

# Register

Norbert Dittmar

## 1. History of the term 'register'

Firth's (1968 [1957]) speech-theoretical perspective is at the root of the term 'register' in modern linguistics. In contrast to the formalistic line of American structuralism, Firth postulated that linguistic signs relate directly to the context, i.e. their usage depends on the context-of-situation. Firth's examples are often from the realm of 'restricted languages': the language for regulating air traffic, weather forecasts, congratulation cards, and in simplified registers of game instructions (chess, bridge). In these examples, the stable connection between context and linguistic-communicative patterns is evident. Firth's aim is an *integrated theory of meaning* in which the speech users and their speech usage are given equal status. The term 'register' was introduced by the Firthian linguist Reid (1956). The first conceptual and theoretical elaboration of the term can be found in Halliday, McIntosh & Strevens (1964), a book on applied linguistics. The basic idea underlying this essay, which is to base the notion *dialect* on the dimension *speech user* and the notion *register* on the dimension *speech usage*, is described fully in Halliday's *Language as social semiotic* (1978). The term 'register' is one of the fundamental pillars of the Hallidayan conception of sociolinguistics.

Halliday distinguishes between 'dialect' as a variant definable in terms of *speech users* and 'register' as a variety of speech usage. "The dialect is what a person speaks, determined by who he is; the register is what a person is speaking, determined by what he is doing at the time" (Halliday 1978: 110). There are many attempts to define 'register' in the course of the twelve chapters of Halliday's book. A typical statement is the following:

A register can be defined as the configuration of semantic resources that a member of a culture typically associates with the situation type. It is the meaning potential that is accessible in a given social context. Both the situation and the register associated with it can be described to varying degrees of specificity; but the existence of registers is a fact of everyday experience – speakers have no difficulty in recognizing the semantic options and combinations that are 'at risk' under particular environmental conditions. Since these options are realized in the form of grammar and vocabulary, the register is recognizable as a particular selection of words and structures. (1978: 111).<sup>1</sup>

---

1. The linguistic consequences of this concept bear on the definition of 'varieties', which is discussed in Section 2. The term 'register' has to be distinguished from code, dialect, and style.

According to Halliday, linguistic-communicative registers are lexico-grammatical varieties related to different contexts of situation. This is why types of speech situations have to be distinguished; they vary in three respects (Halliday 1978: 31):

First, what is actually taking place; secondly, who is taking part; and thirdly, what part the language is playing. These three variables, taken together, determine the range within which meanings are selected and the forms which are used for their expression. In other words, they determine the 'register'.

(Speech-)situation types are determined by linguistic-communicative patterns of the discourse *field*, by (discursive) *tenors*, and by the *discourse mode*. These three components activate certain 'networks of semantic options' (1978: 123), i.e. semantic choices, which lead to the linguistic linking of an action pattern. Halliday (1978: 123) calls this text-specific process of semantic selection the "range of meaning potential". Three parameters determine the linguistic forms of a register:

i. *Field* (discursive speech-usage field). With different types of action our language varies. Different lexico-grammatical patterns go hand in hand with differences in action patterns. Part of our actions is its subject matter; thus, the 'discursive speech-usage field' includes the topic as well. Therefore, the discursive field is first and foremost an action field. During the action *football*, with football as the topic of conversation, it is possible to speak about the weather without having to call the current action 'meteorology'. Nevertheless, the verbal action during the *game* has to be distinguished from the discussion of football in the pub. The difference is expressed via the concept *discourse field*.

ii. *Tenor* (discourse style). Tenor refers to the degree of formality between the interaction partners. In other words, role relationships are associated with different style characteristics on a scale of formality. Examples include typical institutional role relationships such as that of teacher and pupil, parents and children, children in their peer groups, doctor and patient, salesperson and customer, people meeting in a train, etc. The generic label is *role relationship*, whereas institutional roles are special forms which are as a rule clearly distinctive. Halliday qualifies institutional role relationships (including also categories such as lectures, church services, and cocktail parties) as the "stabilized pattern of the tenor of discourse" (1978: 222). In pragmatic research, this would be described as communicative usage patterns to which a pattern knowledge can be assigned.

