



Barbara Soukup

Dialect use as interaction strategy

A sociolinguistic study of contextualization,
speech perception, and language attitudes in Austria





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PREFACE

For over 100 years, the *Wiener Beiträge zur englischen Philologie* and its follow-up, the *Austrian Studies in English*, have published outstanding research on a wide spectrum of Anglophone literature, culture, and communication. The topic of the present volume 98 seems at first glance to lie outside this range, since it focuses on the strategic use of Austrian German dialect in a well-known Austrian TV discussion show. The decision to include it nevertheless in our series is based on the fact that the theoretical and methodological foundations of this study carry a distinctly Anglophone (viz. American) stamp.

For one, the study comprises a discourse analysis carried out in the American tradition of 'interactional sociolinguistics', an approach whose major proponents include J. Gumperz, D. Schiffrin and D. Tannen. The latter two teach and practise this analytical approach at Georgetown University in Washington, DC, where Barbara Soukup recently earned her PhD. The study furthermore combines interactional sociolinguistic discourse analysis with an investigation of language attitudes that is methodologically based in the speaker evaluation paradigm going back to W. Lambert's research in Canada in the 1960s. And lastly, the study's very fundamental interest in the mechanisms and processes of linguistic variation owes much to the ideas of that most eminent North American sociolinguist, W. Labov.

Barbara Soukup's study thus marries American research 'culture' with Austrian social culture, drawing an arc whose trajectory is a mere logical extension of the series' program. This is also mirrored in her personal academic career, which began with an M.A. in English from the University of Vienna, continued with her PhD studies in Georgetown, and is now again firmly rooted in the Vienna English department.

Herbert Schendl







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ABSTRACT

Located within current 'speaker design' approaches to the sociolinguistic analysis of language variation (Schilling-Estes 2002), this study investigates how and by what means speakers of Austrian German use dialect for rhetorical purposes in interaction. Specifically, it traces the processes and mechanisms underlying conversational 'contextualization' (Gumperz 1982) by which speakers strategically index social meanings attaching to dialect style, making them relevant to utterance interpretation.

Such contextualization is investigated in discourse data from episodes of the Austrian TV discussion show *Offen gesagt* ('Openly said'). While analysis of these discourse data draws primarily on the American research paradigm of interactional sociolinguistics, methodologies from the study of dialect perception and language attitudes are also integrated, in an innovative combination of analytic instruments.

In a dialect perception experiment, 42 Austrian native speakers were asked to listen to show excerpts and to underline in transcripts any words they perceived as dialectal. Results show that dialectal input-switches, *ge*-reductions, *l*-vocalizations, morphosyntactic features, as well as lexical items were perceptually salient.

In a verbal guise speaker evaluation experiment, 242 Austrian students were asked to evaluate two dialect and two standard speakers (one male, one female each) on adjective scales in a questionnaire. Results show that dialect speakers are perceived as less educated, intelligent, serious, and polite and as more aggressive, coarse, and rough than standard speakers, but also as more natural, relaxed, emotional, honest, likeable, and having a better sense of humor.

Drawing together these findings in a discourse analysis of one particular episode of the TV show *Offen gesagt*, this study finds substantial grounds for the claim that participants shift from standard (the 'expected' variety) into dialect for strategic, rhetorical purposes, indexing social stereotypes that the two experiments have shown will be activated by the use of dialectal features. For instance, participants use dialect in reported speech to express an antagonistic footing towards the person quoted. Further, dialect is used in interjections to negatively qualify a previous speaker's utterance, e.g. rekeying it to ridiculing effect.

This study advocates the speaker design perspective on stylistic variation as well as the integration of analytic tools from various sociolinguistic sub-disciplines for the exegesis of interactional data.





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The foundation of this book is my dissertation, which I completed at Georgetown University in Washington, DC in 2008, after studying sociolinguistics there. Now that my dissertation is done and this book is being published, I want to once more express my sincere and heartfelt gratitude to each and everyone who contributed pieces big or small to my doctoral enterprise, and without whom it could not have been completed. They include: René Andeßner, Rudolf Angerer, Iris and Martin Bauer, Kate Billings, Helga and Fritz Blaimschein, Susi Blaimschein and friends, Jeannette Blalock, Andrea Burgstaller, Chen Ru San, Rudolf de Cillia, Jeff Connor-Linton, Nikolas Coupland, Heinz Dobler, Hans Dolinar, Niko Donath, Gudrun Dornetshuber, Irene Dyk-Ploß, Irene Eckart, Bernhard Etzlinger, Lyn Fogle, Stephan Gaisbauer, Erwin Gierlinger, Ulrike Greiner, Hermann Gruber, Edith Grünwald, the GU Melody family, Mika Hama, Erika and Norris Hillery and family, Gina Himmer, Maj-Britt Höglund, Veronika Hübl, Alice Kim, Kathrin Kordon, Matt Krause, Pia Lane, Rachel Le Noan, Franz Lichtenberger, Christoph Litschauer, Sharon and Joe Lockett, Christian Löffler, Jia Jackie Lou, Alistair Mackie, Rosa Maier, Kurt Matzler, Anahit Minasyan and colleagues at the UNESCO Intangible Heritage Section, Amira Mitchell, Sylvia Moosmüller, Peter Nessler and the Nessler family, Helga and Hans Novotny, Sonja Novotny, the Odom family, Alessandra Parisi, Susan Philips, Heidi and Reinhard Pichler, Heribert Pichler, Eva Prammer-Semmler, Alexandra Rieser, Kerstin Rosenow, Lucy Russell, Josef Sageder, Sigrid Scheichlbauer and Christoph Schneider, Hannes Scheutz, Martin Schlögl, my aunt Eleonore Schmidberger, Clemens Schwarzingger, Jennifer Scalfani, Karin Seidlhuber, Johann and Elisabeth Soukup, Katharina Soukup-Altrichter and Herbert Altrichter, Andreas Springer, Alexandra Steinbauer-Toifl and Christoph Steinbauer, Frauke Steinhoff, Anton and Elisabeth Striedinger, Eeva Taimisto, Anna Marie Trester, Franz Wagner, Wendy Wilson, the Witches Linz, Ruth Wodak, and Rainer Zepf, and all participants in my attitude survey.

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support, guidance, and encouragement successfully steered me through the ups and downs of the dissertation writing process, for which I am deeply grateful to her.

Before I went to Georgetown, I got a master's degree at the University of Vienna, Austria, where I was so fortunate as to be taught and guided by professors Herbert Schendl (who also greatly helped with the publication of this book as series editor), Ute Smit, and Henry Widdowson, who all first led me to discover and develop my 'inner sociolinguist'. To them, too, I express my warmest thanks.

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*To
my parents
and
in memory of
my grandparents*





INTRODUCTION

“Southern women sound
happy and perky.”

*(Informant comment from a language
attitude survey on Southern American
English – Soukup 2000)*

“My Southern drawl makes me
\$70,000 a year!”

*(Texan Terri King,
female sales representative,
quoted in Johnstone 1999)*

In the spring of 1999, I spent two months in the USA on a research trip, collecting data for a Master's thesis that would complete my English studies at the University of Vienna, Austria. What I was looking for were U.S. language attitudes towards Southern American English, to be elicited in a large-scale survey. What I found, as it turned out, was a Bakhtinian dialogue.

My language attitude study was based on an adaptation of the matched-guise technique (Lambert et al. 1960) in which informants were asked to respond to and evaluate one male and one female speaker of a ‘standard’ American English (without any particular regionally distinctive features), and one male and one female speaker of ‘Southern American English’ (East Tennessee variety).¹ The informants were 291 undergraduate students from the states of Vermont and Tennessee. A questionnaire containing adjective scales with opposing pairs such as ‘educated’ – ‘uneducated’, ‘intelligent’ – ‘unintelligent’, ‘friendly’ – ‘unfriendly’, and ‘likeable’ – ‘not likeable’ was used for the evaluation of the speakers.

My results (reported in Soukup 2000, 2001, 2003) show that, although both Southern speakers did not do well at all on ‘competence’-related ratings such as education and intelligence, my informants consistently and on all counts rated the Southern woman higher than the Southern man. But what's more, for scale items that referred to personal sympathy (likeability, sociability, friendliness), the Southern woman single-handedly outscored each and every one of the other speakers – thus also the ‘standard’ speakers. The results were robust across informant groupings according to gender and regional origin.

Put quite simply, my informants considered the Southern woman with her accent most *charming*. Or, in other words, though not commonly associated with competencies like intelligence and education, a Southern accent can project a great deal of social *likeability* – but only when used by a woman.

¹ See e.g. Wolfram & Schilling-Estes (2006) for further discussion of language varieties in the U.S.





1999 was also the year Barbara Johnstone published an article (in a now classic issue of the *Journal of Sociolinguistics* on ‘style’) in which she examined how Texas women make strategic use of Southern American English for interactional purposes. In one of the examples she describes (and from which I quote at the outset of this chapter), a woman reports turning on the ‘Southern Belle’ charm to sell mailing lists over the telephone: “It’s hilarious how these businessmen turn to gravy when they hear it. I get some of the rudest, most callous men on the phone, and I start talkin’ to them in a mellow Southern drawl, I slow their heart rate down and I can sell them a list in a heartbeat”.²

In fact, a number of very similar anecdotes were related to me all throughout my investigation into Southern American English in the U.S. The most notable example came from a professor at a Tennessee university who told me that his daughter uses her Southern accent very successfully to sell jewelry in a store in Connecticut. He jokingly called such strategic use of Southern American English ‘country-boying’, adding that women were actually much better at it than men.

Of course, the fact that Johnstone’s publication and my field work fell into the same year is mere happenstance. However, the fact that our findings are strikingly reminiscent of each other is not coincidental at all – arguably, we each describe a different side of the same coin. Southern women can use their accent strategically to turn on the charm factor *precisely because* they know that they can tap into language attitudes that view a Southern accent as particularly pleasant in a woman.

I have called this relationship between language use and language attitudes ‘Bakhtinian’ because I believe that Mikhail Bakhtin provides one of the best (but also one of the earliest) accounts for it. Among other things, Bakhtin (1986 [1952–53]) develops the idea of the inherent *dialogicality* of language: he describes talking as a dynamic process involving an active listener and a responsive speaker who co-determine each other; the speaker by anticipating a listener’s response, and formulating his or her utterances accordingly, and the listener by taking an active, overtly responsive stance to what s/he is hearing. In Bakhtin’s own words,

When constructing my utterance, I try to actively determine [the listener’s] response. Moreover, I try to act in accordance with the response I anticipate, so this anticipated response, in turn, exerts an active influence on my utterance ...] When speaking I always take into account the apperceptive background of the addressee’s perception of my speech: the extent to which he is familiar with the situation, whether he has special knowledge of the given cultural area of communication, his views and convictions, his prejudices (from my viewpoint), his sympathies and antipathies – because all this will

² Johnstone references Stevens (1996) for this quote, which is taken from an interview conducted for a Texas newspaper.





determine his active responsive understanding of my utterance. These considerations also determine my choice of a genre for my utterance, my choice of compositional devices, and, finally, my choice of language vehicles, that is, the style of my utterance. (1986 [1952–53]: 95–96)

Thus, Bakhtin describes the mechanism behind a speaker's design of an utterance (including choice of language variety) as a 'dialogue' with a listener's projected responses to the utterance. The speaker will anticipate which evaluations and reactions a listener will bring forth based on the talk produced, and will manipulate the talk accordingly, with the goal of achieving a certain intended communicative outcome and effect. In the concrete case of Southern American English, this means that a female speaker can expect her use of a Southern accent to evoke associations of pleasantness and sociability in a listener (as evidenced in my attitudinal experiment), and thus can use the accent *strategically* to the effect of 'sounding charming'.³

Hence my above postulation that attitudes towards and strategic use of Southern American English are two sides of the same coin. This observation effectively emerged through revisiting and re-viewing my language attitude study on Southern American English through the analytic lenses of interactional sociolinguistics (e.g. Gumperz 2001; Schiffrin 1994) and variationist sociolinguistics (e.g. Chambers et al. 2002) in the course of my graduate career at Georgetown University, and it is what provided the impetus for my present study.

As I returned home to Austria for my summer breaks, my attention was drawn to the fact that Austrians, too, strategically use the linguistic varieties at their disposal (specifically, 'standard' Austrian German and Austrian 'dialect')⁴ to achieve certain communicative effects. One example that I particularly remember came from a TV interview with the late Austrian president Thomas Klestil, re-broadcast on the day of his death in July 2004. In an excerpt from this interview that was shown on the evening news, Klestil discussed the intense public scrutiny of a president's private life in relation to his extramarital affair with and later second marriage to a member of the Austrian diplomatic corps. As we Austrians would expect from our president in the formal situation of a public interview, he started out in the standard, talking about his frequent dealings with the tabloid press in his role as a public figure, only to close with the dialectal 'bottom-line' "des muass ma eben aushoim" ('one just has to get over it'). His shift was highly noticeable as a step outside of expectations; and, at least in my interpretation, it created the clear rhetorical effect of summing up his experience in simple, very personal, 'common-sense', 'Average Joe' terms for us citizens.

³ See also Foucault's (e.g. 1982) definition of 'strategy' and its relationships with 'power'.

⁴ See chapter 2 for discussion of the terminology and concepts involved.





As I came across more and more instances like this, where there seemed to be a distinct layer of rhetorical strategy to the use of Austrian dialect in a given (often public-speaking) situation, I began to draw parallels to my research on Southern American English and the observation of the dialogic relationship between language use and language attitudes which I had taken from it.

The result is this present study, in which I propose to investigate the communicative functions of Austrian dialect as a rhetorical device used for meaning-making in interaction. In the following, I begin with an overview of the theoretical backdrop to my study (chapter 1), which is situated at the intersection of the variationist, social psychological, and interactional traditions of (American) sociolinguistic research. I then outline and discuss the methodology I use for my empirical investigation, as well as the discourse data I draw on. Chapter 2 is an excursus on language use in Austria, which sets the stage for my fieldwork recording Austrian native speakers' perceptions of and language attitudes towards dialect use, as presented in chapters 3 and 4. In chapter 5, I apply my findings from this fieldwork in a discourse analysis of conversational data drawn from an Austrian TV discussion show. I close in chapter 6 with a summary of my study and a discussion of its contributions and implications for future research.





1. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND METHODOLOGY

1.1. Code-switching and style-shifting

In the sociolinguistic study of linguistic repertoires⁵ as systems of symbolic resources individuals draw on in interaction, which provides the backdrop for the present investigation, a distinction has traditionally been made between phenomena of ‘code-switching’ and ‘style-shifting’, where the first, ‘code-switching’, has often referred to the juxtaposition of different *languages*, while the second, ‘style-shifting’, has commonly been concerned with ‘*sub-varieties*’ (frequently called ‘*dialects*’) of a single language (see e.g. Schilling-Estes 2002; see also Dittmar 1997 in the context of German). Of course, such a distinction immediately raises the question of how to define and distinguish ‘language’ and ‘dialect’ in the first place – an issue that has often been addressed in sociolinguistic literature, but has proven difficult (if not impossible) to resolve (see e.g. discussion in Fasold 2006; Haugen 1966; Linke et al. 2004; Myers-Scotton 2006; Pöckl et al. 2007; Romaine 1995; Wardhaugh 2006). ‘Mutual intelligibility’ or, conversely, linguistic separation (‘Abstand’ – Kloss 1967) are criteria frequently used by linguists to group varieties; but in fact, as Fasold (2006: 388) contends, “[i]n spite of more than a century of effort, linguists have never found a definition of mutual intelligibility or separation that can unambiguously tell us if we are looking at a language or a dialect”. The socio-political and ideological dimensions involved in calling a variety a ‘language’ or ‘dialect’ further complicate the matter.⁶

However, in recent years, sociolinguistic researchers of both the style-shifting and code-switching strands, like many social scientists, have begun to incorporate social constructionist ideas into their agendas – the notion that the various aspects of social life such as relationships, groups, cultures, identities, the self, and meaning in general, are emergent (constructed and re-constructed) in human interaction rather than factual entities of a fixed nature.⁷ This has led to a re-appraisal of style-shifting and code-switching

⁵ Linke et al. (2004: 349) define the term ‘repertoire’ as referring to the ‘sum of all varieties’ a community or individual has at their disposal. (For discussion of the concept of ‘community’ in sociolinguistics see e.g. Patrick 2002; Eckert & McConnell-Ginet 1992; and the special issue of *Language in Society* on community of practice, vol. 28/2, 1999.)

⁶ See Fasold (2006), Haugen (1966), Linke et al. (2004), Myers-Scotton (2006), Pöckl et al. (2007), Romaine (1995), and Wardhaugh (2006) for discussion of the negative connotations and implications of using the term ‘dialect’. Such discussion frequently refers to Bourdieu’s notion of language as ‘symbolic capital’ in a ‘social marketplace’ (e.g. Bourdieu 1982, 1991).

⁷ For respective readings see e.g. Anderson (1991) and Billig (1995) on nationalism and ‘nation’ as an imagined concept; Bourdieu (1991) on ‘habitus’; Gergen (1987) and Giddens (1991) on the ‘self’; Le Page & Tabouret-Keller (1985) on identities





as proactive and strategic *processes* by which speakers deploy linguistic varieties in order to create certain communicative effects and outcomes in interaction, such as the projection of identities and personas and the negotiation of local power relations (see e.g. Auer 2007; Bucholtz 1999a,b; Coupland 2004, 2007a; Eckert 2000; Johnstone et al. 2002; Kiesling 1998; Podesva 2007; Myers-Scotton 1998, 2006; Myers-Scotton & Bolonyai 2001; Schilling-Estes 1998, 2004; Wei 2005).⁸ Such re-casting represents a noticeable paradigm-shift towards regarding variation in the use of styles/codes as *constitutive* of social life, rather than as an independent *correlate* of factors such as attention to speech, topic, social class, and gender (as in the classic Labovian variationist tradition – e.g. Chambers 2003; Labov 1966a; 1972; 2001); audience configurations (Bell 1984; 2001); interpersonal accommodation (convergence or divergence – e.g. Giles & Powesland 1975; Giles & Smith 1979); or social ‘domains’ such as family, religion, education (Fishman 1964, 1972a, 1972b; Fishman et al. 1971).⁹

Research under the new paradigm, which can be labeled with the term ‘speaker design approach’¹⁰ (Schilling-Estes 2002), has actually highlighted the fact that from an interactional perspective, the driving mechanisms and

as ‘acts’; Potter & Wetherell (1987) on discourse and social psychology; Rosenau (1992) on (post)post-modernism.

⁸ The terminological distinction between ‘identity’ and ‘persona’ is in fact rarely, if ever, made explicit in the respective research. In a review of research on language and identity from a variationist perspective, Mendoza-Denton (2002: 475) defines ‘identity’ as “the active negotiation of an individual’s relationship with larger social constructs, in so far as this negotiation is signaled through language and other semiotic means”. See also Bucholtz & Hall (2003) for further discussion.

From application of the term ‘persona’ e.g. by Coupland (2001a, 2007a), it appears that it is used specifically when referring to highly *performative* displays of identity.

⁹ But note that Bell’s model has followed the overall trend by giving more and more prominence to ‘referee design’ (in addition to his notion of ‘audience design’), which is intended to take into account “creative, dynamic choices on the linguistic representation of our identities, particularly in relation to those others we are interacting with or who are salient to us” (Bell 2001: 165). Further, research on ‘communication accommodation’, which started from a social psychological perspective, has always included considerations of strategic language use (see e.g. Giles et al. 1991). However, Coupland (2007a) contends that overall, both ‘audience design’ and ‘accommodation theory’ seem to have ‘weighted the scales’ too heavily in favor of reciprocity over speaker agency.

¹⁰ The term ‘speaker design’ actually comes from the style-shifting strand of variationist sociolinguistic research and should be understood in the context of preceding approaches to the variationist study of style in the Labovian tradition as well as under Bell’s ‘audience design’ model (see my discussion above). Note that Coupland (2001a, 2007a) actually prefers using the phrase ‘the relational self’ to describe this new perspective on linguistic style, to make clear that both speaker and listener (audience) are implicated – see my discussion of Bakhtinian dialogicity in my introductory chapter as well as further below. Eckert calls the new





motivations underlying both style-shifting and code-switching are fundamentally the same (see Auer 2007; Ervin-Tripp 2001; Milroy & Gordon 2003; Myers-Scotton 2006; Romaine 1995; Wei 2005). Speakers will use *whatever* varieties (or linguistic ‘raw material’, as Milroy and Gordon put it) they have at their disposal to create communicative effects and outcomes ‘on the ground’, in local meaning-making and identity construction. From this view, then, the classic differentiation between code-switching and style-shifting can be regarded as a henceforth obsolete, epiphenomenal artifact of separate theoretical traditions and analytic foci, rather than as a tribute to any linguistic ‘force majeure’. Some scholars have therefore begun to subsume *both* aspects under either of the terms, ‘code-switching’ (e.g. Romaine 1995; Myers-Scotton 1998, 2006; see also Gumperz 1982, 2001)¹¹ or ‘style-shifting’ (Auer 2007), presumably depending on which perspective they had initially taken up. In the context of European/German linguistics, ‘style-shifting’ appears to be the more frequently used label in connection with the juxtaposition of two closely related varieties such as standard Austrian German and Austrian dialect (which are the focus of the present study); preference is therefore given to this term here.

1.2. Dialogicality, contextualization, and the negotiation of meaning

The conceptual rapprochement of research on agentive, strategic language use from the perspectives of ‘code-switching’ and ‘style-shifting’ is to a certain degree also a function of the fact that both strands have begun to draw on the same frameworks of *language* theory for the interpretation of their data (in addition to *social* theory). As manifest for example in recent publications by Myers-Scotton (1998, 2006), a traditional representative of the code-switching strand, and Coupland (2007a), a main proponent of work on agentive style-shifting, both agendas notably draw inspiration from Bakhtin’s (1986 [1952–53]) notions of ‘dialogicality’, and Gumperz’ work on ‘contextualization’ (e.g. 1982, 1992, 2001; Blom & Gumperz 1986 [1972]).

Bakhtin’s work on dialogicality has already been briefly sketched in the Introduction chapter above, starting with the idea that the speaker-hearer relationship is dialogical in the sense that it is co-determining and reflexive: on the one hand, a speaker will design his/her utterances in anticipation of a listener’s response, and try to influence this response; and on the other hand, a listener will be influenced by a speaker’s utterance but also take an actively responsive stance to affect the talk produced.

paradigm ‘Third Wave Variation Study’ (see <http://www.stanford.edu/~eckert/thirdwave.html> – accessed 01/20/2009).

¹¹ See also a like-minded mention in Goffman (1981: 126).





A closely related notion to Bakhtinian dialogicality can be specified as ‘intertextuality’, or the idea that all utterances presuppose and build on the existence of prior utterances:¹²

[A]ny speaker is a respondent to a greater or lesser degree. He is not, after all, the first speaker, the one who disturbs the eternal silence of the universe. And he presupposes not only the existence of the language system he is using, but also the existence of the preceding utterances – his own and others’ – with which his given utterance enters into one kind of relation or another (builds on them, polemizes with them, or simply presumes that they are already known to the listener). Any utterance is a link in a very complexly organized chain of other utterances. (Bakhtin 1986 [1952–53]: 69)

The thus described intertextual ‘relation’ (or ‘dialogue’) every utterance enters into with its predecessors or ‘prior texts’ (to use Becker’s 1995 term) is precisely the mechanism by which a speaker can anticipate an active listener’s responsive reactions to and evaluations of his/her utterances in the first place (as a prerequisite to designing the utterance accordingly): knowledge about and experience with prior texts that the listener can be assumed to be also familiar with allow a speaker to actively tap into these texts and ‘bring them into the mix’ for utterance interpretation, in view of achieving his/her current communicative purposes and goals.

In Gumperz’ (1982) terms, this is what it means to ‘contextualize’ an utterance: to make relevant (or revise or cancel) some aspect of ‘context’ (which encompasses ‘prior texts’) for interpretation and meaning-making in interaction.¹³ The contextual resources on which speakers can draw in this process are seemingly unlimited, ranging from features of the ‘micro-

¹² According to Morson & Emerson’s (1990, 1997) classification of Bakhtinian notions of ‘dialogue’, this corresponds to ‘dialogue in the first sense’. In Tovaes’ (2005) terminology, it is ‘general dialogicality’, as opposed to ‘specific dialogicality’, which refers to ‘double-voicing’ e.g. in reported speech (which is Morson & Emerson’s ‘dialogue in the second sense’).

The term ‘intertextuality’ was actually coined by Julia Kristeva (e.g. 1986 [1966]) in the context of her discussions of Bakhtin’s work – see Fairclough (1992). For a detailed review of the concept of intertextuality see also Tovaes (2005); for application in studies see e.g. Hamilton (1996), and Xavier (2003).

¹³ See the concise definition of ‘contextualization’ in Auer (1995a). Note that Gumperz, too, points out the dialogic nature of conversational meaning-making (1982).

Depending on how far one wants to carry an interaction-based social constructionist approach, one could even argue that context *consists entirely of* prior texts. See Scollon (2003) for discussion.

For further discussion of ‘context’, see also e.g. Widdowson (2004); as well as Bauman & Briggs (1990) on ‘decontextualization’ and ‘entextualization’ in cultural meaning-making.

A notion related to Bakhtin’s dialogicality is also A.L. Becker’s (1995) ‘linguaging’, which captures the idea that discourse is the process of “taking old texts





level' of the ongoing talk and interaction such as recently mentioned content, local participant roles and relationships, and the physical setting, to macro-level aspects such as social meanings (e.g. stereotypes), socio-historical knowledge, socio-cultural rituals, or societal power-distributions, to name just a few (see Duranti & Goodwin 1992 for further discussion).¹⁴

Because the array of contextual resources available for meaning-making at any point in interaction is so vast, or even limitless, interactants must have a means of foregrounding and highlighting ('indexing') those specific aspects of context that are particularly relevant to the interpretation of their talk, according to their communicative intentions and goals. To describe this indexing process, Gumperz (1982) has coined the term 'contextualization cue', which refers to any "sign which, when processed in co-occurrence with symbolic grammatical and lexical signs, serves to construct the contextual ground for situated interpretation and thereby affects how constituent messages are understood" (Gumperz 2001: 221). Prosody (intonation and stress), rhythm, tempo, gesture/pose, gaze, and backchannels are usually counted among these cues, and specifically also the use of linguistic varieties (styles, dialects, languages). Speakers will produce such cues to foreground certain aspects of context for interpretation, and listeners can use these cues to infer which aspects of context they may want to retrieve in their inferencing of an interpretation.

As Auer (1995a) points out, contextualization cues do not have a meaning independent of their situative context of occurrence, and the same cue may warrant a different interpretation in different contexts. For example, in New Zealand English, phrase-final rising intonation can signal a question on some occasions, while on others it may constitute an involvement device used with statements (e.g. Britain 1992; Warren 2005). Further, contextualization cues are acquired through socialization, together with the respective linguistic systems and contextual knowledge, and are therefore relative to a respective culture and society. To use Bourdieu's famous term, they are part of our 'habitus' or "embodied dispositions to act and to perceive the world" that directly reflect the macrosocietal conditions in which they were acquired (quoted in Gumperz 2001: 218; see Bourdieu 1977, 1991; Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992).¹⁵ Interactants who do not share the same cultural background may thus struggle with miscommunication as they 'mis'-interpret each other's cues based on their own, but not mutually shared,

from memory and reshaping them into present contexts", thereby creating new emergent contexts in an ever recurrent cycle.

¹⁴ See also Hymes' (1972) now classic SPEAKING grid for a 'check-list' of contextual factors that typically configure a situation of talk or 'speech event'. (For a discussion of the grid and of 'speech events' see Saville-Troike 2003; Schiffrin 2006c; see furthermore the application in the description of the discourse data for this study below.)

¹⁵ See also the discussion of 'habitus' in Auer (2007); Coupland (2007a); and Erickson (2004).





experience-based expectations and contextual knowledge (see particularly Gumperz' research on cross-cultural differences – e.g. 1982, 2001).

But even if the interactants share much of their socio-cultural background and knowledge, so that interpretive outcomes are perhaps more likely to coincide with a speaker's intentions, an interaction-centered model of communication does not assume that conversational meaning-making is an activity in which a speaker packs (encodes) his or her messages in words and cues which are then rather automatically 'unwrapped' (decoded) by a passive listener whose job it is to 'correctly' realize the speaker's original intentions – as is implied for example in some earlier versions of Speech Act Theory (see Duranti 1988; Goodwin & Duranti 1992)¹⁶ and under the 'conduit' metaphor of communication (see Reddy 1979; Schiffrin 1990).¹⁷ Rather, speaker and listener are equal partners (from a communicative perspective) in the negotiation of interactional meaning, which is a 'joint production' achieved through mutual interpretations of what is currently going on. These interpretations are continuously steered through prospective and retrospective 'responses' by the participants, i.e. responses in anticipation of and reaction to what is said (see Erickson 1986; Tannen 1989; see also once again Bakhtin's notion of 'dialogicality' as discussed above).¹⁸

Such a dialogic view of communication clearly brings out the fact that interpretation is at least equally as important in interactional meaning-making as the actual (direct or indirect) display of intentions by a speaker. This is also a function of the fact that a speaker's intentional display is only a subset of the range of information on which communicative interpretation builds. In Goffman's (1959: 2) terms, this range includes not only information that is 'given', but also information that is 'given off', where the former is information intentionally emitted by a speaker for reception by a listener (an audience), and the latter is information which is interpreted for meaning by the listener (audience) even if it has *not* been intended to convey that meaning (see Schiffrin 1990: 139–40).¹⁹ This includes a variety of linguistic and extra-linguistic features, some of which are difficult if not impossible to control, such as a naturally high pitched voice, breathlessness due to being nervous, blushing, etc., but also any other sorts of contextuali-

¹⁶ For overviews of Speech Act Theory see also Levinson (1983); Schiffrin (1994); Yule (1996).

¹⁷ Note that in consistence with his notion of 'dialogicality', Bakhtin himself also rejects such a model (1986 [1952–53]; Morson & Emerson 1997).

¹⁸ To capture this interdependence, Erickson (1986: 316) describes conversational interaction in a now classic simile as "like climbing a tree that climbs back".

¹⁹ Note that Schiffrin actually prefers the terms 'actor' for speaker and 'audience' for listener as a tribute to the fact that participants can take up a wide variety of roles in an interaction (see Goffman's 1981 notions of 'production format' and 'participation framework'). For my part, and with this caveat, I will be using 'speaker' and 'listener' as a simplification to refer to the production and perception ends of communication.





zation cues (see above) – basically, anything at all emitted by a speaker that is *available* for interpretation by an audience. Conversational interaction is thus not about the transmission and realization of intentions, but about the *negotiation of contextualized interpretations* (see also Gumperz & Gumperz 2007). Its outcome is not necessarily a one hundred percent shared perception of a message (or perfect ‘intersubjectivity’ – see discussion in Schiffrin 1990,²⁰ 2006b), but rather as much of it as is warranted by the current communicative goals and motivations of the participants and necessary to sustain the interaction.²¹

The discourse analyst’s task, then, becomes to trace and illuminate this interpretive meaning-making process by (1) finding out what the interpretations negotiated in an interaction are (or at least the most likely ones); (2) illuminating the assumptions and inferential processes by which these interpretations were achieved, and (3) showing how they relate to what was literally said (Gumperz 2001: 223; see also Schiffrin 1996). In short, the paradigm of analysis itself becomes more interpretive, post hoc, and qualitative, rather than quantifying and predictive (e.g. predictive of linguistic change or individual/group behavior) – (see also Gumperz 1982).

Typically, the research paradigm that produces the type of discourse analysis outlined above is referred to as ‘interactional sociolinguistics’ (see Gumperz 2001; Schiffrin 1994). My own study on Austrian standard-to-dialect shifting, which I present in the following chapters, is located within this paradigm. In this study, I investigate how and by what means speakers of Austrian German use one specific linguistic resource they have at their disposal, Austrian dialect, for strategic, ‘rhetorical’ purposes in interaction.²² More specifically, I attempt to trace and make visible the processes and mechanisms underlying conversational *contextualization*, by which Austrian speakers strategically index social meanings attaching to the use of dialect, thus making them relevant to interpretation and the interactional activity of creating and negotiating meaning.

To do this, I however also venture beyond commonly applied interactional sociolinguistic analytic method, integrating additional methodologies from the studies of dialect perception and language attitudes. I claim

²⁰ with reference to Taylor & Cameron (1987).

²¹ Goffman (1981: 10) calls this a ‘working agreement’.

²² I am using the term ‘rhetorical’ here to underline the fact that, in my opinion, the agenda of research on strategic style-shifting is highly overlapping with the agenda of the classical study of rhetoric (see e.g. Fiehler 2006; Ueding & Steinbrink 1994) and its focus on the communicative effects of (public, literary) language use, which incidentally also shares an interest with the linguistic study of literary texts under the heading of ‘stylistics’ (e.g. Widdowson 1992). See also Ervin-Tripp (2001) for use of the term ‘rhetorical shifts’ to designate strategic language use; and Tannen (1989) and Jakobson (1960) on intersections between literary and ‘ordinary’ discourse.

Using the terminology of rhetoric, then, style-shifting can be called a ‘trope’.





that such an unprecedented combination of analytic instruments I thus put at my disposal can produce a highly informative and illuminating ‘X-ray’ of the communicative practice of contextualization ‘on the ground’, in local interaction. Below, I describe my combination of various methodologies in detail, together with its underlying rationale. First, however, I provide a short overview of interactional sociolinguistics as the overarching framework on which I will draw in my analysis of interactional contextualization in an Austrian setting.

1.3. Interactional sociolinguistics

‘Interactional sociolinguistics’ is an approach to discourse analysis that studies contextually situated meaning-making in (conversational) interaction (see e.g. Schiffrin 1994, 1996; Gumperz 2001). In Gumperz’ words (2001: 218), interactional sociolinguists investigate “communicative practice as the everyday-world site where societal and interactive forces merge”, with the goal of showing “how individuals participating in [speech] exchanges use talk to achieve their communicative goals in real-life situations, by concentrating on the meaning-making processes and the taken-for-granted, background assumptions that underlie the negotiation of interpretations”.

Typically, interactional sociolinguists analyze naturally occurring conversational data. The method routinely includes ethnographic analysis and description of the various contextual factors configuring a particular ‘speech event’ or ‘speech situation’ under investigation, such as setting, participants, and commonly occurring speech acts (Gumperz 2001).²³ The analysis of the concomitant discourse is usually based on transcripts that give particular attention to features of talk that are likely to serve as ‘contextualization cues’, such as for example discourse markers or latching and overlapping speech (Schiffrin 1987, 1994; see also Tannen 1984).

The two salient cornerstones of interactional sociolinguistic discourse analysis are the works of John Gumperz (e.g. 1982, 1992, 2001) and Erving

²³ See again Hymes’ (1972) SPEAKING grid for a heuristic commonly used for the description of a ‘speech event’, which Schiffrin (2006a: 173) defines as “an interaction between two or more people in which more than one speech act occurs” (a ‘speech act’ being “an action performed by one person through speech” – *ibid.*). A ‘speech situation’, then, is “a social occasion with more than one speech event” (*ibid.*). Saville-Troike (2003: 23) describes ‘speech events’ as “defined by a unified set of components throughout, beginning with the same general purpose of communication, the same general topic, and involving the same participants, generally using the same language variety, maintaining the same tone or key and the same rules for interaction, in the same setting”. (As research on code-switching and style-shifting has shown, however, the use of different linguistic varieties in the same speech event is a common phenomenon.)

I use Hymes’ SPEAKING grid further below to outline the speech situation from which I draw my discourse data.





Goffman (e.g. 1959, 1967, 1974, 1981). Gumperz' framework has already been outlined above in the discussion of contextualization and the notion of contextualization cues, which are central pivots for any discourse analysis of contextually situated meaning-making such as my own. Goffman's contribution, then, is a more generally sociological one – he was one of the first scholars to explicitly focus on the exegesis of local, concrete instances of *interaction* as an 'intermediate' level of analysis between the individual and the societal (see Schiffrin 1994; De Fina et al. 2006a). In his book *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* (1959), Goffman defines (face-to-face) 'interaction' as "the reciprocal influence of individuals upon one another's actions when in one another's immediate physical presence".²⁴ One of his main interests, then, is to study this 'reciprocal influence' (a turn of phrase that is very reminiscent of Bakhtin's notion of 'dialogicality' – see above) in its terms and consequences.

One particular area where Goffman's and Gumperz' work have been very fruitfully combined is in the investigation of the role of 'frames' (Goffman 1974) in interactional meaning-making (see Gumperz 2001). A 'frame' can be defined as the structure of knowledge and expectations based on which participants make sense of what is going on in a given interaction, that is, what activity is being engaged in, how speakers mean what they say – in short, 'what game is being played' (see Tannen & Wallat 1993: 60;²⁵ see also Goffman 1974; Gordon 2003; Schiffrin 1993). Bateson's (1972) original introduction of the term 'frame' arose out of watching zoo monkeys play at, but not seriously engage in, combat, which led him to observe that while the activities involved might look very similar, the animals were capable of exchanging signals to make it clear that 'This is play' (vs. 'This is a serious fight for territory'). Such signaling of 'what is going on' (e.g. play vs. fight) is the essence of 'framing'. In a now classic example of applying this notion to sociolinguistic research, Tannen and Wallat (1993) identify three main frames in their analysis of doctor-parent-patient interaction in a pediatric context: 'social encounter', 'examination of the child', and 'consultation with the mother'. They describe how each of these frames builds on and re-creates different expectations (affordances and constraints) and is concomitant with different interactive roles and relationships for the participants.

Goffman's (1974, 1981) discussion of framing also introduces the concept of 'footing' and its implications for the signaling of frames and frame-shifts. Footing can be defined as the "alignment[s] we take up to ourselves and the others present as expressed in the way we manage the production or reception of an utterance" (Goffman 1981: 128). Changes in (or, re-nego-

²⁴ While "[a]n interaction may be defined as all the interaction which occurs throughout any one occasion when a given set of individuals are in one another's continuous presence; the term 'an encounter' would do as well" (Goffman 1959: 15; original italics).

²⁵ With a reference to Ortega y Gasset & Parmenter (1959) for the 'game' metaphor. See also my discussion further below on Wittgenstein's 'language games'.





tations of) footing, then, are a way of changing (re-negotiating) interactional frames through a re-configuration of local participant relationships (see also Tannen & Wallat 1993).²⁶

To further pick apart and describe different configurations of participant roles and relationships (or, in his own words, in order to analyze “the structural underpinnings of changes in footing” – Goffman 1981: 128), Goffman introduces and develops the concepts of ‘production format’ and ‘participation framework’, which have also become frequently applied heuristics in interactional sociolinguistics (see e.g. Schiffrin 2006a; De Fina et al. 2006b).²⁷ ‘Production format’ unpacks the various levels of a speaker’s relationships to his or her utterance – that of its ‘principal’ (“someone whose position is established by the words that are spoken, someone whose beliefs have been told, someone who is committed to what the words say”); its ‘author’ (“someone who has selected the sentiments that are being expressed and the words in which they are encoded”);²⁸ its ‘animator’ (the ‘sounding box’ responsible for the actual utterance production); and/or its ‘figure’ (“someone that belongs to the world that is spoken about, not the world in which the speaking occurs”) – (Goffman 1981: 144 ff.). Under a similar deconstruction of the ‘reception’ end in the ‘participation framework’, a hearer can be identified as official or unofficial, depending on whether their listening is ratified by the speaker or not. If unofficial hearers are perceivable to the official participants, they are ‘bystanders’, who can be (deliberate) ‘eavesdroppers’ or inadvertent ‘overhearers’. Ratified recipients, in turn, can be addressed or unaddressed (Goffman 1981: 131 ff.). All the possible permutations and configurations of production format and participation framework, then, have implications for the participant alignments taken up in any moment in interaction, contributing to its framing and hence to the negotiation of meaning.

In addition to changes in footing, a frame-shift can also be concomitant with a change in ‘keying’ (Goffman 1974), which could loosely be described as the interaction’s ‘mood’ or ‘undertone’ (staying within Goffman’s own musical metaphor). An example would be an ironic ‘re-keying’ of a serious utterance, turning it into (and thus ‘reframing’ it as) a joke.

²⁶ In my own interactional sociolinguistic discourse analysis of conversational data, I will use the terms ‘footing’ and ‘alignment’ synonymously; whenever the footing a participant takes up towards an utterance (instead of a co-participant) is concerned, I will also use the term ‘stance’. Goffman appears to use ‘alignment’ and ‘stance’ interchangeably (e.g. 1981: 155). See however Schiffrin (2006a: 208 ff.) for a more specific casting of ‘stance’ in terms of epistemology. Schiffrin furthermore uses the concept of ‘positioning’ to analyze how what is being said relates to the interactional projection of identities. For further reference on ‘positioning theory’ see Bamberg (1997); Davies & Harré (1990); van Langenhove & Harré (1999).

²⁷ See Goffman (1974) for an earlier version of the concepts.

²⁸ originally called ‘strategist’ (Goffman 1974: 523)





It has already been indicated above that the ‘frame’ of a moment of interaction can be understood as the idea of ‘what game is being played’. Not coincidentally, I would say, this metaphor is reminiscent of Wittgenstein’s famous concept of the ‘language-game’ (‘Sprachspiel’), which is “meant to bring into prominence the fact that the *speaking* of language is part of an activity, or of a form of life” (Wittgenstein 1953: 11).²⁹ Rather than defining the concept with precision, Wittgenstein provides an exemplary list to capture the ‘multiplicity’ of types of language-games (pp. 11–12):

- Giving orders, and obeying them-
- Describing the appearance of an object, or giving its measurements-
- Constructing an object from a description (a drawing)-
- Reporting an event-
- Speculating about an event-
- Forming and testing a hypothesis-
- Presenting the results of an experiment in tables and diagrams-
- Making up a story; and reading it-
- Play-acting-
- Singing catches-
- Guessing riddles-
- Making a joke; telling it-
- Solving a problem in practical arithmetic-
- Translating from one language into another-
- Asking, thanking, cursing, greeting, praying.

Habermas (1975: 327–30) lists three main ‘interests’ Wittgenstein brings to the investigation of naturally occurring talk with his language-game metaphor: interest in (1) the status of the (constitutive) rules of the ‘games’ and the concomitant competence of the players (participants); (2) the interaction and necessary consensus between participants; and (3) the genesis of new ‘games’ through modification of the rules of existing ones. Given this concern with the application (‘Gebrauch’) and functioning of language in interaction (instead of its internal structure), it cannot surprise that Goffman himself draws on Wittgensteinian thought in his exegeses of the interaction order (e.g. 1974: 7; 1981: 24).³⁰ In particular, Goffman carries the ‘game’ metaphor over into his search for an interactional unit of analysis

²⁹ See also discussion of Wittgenstein’s ‘language-games’ in Habermas (1975); Taylor (1981); Wodak (1996).

³⁰ In fact, Wittgenstein’s language philosophy also shows great parallels and affinities with theorizing in the study of ‘pragmatics’ (“the study of the relationships between linguistic forms and the users of those forms” – Yule 1996: 4) and ‘speech acts’ (i.e. actions performed by the use of an utterance to communicate – see Yule 1996: 134; see particularly also Austin 1975), although this may not always have received much recognition (Grayling 1988; Taylor 1981). As Habermas notes (1975: 338), “Had [Wittgenstein] wanted to develop a theory of language-games, it would have had to take the form of a universal pragmatics” (my translation).





that takes complexities of both participant turn-taking and interaction sequence (i.e. the sequential organization and referencing of participants' contributions) into account, something which he suggests past taxonomies have failed to do.³¹ He proposes the 'move' as such a unit, which he defines as "any full stretch of talk or of its substitutes [e.g. gesture] which has a distinctive unitary bearing on some set or other of the circumstances in which participants find themselves (some 'game' or other in the peculiar sense employed by Wittgenstein [sic!])" (1981: 24). Goffman demonstrates the analytic usefulness of such a unit by showing that it can tease out the various motivations for, and explain different interpretations of, requests such as "Do you know the time?" and "Can you reach the salt?". These, he argues, have the potential to figure as moves in (at least) four games: (1) request for evidence that one is being correctly heard; (2) request for information about possessing information or ability; (3) request for divulgence of the information or performance of the capacity; and (4) taking a stand concerning the social propriety of making these requests (1981: 62f.). Needless to say, this variety of possible interpretations can give rise to a similar variety of interactional outcomes. This once again highlights the importance of *framing* (the projection and negotiation of 'which game is being played') for interactional meaning-making.³²

The Goffmanian model, then, regards interaction as a "game-like back-and-forth" (1981: 73) of 'moves', instead of, for example, as a series of sequentially constrained and constraining statement-response chains. For the interactional discourse analyst, this has the benefit of laying the ground for claims about the links between 'surface' structure (in my case, contextualization cues) and the local interactional context of participant activities and motivations (i.e. the strategies used in the 'game' being played). I propose to put this into practice in my own exegesis of discourse data (chapter 5), in which I explore, among other things, for which types of interactional moves participants harness Austrian dialect.

Goffman's model furthermore assumes that every interactional move *carves out* its reference, rather than its reference necessarily being dictated by the immediately preceding utterance ('first pair part') produced by a

Pragmatics is another framework on which interactional sociolinguistics draws (particularly Speech Act Theory). See also Schiffrin (1994), Portner (2006) for background on pragmatics and speech acts.

³¹ In particular, Goffman here refers to the conversation analytic unit of the 'adjacency pair' (Schegloff & Sacks 1973), which focuses on and explicates sequences of two utterances – a 'first pair part' and a 'second pair part' – produced by different speakers in immediate adjacency, e.g. in a 'question'-answer pair. In essence, Goffman considers this to be too constraining in terms of what types of utterances can be regarded respectively as a 'trigger' (first pair part) and a 'response' (second pair part).

³² See particularly Tannen (1994) for a discussion of the 'polysemy' of talk, i.e. the inherent capacity of linguistic strategies (moves) to simultaneously express multiple meanings.





previous speaker. Such an assumption significantly opens up the potential referential range of interactional moves, and is thus able to explain how the interaction process is flexible enough to take into account both information ‘given’ and ‘given off’³³ as bases for audience response and interpretation: “[W]hat conversation becomes then is a sustained strip or tract of referencings, each referencing tending to bear, but often deviously, some retrospectively perceivable connection to the immediately prior one” (Goffman 1981: 72).

But while this may help to clarify and explicate the referential basis of interpretation from the point of view of the interactants, it does in no way release the analyst from the problem of having to distinguish between a speaker’s information ‘given’ (strategically) and ‘given off’ (non-strategically) for the purposes of specifically investigating *rhetorical* language use. This ambiguity is particularly acute in the study of contextualization cues (such as shifts between linguistic varieties), due to their ‘habitual’ (i.e. ‘habitus’-related) underpinnings. Thus, if the goal of an investigation is for example to describe how and why speakers use linguistic varieties *strategically* in interaction to create certain communicative effects and outcomes, such as the display of identities and personas, we need to ask on what basis we can actually make the case that a speaker’s language use is strategic (deliberate, ‘rhetorical’, ‘information given’) in the first place, at a given point in conversation, rather than ‘given off’ perhaps because it is automated (‘responsive’ in the behaviorist sense).

A second salient methodological issue connected with the investigation of strategic style-shifting relates to interpretation: if it is to be claimed that an instance of (strategic?) use of a linguistic variety ‘creates’ or leads to a certain communicative effect and outcome, the analyst needs to adduce some kind of direct or indirect evidence that such an effect and outcome are indeed perceptible to/perceived by the audience at whom the strategy was directed. Otherwise, I would argue, while the analysis and description of communicative strategies may still be interesting in and of itself, it will be autarkical rather than practical, in the sense that there is no clear basis on which to assume that it has any relevance to the interaction it proposes to illuminate and to the participants involved.

I propose that the two issues I have raised here warrant addressing in any investigation of strategic uses of contextualization cues, such as mine. Below, I discuss my own methodological take on them in more detail, which leads me into a presentation of my study’s underlying rationale and outline (1.4.) as well as a description of the discourse data to be analyzed (1.5.).

³³ See above as well as Goffman (1959, 1981); Schiffrin (1990).





1.4. Methodological issues in the study of style-shifting

The first issue I have raised above, charting deliberate language use, is quite difficult to resolve, given that we cannot directly tap into a speaker's cognitive processes. Further, while social constructivist approaches to interactional analysis quite routinely (or even necessarily) assume that participant motivations and goals play a central role in language production, which is thus seen as strategy-driven to a rather large extent (see e.g. Coupland 2007a; Gumperz 1982; see also Silverstein 1993 and Verschueren 1998 on 'metapragmatic awareness'),³⁴ these motivations and goals may well operate beyond the level of consciousness, or at least below a level where they could be elicited and reported on meta-communicatively for the purposes of an analysis. As Gumperz puts it, asking a speaker to report directly on the incidence of particular linguistic variants in conversation "is in fact equivalent and perhaps no more effective than asking an English [native speaker] to record his use of – for example – future tense forms in messages referring to something that is about to take place".

One (indirect) methodological way to address this problem is to focus the analysis on 'high performance' speech events in which language form is quite automatically foregrounded as a function of the situative context. Coupland (2007a: 147–48) characterizes 'high performance' events with a list of seven 'dimensions' as being:

- *form-focusing* The poetic and metalinguistic functions of language [come] to the fore and considerations of 'style' in its most commonplace sense become particularly salient.
- *meaning focusing* There is an intensity, a density and a depth to utterances or actions, or at least this is assumed to be the case by audiences.
- *situation focusing* Performers and audiences are not merely co-present but they are 'gathered', according to particular dispositional norms. People know their roles.
- *performer focusing* Performers hold a 'floor' or a 'stage', literally or at least in participants' normative understandings of speaker rights and sequencing options.
- *relational focusing* Performances are *for* audiences not just *to* audiences [...] Although audiences are often public, performers will often have designed their performances for specific groups.
- *achievement focusing* Performances are enacted in relation to more or less specific demands. 'Stakes' (gains, losses and risks) are involved, with potential for praise or censure for good or bad performance.
- *repertoire focusing* Performers and audiences are generally sensitive to what is given and what is new in a performance. Performances may be versions of known pieces, or at least known genres. Innovative interpretation can be commended. Rehearsal is relevant.

³⁴ Note that Gumperz' (1982) book is actually entitled 'Discourse Strategies'. See also Goffman's (1959) discussion of 'expressive control'.





Instances of such 'high performance' include radio talk (see Coupland 2001b); public speeches (Coupland 2007a,b); or stage play (Barrett 1998; Coupland 2001a, 2004, 2007a); but sequences of high performance can also occur in everyday interaction (see e.g. most contributions in Auer 2007; see also Schilling-Estes 1998, 2004).

The selection of high performance settings for analysis, then, can usually circumvent the issue of the ambiguous "relativities of speaker responsiveness and speaker agency" (Coupland 2007a: 79) to an analytically acceptable degree, by focusing on situations in which strategic language use is practically inherent. My own contribution to the investigation of strategic style-shifting uses a similar methodological 'fix': the data I draw on in my discourse analysis of rhetorical style-shifting in Austria are taken from episodes of a TV political discussion show, which I argue is also a locus of high performance by Coupland's standards (see above), due to its nature of a public 'display' (literally, a 'show'). I describe my data in more detail further below in this chapter.

The second issue I have raised above, perception, or how to find evidence for the assumption that strategic language use actually has an effect on the audience and thus the respective interaction, is in fact rarely addressed at all from a methodological perspective in the context of research on rhetorical style-shifting. However, perception is a *constitutive* element of interactional meaning-making: if interpretation hinges on the inference of meaning via contextualization cues (see above), an audience's perception of such cues and of the contextual associations they are indexing are basic communicative requirements. Further, as Irvine (2001: 22) reminds us, styles are "part of a *system of distinction*, in which a style contrasts with other possible styles, and the social meaning signified by the style contrasts with other social meanings".³⁵ Perception of the *distinctiveness* of cues and realization of the *contrastiveness* of the social associations attaching to them are therefore integral parts of interactional meaning-making involving the strategic use of styles.

Establishing evidence for these perceptions in an analysis of agentive style-shifting is particularly vital if the shifting occurs between closely related varieties that share many linguistic features, as in the case of Austrian standard-dialect shifting (see chapter 2 below on language use in Austria), as opposed to shifting between rather clearly distinguishable varieties (languages). If the boundaries between varieties are difficult to draw from a linguistic perspective, especially because there is a lot of overlap, the analyst is arguably in need of finding some empirical basis for assigning utter-

³⁵ Irvine's article in Eckert & Rickford (2001), from which I am quoting here, is particularly interesting because it contributes and thus integrates into the general sociolinguistic discussion a view of style from the perspective of 'anthropological linguistics', which shares with general anthropology i.a. an interest in the role of broad-scale social 'ideologies' in interaction. (See also e.g. Schieffelin et al. 1998 on 'language ideology'.)





ances to one or the other variety and thus to establish the coordinates of the 'system of distinction and contrasts' relevant to the respective interaction.

In my own study, I tackle the issue by designing and implementing two experiments that allow me to describe Austrian listeners' perceptions of dialect features as well as the (stereo)typical associations the use of dialect evokes. The first is a 'dialect perception test' that asks Austrian listeners to listen to recorded talk and underline in a transcript any words they perceive as dialectal/non-standard. The second is a matched-guise type language attitude experiment (see e.g. Lambert et al. 1960) asking Austrian informants to evaluate recordings of the same text performed in different 'guises' (dialect and standard) on adjective scales in a questionnaire. My goal is to demonstrate that these two types of experiments are highly useful tools in the effort to address and give proper attention to the two main perceptual constituents of an Irvinean stylistic 'system of distinction' as outlined above – the distinction of linguistic cues on the one hand, and the contrast of the social meanings attaching to these cues on the other.

I discuss the methodology and research frameworks involved in these two experiments in more detail in chapters 3 and 4 respectively, in which I also present the results obtained. However, it is also important to recall that the outcomes and observations drawn from the two experiments are *subservient* to my broader agenda, which is the investigation of the strategic use of Austrian dialect in conversational data. The contextual frame from which these conversational data are drawn, then, has an immediate bearing on my experimental design. At this point, it is therefore useful to provide a detailed outline of this contextual frame.

1.5. Presentation of the discourse data: *Offen gesagt*

The data for my discourse analysis of the strategic use of Austrian dialect in interaction come from a weekly Austrian TV political discussion show called *Offen gesagt* ('Openly Said'). In its entirety, the data pool on which I draw consists of thirty-four 60 to 90 minute-long episodes of the show, video-recorded randomly between January 2004 and early May 2005 (a total of 54 shows were broadcast during that time period).

Offen gesagt was broadcast every Sunday night around 10 pm on the second of two Austrian national (public) TV channels, ORF2, from 2002 until 2007, when it was renamed *Im Zentrum* ('In the Center') following a program reform.³⁶ Each show assembled a group of four to six invited

³⁶ After introducing a live studio audience in May 2005, the show returned to the old configuration without such an audience in 2007, and is now again overall very similar to the format of the episodes I am analyzing. The introduction of a live audience in May 2005 is the reason why I am not including any shows after





guests who had some expertise relating to a hot topic of the week – these topics ranged from current interior and exterior politics, election campaigns, and court cases, to public interest issues like traffic or pollution, or even humanitarian catastrophes such as the 2004 tsunami. The invitees represented different points of view on the given topic and were asked to engage in a discussion chaired by a network journalist and broadcast live. Discussion shows like this have a long-standing tradition on Austrian TV; they have been produced and broadcast under various titles (but in very similar format) for some 40 years. According to media surveys for *Offen gesagt* as provided by the producing public broadcast station ORF, they draw a home audience in which the upper class and upper middle class (which typically include the highly educated in Austria) as well as the older generation (50–59 years of age) are overrepresented.³⁷

From the analytic perspective of the ‘ethnography of communication’,³⁸ the typical format underlying any particular episode of *Offen gesagt* from which I draw my discourse data provides a general context for the concomitant conversational interaction, and thus can be described as the respective ‘communicative situation’ or ‘situation of language use’.³⁹ In order to facilitate cross-cultural description and comparison of communicative situations, then, Hymes (1972) proposed a now-classic heuristic taxonomy of eight central ‘components of speech’, which can be summarized using the mnemonic acronym SPEAKING: ‘Settings’; ‘Participants’; ‘Ends’ (the goals of the interaction); ‘Act sequences’ (referring to the ordering of speech acts involved); ‘Keys’ (the emotional feel); ‘Instrumentalities’ (e.g. the ‘code’ used); (social) ‘Norms’; and ‘Genres’. Using Hymes’ SPEAKING grid, the basic configuration of the communicative situation typical of the discussion show *Offen gesagt* can be outlined as follows (Table 1, pp. 22–23):

that date in my data pool, as I believe this reduces comparability (considering issues of ‘participation framework’ dynamics – Goffman 1981; see 1.3. above).

See e.g. Lalouschek (1985); Wodak & Vetter (1999) for studies of an earlier incarnation of the political discussion show format on Austrian TV called *Club 2* (which was recently picked up again).

³⁷ Personal communication by ORF customer service, which also included the advertising audience profile for the relevant broadcasting slot (Sunday night). Data indicated to me were for the year 2004, which is the year when most of the shows for my discourse data pool were recorded.

³⁸ Ethnography of communication is a field of study that “synthesizes” the anthropological study of the description and analysis of culture with linguistics, focusing “on the patterning of communicative behavior as it constitutes one of the systems of culture, as it functions within the holistic context of culture, and as it relates to patterns in other component systems” (Saville-Troike 2003: 1).

³⁹ See 1.3. above, Saville-Troike (2003: 23), Schifffrin (2006c) for further definition of the concepts.





S	Settings	<ul style="list-style-type: none">– TV studio in Vienna, Austria– Sunday night (ca. 10–11pm)– Armchairs are arranged in a circle, small side-tables are provided to hold glasses of water– Cameras move around in the background– No live studio audience
P	Participants	<ul style="list-style-type: none">– On camera:<ul style="list-style-type: none">• one journalist/host• 4–6 experts/politicians/activists/eyewitnesses– Off camera:<ul style="list-style-type: none">• audience at home– ‘Backstage’: studio technicians
E	Ends	<ul style="list-style-type: none">– Overall purpose of the show:<ul style="list-style-type: none">• to illuminate a hot topic of the week in discussion by presenting and confronting different viewpoints, for the benefit of the audience at home; ‘infotainment’– Goals of the invitees:<ul style="list-style-type: none">• to present their opinion/perspective authoritatively and convincingly• to argue and make their points• politicians: to represent their party’s position in view of gaining votes from and scoring sympathies with the audience at home– Goals of the host:<ul style="list-style-type: none">• to elicit opinions and ask topic-relevant questions to generate a lively discussion• to assign turns• to referee, to keep control and order in the discussion• to deliver an interesting TV program– Goals of audience at home:<ul style="list-style-type: none">• to become informed on different positions on a hot topic• entertainment (e.g. via enjoying a lively and controversial altercation)
A	Act Sequences	<ul style="list-style-type: none">– Pre-recorded introductory sequence presenting the topic and invitees (including short sound-bites)– Greeting by the host– Presentation of today’s topic– Introduction of the participant who gets the first turn (others to be introduced as their turn comes up)– Start of the discussion:<ul style="list-style-type: none">– Host: assigns turns, provides commentary and questions, seeks clarification (as ‘representative’ of the audience at home), calls participants to order if necessary– Discussion participants: present arguments and opinions, often in long stretches of monological talk, answer questions, address and confront other’s arguments and opinions, present party ideology (politicians)– Closing of discussion, thanks and leave-taking by the host, music
K	Key	<ul style="list-style-type: none">– Typically rather serious but with occasional banter and humor; formal, distant, and polite; also influenced by the topic – can be somber (e.g. in connection with natural disasters), belligerent (e.g. during election campaigns), centered on facts (expert opinions)





I	Instrumentalities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Spoken discourse, with occasional visual presentations of statistics or graphs relating to the topic on a virtual screen (introduced by the host) – Use of the standard language variety dominates, but shifts into dialect also occur quite frequently – Live broadcasting via Austrian national TV network ORF2
N	Norms	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Recognition of the host as ‘referee’ authority – Language norm: standard is expected on national TV – Discipline is required: orderly turn-taking (assigned by host, one speaker at a time), limited speaking time for each participant (at host’s discretion)
G	Genres	– Live TV discussion show, public television

Table 1: Description of the communicative situation of *Offen gesagt* using the SPEAKING grid

As pointed out above, this taxonomic description outlines a configuration of contextual parameters that is *typical for* and *expected of* the speech situation of each episode, with variation and adaptation between episodes concerning mainly the local realization of its inherent ‘variables’ (e.g. who is invited, who is hosting, what is the daily topic). In that sense, then, this contextual configuration can be seen as a part of the ‘schematic knowledge’ which the participants (including the audience) bring to the show and draw on in the course of making sense of the unfolding interaction.

The term ‘schematic knowledge’ designates a socio-culturally shared set of “cognitive constructs or configurations of knowledge [i.e. ‘schemas’] which we place over events so as to bring them into alignment with familiar patterns of experience and belief” (Widdowson 1983: 54) and which functions as an organizing device and source of reference for categorizing and arranging the information at hand so that it can be interpreted (see also Widdowson 1990, 2004). In other words, schematic knowledge is relevant to meaning-making in an interaction as a ‘structure of expectations’ (Tannen & Wallat 1993: 59) derived from past culturally situated experience of similarly configured situations.⁴⁰

Schematic expectations, then, factor directly into local meaning-making and interpretation in an interaction as prior socio-cultural knowledge the interactants bring to it and draw on to interpret ‘what (activity) is going on’, ‘what game is being played’ – in short, to (re)construct *local interactional frames* (see Tannen & Wallat 1993).⁴¹ This consideration is relevant to my

⁴⁰ The origin of the concept and term of ‘schema’ is usually attributed to Bartlett (1967 [1932]) – see Tannen & Wallat (1993); Widdowson (1990, 2004).

⁴¹ In his work developing a theoretical basis for the analysis of ‘stylization’ (the performative use of style) in talk, Coupland (2007a: 113 ff.) introduces a three-part classification of ‘discourse framing’: (1) socio-cultural framing, which reflects macro-level social frames relating to e.g. age, gender, ethnicity; (2) genre framing, reflecting meso-level social frames such as ‘set-piece performance’ or ‘conversation’; and (3) interpersonal framing, reflecting micro-level social frames of local instances of talk. It seems that, like the SPEAKING grid, such a classi-





present purposes as it points to the fact that one of the things I need to accomplish in order to unpack the different aspects of the contextualization process in my analysis of the strategic use of Austrian dialect in interaction is to bring the different data sets I draw on and make relevant to each other *in line* in terms of the interactional frames in which they were produced. In other words, because the contextual frame of ‘what is going on’ is such a fundamental part of interpretation and meaning-making in any interaction, *including linguistic experiments*, it follows that in order for the observations from my perceptual experiments to be convincingly transposable and applicable to my later discourse analysis, the contextual frames of reference for the main speech situation and events implicated in each data set should be as similar as possible, which effectively ‘controls’ (or ‘eliminates’) them as a source for interpretive discrepancies. Put simply, one would be hard pressed to convincingly argue that the results obtained in the perception experiments are applicable to an analysis of discourse data if the invoked contextual frames were widely different.

Therefore, as mentioned earlier, the contextual parameters obtaining in the discourse data set of the discussion show episodes have a direct bearing on my experimental designs. For my dialect perception experiment, which I present in chapter 3, this means more specifically that I am using actual extracts from different episodes of *Offen gesagt* to play to my informants. Thus, I am at least to some degree experimentally recreating the experience of listening to and evaluating the speech naturally produced by the discussion show invitees in the context of the broadcasts.⁴² Further, my informant group, recruited from my own family, friends, and friends-of-friends, is actually a fair representation of the target audience of the TV show *Offen gesagt*: as mentioned before, according to media surveys for the show as provided to me by the hosting public broadcast station ORF, (upper) middle class audiences, which typically include the highly educated in Austria, are overrepresented during the relevant viewing period (Sunday nights after 10 pm). About half of my informants, then, hold an academic (master’s) degree; and almost all of them have a middle-class (i.e. ‘not working-class’) social background. In addition, all of them were familiar with the show and had at least once before watched it, some of them being regulars. Further, the typical *Offen gesagt* audience has a high proportion of viewers from the

fication could prove to be a useful heuristic for an analyst’s extraction of discursive frames that are relevant in an interaction – see Coupland’s own examples in (2004, 2007a).

⁴² Of course, certain limitations obtain, one of which concerns the fact that I am using audio instead of video playback in the experiment. A second concerns the task itself, which focuses on one particular aspect of the speech production, i.e. the identification of dialect vs. standard. A certain residual level of artificiality is, however, arguably part of the nature of experimental fieldwork.





older generations (50–59 years of age). Again, my informant group parallels this by more than a third members being in the age group of 50–70 years.⁴³

In my language attitude experiment, which I present in chapter 4, and which more specifically comprises a ‘speaker evaluation’ test, the controlling of contextual variables between the experimental and the discourse data set is just as imperative, as one of the central arguments I make in my present study is that such traditional language attitudinal experimentation and elicitation can be harnessed to closely recreate and in fact *simulate* the process of conversational ‘contextualization’. After all, what participants are asked to do in speaker evaluation experiments is to actively assess and interpret the use of different linguistic varieties in juxtaposition, very similar to when speakers perform shifts from standard speech into dialectal variants in a conversation to contextualize their utterances in terms of the social meanings attaching to the different speech varieties (as exemplified in my discourse data). In both cases – speaker evaluation and conversational contextualization – listeners are called upon to activate culturally shared, stereotypical, positive or negative associations attaching to the particular language varieties they hear being used, for the purposes of interpreting what is going on in the activity (interaction) they are engaged in. In other words, I assume that the meaning-making process involved in the speaker evaluation experiment and in the natural conversational setting are similar in essential ways. I suggest that this case could not be made as convincingly if, for example, I solely relied on direct methods of attitude elicitation like interviewing and opinion-survey, rather than presenting my informants with and having them respond to an auditory stimulus in an adapted version of the classic ‘matched-guise’ technique (see Lambert et al. 1960; see also my detailed discussion of the method in chapter 4).

The necessity of controlling for contextual variables has in fact been amply demonstrated in past language attitude research from the perspective of social psychology, which has repeatedly found that attitude elicitation is subject to influence from parameters such as the setting in which it is taking place or the topic involved (e.g. Cargile et al. 1994; Christian et al. 1976; Creber & Giles 1983; Giles & Ryan 1982; Preston 2006; Smit 1996; Zahn & Hopper 1985). Giles and Ryan (1982) identify two main dimensions along which situations of language attitude assessment vary: the extent to which a situation is construed as status- vs. solidarity-stressing; and the extent to which it is construed as group- vs. person-centered. The status/solidarity dimension addresses issues of power distribution and social hierarchy, while the group/person dimension relates to whether individuals perceive a situation more in terms of their social or their personal identity.

Differently configured situations of attitude assessment, then, may foreground different poles of the above dimensions (status/power or solidarity;

⁴³ See chapter 3 for additional details on my informant group and experimental set-up.





personal identity or social group identity), generating certain *expectations* of language use (see my discussion of schematic knowledge above). And in their evaluations, informants will typically show preference for those linguistic varieties whose 'social profile' (associated social values) better meets these expectations. Thus, speakers of 'standard' varieties almost inevitably receive better overall ratings than non-standard speakers in situations which can be characterized as formal and status-stressing, such as e.g. experimental settings involving a job interview for a 'white-collar' position (e.g. Hopper & Williams 1973; Soukup 2000), because the social values commonly associated with standard varieties (e.g. being 'correct', 'educated', 'upper class') seem to better match the relevant 'schemas' of expected language use in such situational frames. Similarly, the ratings of non-standard varieties may be boosted in informal, solidarity-stressing, and/or more personal situations (e.g. Luhman 1990).⁴⁴ The basic point to make here, then, is that attitudinal outcomes, as measured in a speaker evaluation, can diverge across differently characterized assessment situations. Thus, for the purposes of validity and a nuanced interpretation of results obtained, but also for the validity of any extrapolation of these results for other analytic purposes (as in my present study), it is vital to take into account and specify the setting (contextual frame of reference) of the attitudinal experiment.

Applying the commonly used characterizations of attitudinal experiment situations as outlined by Giles & Ryan (1982) to my description of the speech situation of the discussion show, as presented in my respective SPEAKING grid above, it seems that the situation is bound to be rather *formal*: first of all, it is taking place on a public stage (on TV) and ultimately plays to an anonymous (thus: unfamiliar) and distant, nationwide audience at home (which in the studio is embodied in the presence of the cameras that can occasionally be seen looming in the background). Thus, public prestige and 'face' (Goffman 1967) are at stake. The serious key and topics, as well as the interactional discipline required (though in reality not always strictly adhered to), further contribute to a certain impersonal atmosphere, which is only slightly mitigated by the immediate intimacy of the small participant circle. Further, the participants are typically invited in their function as experts or activists, thus re-presenting social groupings (the scientific community, a political party, an NGO) rather than merely presenting themselves as individuals. Although they may have known each other personally prior to and outside of the discussion encounter, the focus is thus on their relevant group-membership rather than their unique

⁴⁴ See also the relevant discussion of the 'status-matching hypothesis' in Kalin (1982); and see Shapiro (1997) on 'formality' as a parameter of English stylistic variation.

Note also a comment by Giles and Ryan (1982) pointing out that language attitude studies are predominantly carried out in status-stressing situations.





individual identity. In Giles and Ryan's (1982) terms, the present speech situation can thus also be identified as *group-centered* rather than person-centered. In addition, discussion participants are chosen to represent different sides or parties regarding the given topic so that the interaction is bound to be lively, and a confrontation of divergent positions often arises. Thus, *opposition*, rather than the establishment of harmonious agreement, is a salient situational feature in the discussion (and undoubtedly part of the show's entertainment value).⁴⁵ This is arguably concomitant with an emphasis on status (power) negotiations, rather than conducive to a construction of solidarity. In other words, the speech situation can be characterized as *status-stressing*, in Giles and Ryan's (1982) terms.

One of my main tasks in the design of the language attitude experiment, then, was to recreate a similarly configured communicative situation as frame of reference for the informants in their task of producing attitudinal evaluations. Two levels of framing were relevant here – the immediate physical conditions under which the experiment was carried out, and the 'virtual' setting proposed to the informants within the speaker evaluation task. The configuration of the first was largely contingent upon the recruitment of groups of Austrian university students as informants, which made it practical to conduct the experiment in university classrooms and mainly in the course of lectures and seminars. Fortunately, the contextual parameters in place in this educational setting, giving rise to a sense of formality, coincided with my needs. Further, an informant sample of university students shows important parallels to the make-up of the target audience for the TV discussion show *Offen gesagt* from which my discourse data are drawn: as mentioned above, according to media surveys for the show *Offen gesagt*, upper class and upper middle class audiences (which typically include the highly educated in Austria) are in fact overrepresented during the relevant viewing period (Sunday nights after 10pm). Thus, a student sample aligns quite well with the show's typical audience in terms of social and educational background.

Regarding the 'virtual' experimental setting, then, I presented a frame of reference to the informants under which 'communication trainees' (= the recorded speakers) were said to perform an argument to an 'anonymous public audience' (= the study informants), who are asked to give feedback on how the speakers 'come across' in their presentation (= carry out a speaker evaluation), supposedly for the purposes of rhetorical training, feedback, and improvement. Such a framing of the experiment was particularly useful because it introduced the notion of public speaking in front of an anonymous audience, which can be characterized as a status-stressing context, and by the same token establishes a group-centered context, in the

⁴⁵ See also Tannen's (1998) discussion of agonistic (i.e. ritualized, performative) opposition and conflict in the American cultural setting. See furthermore Grimshaw (1990) for a collection of articles on 'conflict talk'.





sense that personal characteristics of the speakers are unknown to the audience (and vice versa). In both aspects, the virtual setting created was in keeping with the framing of the TV discussion show *Offen gesagt* (see above).

This virtual frame introduced into the experiment was furthermore directly conducive to presenting a monologue to the informants, a communicative event that is on the one hand a typical feature of speaker evaluation experiments that allows the informants to ‘tune in’ to the language use they are assessing, but on the other hand also frequently occurs within the speech situation of the discussion show, as a longer stretch of talk by a single participant whose turn is usually assigned by the host (single-speaker turns being the desired norm, for reasons of comprehensibility of the broadcast). In keeping with *Offen gesagt*’s discussion activities and goals, the resulting stretches of talk often comprise the presentation of an opinionated (or even highly political) argument or standpoint. I recreated a similarly cast monologue for the language attitude experiment (an argumentative piece on genetically engineered food) in the text I gave to the speakers to perform (see chapter 4).

Lastly, the language varieties to be tested in the experiment, an urbanized (as opposed to rural) dialect of Austrian German and a standard form of Austrian German, also reflect the language use on the show *Offen gesagt* (see also chapter 2 on language use in Austria).

In chapter 4, I discuss the above-listed contextual factors of the language attitude experiment (informants, text, speakers) in more detail. For now, I re-emphasize the central point that designing *both* my perception experiments on the basis of the configuration of contextual parameters typically (‘schematically’) obtaining in the speech situation of the TV discussion show *Offen gesagt* is precisely what makes the obtained results available for extrapolation and application to my interactional sociolinguistic analysis of Austrian discourse data obtained from this show.

Chapters 3, 4, and 5, then, present the different interconnecting components of my study (dialect perception experiment, language attitude experiment, interactional discourse analysis). Before, however, it will be useful to further set the stage for the subsequent analyses by outlining their macro-level sociolinguistic context of language use in Austria.





2. LANGUAGE USE IN AUSTRIA⁴⁶

Grandfather (Opa) and Grandson (Michael) are standing in front of the elevator.

Michael: Opa, foahma owi!
Opa (vorwurfsvoll): Aber Michael, 'owi' – was soll denn das heißen!?
Michael (ernst): 'Owi' heißt 'hinunter', Opa!

Michael: *Opa, let's go 'owi' ('down' – dialect)*
Opa (reproachfully): *But Michael, 'owi' – what is that supposed to mean!?*

Michael (matter-of-factly): *'Owi' means 'hinunter' ('down' – standard), Opa!*

This little dialogue, which is part of my family's lore, reportedly occurred many years ago between my brother (then aged about 3) and my maternal grandfather. I quote it here because I believe it succinctly captures some of the essence of the sociolinguistic landscape in my home country Austria. First, it is a snapshot of how a little Austrian child has been quite typically socialized in the two systems forming the cornerstones of Austrian native speaking competence – 'Hochsprache' and 'Dialekt' varieties of Austrian German.⁴⁷ Clearly, even at age 3 my brother was already perfectly capable of shifting between dialect and standard, and of 'translating' from one into the other ('owi' – 'hinunter'). And as a second point, my grandfather's mildly reproachful reaction to my brother's opening utterance in dialect ("But Michael, 'owi' – what is that supposed to mean!?"), which is what prompted the shift and translation in the first place, provides a glimpse into the complexities and consequences of variety selection as well as the discrepancy of the social meanings attaching to dialect and standard usage in Austria: in short, speaking in dialect is considered 'not as nice' as speaking in standard. Now, children, of course, should be taught to speak 'nicely' ('schön sprechen'); therefore, it is a widely held Austrian belief, particularly in urban areas, that children should be addressed in and taught to use the standard. In this light, it is clear that my grandfather's 'question' about the meaning of the dialectal deictic was not a request for clarification at all (especially because he was a perfectly fluent dialect speaker himself) – it was an indirect expression of displeasure at my brother's dialect use, and

⁴⁶ I thank Rudolf de Cillia and Sylvia Moosmüller for their valuable comments on this chapter.

⁴⁷ I am henceforth using the English term 'standard' to refer to the 'Hochsprache' norm, and 'dialect' to refer to any dialectal/non-standard variety of Austrian German. I will have more to say about this dichotomy and the concomitant German terminology in the following.





thus a socializing intervention (although obviously my brother did not fully grasp this fact at the time).⁴⁸

Most German-language specialists today would probably agree that the realm of spoken language in Austria is fundamentally shaped by this dichotomy of ‘standard’ and ‘dialect’ forms of German that I have just illustrated (e.g. Ammon et al. 2004; Auer 1995b, 2005; Dressler & Wodak 1982; Ebner 2008; Moosmüller 1987a, 1988b, 1991). However, no perfect agreement reigns in academia with regards to what exactly constitutes and differentiates such a ‘standard’ and ‘dialect’. In particular, while the study of *regional (rural) dialects* as the historical basis of Austrian linguistic variation can boast a long-standing and well-established tradition within dialectology, dialect geography, and historical linguistics (culminating in the work of Kranzmayer e.g. 1956; see also e.g. Hornung & Roitinger 2000 [1950]; Lachinger et al. 1989; Moosmüller 1987b; Reiffenstein 2003; Scheutz 1985), research on the nature and status of variation ‘above’ the regional dialect level, i.e. on a ‘standard’ as well as on the vast amount of Austrian oral production that falls in-between the regional dialects and such a standard, has at times been quite controversial. Some of the main issues under contention are: (1) whether there is such a thing as ‘Austrian German’ (‘österreichisches Deutsch’ – e.g. de Cillia 2006a, 2006b; Ebner 2008; Muhr 2007; Muhr & Sellner 2006; Wiesinger 2006; or ‘Österreichisch’/‘Austrian’ – e.g. Muhr 1982, 1989) that exists in its own right and can be called a ‘standard’, alongside but distinct from, notably, a codified standard German of the federal republic of Germany; (2) how such a standard is to be defined and who uses it; and (3) whether and how the spectrum of linguistic production between standard and dialect can/should be delimited into separate varieties. (See also e.g. Ammon 1997; de Cillia 2006a,b; Clyne 1993, 2004; Löffler 2005; Moosmüller 1991; Muhr 1982, 1989, 1994; Scheuringer 1988, 1997; Wiesinger 1983, 2006 for discussion of these issues.)

In this chapter, I start out by providing a brief overview and description of the regional dialects of Austria, and then proceed to Austrian standard, in the light of the questions raised above. As it is the main function of this chapter to provide some general orientation for my larger research project on style-shifting, I pay particular attention to the standard-dialect dichotomy and existing descriptions of this relationship, with the goal of extracting a set of useful criteria by which they can be (and have been) distinguished from a linguistic point of view. These criteria will then be applied and tested in an experiment recording native speakers’ actual perceptions

⁴⁸ Interestingly, my own mother is currently repeating the pattern with my brother’s three-year old daughter, making every effort to speak ‘nicely’ with her in the standard, while my brother has been avoiding this. Presumably, the result will be that she, too, will grow up ‘bidialectal’.

See also Dressler & Wodak (1982) for a mention of ‘schön sprechen’ as an Austrian socializing norm.





of standard-dialect shifts, as reported in chapter 3, and later operationalized in my discourse analysis of standard-dialect shifting in chapter 5.

2.1. Regional dialects in Austria

Based on the characteristics of its regional dialects, Austria, together with Southern Germany and Switzerland, falls into the broader linguistic area of ‘Oberdeutsch’ (‘Upper German’), which together with ‘Mitteldeutsch’ (‘Middle German’) makes up the still broader area of ‘Hochdeutsch’ (‘High German’ – vs. ‘Low German’/‘Niederdeutsch’, spoken in the north of Germany) – (see e.g. König 2004; Wiesinger 2006). Most of the Oberdeutsch dialects on Austrian territory can be sub-classified as ‘Bavarian-Austrian’ (‘bairisch-österreichisch’); only in the western province of Vorarlberg as well as in small areas in the north of the Tyrol are Alemannic dialects spoken, similar to those in Switzerland.⁴⁹ The Bavarian-Austrian area can be split further into Middle Bavarian-Austrian (‘Mittelbairisch’), Southern Bavarian-Austrian (‘Südbairisch’), and a Southern to Middle Bavarian-Austrian transition area (‘süd-mittelbairisches Übergangsgebiet’), as illustrated in Figure 1 below:



Figure 1: Austrian dialect areas; based on information from the Austrian Academy of Sciences: <http://www.oeaw.ac.at/dinamlex/Dialektgebiete.html> (accessed 01/20/2009). Image: © Christian Löffler

⁴⁹ As Bavarian-Austrian is the dominating dialect group in Austria, it is also the main focus of my present study.





The main dialects, Bavarian-Austrian and Alemannic, arrived in the area of current-day Austria through migration and settlement of Germanic peoples from the 6th century onwards. By the Middle High German period (12–14th century) they were well established (Hornung and Roitinger 2000 [1950]; Reiffenstein 2003). Alemannic, spoken in the westernmost province of Vorarlberg, is marked notably by archaisms in the vowels – thus, where Bavarian-Austrian diphthongized the historic long /i:/ and /u:/ sounds, a development that was subsequently taken over into standard German, Alemannic retains the monophthongs, as in *mein* [mi:n] ('my') and *Haus* [hu:s] ('house'). Further, while Bavarian-Austrian dialects are characterized by a realization of standard /a/ sounds as [ɔ] e.g. as in *machen* ['mɔxŋ] ('make'), Alemannic usually preserves a 'clear' [a] sound. Additional salient features are for example a loss of nasals before fricatives (e.g. *Gans* [ga:s] 'goose'); or the diminutive form *-li* vs. Bavarian-Austrian *-(e)rl* as e.g. in *Kindli* vs. *Kindl* ('little child') – (see Hornung & Roitinger 2000 [1950]).

In addition to the above-mentioned realization of /a/ as [ɔ], a second salient phonological characteristic of all Bavarian-Austrian dialects is a clear ('helles') [a] sound in [ka:s] ('cheese') or ['fasl] ('barrel') where standard German shows an umlaut (*Käse* ['kɛ:se], *Fäßlein* ['fɛslaen]).

Zehetner (1985) and Wiesinger (1990) provide concise overviews of the main grammatical features of Bavarian-Austrian – the following is a selection, for further orientation in the context of my current study:⁵⁰

(1) Morphology:

- Genitive case: Bavarian-Austrian uses paraphrasing: e.g. dial. *des Haus vo mein Voter* ('the house of my father') or *mein Voter sei Haus* ('my father his house') vs. std. *das Haus meines Vaters* ('my father's house')
- No case distinctions in the plural for many noun classes: e.g. dial. *de Fiass* (Nom.), *mit de Fiass* (Dat.) vs. std. *die Füße* (Nom.), *mit den Füßen* (Dat.) – ('the feet/with the feet')
- Reduction of case endings:
 - e.g. the 3rd p. sg. masc. pronoun has a fixed Dat. and Acc. form *eam*: thus, dial. *I gibs eam* (Dat.), *I schau eam ò* (Acc.) vs. std. *Ich gebe es ihm* (Dat.), *Ich schaue ihn an* (Acc.) – ('I give it to him'; 'I look at him')

⁵⁰ For further reference, see also e.g. Wessely's (1981) case study of the syntax of dialect in Lower Austria; Wiesinger (1989) for a description of Bavarian-Austrian inflectional morphology; Maiwald (2002) for a description of the Middle Bavarian-Austrian temporal system.





- e.g. indefinite article:

	dialect:			standard:		
	masc.	neut.	fem.	masc.	neut.	fem.
Nom.	<i>a</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>ein</i>	<i>ein</i>	<i>eine</i>
Dat.	<i>an</i>	<i>an</i>	<i>ana</i>	<i>einem</i>	<i>einem</i>	<i>einer</i>
Acc.	<i>an</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>einen</i>	<i>ein</i>	<i>eine</i>

- 2nd p. pl. verb ending -s:
dial. *ihr/es wisst+s* vs. std. *ihr wisst* ('you-pl. know')
- loss of the verbal inflection of 1st p. sg. present tense (e-apocope):
e.g. *i geh* vs. standard *ich gehe* – ('I go')
- location adverbs/deixis:
e.g. dial. *owi*; *eini* vs. std. *hinab/hinunter*; *hinein* ('down'; 'into'; the difference in forms is a result of reverse ordering of morphemes in the dialect: std. *hin+ein* ↔ dial. *ein+hin* > *eini*)

(2) Syntax:

- use of *dass* ('that') with other conjunctions:
e.g. dial. *statt dass* vs. std. *statt (+INF)* ('instead of')
ohne dass vs. *ohne (+INF)* ('without')
- splitting of pronominal adverbs:
e.g. dial. *von was* vs. std. *wovon* ('from what')
zu was vs. *wozu* ('to what')
für was vs. *wofür* ('for what')
- use of the relative pronoun *was*, often in conjunction with the definite article:
e.g. dial. *der Mann, (der) was* vs. std. *der Mann, der*
das getan hat *das getan hat*
(‘the man who did that’)
- word order in subordinate clauses:
e.g. dial. *weil das ist gut* vs. std. *weil das gut ist*
(‘because it is good’)
- *tun* ('do')-periphrasis:
e.g. *tun* + INF: dial. *sie tuat bochn* vs. std. *sie bäckt*
(‘she is baking’)

Among the Bavarian-Austrian dialects spoken on Austrian territory (Middle Bavarian-Austrian, Southern Bavarian-Austrian, Southern to Middle Bavarian-Austrian – see Figure 1 above), Middle Bavarian-Austrian is by far the dominating one, comprising the most speakers (particularly because it is spoken in the capital Vienna). Its distinctive characteristic is a weakening of consonants ('Konsonantenschwächung' – Hornung and





Roitinger 2000 [1950]; Zehetner 1985),⁵¹ as manifest (1) in the vocalization of liquids in the syllable coda, i.e. vocalization of /l/ e.g. as in *Schule* [ʃui] ('school') or *viel* [fy:] ('much'); and vocalization of /r/ e.g. as in *Herr* [hɛɐ̯] ('sir') or *wird* [vɪɐ̯d] ('becomes');⁵² as well as (2) in the lenition of plosives, eg. /t/ > /d̥/ as in *Tag* [d̥ɔg] ('day'); /p/ > /b̥/ as in *putzen* [b̥utsɐn] ('to clean'); /k/ > /g/ (before sonorants) as in *Kreis* [gɾaɛs] ('circle') – (Hornung & Roitinger 2000 [1950]; Zehetner 1985). This has ultimately led to a 'collapsing' of the /t/ & /d/ and /p/ & /b/ phonemes (and of /k/ & /g/ before sonorants), so that e.g. *Teer* ('tar') and *der* ('the') become homophones: [d̥ɛɐ̯].⁵³

Zehetner (1985) calls Middle Bavarian-Austrian the most 'modern' of the Bavarian dialects, because it has undergone the most diachronic changes. By comparison, Southern Bavarian-Austrian is more archaic or 'conservative', typically exhibiting no consonant weakening (see e.g. its realization of an affricated /kx/ as in *Käse* [kxɑ:s] – 'cheese'); showing no /l/-vocalization; and preserving unstressed syllables to a higher degree. Another salient feature of Southern Bavarian-Austrian are certain 'falling' diphthongs e.g. as in *See* [sɛɐ̯] ('lake') or *rot* [rɔɐ̯t] ('red') – (Hornung & Roitinger 2000 [1950]; Zehetner 1985).

2.2. The standard-dialect relationship in Austrian German

As I have mentioned at the outset of this chapter, while the taxonomy and descriptions of the regional dialects in Austria seem to be rather well-established in academia, the description, delimitation, and modeling of variation above the level of regional dialects, i.e. of a standard and any variety/ies that would appear to fall between such a standard and the regional dialects, has been a point of contention within Austrian and German (socio)linguistics.⁵⁴

⁵¹ Kranzmayer (1956) in fact frames this as the 'mittelbairische Lautverschiebung' ('Middle Bavarian sound shift').

⁵² See also Scheutz (1985) for further detail and description. *R*-vocalization can in fact now be considered a feature of German in general (de Cillia 2006a; Moosmüller 1991, personal communication; Scheutz 1985).

⁵³ The resulting consonants are commonly rendered as [d̥], [b̥], [g̥] in Austrian linguistics, a tradition I follow in this study.

⁵⁴ Note that the delimitation problem does not apply to the same extent to the Alemannic-speaking area of Austria (Vorarlberg and small regions in Tyrol). Here, like in Switzerland, the dialects are linguistically further removed from any form of standard German, and practically no intermediate forms are said to exist (see e.g. Ammon et al. 2004). Thus, the distinction between standard and dialect speech is more straightforward than in the Bavarian-Austrian speaking areas, where intermediate forms dominate everyday speech. However, as pointed out above, the focus of my research project is on Bavarian-Austrian as the dominant Austrian dialect area. For the linguistic situation in Vorarlberg see e.g. Hornung & Roitinger (2000 [1950]); Jochum (1999); Ruoff & Gabriel (1998).





Traditionally, a tripartite model has been assumed in order to capture the relationship of standard, dialects, and the variation in-between. This model assumes a standard variety (often labeled ‘Hochsprache’ or ‘Standardsprache’)⁵⁵ on the (socially) ‘upper’ end, dialect (‘Mundart’, ‘Dialekt’/‘Basisdialekt’) at the ‘bottom’, and an intermediate ‘transitional variety’ (‘Ausgleichsvarietät’) of ‘Umgangssprache’/‘Substandardsprache’ that is ‘upwardly oriented’ towards the standard (see Ebner 2008; Löffler 2005). Standard and dialect are thus essentially conceived as opposing poles of a continuum where transitions are fluent but compartmentalization is possible at least to a certain extent.⁵⁶

Critics of such models routinely cite an insurmountable difficulty of drawing boundaries for any sort of variety taxonomy (see notably Auer 1990; Dressler & Wodak 1982; Moosmüller 1987b, 1991; Reiffenstein 1977; Scheuringer 1997).⁵⁷ Thus, for example, Scheuringer (1997: 336–37) contends:

Unlösbar ist dabei das Problem einer klaren Unterscheidung zwischen *Dialekt* und *Umgangssprache*, wobei das Differenzierungsproblem meines Erachtens nur Symptom der Tatsache ist, daß eine genauere Unterscheidung wirklich nicht möglich ist [...] Hätte die Standardsprache nicht gewissermaßen als Korrektiv ihre schriftliche Ebene und das Kriterium ‘Schriftfähigkeit’, wäre auch zu ihr kaum eine Grenze zu ziehen.

The problem of a clear differentiation between Dialekt and Umgangssprache cannot be solved, and the problem of differentiation itself is in my opinion only symptomatic for the fact that an exact distinction is really not possible [...] If the standard language did not have as some sort of corrective the written mode and the criterion of ‘writability’, then it could hardly be delimited either – [my translation].

⁵⁵ Linke et al. (2004: 348) state that ‘Standardsprache’, the more recent term, has the fewest social connotations and thus is preferred in much modern German sociolinguistics. Moosmüller (e.g. 1991) prefers ‘Hochsprache’. In my own study, I use the two terms interchangeably and translate them both into English as ‘standard’.

⁵⁶ As an example of such compartmentalization, Wiesinger’s (e.g. 2006) model assumes a structure with four varieties (‘Basisdialekt’ – ‘Verkehrsdialekt’ – ‘Umgangssprache’ – ‘Hochsprache’); while Kranzmayer (1956), the widely recognized eminent Austrian authority on historical dialect geography, assumed five (‘Bauernmundart’ – ‘Stadtmundart’ – ‘Verkehrsmundart’ – ‘Verkehrssprache’ – ‘Hochsprache’).

⁵⁷ As Moosmüller (1987b) mentions, this very difficulty was already pointed out on a more general level by Weinreich (1954).





Complexities for the description and delimitation of the standard-dialect continuum arise for a number of reasons:

(1) Historically, ‘Umgangssprache’ is indeed an ‘intermediate product’ (‘Ausgleichsprodukt’ – Wiesinger 2003) between standard and dialect, generated within a field of tension between those two poles that resulted in part from the imposition from above (by court) of a standardized pan-German ‘Schriftsprache’ (‘writing language’) from the 18th century onwards (Ebner 2008; Wiesinger 2003). Although this ‘Schriftsprache’ significantly overlapped with a prior existing standard that was based on Bavarian-Austrian (developed from the written, administrative ‘Kanzleisprache’ – ‘chancery language’), new concomitant pronunciation norms were largely codified on the basis of East-Middle-German and Northern German standard usage, which was only partly congruent with Austrian usage. As a result, a lot of linguistic mixing and adapting occurred in Austrian urban centers, where before dialect had predominated everyday speech (even at the Viennese court – Ebner 2008; Wiesinger 2003). Language contact between standard and dialects was also promoted via the expanding school system, where dialect-speaking students encountered ‘Schriftsprache’ through literacy, mostly for the first time in their lives.

(2) Today, traditional conceptions of standard pronunciation in Austria still stress its orientation towards the ‘Schriftsprache’ (“Die Standardsprache ist die regionale Realisierung der Schriftsprache” – ‘The standard is the regional realization of the writing language’ – Wiesinger 2006: 34; my translation). A point of contention has been, however, whether there is such a thing as an ‘Austrian German’ standard pronunciation of ‘Schriftsprache’, or whether the only real standard is the one codified on a German German basis, for example in the famous and widely influential *Siebs Deutsche Aussprache* (de Boor et al. 1969) and in the *Duden Aussprachewörterbuch* (2000).⁵⁸ Of course, the problem is that any description and codification of ‘Austrian German’ as a national standard and its delimitation from other national standards of German transcends linguistic considerations and inevitably brings up broader issues of Austrian linguistic, cultural, and political identity (see de Cillia 2006a,b; Muhr 1989). In particular, it is usually Austria’s (political, economical, cultural, historical) relationship with its neighbor Germany that looms large over the discussion. Thus, de Cillia (2006a) locates one impetus for the conception of a standard ‘Austrian German’ that is systematically different from standard German as used in

⁵⁸ Muhr’s (2007) *Österreichisches Aussprachewörterbuch* (‘Austrian pronunciation dictionary’) is a recent publication that documents the actual pronunciation practices of professionally trained speakers (news anchors and radio hosts with the Austrian national broadcasting company ORF) in formal contexts, in view of suggesting it as a model norm for a distinctly *Austrian* standard.





Germany (and elsewhere) in a more general post-World War II effort to distance Austria from its role in the recent atrocities and to conceive an independent national identity (see also Ebner 2008; Scheuringer 1997).⁵⁹ Such identity-construction resulted in symbolic acts like the re-naming of the school subject *Deutsch* ('German') into *Unterrichtssprache* ('language of instruction') at the end of the war (which was reversed a few years later), and the creation of the *Österreichisches Wörterbuch* ('Austrian Dictionary') in 1951 (which is today the orthographic standard for Austrian schools and administration and went into its 40th edition in 2006).⁶⁰ Similar symbolic 'identity management' occurred when Austria, in negotiations leading up to its accession to the European Union in 1995, insisted on the inclusion of "Protokoll Nr. 10 Über die Verwendung spezifisch österreichischer Ausdrücke der deutschen Sprache im Rahmen der europäischen Union" ('Protocol No 10 Regarding provisions on the use of specific Austrian terms of the German language in the framework of the European Union'⁶¹) in the treaty. Said protocol lists 23 mainly culinary Austrian variants that are thus granted the same status and legality as the corresponding German German terms (de Cillia 2006a; see also Ebner 2008).⁶²

⁵⁹ Note, though, that the discussion about an 'Austrian German' as a separate entity dates back at least to the 19th century, with ongoing political tensions with Prussia and the pan-European national independence movements particularly of the non-German-speaking countries within the Austro-Hungarian Empire, which found an outlet in World War I (Ebner 2008; Wiesinger 2003).

⁶⁰ Source: <http://www.oebv.at/> (accessed 01/20/2009). For a discussion of the dictionary, its development, and its role as a language codification instrument see e.g. Dressler & Wodak (1983); Pollak (1992); Wiesinger (2006). Recently, the Duden Verlag has issued its own *Das große österreichische Schulwörterbuch* ('The big Austrian school dictionary', 2008), approved for use in Austrian schools by the Federal Ministry of Education.

⁶¹ Translation adapted from the Official Journal of the European Union (<http://eur-lex.europa.eu/> – accessed 01/20/2009).

⁶² These terms are: Austrian *Beiried* (vs. German usage of *Roastbeef*), *Eierschwammerl* (vs. *Pfifferling* – 'chanterelle mushroom'), *Erdäpfel* (vs. *Kartoffel* – 'potato'), *Faschiertes* (vs. *Hackfleisch* – 'minced meat'), *Fisolen* (vs. *Grüne Bohnen* – 'green beans'), *Gammeln* (vs. *Grieben* – 'crackling'), *Hüferl* (vs. *Hüfte* – 'haunch'), *Karfiol* (vs. *Blumenkohl* – 'cauliflower'), *Kohlsprossen* (vs. *Rosenkohl* – 'Brussels sprouts'), *Kren* (vs. *Meerrettich* – 'horseradish'), *Lungenbraten* (vs. *Filet*), *Marillen* (vs. *Aprikosen* – 'apricots'), *Melanzani* (vs. *Aubergine*), *Nuss* (vs. *Kugel* – 'flank' of e.g. veal), *Obers* (vs. *Sahne* – 'cream'), *Paradeiser* (vs. *Tomate* – 'tomato'), *Powidl* (vs. *Pflaumenmus* – 'plum jam'), *Ribisel* (vs. *Johannisbeere* – 'currant'), *Rostbraten* (vs. *Hochrippe* – 'roast joint'), *Schlögel* (vs. *Keule* – 'leg' e.g. of veal), *Topfen* (vs. *Quark* – 'curd cheese'), *Vogerlsalat* (vs. *Feldsalat* – 'corn salad'), *Weichseln* (vs. *Sauerkirschen* – 'sour cherry').

De Cillia (2006a: 136) comments, "Offensichtlich spielen Essvokabel eine zentrale Rolle für das österreichische Deutsch – sogar dann, wenn sie linguistisch gesehen gar keine echten Austriazismen sind, sondern nur dafür gehalten werden – und haben eine zentrale Bedeutung für das österreichische Selbstverständnis" ('Obviously, food terms play a central role for Austrian German – even





Muhr (1994) captures some of the entanglement of such sociopolitical acts of identity management with broader Austrian political discourses and party politics when he relates them to cultural discourses of *Österreichpatriotismus* ('Austria-patriotism', i.e. demonstrative display of an Austrian national identity), which he connects mainly with the left political spectrum, while the political right wing in Austria is traditionally linked with *Deutschnationalismus* ('German-nationalism') and has little interest in a clear sociocultural separation from Germany.⁶³ Of course, Deutschnationalismus was also the central ideology of the Nazi terror regime in the 1930s and 40s (although its genesis dates back much longer and notably traces back to the 19th century concept of the 'Kulturnation'). All this goes to illustrate the ideological undercurrents one potentially 'wades into' when engaging in the discussion and analysis of a standard German in Austria, and how difficult it may become not to lose sight of the *linguistic* perspective.

(3) Over the years, the normative works on standard German pronunciation (*Siebs Deutsche Aussprache* – de Boor et al. 1969; *Duden Aussprachewörterbuch* 2000) have in fact begun to include a set of 'particularities' ('Besonderheiten') of an Austrian standard pronunciation, notably in connection with a reconceptualization of German as a 'pluricentric' language, i.e. as a language that is "used as national or regional official language in more than one country, which has resulted in variation on the level of the standard" (definition by Ammon et al. 2004: XXXI – my translation).⁶⁴ However, in reality, what is popularly used as 'standard' in Austria (but even in Germany, for that matter) deviates significantly from the codified pronunciation norms (Ammon et al. 2004; Auer 1995b; Moosmüller 1987b, 1991, 1996; Muhr 1989; Reiffenstein 1982; Wodak-Leodolter & Dressler 1978). Only very few and mostly professionally trained Austrian speakers still adhere to and actively control the codified pronunciation norms of 'Schriftsprache', while nowadays even TV and radio anchors, politicians and other public speakers, as well as the 'educated elite', i.e. those groups

when from a linguistic perspective they are not real 'Austriacisms' but are only thought to be so – and they have a central importance for Austrian identity' – my translation). As de Cillia points out, the purely symbolic nature of this act is evident in that it was neither preceded nor followed by any significant official language planning policies regarding the status and function of an 'Austrian German'. See also de Cillia (1998) on language policy in Austria.

⁶³ In a much-quoted incident, Austria's most notorious right-wing demagogue, Jörg Haider, once called Austria an 'ideological miscarriage' ('ideologische Missgeburt' – see e.g. Muhr 1994). The underlying suggestion is, of course, that Austrians and Germans are assumed to form a single nation that should have remained united. For further discussion of the negotiation of Austrian national identity see de Cillia & Wodak (2006); Wodak et al. (1998).

⁶⁴ For further discussion of 'pluricentrism' and related concepts within Austrian and German sociolinguistics see Ammon (1995, 1997, 1998); de Cillia (2006b); Clyne (1993, 2004); Ebner 2008; Kloss (1978); Scheuringer (1997); Wolf (1994).





that would most likely be considered as ‘standard-setting’ from a sociolinguistic/descriptive point of view, use forms that are distinctly ‘flavored’ by the Bavarian-Austrian dialect base (see e.g. Moosmüller 1991, 2007; Reiffenstein 1982). In other words, while ‘Schriftsprache’ may well be the idealized, prescriptive ‘goal’ of production for standard speakers, it is quite removed from real-life usage. Overall, then, there arises a discrepancy of conceptions of Austrian ‘standard’ that is only beginning to be adequately addressed and captured in academic publications (e.g. Berend 2005; de Cillia 2006b; Moosmüller 1991, 2007; Muhr 1989, 2007). Moosmüller (2007), for one, provides a recent systematic description of the vowel system of a ‘Standard Austrian German’ based on the usage of highly educated (but not professionally trained) speakers from Vienna.

(4) Any usage-based account of an Austrian pronunciation standard, however, encounters additional complexity in the existence of regional standards. Thus, while Vienna can be assumed to function as a center for national standard-setting, influencing provincial capitals such as Graz, Linz, and Salzburg, these capitals as well as smaller regional centers in turn function as standard-setting focal points for their own local periphery (Moosmüller 1991).⁶⁵ What may be perceived as ‘standard’ in Innsbruck, for example, may thus not be perceived as ‘standard’ in Vienna. Standard Viennese speech, however, appears to have at least some linguistic and iconic currency as a super-regional norm (Moosmüller 1991).⁶⁶

(5) As for the ‘lower’ end of the standard-dialect spectrum, ‘dialect reduction’ (‘Dialektabbau’ – Reiffenstein 1977; 1997) is ongoing across the Bavarian-Austrian region, a phenomenon under which older, small-scale, local dialects come under pressure from diachronically more recent, more broadly used and increasingly widely spoken, and also more prestigious dialects, i.e. usually those emanating from urban centers and thus in close contact with the standard.⁶⁷ Overall, this has led to a relative reduction of the linguistic ‘distance’ between what is called ‘dialect’ and the standard: “Der Abstand der neuen Dialekte zur Standardsprache ist immer geringer als jener der Altdialekte” (‘The distance of the new dialects to the standard language is always smaller than that of the old dialects’ – Reiffenstein 1997: 393; my translation). Note, however, that the new varieties still retain a structural fundament of the older (rural) dialects, while also taking over

⁶⁵ Moosmüller here references Kreckel’s (1983) theory of center and periphery. See also Elspaß (2005) for a ‘bottom-up’ model of the development and diffusion of standard German and its regional ‘incarnations’.

⁶⁶ This is also evident in the fact that standard speakers are frequently assumed to originate from Vienna, as shown in comments by informants in my language attitude experiment (see chapter 4).

⁶⁷ These ‘super-regional’ dialects make up what is usually labeled ‘Umgangssprache’ in tri-partite models of the standard-dialect relationship (see above).





the main aspects of their social meaning and concomitant communicative function (Reiffenstein 1997; Steinegger 1998; see also chapter 4 below on language attitudes). Thus, it does not seem as if a complete merger of standard and dialect were imminent.⁶⁸

(6) With regards to such communicative function, it has been noted that another reason why it is so difficult to define and keep apart ‘standard’ and ‘dialect’ in Austria – particularly if the definition of these were to be purely in terms of social stratification and the characteristics of users – is, as Reiffenstein (1977: 176) puts it, “daß der Faktor der sozialen Schicht für das Sprachebenen-Phänomen in weit höherem Maße neutralisierbar ist [im österreichischen Deutsch] als im Binnendeutschen [...] Angehörigen aller sozialen Schichten stehen mehrere Sprachvarianten zur Verfügung, unter denen die Wahl im Hinblick auf Partner, Situation und Thema erfolgt” (‘that the factor of social class is to a higher degree neutralizeable [in Austrian German] than in German German [...] Members of all social classes have multiple linguistic alternatives at their disposal, among which the choice is made according to interlocutor, situation, and topic’ – my translation).⁶⁹ In other words, it is to be assumed that virtually all Austrians are competent in *both* dialect and standard⁷⁰ (even though degree and type of competence are indeed likely to be mediated by social/regional background, e.g. in terms of different permutations of active vs. passive command, regional vs. super-regional dialect, ‘Schriftsprache’ vs. common usage standard). It is furthermore to be assumed that all Austrians differentiate the two and have some control over their use, and that an important factor in the selection of forms from one or the other variety system is *speaking context* (e.g. interlocutor, topic, setting – see above) – (Reiffenstein 1977; Moosmüller 1991, 1995a; Scheuringer 1997; Steinegger 1998; Wiesinger 2006).⁷¹

⁶⁸ At least outside Vienna, in places such as Upper Austria, where instead it appears that the new dialects are encroaching upon the standard in the public domain of use. See also Ebner’s (2008: 13) mention of an oral “Standardverweigerung” (standard refusal).

Regarding Vienna, however, I have in my own experience noticed a tendency of the younger Viennese generation to be much closer to standard Austrian German in their everyday usage than any other group I know. Nevertheless, their passive (i.e. comprehension) competence in the dialect is usually fully intact, and a few very noticeable dialect features (such as *ge*-reduction – see further below) persist, in addition to characteristic prosodic features.

⁶⁹ Linke et al. (2004) make a similar point regarding the availability of both standard and dialect to most Austrian speakers.

⁷⁰ This is a point made explicitly e.g. in Wodak-Leodolter & Dressler (1978) and Moosmüller (1991; 1995b).

⁷¹ In fact, one frequent ‘Leitmotiv’ in the interviews I conducted with Austrian native speakers to explore my topic was the ‘compartmentalization’ of dialect and standard use in terms of context – for example speaking differently (i.e. using more dialect) at home and with friends than at work or in school (see also Steinegger





(7) By the same token, it is also important to note that popular conceptions of Austrian ‘dialect’ and ‘standard’ are intrinsically intertwined with the social meanings attaching to their use. In particular, researchers consistently find in their interviews and interactions with Austrian native speakers that dialect use is socially stigmatized and has low prestige, in the sense that it is perceived as less educated, less refined, and overall less ‘proper’ than standard speech (de Cillia 1997; Moosmüller 1987b, 1991, 1995a,b; Muhr 1982; Pollak 1992; Reiffenstein 1977; Steinegger 1998). In my own fieldwork in Austria, dialect was frequently labeled as ‘uneducated’ (‘ungebildet’) and above all as ‘sloppy’ (‘schlampig’), and speakers were said to ‘sink into’ it (‘in den Dialekt verfallen’) when they shifted, or to ‘let themselves go’ (‘sich gehen lassen’), or to just not make an effort to speak more properly (‘sich nicht bemühen’). By contrast, standard speech was often characterized as ‘clear’ (‘deutlich’), ‘clean’ (‘sauber’), and ‘correct’ (‘richtig’), and overwhelmingly equated with ‘nice’ and ‘beautiful’ speech (‘schön sprechen’). However, dialect was in turn said to be more pleasant (‘angenehm’), relaxed (‘gemütlich’), personal (‘persönlich’), and emotional (‘gefühlbetont’), while standard use was perceived as distanced (‘distanziert’) and pretentious (‘überkandidelt’) – (see my language attitude study in chapter 4 for further discussion).

Such social evaluation is deeply ingrained in Austrian psychological reality, and is an intrinsic part of socialization (see the anecdote at the outset of this chapter). Indeed, it has led some sociolinguists to diagnose a certain ‘schizoid’ tendency within Austrian linguistic identity construction (de Cillia 1997; Muhr 1982; Pollak 1992; Reiffenstein 1982): on the one hand, Austrian dialects, and Austrian linguistic ‘peculiarities’ in general, constitute a cherished identificational anchor (especially in view of a delimitation from neighboring Germany). And yet, acceptance of a characteristically Austrian *standard* German, particularly concerning pronunciation, is low within the country – the idealized target norm is still ‘Schriftsprache’ (writing language – see above), which almost nobody uses.⁷² For Reiffenstein (1982: 11), this has caused a constant feeling of guilt (“permanentes Schuldgefühl”) in the population regarding the non-adherence to an accepted norm. And Muhr (1982: 308) sums up the paradoxical situation succinctly as “anders sprechen zu müssen und anders sprechen zu wollen

ger 1998). Note, however, that a description of the situation in Austria as ‘diglossic’ is nevertheless usually rejected by linguists, because a diglossic model is said to be unable to capture the characteristic constant intermingling of standard and dialect, and because a clear division of domains of use cannot be generalized across the whole population (see e.g. Auer 2005; Moosmüller 1987a,b, 1991; Moosmüller & Vollmann 1994; Reiffenstein 1977; see e.g. Fishman 1972a,b, 1991 on the concept of ‘domain’; Ferguson 1959; Hudson 2002 on ‘diglossia’).

⁷² That ‘Schriftsprache’ is still the commonly assumed target norm of ‘standard’ speech is another finding attested in my fieldwork, e.g. in comments such as ‘Dialekt ist es wenn man es nicht schreiben kann’ (‘It’s dialect if you can’t write it’).





als man es eigentlich kann und tut" ('having to and wanting to speak differently from how one is actually able to and does speak' – my translation).

By the same token, the dialect, despite being the form of language that is commonly used in most contexts by the vast majority of Austrians, is associated with some very negative social meanings and in some respects has much lower prestige than even any spoken Austrian standard. Overall, then, Austrians show linguistic insecurity concerning both their standard and dialect usage (although it appears to be doubly compounded in the case of the latter).⁷³

What becomes clear from such a discussion of the complexities of the sociolinguistic situation in Austria is that any adequate model of 'standard' and 'dialect' will have to account on the one hand for the intrinsic connections and fluid transitions between these poles, and on the other for their distinctness as well: while it is difficult if not impossible to delimit discrete varieties on the existing standard-dialect continuum, it is also just as clear that speakers do conceptualize as well as *perceive* and *evaluate* 'standard' and 'dialect' as distinguishable entities,⁷⁴ and use them as contextualization resources in a differentiated way (see de Cillia 1997; Moosmüller 1991, 1995b; Reiffenstein 1977; Steinegger 1998).

One approach to disentangling and explicating the complex relationship between Austrian standard and dialect is via the so-called 'Zwei-Kompetenz-Modell' ('two-competence model') developed notably by Austrian linguists Wolfgang Dressler, Ruth Wodak, and colleagues (e.g. Dressler & Wodak 1982; Moosmüller 1987a,b, 1991; Moosmüller & Vollmann 1994; Wodak-Leodolter & Dressler 1978), and recast by Auer (1990, 1995b). In contrast to other models that posit a dialect to be derived from a standard or vice versa, or assume a common underlying representation of the two systems with partly different outputs, a two-competence model assumes two separate underlying representations (see Auer 1995b, Moosmüller 1991). For Austrian German, Moosmüller (1991: 32 ff.) proposes these to be 'Dialekt' (in a broad sense, i.e. regional as well as super-regional or urban dialectal/non-standard/low prestige speech), and 'Hochsprache',⁷⁵ which she in fact defines as an *abstract* norm that is oriented towards the codified pronunciation of German supra-national 'Schriftsprache' with a few Austrian 'Besonderheiten' (see above), and which, despite the fact that almost nobody in Austria uses (or even masters) it, is deeply ingrained as the idealized standard target in the consciousness of Austrian speakers. The general

⁷³ See also chapter 4 below for how this plays out in my language attitude experiment.

⁷⁴ Moosmüller (1995a: 295) illustrates this with a poignant quote by one of her Austrian informants, a dialect speaker: "Meine erste Fremdsprache war die Hochsprache" ("My first foreign language has been the Austrian Standard" – Moosmüller's translation).

⁷⁵ Moosmüller (1995a, 1995b) herself also translates this into English as 'standard'.





assumption is that Austrian speakers intentionally select either one of these two systems as they talk, based on communicative context and purpose (Dressler & Wodak 1982; Moosmüller 1991; Reiffenstein 1977). The analytic focus and interest therefore becomes how to differentiate the two systems on the surface, and how to explain the fact that some utterances cannot be clearly assigned to either in their actual realization.

Because such a perspective on language use in Austria fits in well with my present research agenda investigating speakers' intentional language use, the *Zwei-Kompetenz-Modell* and associated literature on Austrian language use constitute another central backdrop for my study. In the following, I compile criteria growing out of this model, by which standard and dialect can be differentiated, with the goal of operationalizing these criteria in my further data analysis.

2.3. Standard vs. dialect: phonology

Commonalities and fluid transitions between the two underlying systems of 'Dialekt' and 'Hochsprache' have been quite plausibly explicated from the theoretical perspective of 'natural phonology' ('*Natürliche Phonologie*' – see e.g. Donegan & Stampe 1979; Dressler 1984; Foltin & Dressler 1997; Moosmüller 2007).⁷⁶ Natural phonology takes particular interest in the explanatory power of 'natural' processes of fortition/clarification/foregrounding (i. e. processes that serve and enhance perceptibility) and lenition/obscuration/backgrounding (i.e. processes that serve and enhance ease of articulation) for the derivation of phonetic output from phonemic input (see Dressler & Wodak 1982; Foltin & Dressler 1997).⁷⁷ While especially prelexical/phonemic dissimilation processes may be distinct for Dialekt and Hochsprache, thus clearly setting them off from each other perceptually, some natural phonological processes, especially those that enhance ease of articulation (e.g. assimilation), may be shared by the two systems. Thus, their application can result in basically the same output (Auer 1995b; Dressler & Wodak 1982; Moosmüller 1991). Speakers intentionally select either underlying system (Dialekt or Hochsprache) upon talking; but natural processes may intervene subconsciously and 'automatically', depending on situative, physiological,

⁷⁶ In the following, I draw on terminology and concepts from Natural Phonology with the caveat that a discussion of Natural Phonology regarding its status vis-à-vis other current phonological theories is beyond the scope of this study. For recent discussions of Natural Phonology refer to e.g. Donegan (2002); Dressler (2002).

⁷⁷ The relevant terminology has been developed and changed over the years – thus, 'foregrounding' and 'backgrounding' are Dressler's (1984) terms, capturing 'hearer friendly' (perception-oriented) vs. 'speaker friendly' (production-oriented) processes. 'Fortition' and 'lenition' are the original terms used e.g. by Donegan & Stampe (1979). (See Foltin & Dressler 1997).





and psychological parameters such as speech rate, casualness, emotionality, attention, or tiredness (Auer 1995b; Dressler & Wodak 1982; Moosmüller 2007).⁷⁸ This also explains why the actual realization may *unintentionally* deviate from the selected target (Auer 1995b; Moosmüller 1991).

The following are examples of natural speech processes that Austrian dialect and standard share:⁷⁹

- (1) Deletion of /e/ in unstressed syllables, e.g. in the suffix *-en* (except after nasals), as in *reisen* ['ræsn̩] – 'travel'.⁸⁰ This is often concomitant with nasal assimilation (e.g. *haben* 'have' is realized as ['ha:b̩m̩]), and can lead to consonant-deletion ([ham]), though the latter may be considered dialectal.
- (2) Collapsing of syllable-initial and -final lenis/fortis plosives /d/–/t/ and /b/–/p/ due to respective fortition/lenition.⁸¹ In the standard, this causes words like *Dank* ('thanks') and *Tank* ('gasoline tank') or *backen* ('bake') and *packen* ('pack') to be homophones; this also applies to /g/–/k/ before sonorants, e.g. in *Greis* ('old man') and *Kreis* ('circle').
- (3) Intervocalic lenition of the fortis plosives, e.g. in *Vater* ['fa:ðɐ] – 'father'
- (4) Vocalization of /r/ in the syllable coda, e.g. *wird* [vɪʁd̩] – 'becomes'
- (5) Intervocalic spirantization of the lenis plosive, e.g. *aber* ['aβɐ] – 'but'

⁷⁸ This finding from Natural Phonology is, of course, reminiscent of Labov's (e.g. 1966a) correlation of lack of attention paid to speech with 'vernacular' usage. See Auer (1995b) and Dressler & Wodak (1982) for discussion of the two-competence-model in contrast to a traditional Labovian model of variation, which usually assumes a single underlying representation for standard and non-standard varieties.

⁷⁹ See Dressler & Wodak (1982) and Moosmüller (1987b, 1991) for a detailed discussion of these processes and their specific rules of application in standard and dialect. Note that this discussion only refers to the Bavarian-Austrian dialects. See furthermore Muhr (2007) for a detailed description of the sound system of Austrian standard.

⁸⁰ See also Bürkle (1993); Muhr (2007); Wiesinger (2006).

⁸¹ Some linguists have pointed out that one identifiable general feature of Austrian German pronunciation is that the +/– voice distinction for plosives is replaced by the lenis/fortis relation (e.g. Muhr 1989; Reiffenstein 1973).

As Wiesinger (2006) mentions, the collapsing of plosives is particularly common in the Middle Bavarian-Austrian area (see my discussion of Middle Bavarian-Austrian above). However, as this dialect is the most dominant, it also appears to have influenced 'new' super-regional dialects as well as the standard in this regard. Therefore, in my ensuing transcriptions of Austrian standard, I do not distinguish between /p/ & /b/ and /t/ & /d/ but transcribe as [b̥] and [d̥] respectively (as well as [g̥] before sonorants), to do justice to the fact that such lenition/fortition of plosives cannot be regarded as a distinctive dialect feature in Austria.





Application of these processes may be different for dialect vs. standard, for example they may be categorical in the dialect but optional/linguistic context-dependent in the standard. (Such distinction of application is, of course, one main argument for the assumption of two separate underlying systems instead of just one.) Further, as already mentioned above, the processes may be context-sensitive in the sense that they are more likely to be applied in unstressed sentence position, in fast/informal speech, and in situations of emotionality, tiredness, or lack of attention, than in stressed sentence position and slow/careful/formal speech, which is typically due to the fact that they enhance ease of articulation (often at the detriment of perceptibility) – (Auer 1995b; Dressler & Wodak 1982; Moosmüller 1991).

In a Germanophone context, dialects and standards usually share many such processes. This has in fact led Auer (1995b) to propose that the underlying structures of dialect and standard may *overlap* to a certain degree, instead of assuming two completely separate underlying structures where much of the same type of information would have to be doubly stored. According to Auer's model, the amount of overlap would depend on whether standard and dialect constitute a repertoire with 'highly focused' varieties (i.e. one where neither linguists nor members of the community have difficulty in labeling individual utterances as 'dialect' or 'standard', and there are no intermediate structures – e.g. in Vorarlberg Alemannic), or a repertoire with a 'diffuse' structure and intersecting underlying systems (i.e. where there will be utterances that are difficult to assign unambiguously to either the standard or the dialect, and a given structure may thus be 'more or less' dialectal, as in the 'new' super-regional Bavarian-Austrian varieties).⁸²

Two examples of salient processes that *set off* Austrian dialect from standard are *l*-vocalization and *ge*-reduction, which are backgrounding processes that only apply in the system of the dialect (see e.g. Moosmüller 1991). *L*-vocalization is characteristic of the Middle Bavarian-Austrian dialects in particular; it applies in the syllable coda, e.g. in *Schule* [ʃui] 'school', or *Soldat* [sœ'ʦɔɕ] 'soldier'.⁸³ The reduction of the prefix *ge*- is not specific to a region, but characteristic of Austrian dialect in general. *Ge*- can either be reduced through schwa-deletion before fricatives or vowels (e.g. in *gewesen* ['gve:sɐ] 'been'), which can also involve voice assimilation (e.g. in *Geschichte* [kʃiçɕ] 'story'); or it is deleted altogether before stops (e.g. in *gegangen* ['gaŋɐn] 'gone'). The outcomes of both the *l*-vocalization and *ge*-reduction process are rather easily perceptible, and thus open to social evaluation. Accordingly, standard-oriented speakers tend to avoid them, especially in formal situations (Moosmüller 1991).

⁸² Auer here references Le Page's distinction of 'focussing' vs. 'diffusion', which implies more or less sociolinguistic variability and cohesion (e.g. Le Page & Tabouret-Keller 1985).

⁸³ See e.g. Scheutz (1985), Moosmüller (1991) for more detail on *l*-vocalization.





Dialect and standard are most clearly set off from each other, however, in those cases where due to different diachronic developments corresponding dialect and standard forms exist that are not synchronically related at all, meaning that there is no synchronic phonological process that would link one with the other. For example, the Middle High German (MHG) diphthongs /ie/, /üe/ and /uo/ developed in Middle Bavarian-Austrian dialect primarily into [ɪə] and [ʊə], whereas in the standard they were monophthongized (Moosmüller 1991). Thus, today, the dialectal form [lɪɐ̯] matches up with standard [li:b̥] ('lovely'), and dialectal [gʊɐ̯] with standard [gu:d̥] ('good'). Such correspondences are called 'input-switches' in Austrian sociolinguistics (see e.g. Dressler & Wodak 1982; Moosmüller 1991; Moosmüller & Vollmann 2001).⁸⁴ Input-switches, then, are co-existing forms whose relationship is only diachronically, but not synchronically, explicable; they can be lexically idiosyncratic (i.e. restricted to certain lexical items) or isolated forms that have to be learned as a list (e.g. dial. [nɛ:d̥] vs. std. [niçd̥] 'not'); their use is independent of linguistic context; and there are typically no gradient forms in-between.

Table 2 below is a compilation of common input-switches in Austrian German (based on Dressler & Wodak 1982; Leodolter 1975; Moosmüller 1991).⁸⁵

Standard	Dialect	Example	'English gloss'	Comments
[i:]	↔ [ɪə]	[li:b̥] ↔ [lɪɐ̯]	'lovely'	
[u:]	↔ [ʊə]	[gu:d̥] ↔ [gʊɐ̯]	'good'	
[aɛ]	↔ [ɔə]	[bʁaɛd̥] ↔ [bʁɔɐ̯]	'broad'/'wide'	
[aɛ]	↔ [a:]	[bʁaɛd̥] ↔ [bʁa:d̥]		Viennese
[aɔ]	↔ [a:]	[aɔx] ↔ [a:]	'too', 'also'	
[a]	↔ [ɔ]	[haɔ] ↔ [hɔ]	'has'	
[vɪə]	↔ [mɪə]		'we'	
[vɪə], [mɪə]	↔ [ma]		'we', 'me'	enclitic/unstressed
[niçd̥]	↔ [nɛ:d̥]		'not'	
[ðas]	↔ [ðɛ:s]		'this'/'the'	
[sɪnd̥]	↔ [san]		'(we/they) are'	
[ç], [x]	↔ 0	[iç] ↔ [i:], [ðɔx] ↔ [ðɔ:]	'I', 'still', 'anyway'	

⁸⁴ Auer (1995b) uses the term 'rules of correspondence' to capture the same relationship between standard and dialect forms.

⁸⁵ Note that segmental input-switches may be restricted in occurrence to specific groups of lexical items, based on historical origin (e.g. sound groupings in MHG).





[y]	↔	[i]	[glyk] ↔ [glik]	‘luck’	
[œ]	↔	[ɛ]	[ˈmœçdɛ] ↔ [mɛçd]	‘want’	
[ɔɐ]	↔	[aɐ]	[ˈhœdɛ] ↔ [haɐd]	‘today’	
[ʃon]	↔	[ʃɔ:]		‘already’	
[isɔ]	↔	[is]		‘is’	historically attested; but can also be interpreted as con- sonant-cluster reduction

Table 2: Common input-switches in Austrian German

Because the phonetic distance between the dialect and standard forms is usually rather great, input-switches are well distinguishable and perceptible. By the same token, the dialectal forms are highly stigmatized, although some more so than others: as Moosmüller (1991) points out, alternations like the [a] ↔ [ɔ] switch are less perceptible and thus also less taboo for/more frequently used by upper class/urban speakers (especially in unstressed sentence position) than e.g. an [i:] ↔ [ɐ] switch.

Because input-switches are not derived via natural (synchronic) phonological processes, it can be assumed that they are also well controllable in terms of production. Further evidence for this lies in a relative avoidance of the more salient input-switches by upper class/urban speakers in formal situations (compared with lower avoidance of ‘natural processes’), as evidenced in the descriptive analysis of natural speech data by Moosmüller (1991).⁸⁶

To sum up so far, then, according to past research on Austrian German, input-switches as well as the dialectal processes of *l*-vocalization and *ge*-reduction have been argued as well as attested⁸⁷ to constitute readily perceptible ‘measures’ for the differentiation of dialect and standard, and upper class/urban speakers in particular show conscious and intentional control over them (see also Moosmüller’s 1995b analysis of politicians’ speech behavior). Therefore, they warrant further exploration in my dialect perception experiment (see chapter 3), in which I propose to investigate what constitutes dialectal vs. standard speech for Austrian listeners, in view of my broader interest in the communicative functions of conversational shifting between these two systems (see chapter 1). Presumably, if a speaker produces an input-switch or uses *ge*-reduction or *l*-vocalization, this will be heard as dialectal by native speakers.

⁸⁶ An exception to this avoidance is the input switch [isɔ] ↔ [is], which Moosmüller (1991) attributes to the fact that, although it constitutes an input-switch from a historical perspective, it can also be interpreted synchronically as a consonant-cluster reduction process – see above.

⁸⁷ See Moosmüller’s (1991) perception experiment, which I also briefly review in the context of my own dialect perception experiment in chapter 3.





2.4. Standard vs. dialect: beyond phonology

So far, I have only discussed the phonological level of the standard-dialect relationship in detail. Turning now to the levels of morphology and syntax, a differentiation of standard and dialect may be easier here because Austrian spoken standard usage generally appears to follow the established codification norms for written language quite closely, and the latter are well documented. But recent interest in variation of standard language across the main national ‘centers’ of the German language (Germany, Switzerland, Austria) has also been conducive to the identification and compilation of respective ‘particularities’ (‘Besonderheiten’) beyond a codified pan-German written standard.⁸⁸

On the morphological level, then, some differences between a German German standard and an Austrian German standard are found in the use of gender (e.g. A(ustrian): *der Polster* masc. vs. G(erman): *das Polster* neutr. – ‘pillow’), which can also lead to differences in ending (e.g. A: *der Akt* masc. vs. G: *die Akte* fem. – ‘file’). Differences in the formation of plurals are also attested, e.g. *Erlass* sg. – A: *Erlässe* pl. vs. G, CH (= Swiss): *Erlasse* pl. – ‘decrees’. