe *precisely* because it is so virtual and untainted by practical use). If this is the case, our decision not to include VRT Dutch in the experiment has backfired: even in the absence of actual VRT Dutch, the ghost of this variety impacts the perception of its regional standards.

Communal assessment

The most important difference between Belgian and Netherlandic accent perceptions, however, is that whereas the latter are national constructs, we found massive demographic differences between the Belgian listener-judges. The most outspoken bias is respondent regionality, viz. the fact that the regional origin of the respondents significantly impacts their evaluation of the samples; cells with grey shading in Table 3 contain values which average over evaluations which differ significantly between the respondent regions (while non-shaded cells pertain to ratings for which there is no regional bias). The fact that no less than 14 out of the 32 factor scores in Table 3 manifest regional bias indicates that the most formal variety of spoken Belgian Dutch available in actual practice does *not* incite national perceptions: it rather triggers regional rating attitudes in the listeners, who evaluate the samples as Limburgians, Brabantians, Antwerpians, and East- and West-Flemings (instead of Dutch-speaking Belgians), manifesting all the concomitant ingroup and outgroup biases.

Conclusion

While the perceptual picture of Belgian Dutch is far from complete as yet, the available speaker evaluation data raise pertinent questions as to how standard Teacher Dutch is. If the criteria proposed in this chapter – speaker prestige, accent status, beauty, and communal consensus – represent valid perceptual criteria for standardness, then it is obvious that Teacher Dutch represents the standard variety of Netherlandic Dutch, but *not* of Belgian Dutch.

The best way to describe the current standard language situation in Flanders is to refer to it as a 'standard language vacuum'. The best variety of Belgian Dutch, VRT Dutch, is an imported norm which – in spite of its uniformity – has never been a comfortable language medium for Belgian speakers, and which increasingly few people try to attain. There are at present no valid replacements for this virtual norm. The highest stratum of spoken Belgian Dutch – Teacher Dutch – manifests a high degree of variability without there being a 'best' variety: there is no accent in the Teacher database which characterises the most prestigious, and the most beautiful Belgian Dutch (for the latter is the VRT-norm which – in spite of continuing perceptual prestige – is rapidly losing ground on the level of production). Tussentaal, finally, may one day become the new standard of Belgian Dutch, but its standardisation is as yet un-

[10] A regression analysis on the *beautiful* scores in which the four dimensions returned in Table 2 were included as predictors confirms this effect: while all the dimensions are significant predictors of the *beautiful* scores ($p = .000$), it is the Solidarity dimension which has the highest impact (Status $\beta = .273$; Dynamism $\beta = .186$; Solidarity $\beta = .390$; Integrity $\beta = -.076$).

finished, and it is not sustained by constructive 'best language' perceptions (of excitement, enthusiasm, progress, etc.).

There is, in other words, no vital standard variety of Belgian Dutch either from the production or from the perception point of view. In our implementation of the notion 'standard language ideal', the Belgian standard situation clearly represents a case of Fairclough's (1992) destandardisation.

CONCLUSION AND CONSEQUENCES

In this chapter we have (for the first time, to our knowledge) compared the Netherlandic and Belgian standard language situations exclusively in terms of speaker evaluation evidence in order to detect the perceptual parameters along which the national varieties of Dutch vary and change. We collected experimental speaker evaluation evidence in relation to four criteria which revealed clear-cut differences between Belgian and Netherlandic Dutch.

Building on **speaker prestige** evaluations, we found that the standard language ideal of English is instantiated in one prestige variety which eclipses all other varieties in terms of status (viz. RP or the Queen's English). Netherlandic Dutch, by contrast, has more prestige varieties, viz. Randstad Dutch and Poldernederlands, but other regional accents of NSD can rise to almost comparable prestige as they become milder. Belgian Dutch, finally, appears to be a 'decapitated' standard. Prestige evaluations split up the field in (broadly defined) central accents, which are to some extent prestigious, and peripheral accents, which clearly are not. If we discount VRT Dutch, there is no 'best' variety of Belgian Dutch as there is in The Netherlands.

Low speaker prestige in itself, however, does not suffice to regard a variety as non-standard. Speakers of the Limburg accent of NSD are not typically evaluated as prestigious (unless their accent is mild), but changing attitudes towards Limburg-flavoured Dutch transpire from **accent status** scores which are significantly higher than for the other accents except Randstad Dutch. The fact that it is the accent status dimension which embodies the new status of Limburg speech, and not the speaker prestige dimension, need not surprise us. While the speech of the Limburg teachers does not *resemble* the speech of Prince Willem-Alexander or a radio newsreader (cf. the scales which underlie the speaker status dimension), it has become much more acceptable in official situations requiring formal speech. The fact that there were three ministers with an audible Limburg accent in the previous administration bears some testimony to this fact.

In view of their alleged subjectivity, **beauty perceptions** do not normally play a role in scientific descriptions of language variation and change. We hope to have convinced the reader, however, that the perceived beauty of accent varieties is not individually, but communally and ideologically determined, as a result of which beauty perceptions offer us privileged insight into underlying standard language ideologies and ideals (as Van Bezooijen 2002: 13 claimed). While perceived beauty in our experiments predominantly concurs with status ratings – which is in itself intuitive confirmation of the fact that they are ideologically motivated – we have shown that they are also determined by the attractiveness component of language attitudes, which should therefore be included in investigations of this kind. Again, we find significant differences between Belgian and Netherlandic Dutch as far as speaker attractiveness is concerned: while the attractiveness values of the Netherlandic accents combine with the status values to create rich and stable social meanings (which probably explain why regional accent variation is tolerated in NSD), there is even less differentiation between the Belgian accents in terms of attractiveness than there is in terms of status. If there's any social meaning inherent in regional accent variation in BSD, it is certainly not as rich as it is NSD.

It will be obvious that the speaker prestige, accent status, and beauty criteria manifest strong correlations in the data we have presented here (although there is no reason to assume they always will). It is nevertheless expedient to rely on a fourth criterion of standardness which is not a feature of the accents evaluated but of the *evaluators*. We have used the degree of **consensus** between the respondents in our experiments as an indicator of the degree of communal assessment in the negotiation and construction of the regional and social variability in Standard Dutch. While demographic bias in the evaluations was almost completely absent in the Netherlandic data – which indicates that Netherlandic Teacher Dutch elicits national perceptions – nearly half of the Belgian ratings manifested significant differences in term of listener regionality, which indicates that Belgian Teacher Dutch elicits regional perceptions.

In view of the massive demographic bias that was found in highly standardised languages such as English and French, it is prudent to consider communal consensus as a typical criterion for standardisation, not as a necessary condition. For the standard stratification configuration illustrated by Netherlandic Dutch, however, we believe that communal consensus is a more stringent condition. Communal consent on a pattern of variation decreases the effect of any norm deviation engendered by that variation: if the larger community knows *why* a regional subgroup deviates from the norm – because there are no dialects left to profile regional identity – and *how* a subgroup deviates from the norm – by regionally flavoured speech which is in every other respect standard – then variation becomes not only meaningful but also predictable.

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The view from the couch: Changing perspectives on the role of television in changing language ideologies and use

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INTRODUCTION

Language standardisation in Europe is linked to the mass media in a number of complex ways. On the one hand, historical processes of language standardisation in Europe have always had a close relationship with the mass print media (e.g. Hjarvard 2004; Buchstaller 2008 after Milroy and Milroy 1998). On the other, the role of the broadcast media, especially television and radio, in the recent and contemporary processes of standardisation – and other kinds of change which together might be loosely grouped together as 'destandardisation'– seems rather less straightforward. This chapter focuses on the latter theme, and falls into four parts.

In the first I consider the theoretical context for such a discussion, and in particular the different kinds of claims, assumptions, and evidence for media influence on language change across sociolinguistic research: the picture is complex, and the details seem to relate closely to theoretical context and location/domain of study. The second part gives a brief overview of how media influence on social behaviours more generally is modelled within mass communications: the key insight, whatever the theoretical perspective, is that media influence is crucially contingent on what the viewer brings to the media experience. It seems plausible that a similar assumption can be made if we wish to understand better what might be entailed by assuming that the media 'influences' language. In the third section, we test the predictions of such an approach with phonological data from two theoretically different sociolinguistic contexts of (de)standardisation. In the fourth and final part, we make some practical suggestions for improving the empirical base for understanding and modelling media, influence on language change, especially from television. Whilst it is clear that we need much better understanding of media models and their social and ideological meanings as resources for viewers, fundamental research is needed into viewers and the viewing experience, and how this relates to language variation and use in the short, and longer-term. For though even our terminology for the phenomenon (or rather bundle of phenomena), 'media influence on language', implies that any kind of shifts in conjunction with media arises from the media somehow doing things to the viewer, it seems much more likely that it is the viewers, in ways thoroughly constrained by their existing linguistic, social and ideological knowledge, and usually without any overt awareness that anything might be happening, who are doing things with the media.

TENSIONS ACROSS THEORETICAL BOUNDARIES

At the broadest level of sociolinguistics, the notion of the influence of the broadcast media on standardisation, and language change more generally, seems to elicit a number of tensions. Sociolinguistics is a substantial discipline encompassing a range of approaches (Coulmas 1997). Across, and even within, these approaches, media influence is treated rather differently. Interestingly – and especially for this volume – the geographical location of the practice of sociolinguistics itself seems to engender, or at least be congruent with, rather different views of what the media might be responsible for.

The advent of broadcasting, first by radio and then television, meant that standard varieties of languages could be experienced by very large numbers of non-standard dialect speakers in their own homes (Holly 1995). It also meant that standard varieties could be promulgated and promoted as such by media producers (Agha 2003; Milroy 2006). The widespread level of repeated exposure to such standard varieties, especially through news broadcasting, was assumed to lead to a fundamental erosion of traditional dialects and shift towards standard norms, particularly because it was assumed that the standard would not only be ubiquitous but also uniformly socially prestigious. However the degree to which language standardisation has actually taken place in structural linguistic terms, especially since the 1960s during which personal ownership of television sets peaked (Bushman and Huesmann 2001), is unclear, and the picture seems to vary according to linguistic variety and sociolinguistic context.

Sociolinguists working in the variationist paradigm on varieties of English in America and the UK have argued against a direct role for the broadcast media in systemic aspects of language change in direction of the standard, given the continued and documented diversity of non-standard dialects, particularly at the levels of phonology and morpho-syntax (e.g. Milroy and Milroy 1985; Chambers 1998; Labov 2001): wholesale shifts do not appear to have taken place. This position contrasts strongly with that expressed by linguists and sociolinguists working outside English-speaking countries. For example, in Germany the widespread reduction in dialect forms found in spoken regional dialects (dedialectalisation) is claimed to have taken place at least in part as a result of the introduction of radio broadcasting (Lameli 2004), and even general accounts of the potential influence of the broadcast media on language change argue for inevitable shifts (e.g. Brandt 2000; Schmitz 2005). The media is also suggested as the impetus for changes across national standards, for example, Austrian German shifting towards German German (Muhr 2003), and not only in terms of lexis. Other instances where the broadcast media are cited as a factor in either dedialectalisation, or the implementation of a standard variety (or standard features) are not difficult to find; to pick just a very few: Danish (Hjarvard 2004); Dutch (Willemyns 2003); Telegu (Bartsch 1985); Swahili (Moehlig 1992); Japanese (Takano and Ota 2007). Most of these discussions assume that media influence is only one factor amongst others, especially education and increased social and geographical mobility after the Second World War.

Despite the rejection or acceptance of media influence on community norms, there seems to be little direct evidence from studies which consider speakers' actual linguistic usage with their reported exposure and their engagement with the media (Gunter 2000). The two variationist studies which look at standardisation of morpho-syntactic variation in Brazilian Portuguese show significant correlations with reported media exposure (Naro 1981), and a combined media exposure/engagement variable (Naro and Scherre 1996), while Saladino's (1990) correlational study of dialectal Italian does not. A slightly different context, across a national boundary, is presented in Carvahlo (2004)'s discussion of Uruguayan Portuguese speakers' explicit orientation towards the norms presented in the socially attractive Brazilian television programmes (though no actual correlations were found).

What is interesting about the sociolinguistic context for these studies, and in fact, most of those where the media is thought to be involved in structural instances of standardisation, seems to be both the potential linguistic distance between standard variety and (regional) dialect, and possibly more important, the social and cultural distance, which might be captured in terms of the nature and degree of enregisterment of the varieties concerned (Agha 2003). The mass media – including the broadcast media – seem to be integral in the development of standard language ideologies (Milroy and Milroy 1998), which attach in complex and dynamic ways with arrays of linguistic variation that emerge as standards (Agha's 2003 discussion of RP and Standard British English provides a good example). So it is inevitable that the broadcast media will have an impact on metalinguistic awareness of linguistic varieties and variation, standard and non-standard, and the ideologies surrounding them (Coupland 2009a: 40), and this has been well acknowledged by English-based scholars (e.g. Milroy and Milroy 1985 citing Rogers and Shoemaker 1971, now Rogers 2003). But what seems to remain unclear are the connections between media exposure and engagement, structural linguistic change, and speakers' shifting ideologies about language variation which are at least partly constructed by their media experience (Kristiansen 2009).

The concern with modelling structural aspects of language change goes hand-in-hand with a particular theoretical perspective, which has largely been focussed on varieties on English. Variationist sociolinguistic studies have tended to discount the influence of the broadcast media on changes other than to lexis, and other than above the level of conscious awareness (i.e. modelled in terms of copying). This is partly because of the emphasis on locating the primary mechanisms of language change in involuntary low-level shifts during social interaction (e.g. Labov 2001: 228). Whilst social interaction is without doubt the locus of variation and change, it is becoming clear that much more constrains the linguistic outcome than the physical presence of the interlocutor (Auer and Hinskens 2005), and may be far from automatic (e.g. Babel 2010). It is also because of an implicitly-held assumption that media influence on language would have to entail wholesale shifts in form and function, for example the adoption of a linguistic item, such as 'be like' complete with linguistic and sociolinguistic constraints of the 'donor' variety (e.g. Buchstaller 2008; Buchstaller and D'Arcy 2009), which is reminiscent of the old, now abandoned, 'stimulus-response' media effects models (e.g. Curran 1996).

By contrast, interactional sociolinguistics recognises the complex reciprocity of form and function in linguistic variation as it is variously represented in the substantial array of media genres, formats and texts, and as it is used within communities. The large body of work on styling and stylisation, including crossing (e.g. Rampton 1995; 1999; Androutsopoulos 2001), identifies, documents and accounts for the creative appropriation of elements of media language within the interactional context that they appear (Holly *et al* 2001). Such appropriation is fundamentally determined by the communicative purposes of the interaction, and is also usually illustrated by largish chunks of language, whose original provenance is marked by the speaker with some representation of original prosodic features of intonation and rhythm (whether or not these may be retrieved by the listeners).

Interestingly, while the two theoretical perspectives differ in underlying assumptions about the relationships between language in the broadcast media and language in the community, the assumptions and data from both support each other in apparently demarcating structural shifts which occur at some linguistic levels but not others, or which are observable and recognised as linked with particular broadcast media sources by speakers, communities and analysts. Specifically both variationists and interactional sociolinguists seem to struggle to find evidence for linguistic change in conjunction with media models which is not available for metalinguistic awareness or comment. Taken together both raise important issues of 'linguistic level' and 'awareness' in relation to media influence on language – if this is to be equated with shifts in language items and structure. And again, there remains the paradox that language ideologies emerging about varieties and particular linguistic features, are integrally structured by the intersection of local community knowledge, beliefs, and values with those of the mass media, and they are linked to sets of linguistic items or variable parts of the linguistic system (albeit in fuzzy ways), but it is very difficult to identify how and whether the media's contribution to such constructs relates to shifts in linguistic usage.

Having said this, we must also recognise that there is an increasing body of sociolinguistic research which benefits from both perspectives, which takes language variation and change within the broader context of communication and the development of social meaning at all levels (e.g. Eckert 2000, 2005, 2008; Coupland 2007, 2009a, 2009b). On the one hand it is important to acknowledge the increasingly blurred boundaries between media language and community language. Media language reflects, represents and reproduces sociolinguistic norms, but also offers new resources (Coupland 2007: 184) and constructs new norms, in particular by offering new social meanings for existing features, for example, the slightly subversive, cool, associations for Northern English variants in young BBC childrens' TV presenters (Coupland 2007: 172, 185), or through the focussing and stylistic elevation of particular individuals (celebrities), e.g. Tess Daley's Northern English variation on *Strictly Come Dancing* (Coupland 2009b). Media representations of colloquial language, such as TV dramas, can both reflect patterns of community usage and be more innovative (e.g. intensifiers in *Friends*, Tagliamonte and Roberts 2005). Coupland (2007: 185f.) also makes the important point that colloquial language usage itself 'increasingly [has] the feel of mediated discourse', such that some aspects of interaction between speakers are highly performative (see Baumann's theorising of 'performance', e.g. 1992, discussed in Coupland 2007: 147f.), constructed to enable speakers to fulfil specific roles for a particular audience. For example, the shift in English towards performance of narratives which include or focus on the emotional state of the participants, and which enable and require a rich socially-symbolic quotative system, such as the rapid spread of *be like* (e.g. Tagliamonte and D'Arcy 2007; Buchstaller and D'Arcy 2009); or the use of English intensifiers (*so, really, totally*) which enable expressive social evaluations. Drawing firm lines between changes in ways of speaking in the community, which relate to – yet are themselves reproduced in continually reciprocal cycles – in the media is difficult. It is even harder to identify causal links from the latter to the former. Such shifts might also be difficult to discern only by statistical comparison of variation between media and community language, because a substantial shift in meaning can be conveyed by even a single instance of a variant within a media text (Dion and Poplack 2007).

On the other hand, and likely connected with the shifting possible ways that speakers may present their social personae to others in their talk, it has been noted that some language changes seem to be special. In her useful critique of certain tenets of variationist sociolinguistics, Eckert (2003: 395) observes:

> We also fortify our view of the vernacular as natural, or at least ingrained, in our view of the necessity of regular contact for the spread of change. We have all been told by non-linguist acquaintances that language change comes from the television. The idea that language change could be accomplished in such a trivial fashion is part of the popular 'bag o' words' view of language … that we're all tired of dealing with. However, we shouldn't ignore the possibility that not all changes are equal. We need to ask ourselves what kind of changes require the kind of repeated exposure that social interaction gives, and what kinds can be taken right off the shelf.

Though it is not stated explicitly, the 'shelf' here certainly includes experiencing language without interaction, as for example offered by engaging with the broadcast media. The changes are those which have been found to be spreading extremely rapidly through communities, sometimes geographically very far apart (e.g. quotative *be like* across national varieties of English, or TH-fronting across urban UK accents). Some may constitute aspects of destandardisation – shifts away from the standard and at the same time shifts to different standards operating in specific domains of use (Kristiansen 2009). Interestingly Milroy's (2007) further exploration of 'off the shelf' changes suggests this is not just a 20th century phenomenon, and so responsibility for rapidly accelerating change, even if it appears to be contemporary, cannot be laid solely at the feet of the broadcast media.

The common thread seems to lie in the connection between ideological associations between features and groups/types/particular personalities (celebrities) and the locally-determined communicative needs in constructing social meaning in interaction. In some cases these can be accessed at an explicit level, to the extent that they even can be labelled and located by speakers and analysts alike, e.g. 'Valley Girl', 'California', are suggested as social-symbolic associations for *be like* (Tagliamonte and D'Arcy 2007; 'Kensington' in Labov's Philadelphia study, 2001). At the same time, the local embedding of such 'diffusing' changes is an important characteristic, both in terms of form and function (e.g. Buchstaller 2008; Buchstaller and D'Arcy 2009), and also evaluation (e.g. the reallocation of innovative variants in Glasgow as 'local', Stuart-Smith *et al* 2007). Again, the tension for understanding the role of the media in this kind of change occurs most potently when it is not possible to identify explicit ideological links with such rapidly diffusing changes. This suggests that we need much further investigation of implicit attitudes and ideologies (Kristiansen 2009; see Section 5) in order to make more progress in understanding the connections between media engagement and language ideologies, and linguistic usage in local social contexts.

RECONCEPTUALISING MEDIA INFLUENCE ON LANGUAGE – RETURN TO THE VIEWER

The discomfort felt within variationist sociolinguistics about the notion that non-interactive experiences of speech and language could have a lasting effect on core linguistic patterning seems to be rooted in a specific conceptualisation of how media influence might be manifested in language. Classic arguments against media influence, such as the maintenance of dialect diversity and the lack of widespread standardisation of varieties of English (e.g. Labov 2001), or the expectation that media-induced change must lead to the appearance of the same social and linguistic constraints for a feature across varieties (e.g. Dion and Poplack 2007; Buchstaller and D'Arcy 2009), can only be understood if one expects a powerful media, and a kind of simultaneous imprinting of (socio)linguistic media language features onto a passive viewer/speaker. Conversely, the view inherent in much interactional sociolinguistic discussion is more congruent with an appreciation of role of the audience in receiving media messages. This assumes a much closer, reciprocal, and dynamic relationship between linguistic varieties and usage represented in the media and those found in communities, and speaker agency in the creative deployment of media features to serve specific communicative functions.

These two kinds of approach to media influence reflect similarly different kinds of theories and models within mass communications studies, carried out typically within media effects research and media studies respectively (e.g. McQuail 2005). However, the former, 'hypodermic needle', one-step transmission model of media influence on social attitudes and behaviours was reconfigured fairly quickly into a two-step model which incorporated interpersonal communication as a key aspect (Katz and Lazarsfeld 1955), after research into the role of the media in political campaigning in the US in the 1940s and 50s revealed rather more complexity between media sources, interpersonal sources and voters' views and decisions than had been anticipated. Those expecting to find that behavioural effects of media stimuli on viewers were necessary and causal soon revised their modelling to contributory factors, functioning alongside other social factors (e.g. Klapper 1960: 8; Bushman and Huesmann 2001: 223f.). This is not to say that within quantitative theorising, media effects are thought to operate indirectly through social factors. Rather, early fears that information from the media might somehow completely override and replace the viewer's existing knowledge inducing them to act in particular ways, were simply not supported by the empirical research findings (Gunter 2000).

Again, despite a protracted search lasting until the 1970s, media effects research failed to find consistent links between the broadcast media and overt attitudinal shifts (Gunter 2000: 195), which is echoed by Bargh *et al*'s (1996: 241) observation of the intractable difficulty within social psychology of explaining behaviour as being mediated through explicitly reported attitudes. In terms of more general cognition, however, subsequent work on social perception within the framework of 'cultivation theory' considered 'the degree to which the different media have come to interpose themselves between ourselves and any experience of the world beyond our immediate personal environment'. For example, heavy exposure to television violence can lead to an over-exaggerated perception of violence in the real world (McQuail 2005: 64). This research emphasises the extent to which the broadcast media can furnish viewers' internal knowledge of the world beyond their own actual experience. Researchers have also been aware that viewers can show deep psychological and emotional engagement, 'para-social interaction', with fictional worlds and characters experienced solely from the broadcast media (e.g. Abercrombie 1996). Watching a favourite programme can be as intense psychologically, or even more so, than interacting with a real person (Coupland 2007: 184f.).

Attempts to understand the possible processes by which the media might exert influence began with experiments looking at short-term triggering of behaviours after watching films. Although it had been assumed that viewers would directly imitate what they saw, the earliest results showed that if participants responded, their responses clearly belonged to their existing patterns of behaviour (Bandura *et al* 1963). Subsequent behavioural modelling of media influence assumed the activation or associated triggering of existing stored routines by media stimuli (Berkowitz 1984); Bargh and colleagues' social-psychological 'perception-action' theory of implicit, 'automatic', responses to stimuli experienced with or without interaction is rather similar, although they also argue for the need to recognise situational relevance as a constraining factor (e.g. Bargh *et al* 1996). Current cognitive psychological conceptualisations of media influence assume that

> viewers use multiple cognitive schemas when interpreting TV programmes. In order to make sense of a programme, viewers must find connections between the media text and their own inner world. One characteristic of this inner world is that it is cognitively organised in terms of schemas that represent social experiences, cultural knowledge, and specific personal experiences. When interpreting a TV programme, viewers spontaneously use a whole set of cognitive schemas to serve as interpretative frames of reference. (Gunter 2000: 233; Harris 2004)

Note that these theories of implicit learning or responding to the media all share the assumption that the viewers' existing knowledge/routines/schema play a fundamental role in understanding how the media are processed at the cognitive level, and hence impact on any possible effects that might be ascribed to the media. Such perspectives also assume that attention to and engagement with media is a crucial aspect of any model of influence, as opposed to exposure per se (Gunter 2000: 163).

Alternative views of media influence began to emerge within the development of cultural studies and critical assessment of media production, media content and messages, and the role of the audience in receiving the media (Curran 1996). Hall's 1980) seminal paper on 'encoding/decoding', which deals with the production and reception of media meaning, argues that the viewer negotiates the meaning of media messages within the context of their local, socially and cultural situated experience/knowledge of the world. Qualitative research on audience reception, particularly of news content, illustrates how media texts may offer more meanings than intended or expected by the media producers, and the extent to which viewers draw on their own understanding to make sense of media texts (e.g. Morley 1980). But suggesting that the audience is active in the decoding of meaning does not also mean that the media cannot have an impact on viewers' beliefs and values (e.g. Philo 1999, 2008); rather it requires us to reconsider 'influence' from the perspective of the viewer.

At least some of the grounding for the theoretical notion of *Kommunikative Fernsehaneignung* (literally 'taking, or making sense of, television for one's self with respect to communication') or 'communicative appropriation', which was developed to take account of viewers' linguistic activities when watching television in their own homes, rests on qualitative audience reception research (Pueschel and Holly 1997; Holly 2001; Faber 2001). In this work, 'appropriation' refers not only to taking linguistic features from the media for one's own purposes (the German verb *sich aneignen* is reflexive), but also to the entire range of possible communicative and linguistic behaviours that accompany making sense of the television, from explicit comments addressed to other viewers, to the associative triggering of other topics (Faber 2001). Linguistic appropriation can be thought of as the numerous complex linguistic, social, cultural and personal processes that take place when decoding audio-visual media language, some aspects of which may possibly emerge in some ways in our talk, more or less noticeably to our interlocutors (Branner 2002). Also relevant here are two points made in Hall's (1980) discussion of the decoding of televisual signs. First, perceiving televisual signs is habitual – we are very used to doing it and naturalised – we feel as if we are perceiving a real interaction between two speakers when watching a drama, when in fact we are experiencing only a two-dimensional representation (it isn't real). Second, such decoding is particularly effective when there is a 'fundamental alignment and reciprocity' between what is encoded and the viewer's own knowledge with which to decode. We have to ask whether the same might also apply to the decoding of media language, such that viewers use their existing social and linguistic knowledge together to make sense of mediated language. If so, linguistic change which seems to be associated with 'media influence' might result from the effective alignment of aspects of media language with aspects of viewers' stored sociolinguistic representations which are somehow similar.

What emerges from considering both quantitative and qualitative approaches to media influence more generally (and there is also a desire to combine them within mass communications, Gunter 2000) is that both share the assumption that influence seems to have at least as much to do with what the viewer brings to the screen/media experience, as with what media presents to the viewer. We suspect that in the case of linguistic structures, which are acquired and embedded through continual loops of active perception and production (Adank *et al* 2010), what the viewer brings in terms of sociolinguistic cognition could be more important. What is also interesting is that, in some ways, decoding the audio-visual media may possibly be more congruent with face to face interaction than we might think. It seems increasingly likely that the speaker's individual social cognition is as important in constraining production and perception responses to speech as the physical sociolinguistic linguistic performance of the interlocutors themselves, and sometimes more so (Auer and Hinskens 2005; Staum-Casasanto *et al* 2010). But there is a fundamental difference too. Although we can on some levels appear to 'interact' with representations of people on a screen (in terms of assigning social agency, and psychologically and emotionally), this kind of interaction may be rather different from that which occurs when the interlocutor is physically present.

How does all this pertain to media influence and standardisation and destandardisation? We would predict that existing sociolinguistic frames of knowledge are likely to constrain and enable the decoding of media language, and that decoding may entail structural shifts if the sociolinguistic knowledge of an engaged viewer is strongly congruent and socially informative (Pierrehumbert 2006) – in terms of communicative function – with what the viewer is experiencing. For example, a dialect-speaking viewer belongs to a linguistic community some of whose members are already using a standard feature, and that feature has some social-symbolic functions for interaction between those members, and there are aspects of the communicative situation represented in the media programme that align particularly well for that speaker, and that speaker has the relevant inherent personal traits (e.g. empathy, innovativeness, Yu 2010), there may be enhancement, resonance, or validation of that feature for that speaker – such that they might then use it when the next stylistic opportunity presents itself (though that is also likely to depend on the speaker's personality). We would also expect the feature to be thoroughly integrated into the local social and linguistic system, since it is the local recipient system which dominates and constrains the integration (as opposed to the non-local element, or an entire non-local system, being, as it were, beamed down). Hence the local sociolinguistic context of the speaker/viewer is likely to be crucial, and different contexts would predict different outcomes (Buchstaller and D'Arcy's 2009 emphasis on the local constraints on the 'reception' of *be like*).

We would expect ideologies about linguistic varieties to be shaped and formed by media experience, in similar ways to those about other aspects of social behaviour; though like social behaviours it is not clear how ideological shifts might relate to structural shifts. We hypothesised above that the degree or nature of enregisterment might play a role. This must also relate to the ways that local social meanings play out in interactions and at the same time how these social meanings link with and are part of wider indexical fields of meaning (Eckert 2008). That the links between ideological constructs, linguistic usage and media engagement are not clearly apparent is extremely interesting – and may result from our relative lack of sophistication in probing these relationships; the growing field of research on implicit sociolinguistic cognition may have much to offer here.

TESTING PREDICTIONS: TWO CASE STUDIES

We can test these predictions by considering phonological evidence from two case studies, from very different locales, and theoretically different sociolinguistic situations. The first is the putative influence of television, and particularly media representations of the London dialect, Cockney, on vernacular segmental forms of the dialect of the large post-industrial city, Glasgow in Scotland. In terms of (de)standardisation this represents the interaction of two non-standard varieties, both showing a fairly high degree of enregisterment (e.g. Johnstone *et al* 2006 on Pittsburgese). The second is the possible impact of standard Tokyo Japanese on suprasegmental aspects of remote rural dialects in Japan, including that of the most southern city, Kagoshima. Both dialects are enregistered though in different ways – Tokyo Japanese is a national standard; Kagoshima Japanese is a regional non-standard variety with some stereotyped features.

Media-Cockney and consonantal change in Glasgow dialect

The Glasgow case concerns the appearance of a set of consonantal features more typically associated with the South of England, for example, [f] for /θ/ in e.g. *think, tooth, 'Th-fronting',* first identified as indicative of a rapidly accelerating change by Stuart-Smith *et al* (2007), though sporadic instances had been noted since the early 1950s; the changes are thought to have diffused from London across urban accents, possibly as a set of 'youth norms' (Williams and Kerswill 1999; Kerswill 2003). The broadcast media, and especially watching the London-based soap opera, *EastEnders,* was invoked as the probable source of these features in Glaswegian by the media themselves when the findings were first reported in 1998, and particularly because the original study found that the leaders of the changes were working-class inner-city adolescents with apparently limited opportunities for interaction with speakers from outwith the city, let alone from the South of England.

The follow-up study was devoted to a systematic investigation of the potential role of the television in language variation and change, using media-Cockney and Glaswegian vernacular as the focus (e.g. Stuart-Smith and Timmins 2009; Stuart-Smith forthcoming 2011; Stuart-Smith *et al* in preparation). The study worked with 36 adolescents and 12 adults from the same working-class area of Glasgow, and considered 4 consonantal variables and 3 vowel variables. Of these three had been associated with TV influence: *Th-fronting*, mentioned above, and *Dh-fronting,* the use of [v] for /ð/ in e.g. *brother,* and *L-vocalisation*, the realisation of syllable-final /l/ with a high back (un)rounded vowel, in words such as *milk* and *people*. The other four had not: derhoticisation of postvocalic /r/ is an ongoing change from below; the vowels of CAT, BOOT and BIT are socially stratified in Glasgow but no changes have been observed for them. Speech and demographic, social, and language attitudinal data were gathered from the participants, and a contemporary sample of media-Cockney dramas popular with the informants, including *EastEnders*, was subjected to fine-grained phonetic analysis.

The results of the media-Cockney sample confirmed the presence of the 'London' consonant features in the speech of most of the characters. But the acoustic vowel qualities were more typical of South-East English accents, similar to the large audience sector located in the heavily populated area surrounding London, than of Cockney itself. As we noted earlier, the TV show itself is reproducing – but also materially altering – models of 'Cockney' accents, reflected in the media's own reflexive label 'Mockney' ('mock-Cockney'). Comparison with the Glaswegian adolescents' patterning showed that: the Glaswegians used proportionally more instances of the features than did the characters; the social constraints are different in media and community varieties; and so too are the linguistic constraints, and this is not surprising since the diffusing features enter, and compete with, local Glaswegian variants which in turn determine the possible linguistic patterning, for example, /th/ can be realised as [th], standard (rarely), traditional local non-standard [h], and innovative supralocal non-standard [f].

A large-scale multi-factorial analysis revealed that alongside other factors (linguistic, participating in more anti-school social practices, dialect contact with speakers in English, and to a lesser extent, overt positive attitudes towards London accents), strong psychological and emotional engagement with the TV show *EastEnders* (really liking the show, it being their favourite programme, and/or having their favourite TV characters) was robustly significantly correlated with using the innovative consonantal variants, but not with acoustic vowel quality. Reported exposure – so just watching the show, or television because it was on in the house – showed no such relationship. Also, whilst one might expect television preferences to be contingent on social networks and social practices, this was not evidenced for these speakers: there was no correlation either between social network or social practices and TV preferences. This suggests that – as in media effects studies – engagement with the broadcast media only has a predictive function when taken alongside social factors and at the level of individual social cognition, as opposed to indirectly through shared social practices. This is perhaps not surprising, either in general, since shared reported viewing does not necessarily equate to similar levels of psychological engagement, or for these informants, who were young adolescents and rarely reported watching TV programmes together with their friends. It would be interesting to see whether this finding would be replicated for older adolescents or young adults cohabiting with shared viewing time/patterns.

The evidence from these informants also does not allow an interpretation of the positive correlations with television engagement via positive overt attitudes, i.e. as some kind of indirect causal effect such that using innovative variants is predicated on liking London accents: again the TV preferences were not correlated with positive attitudes (see Stuart-Smith 2006). Nor was there any indication that these speakers were aware of the innovating features: they could not imitate them, or talk about them, and they showed no indications whatsoever of wanting to 'sound' like Londoners (in fact such an idea would be simply laughable in Glasgow). However, the innovations also showed strong stylistic variation, such that they were used more in the more 'performative' opportunity of reading the wordlist, which may have been indexing a particular stance towards the task and the fieldworker (Stuart-Smith *et al* 2007). What we seem to be witnessing here is a genuine instance of bricolage (Eckert 2008), whereby features both local and non-local are brought together during interaction for the construction of personae explicitly evaluated as thoroughly (modern) local. Interesting questions remain as to how, and to what extent, such usage links to broader ideologies relating to 'youth', 'coolness', and even 'urban toughness' or 'dynamism' (as suggested by Trudgill for

Norwich in 1986; Kristiansen 2009), though it seems highly likely that covert attitudinal testing, and assessment of implicit sociolinguistic cognition would confirm this.

Media Tokyo Japanese and pitch changes in rural Japanese dialects

Regional Japanese dialects have been observed to be undergoing dialect levelling, especially since the 1960s (Sibata 1975 in Takano and Ota 2007), and Japanese sociolinguistic scholarship has linked this with a number of factors, including increased mobility and the mass media (television, radio and the print media). Within Japanese sociolinguistics and phonetics the accepted model of media influence is articulated explicitly in terms of exposure and expected effect, albeit with the opposite assumption held by Anglo variationists. In this context Tokyo Japanese is the national standard, assumed to be socially more dominant, though a resurgence of pride in local dialects has also been observed. The broadcast media generally represent varieties of Tokyo Japanese for all genres, though the Kansai dialect from the area of Kyoto is also found, particularly for certain very popular, 'dynamic' TV personalities (Ota, personal communication). Two sets of phonological changes are typically associated with exposure to the broadcast media, and especially television, though to date the evidence for the role of the media is only the regional distribution of particular forms across Japanese dialects; a research project to obtain reported exposure and engagement patterns alongside linguistic patterning is currently underway.

The first concerns the phonetic implementation of pitch across utterances. Takano and Ota (2007) carried out a systematic phonetic production and perception analysis of pitch patterning in speakers of rural dialects of Japanese from the far north (Hokkaido: Hikada) and far south (Kyushu: Kagoshima) in order to investigate reports that younger speakers in these remote, and relatively isolated areas, were using levelled pitch patterns typical of younger speakers of Tokyo Japanese. In this case, the variety assumed to be influential is not typical of the standard per se, but a feature found in the younger generation, with explicit social-indexical meanings of being 'youthful' and 'cosmopolitan' (Sibata 1995 in Takano and Ota 2007). The results of the study confirmed that three groups of younger speakers from these remote areas, with little apparent opportunities for dialect contact, a) produced similar degrees of phonetic pitch levelling in two reading tasks to each other and in contrast to older speakers (from Hokkaido, those in Kagoshima were not tested), and b) identified pitch levelled stimuli as 'sounding young'. A qualitative comparison of these younger speakers' pitch patterning with that of a female TV announcer shows remarkable similarity in the overall shape.

However, the overall levelling of sentential pitch is not the only change which is taking place to alter pitch patterning in younger speakers of Japanese. At the same time there is a converse trend, whose provenance is unknown and not from the local dialects, but which is associated in each area with being 'local'. This involves the loss of accentual differentiation in many two-morae words, leading to a general 'flattening' of the pitch perturbations associated with lexical pitch accents in younger speakers. Takano and Ota confirmed that the younger speakers from Hokkaido in their study are also participating in both changes: the first, overall sentential pitch levelling, which indexes supralocal metropolitan meanings, and the second, reduction in lexical pitch accentuation, which indexes pride in speaking a local dialect. (The pitch accent system is different in Kagoshima, see below.) Their sociolinguistic interpretation emphasises the need for media influence in order to explain the appearance of the first change in speakers from two areas which are so remote, and so distant from each other, and Tokyo. But at the same time, it is clear that if the media are involved in this generational shift in pitch patterning – and that remains to be established – some attention needs to be paid to the fact that this is taking place in conjunction with another change which is not associated with the common variety represented on the TV. It is not possible to assume a direct lifting of the entire pitch patterning – sentential and lexical – from the media. This tension between fine-grained phonetic variation and change in pitch indexing supralocal norms, possibly partly due to media influence, and local norms at the same time, can be seen more clearly in the second set of changes.

These concern an ongoing reorganisation of the system of phrasal tone in lexical items in one of the two dialects covered by the previous study, the dialect of Kagoshima. Until the building of a highway through the mountains was completed in the 1980s, the southern coastal city of Kagoshima was extremely remote. It is now a tourist destination, which was well-known for capitalising on its rural charm as a popular spot for honeymooners (in the 1970s). Both Kagoshima and Tokyo show pitch variation in association with lexical items, but typically in different ways. Tokyo Japanese has 'accented' words, with an abrupt pitch fall from the first syllable, e.g. DOo.na.tu 'donut', and 'unaccented' words, which do not show this fall, e.g. bu.RA.ZI.RU 'Brazil' [capitals indicate higher pitch]. The lexicon of Kagoshima dialect also splits into words of two pitch accent types: Tone A words show a high fall on the penultimate syllable, e.g. bu.ra.ZI.ru, Tone B words show a high tone on the final syllable, e.g. doo.na.TU. A careful phonological analysis based on auditory analysis of an age-stratified sample of speakers by Kubuzono (2007) shows an interesting change is taking place. Specifically in one group of items, showing compound tone, the younger Kagoshima speakers are showing Tone B patterns where older speakers use Tone A (so, e.g. bu.ra.zi.RU instead of bu.ra.ZI.ru, this corresponds to unaccented words in Tokyo), but conversely show Tone A patterns for older Tone B (e.g. doo.NA.tu, corresponding to accented words in Tokyo).

Kubuzono ascribes this change to influence from 'dominant' Tokyo Japanese via the media, mainly because the local neighbouring dialects have rather different tone patterns, and his explanation is couched in a strong 'stimulus-response' discourse (p.15): 'A phonetic or perceptual factor forces young native speakers of Kagoshima Japanese to copy the overall shape of standard Tokyo Japanese forms'. But he is also struck by the fact that the result of this influence 'cannot be directly attributed to the prosodic system of Tokyo Japanese. … the influence is accommodated within the system of the provincial dialect by a force to preserve its original system.' (p.3). Again, there is no evidence to confirm that the media is a factor in this change, and even if it were, it is likely to be alongside some opportunities for contact with Tokyo Japanese, through the recently improved transport links into Kagoshima, and tourism. However two points are worth noting.

Strictly in terms of linguistic structure, the new Kagoshima tone patterns show a reorganisation which corresponds to Tokyo Japanese accentual patterns, as opposed to any kind of identical replication of phonetic patterning. A question remains as to the extent to which the fine phonetic realisation of the Kagoshima tones may be changing. The second point concerns the local social and regional evaluation of the tones, which Kubuzono does not refer to: whilst the two-tone phrasal tone is in itself typical of a local regional dialect, Tone A is a marked local stereotype of Kagoshima dialect. It is therefore interesting to note that the shift in lexical tone means that whilst there is a shift away from the local Tone A in those words corresponding to Tokyo unaccented words, the words which correspond to Tokyo accented words are those which move to Tone A, i.e. the more local. What this means is that whilst one set becomes less local, at the same time, the more marked Tokyo forms show correspondingly more marked and local forms in Kagoshima dialect (Ota, personal communication).

Summary

These two brief case studies, from rather different sociolinguistic contexts, involving different phonological features (one segmental and the other suprasegmental), both suggest that media influence might play a role in systemic linguistic change, albeit more securely for Glaswegian than for Japanese. How do these changes relate to the predictions made earlier? At first sight, both might appear to show shifts towards homogenisation, but the detail shows a different picture. Probably most striking is the observation that only certain aspects of the phonological system show change, and in both cases this is even within a phonological category. For example, in Glasgow supralocal [f] is the innovative variant for /th/, but the local variant [h] is also still maintained; in Kagoshima the phrasal tone system is being reorganised in ways that seemed to be linked with Tokyo Japanese, but the local stereotype is still holding fast (in fact in Kubuzono's data, 'erroneous' local Tone A is proportionately more common). So if broadcast media influence is a factor (which it seems to be for Glaswegian), it is difficult to assume any kind of blanket imprinting, displacing local features and bleaching local dialects. Rather what we see here is more consistent with the idea that the local sociolinguistic system of the speaker/viewer is crucial in the negotiation of supralocal elements; the outcome looks like classic bricolage facilitating new kinds of local dialects. In Glasgow this appears to be well below the level of awareness; in the case of sentential pitch levelling in young rural Japanese, the shared social-indexicality of 'sounding young' is accessible in a perception task. Thus it looks as if local linguistic and social factors together constrain the possibility of media 'influence' on language change.

We also see that the parts of the phonological system which are changing, and linked with media influence, are also those which seem to be associated with particular social meanings for the communities concerned. On the whole the broadcast media are informally linked with larger chunks of language, like words and phrases, replete with prosodic markers of their original source (for example: 'p[ɘ:]lease', associated with female characters in *Friends,* 'al:righ[ɾ]y then', from Jim Carey's *Ace Ventura*, 'yeah bu[ʔ], no bu[ʔ]' from the voluble spoof schoolgirl 'Vicky' in *Little Britain*, '´good`bye', with raised eyebrow, from Ann Robinson in *The Weakest Link*, and so on). But it also seems as if small chunks, and structural aspects of language, can also be linked. We suspect that this relates both to the possibility for variability in the linguistic system for the chunk concerned, and more importantly, the communicative function that this variability can serve. Quite how the kind of social-indexical filtering or resonance hypothesised above might take place for the viewer at the screen, engaging with the television programme, is far from clear. Though we must remember that the negotiation of social meaning via linguistic practices, indexing particular stances at particular moments (with their incorporated bundles of ideological referents and connections; Kiesling 2009), unfolds over real time. In the same way, viewers witness a drama playing out in real time, with linguistic variation indexing many aspects of the characters and their stance-taking from interaction to interaction. Thus it seems likely that whatever fundamental alignment and reciprocity might occur for the viewer's sociolinguistic system with aspects represented in the media, this must be constrained in two ways: first, the way in which such features may function at a basic level of interaction for the speaker/viewer, and second, the extent to which such connections can be made at all. Though it also seems likely that social-indexical meanings may be simplified or made more abstract through the kind of linguistic stylisation which is necessary to construct dramatic personae (see Bucholtz's 2009 observations of the simplification of indexical meanings in advertising and the spread of 'Whassup?').

FUTURE DIRECTIONS FOR RESEARCH

The main difficulty facing sociolinguists wishing to evaluate whether engaging with the broadcast media might lead to language variation and change at the level of the community remains the paucity of evidence. The strong rejection of media influence has meant that very few have even incorporated media factors into quantitative analyses of sociolinguistic variation. If one considers the number of studies which underpin generalisations about language variation and social class, or gender, far more research is needed if we are to gain any kind of appreciation of what to expect. Variationist research is ideally suited for this, since the method of considering the statistically predictive role of a number of different social factors together, using regression analysis has been central for many years.

We also need much more analysis of the structural characteristics of media representations of language, of different genres, formats, scripted and unscripted, but with the specific inclusion of the social and interactional roles that features – especially low frequency items – may be playing (Coupland 2007). For example, Dion and Poplack's 2007 study of a corpus of American television shows and films revealed so few instances of *be like,* and with different linguistic constraints from the usage in their corpora of Canadian Anglophones in French-speaking Quebec, that they reject any possible influence from television. It is quite possible that the spread of this feature for these speakers does not owe anything to the broadcast media, but it is equally possible that the few instances were more socially meaningful than can be ascertained from the numbers alone. (And in fact research on frequency effects has shown that low frequency items can be as influential as high frequency ones, e.g. Goldinger 1998).

In general we need to understand far more about the intersections between and across language use in the media and in the community, how features are used for styling, to index stance and to construct social personae, and the similarities and differences that can be observed using a combination of quantitative and qualitative sociolinguistic methods. We also require ethnographic studies which allow detailed observation of engaging with broadcast media (of all kinds, including via the internet) amongst and within the social practices of adolescents and young adults, along with deep analysis of systemic aspects of language before, during and after engagement.

At the more fundamental level of cognition, very little is understood about how and whether witnessing language without speakers being physically present is different from being able to interact with a co-present interlocutor. We might expect talking to someone to be quite different from watching a film of an interaction, and early results from an experiment to test this suggest that both perceptual learning and short-term shifts in speech production arising from witnessing non-interactive mediated speech are different (Stuart-Smith *et al* 2011). Not physically being able to answer, or prepare speech in response, the lack of activation of the speaking brain whilst perceiving on-screen dialogue might constitute a fundamental difference (Kuhl 2010). But this is a hypothesis which focuses on the speech mechanism. There are many aspects of human interaction either with things or with living beings which cannot talk, e.g. pets, babies, which suggest that interacting may be a continuum, at least in terms of the social agency which humans may bring to or impose on their interlocutor (whatever/whoever that may be).

Finally, and of particular relevance to this volume, since the SLICE collaboration has so much promise in this respect, throughout this short essay we have needed to acknowledge the likely importance of general ideologies about varieties, and specific ideologies about aspects of language, in understanding language changes which are linked to the media. There seems to be something special about structural changes which are mooted as being influenced by the broadcast media – they seem to relate to aspects of the sociolinguistic system which connect local social meaning making with broader ideologies. But these connections are often not overtly accessible to the speakers themselves, which means that overt attitudinal testing can fail to catch them. Progress in understanding this fundamental set of links seems to be more likely if researchers concentrate their efforts on investigating covert attitudes and developing the paradigm for examining structural linguistic variation and change and implicit sociolinguistic cognition.

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