iii. *Discourse mode*. This term refers to the linguistic shaping of the discourse, e.g. the written medium is to be distinguished from the oral form. Another central issue is what function the language is supposed to fulfill in the social context. A "particular rhetorical channel" (1978: 222) is chosen for teaching or poetry, in advertising,

to commission something, or to give orders. Functions of the narrative have to be distinguished from instructions, etc. In this context, questions also arise as to whether language is used to convince, to sell, to control, to explain, etc. In addition, it would be part of a description of the discourse mode to see whether utterances are organized in an ego-related or an alter-related way, i.e. with emphasis on the speaker or on the hearer.

The term 'register' is borrowed from organ playing. Language is seen to be regulated in the same way as the musical tuning of an organ: the linguistic-communicative behavior is thus situationally and context-specifically calibrated. To sum up, register in Halliday's sense means congruence between situational features, a discourse mode (the medium of the interaction), a level of intimacy and emotional state ('tenor'), and social roles that are involved in the communication process (institutional and group-specific role relationships). On a linguistic level the congruence between these parameters is expressed by various linguistic means. These essential features of Halliday's conception, in spite of criticism on specific points, have been handed down to this day as the core of the sociolinguistic term 'register'. The term 'register' has not, however, found its way into the wide domain of pragmatic research on institutional communication.

The term 'register' is widely known in the anglophone linguistic world. A variation on the denotation of the term, focusing on the receiver, was developed in the United States by Charles Ferguson. Role constellations, the corresponding functional appropriateness of the communicative code (discourse mode), and the situation are the parameters used by Ferguson to distinguish between a baby register (motherese), a foreigner register (foreigner talk), and the register of the sports announcer (sport announcer talk) (Ferguson 1977). Consider the typical asymmetrical situation of parents and their children, or of foreigners and native speakers, as the parents (with the fully developed linguistic competence of adults) communicate with the language-learning child (say, three to four years old), or a native speaker communicates with a non-native speaker. Because of the differences concerning the lexical range, knowledge of grammatical rules, etc., a form of accommodation takes place: the linguistic and grammatical means are radically simplified, and other areas of the linguistic code are over-articulated to facilitate understanding. Clearly, the registers have a situational and role-specific relevance. Ferguson's empirical and theoretical work on his original understanding of the term 'register' found approval in the linguistic and sociolinguistic literature. In a recent extensive empirical study, however, Jörg Roche (1987) rejects Ferguson's interpretation of 'register' as too wide, too vague and too undifferentiated for the domain of the foreigner register. Roche finds a great deal of variation in the discursive forms of foreigner registers; this induces him to put the situational and basic parameters at the centre of his work.

Finally, the francophone usage of the term ‘register’ should be mentioned. Ager (1990) and Sanders (1993) offer an overview. The French term *registre* was coined in the 1970s and distinguishes so-called *niveaux de langue*: *populaire, familier, courant, soutenu, académique/littéraire*. These levels – in Halliday’s terminology ‘tenor’/discourse style – can be differentiated according to the degree of formality of the speech situation. At the same time, the degree of formality has to do with social and communicative roles in the interaction, with a non-standard pronunciation, and the use of non-standard rules. Grammatical deviations from standard French make up ‘vulgar’ French (the lowest level). The *niveau familier*, suggesting ‘familiarity between interlocutors’, is the everyday language between intimate friends (e.g. one would say *Tu peux me donner un conseil?* instead of *Peux-tu me donner un conseil?*). The *niveau courant* represents everyday or colloquial usage. The question form in this style would be *Est-ce-que tu peux me donner un conseil?* In the sophisticated, more pretentious speech style (*soutenu*), inversion is necessary: *Peux-tu me donner un conseil?* The highest level, academic and literary language usage, demands certain conventional formulae derived from classical French. The most striking feature of the French notion of ‘register’ is its definition along the formal-informal continuum, related to grammatical and especially lexical differences. Sanders (1993: 33) offers a summary of different features. In French sociolinguistic research, the interference of the concept of register with sociological concepts such as age, social class, group, and institutional vs. everyday situations is rarely clarified. The more recent publications by Blanche-Benveniste (1990) and Deulofeu (1986) have shown that detailed linguistic descriptions of the linguistic and grammatical means of the French colloquial language are a prerequisite for a meaningful explanation of the register concept. Thus, the French ‘register’ research puts the *discourse style* (‘tenor’) at the center of description at the stylistic level, whereas the sociological correlates are not explored.

## 2. Systematization of the term

According to Sanders (1993: 27–53), there is a correlation between non-linguistic parameters – such as social characteristics of the interactants, the context of the situation, the discourse modes or communication contexts – and the linguistic/communicative features of the spoken language, which are defined by these parameters. The notion of register captures this correlation. Figure 1 shows the connection between these factors: the age, sex, social class, etc. of the speakers and hearers in interaction with the context of the situation and the discourse modes (context of communication) cause *linguistic register forms* or *socio-situational variations*.

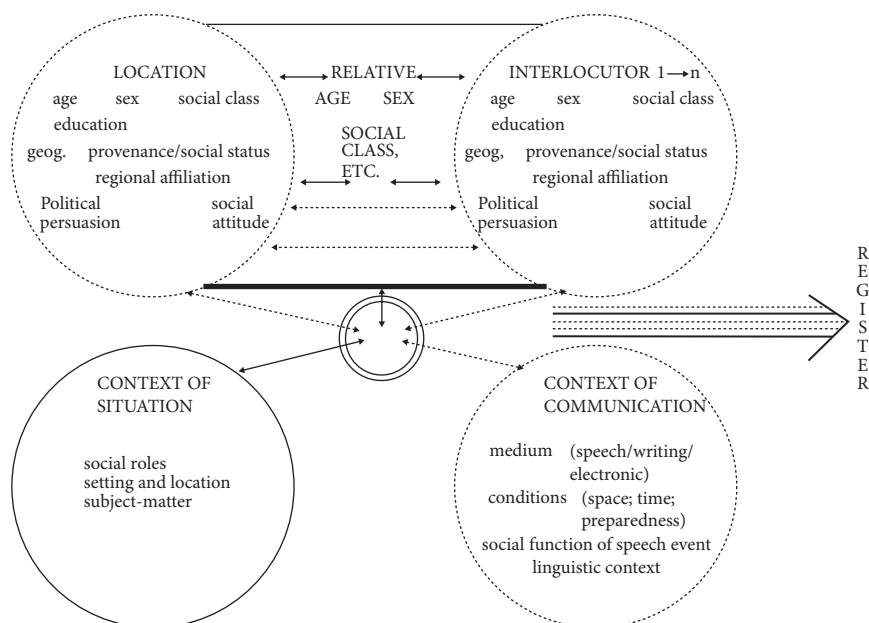


Figure 1. Interaction between the register-variation defining parameters

The congruence of the linguistic levels of a register results in the interaction of at least four factor fields (see Figure 1). The varieties *dialect* and *sociolect* may obviously overlap. Therefore, one of the urgent problems in modern research is the differentiation of the terms *variety* and *register*.

The examination of spoken language by Gadet (1989), Blanche-Benveniste (1990), and Deulofeu (1986) supplies differentiated descriptions of the phonetics/phonology and morphosyntax of the French language in everyday situations of language usage. Only with the help of such extensive variety descriptions can registers be linked productively with non-linguistic factors.

According to Arrivé, Gadet & Galmiche (1986: 597–600), registers are determined on the level of phonetics (e.g. liaisons, harmonization of vowels), prosody (intonation, pauses, and slowing down), lexicon (synonyms), and syntax (relative pronouns and interrogative clauses). Looked at in particular from the point of view of systematic characteristics of the spoken language, the division of registers into *niveaux de langue* seems questionable to these authors: *langue populaire* has as its criterion social class; *langue familière* refers to situation.

While *registre* is an important sociolinguistic term in French research, in German research the term *communicative style* is generally used for similar phenomena. Following the ethnographic work of John Gumperz and using the notion of ‘contextualization

cues, *styles* are seen as congruences between group-specific factors, emotional states of being (discourse modes), conditions of situational frame, and linguistic means (lexical and grammatical choices, prosody). Examples of this kind of work on communicative styles are Hinnenkamp & Selting (1989) and Dittmar (1995a, b). Here, in a cautious approach towards a possibly more formal definition, style is understood in terms of a number of basic pragmatic parameters (situation, relationships between interacting people, aims and purposes of action, institutional and social roles, etc.). In contrast to the francophone and the anglophone notions of register, the leading idea in German research is that styles change dynamically in the course of interaction, or are subject to change. The pragmatic factors which affect different levels of style are interpreted as dynamic, changing constellations in the course of their interaction. Germanophone sociolinguistic research takes up the more radical problem of isolating the pragmatic parameters that control the dynamics of the communication in the course of the interaction and that considerably influence, thereby, the sequentiality in a discourse, the choice of linguistic means, and the synchronization of interactants in conversations.

When we ask what value the term register has for sociolinguistic or pragmatic research, it is important to embed the term into a sociolinguistic theory or into variation linguistics. Since such an embedding is suggested in Halliday (1978), I will bring it up for discussion in the following. There are two questions:

- i. What relationship does 'register' have with other varieties in the variation continuum?
- ii. What relationship does it have with the social structure?

According to Gregory (1967), dialectal varieties are marked by social features of the speakers/users in situations of usage. In contrast, diatypical varieties are marked by features of the usage of speakers in situations. The difference between diatypical and dialectal varieties lies in the relationship with the situation, the context, and the style levels (see the table in Halliday 1978: 225).

Halliday (1978: 35) adopts Gregory's (1967) differentiations. Figure 2 contains the essential points for distinguishing between the variety 'dialect' and the variety 'register'. One point is that dialect is associated with *habits* (*habitus*), whereas register involves social processes (e.g. the social division of labor) referring to the *situation*. Note that the variables that control 'dialect' are, for instance, social class, rural or urban background, age and generation, or sex; in contrast, the control variables of 'register' are discourse field, discourse style, and discourse mode. A further social-psychological point is that dialects differ with regard to the evaluations which are associated with them; registers are characterized by the differences between spoken and written, and between language embedded in actions *vs.* language in the service of reflection.

Dialect ('dialectal variety') = variety 'according to the user'	Register ('diatypic variety') = variety 'according to the use'
A dialect is: what you speak (habitually) determined by who you are (socio-region of origin and/or adoption), and expressing diversity of social structure (patterns of social hierarchy)	A register is: what you are speaking (at the time) determined by what you are doing (nature of social activity being engaged in, and expressing diversity of social process (social division of labour)
So in principle dialects are: different ways of saying the same thing and tend to differ in: phonetics, phonology, lexicogrammar (but not in semantics)	So in principle registers are: ways of saying different things and tend to differ in: semantics (and hence in lexicogrammar, and sometimes phonology, as realization of this)
Extreme cases: antilinguages, mother-in-law languages	Extreme cases: restricted languages, languages for special purposes
Typical instances: subcultural varieties (standard nonstandard)	Typical instances: occupational varieties (technical, semi-technical)
Principal controlling variables: social class, caste; provenance (rural/urban): generation; age; sex	Principal controlling variables: field (type of social action); tenor (role relationships); mode (symbolic organization)
Characterized by: strongly-held attitudes towards dialects as symbol of social diversity	Characterized by: major distinctions of spoken/written; language in action/language in reflection

Figure 2. Varieties: The difference between 'dialect' and 'register'

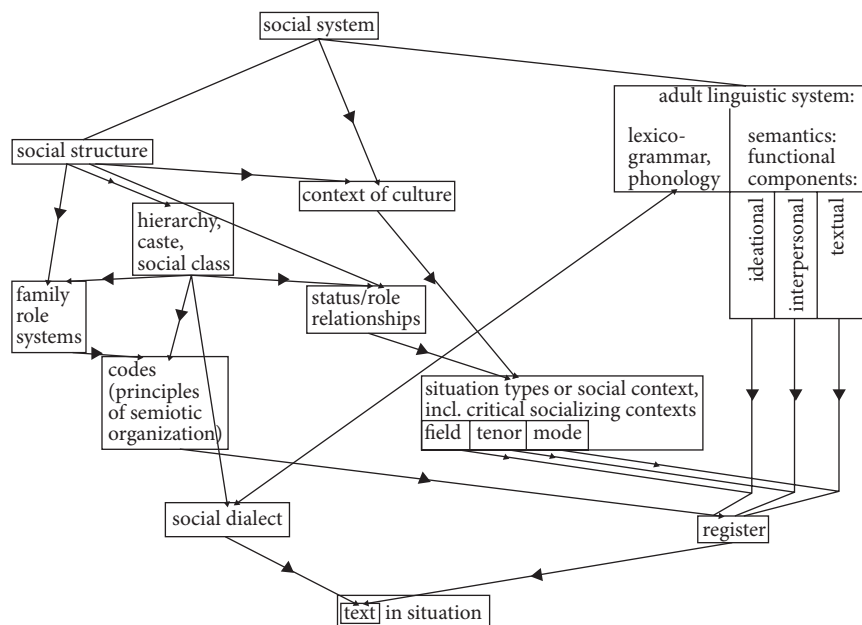


Figure 3. Schematical representation of the interaction between social structure and language structure

Figure 3 (adopted from Halliday 1978: 69) illustrates the connection that exists between social systems and texts in situations. This leads to a further differentiation between *codes* (principles of semiotic organisation of symbols, which are determined by social class, family role systems, and status role relations), social dialects (determined both geographically and by social class), and register (governed by cultural and social context and situation types).

Codes are not varieties of a language on a par with registers or dialects, but abstract semiotic systems (see Halliday 1978: 68). Codes are behavior systems which contain verbal and non-verbal modes of behavior and they are made topical in the language usage by registers. This is why codes as organization principles of sign systems are superordinate to registers used in actual situations.

### 3. Perspectives

Nabrings (1981) discusses the register concept from the point of view of ‘current methodological approaches for the recording of intra-linguistic variability.’<sup>2</sup> The primary categorization dimension for register, then, is situational variation (diaphasic), although it has to be seen as expanded by *diastratic* factors (social roles), as in Halliday (1978). As a variety ‘according to use,’ it is in accordance with the intra-linguistic criteria of its definition, closely related to *functional styles*. While linguists who examine the functional styles say that there is “a causal connection between the function of language and the speech form developed for this” (Nabrings 1981: 200), the connection postulated by British researchers between linguistic registers and application situations is *conventionally* established. The functional-stylistic components of the *usefulness* of a variety, or of specific linguistic means for a discourse topic, are rather regarded as secondary definition features. The key to understanding this historical, school-specific difference lies in the Firthian tradition of functional linking of linguistic utterances with the social context. As Halliday, McIntosh & Stevens’s (1964) discussion shows, Firth’s approach was closely linked with applied linguistics; they have developed the term ‘register’ because as a term it lent itself to the description of their observations that foreigners who learn a second or foreign language in certain interactions with native speakers make context-related mistakes or use styles that are inadequate. From the errors manifested in written and spoken discourses one can infer that registers are the expression of a close connection between *speaker, situation, and language use*.

---

2. Nabrings, following Coseriu, isolates four dimensions of linguistic variation: the *diachronic*, the *diastratic*, the *diatopical*, and the *diaphasic*; with the help of these four dimensions, she develops a coordinate system which makes it possible to assign specific varieties to these dimensions.

Such investigations by Halliday and others have resulted in the so-called communicative approach to foreign language teaching. Applied linguistics has thus provided data to substantiate the notion of register. The basis for this kind of research is the understanding of registers as conventional usage patterns defined by roles, situations, and discourse topic. The three branches of research presented in the following explicitly or implicitly deal with the description of registers, but they differ in that they define the dimensions *speaker qua social roles*, *situations qua institutional or group-specific constellations*, and *theme/discourse topic qua field of action* either as connected, indivisible components of interaction, or as isolable factor clusters. In the domain of applied linguistics or language teaching, the experience-oriented relevance of works on register has been accepted without problems. Theory-relevant reflections have been made in the following four domains: functional linguistics *à la* Ferguson, intercultural communication, linguistic pragmatics, and variation linguistics.

### 3.1 Functional linguistics *à la* Ferguson

The interplay between interaction roles, situation, and discourse topic as an explication of communicative needs characterizes the functional approach by Ferguson. The foreigner register (foreigner talk) is the specific interactive style between native and non-native speakers, which in a similar form exists between parents and their children (baby register). Ferguson isolated the principle of the interaction of the three parameters of role, situation and topic, using as his example the sports announcer register.<sup>3</sup>

The features of the foreigner register, for example, can be formulated following taxonomic principles (see Heidelberger Forschungsgruppe 1975). In certain situations, an understanding between native and non-native speakers can only be achieved through more or less extreme accommodation in the form of a special register. Even if, up to now, the establishment of universal characteristics for registers has not been possible, there are typical recurring procedures. Especially in applied linguistics (foreign language teaching), a continuum of a strong-to-weak shaping of the foreigner register was recorded (see Rost 1989). Ferguson's essays have triggered a number of investigations in the domain of children's acquisition of language, as well as in that of second language acquisition or foreign language teaching.

---

3. The speech situation is the following. The reporter sees the match before him/her and tries to give a verbal account of it in such a way that the listener can comprehend the main moves of the match without actually watching the match. In order to give a linguistic account of the match, the reporter uses the informal medium of the spoken language. At the same time, an important feature of his/her discourse is the time pressure exerted by the sports event itself. This role constellation calls for linguistic adaptations: the reporter has to verbally present what s/he is observing in such a way as to enable the listener to paint a lively picture of the sports event. In the verbal utterances, the complexity of the activities should be portrayed as accurately as possible.

In his standard work on structure and variation in the German used by Germans when dealing with foreigners, Roche (1989) chooses the term *xenolect* instead of foreigner register. Roche takes dynamic-pragmatic concepts of description as a basis for his analysis. He discovers linguistic grading in the *xenolects* and connects this with the kind of communicative tasks (the purpose of the discourse) and the social roles of speaker and hearer. By examining the different factors, isolated according to their functions, for the dimensions *role*, *discourse topics*, and *social contexts*, he does not follow Halliday's or in a wider sense Ferguson's (typical structuralist) approach, although his starting point is indeed Ferguson's work.

### 3.2 Intercultural communication

Using ethnographic and conversation-analytical methods, John Gumperz (e.g. 1982) has concerned himself, within the framework of his theory of contextualization, with *failures* in intercultural communication. Gumperz's observations do not relate to the contexts of foreign language teaching or second language acquisition. He concentrates on the communication between native speakers and non-native speakers – although usually the non-native speakers have been living in the host country for quite a long time and are, as a rule, very advanced speakers of the target language. Because of contrasts between values and norms in the mother tongue and the target language, different pragmatic pattern knowledge, different routines in the usage of gestures and prosody, different communicative formulae and speech usage patterns may lead to misunderstandings. From the uncovering of misunderstandings and failures in the communication (through qualitative ethnographic descriptions), one can infer specific speech usage patterns or register characteristics (e.g. during job interviews). Especially during job interviews and counselling sessions, essential characteristics have been uncovered through a number of misunderstandings, which allow for a relatively detailed characterization of the underlying norms and their linguistic facets as registers; nevertheless, the term register is not used in this research.

### 3.3 Linguistic pragmatics

In a number of works Rehbein (partly in cooperation with Ehlich) examined communicative patterns in institutional communication. (See, e.g. Rehbein 1983.) The interactions between teachers and pupils; judges, the defence, and witnesses during a trial; foreigners and locals in work processes; and physicians and patients in the hospital, have been described. To be able to do this, the researchers relied upon the social/institutional roles and the concrete situation in the process of communication, investigating certain forms of sequences and speech usage patterns. The difference

between these works and those that use the term ‘register’ is that they do not operate with taxonomic features, but describe the dynamics of the on-going communication situations pragmatically (via the interaction of different contextual, situational, and personality-related parameters). A central term in these investigations is *pattern knowledge* (*Musterwissen*), which represents the basis for the realization of speech in the discourse or interaction. The term pattern knowledge refers to cognitive processes (the psycholinguistic basis), whereas register descriptions are seen as surface descriptions. Pattern knowledge and register can converge in meaning, though, since the register always involves the dimension of pragmatic knowledge. Typical institutional interaction patterns are isolated by Rehbein (and others working in the domain of institutional communication). The behavior is not structuralistically described by given parameters, but an open system accessible only to observation. Relevant literature on this domain is to be found in Dittmar (1995c).

### 3.4 Variation linguistics

Variation linguistics (see, e.g. Hudson 1980; Sanders 1993; in German *Varietätenlinguistik*, see Nabrings 1981) stresses the need to explain how registers are defined by the interaction of the diaphasic and the diastratic dimension. Blasco Ferrer (1990) sees degree of formality as the decisive characteristic feature of the register concept. For him, the continuum *italiano popolare* → *italiano standard* belongs to a grading of registers. With the help of registers, he tries to isolate group languages (not to be confused with sociolects) on a wider scale. Nevertheless, his definitions would be totally unacceptable for Halliday, who distinguished between the habitus-usage of varieties (e.g. dialects) as outer markings of the geographical or social identity, and the necessary, situation-dependent, institutional and other speech usage patterns, which above all show drastic semantic differences. Ferrer thus seems to come closer to Labov’s (1966) notion of ‘style’ than to Halliday’s basic idea of register.

Other variation linguists are interested in the term register and make reasonable use of the term and the related instruments of description, in particular for a rigid description of different forms of the spoken language. Blanche-Benveniste, Deulofeu, Schlobinski, Selting, and others examine syntactic and semantic patterns of the spoken language that go along with the usage of conjunctions, modalizations, definite verbs, thematization, etc.; they only tentatively include the various discourse types and social contexts. The predominant argumentation is that a detailed description of the regular variation of the spoken language is necessary in order to establish, in the next phase of analysis, the connection with situations and roles in the interaction.

A question occupying Berruto (1995) is what place registers could have in the structure of varieties isolated above. In particular, how can we resolve the problem that

registers simultaneously belong to diaphasic and diastratic varieties? He discusses two possible, and interesting, perspectives; both suggest that the dimensions are hierarchially connected with each other and do not have the same status:

a. Studying the *acquisition* of registers would give interesting information. The hypothesis is that the child first acquires the diatopical dimension, then the diastratic, and only then can s/he learn the situation-specific differences (register). If this is the case, then it seems reasonable to formulate a hierarchic relation between diatopical > diastratic > diaphasic.

b. A second possibility was formulated by Wunderli (1992). Wunderli views variation as *modularly* organized. There is a module of the primary manifestation level which refers to the user of language, consisting of two primary axes, the horizontal diatopical and the vertical diastratic. The primary manifestation level is differentiated along the parameter of the communicative situation (the diaphasic dimension). Wunderli structures his second module on Halliday's three parameters: discourse topic ('field'), discourse mode (understood in a slightly wider sense than in Halliday), and discourse style (Halliday's 'tenor'; in modern sociolinguistic research the difference between formal and informal styles). According to Berruto, these, altogether five, dimensions allow a classification of speech productions on the two levels of the modules.

The possibility of an integration of the given levels (a hierarchic structure) is definitely worth looking into. What is not solved in Wunderli's suggestion is the internal structure of the module 'diaphasic dimension'. It is indeed urgently necessary to carry out pragmatic, fundamental research that investigates the following interactions in more detail: speech usage and situation types; speech usage and social/institutional roles; speech usage and different moods/emotions of the speakers.

## References

- Ager, D. (1990). *Sociolinguistics and contemporary French*. Cambridge University Press.
- Arrivé, M., F. Gadet & M. Galmiche (1986). *La grammaire d'aujourd'hui*. Flammarion.
- Berruto, G. (1995). *Fondamenti di sociolinguistica*. Editori La Terza.
- Blanche-Benveniste, C. et al. (1990). *Le Français parlé*. CNRS/Didier Erudition.
- Blasco Ferrer, E. (1990). Italiano popolare a confronto con altri registri informali. In G. Holtus & E. Radtke (eds.): *Sprachlicher Substandard III*: 211–243. Narr.
- Deulofeu, J. (1986). Syntaxe de *que* en français parlé et le problème de la subordination. *RFP* 8.
- Dittmar, N. (1995a). Theories of sociolinguistic variation in German. In P. Stevenson (ed.) *The German language and the real world*: 135–168. Oxford University Press.
- (1995b). Sociolinguistic style revisited. In J. Werlen (ed.) *Verbale Kommunikation in der Stadt*: 111–134. Narr.
- (1995c). *Studienbibliographie Soziolinguistik*. Groos.

- Ferguson, C. (1977). Simplified registers, broken language and Gastarbeiterdeutsch. In C. Molony, H. Zobel & W. Stölting (eds.) *Deutsch im Kontakt mit anderen Sprachen*: 25–39. Kronberg.
- Firth, J.R. (1968). A new approach to grammar [1957]. In *Selected Papers of J.R. Firth, 1952–1959*: 114–125. Longman.
- Gadet, F. (1989). *Le Français ordinaire*. Colin.
- Gläser, R. (1976). Die Stil­kategorie ‘Register’ in soziolinguistischer Sicht. *Zeitschrift für Phonetik, Sprachwissenschaft und Kommunikationsforschung* 29: 234–243.
- Gregory, M. (1967). Aspects of varieties differentiation. *Journal of Linguistics* 3: 177–198.
- Gregory, M. & S. Caroll (1978). *Language and situation*. Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Gumperz, J. (1982). *Discourse strategies*. Cambridge University Press.
- Halliday, M.A.K., A. McIntosh & P. Stevens (1964). *The linguistic sciences and language teaching*. Longman.
- Halliday, M.A.K. (1978). *Language as social semiotic*. Edward Arnold.
- Hartung, W. & H. Schönfeld (eds.) (1981). *Kommunikation und Sprachvariation*. Akad. der Wissenschaften der DDR, Akademie­verlag.
- Heidelberger Forschungsgruppe (1975). *Sprache und Kommunikation ausländischer Arbeiter*. Scriptor.
- Hinnenkamp, V. & Selting (eds.) (1989). *Stil und Stilisierung*. Niemeyer.
- Hudson, R.A. (1980). *Sociolinguistics*. Cambridge University Press.
- Labov, W. (1966). *The social stratification of English in New York City*. Center for Applied Linguistics.
- Nabrings, K. (1981). *Sprachliche Varietäten*. Narr.
- Rehbein, J. (1983). *Komplexes sprachliches Handeln*. Narr.
- Reid, T.B.W. (1956). Linguistics, structuralism, philology. *Archivum Linguisticum* 8.
- Roche, J. (1989). *Xenolekte*. de Gruyter.
- Rost, M. (1989). *Sprechstrategien in freien Konversationen*. Narr.
- Sanders, C. (ed.) (1993). *French today*. Cambridge University Press.
- Spillner, B. (1987). Style and register. In U. Ammon, N. Dittmar & K. Mattheier (eds.) *Sociolinguistics*, Vol 1: 273–285. de Gruyter.
- Wunderli, P. (1992). Le problème des variétés diastratiques. *Communication and Cognition* 25: 171–189.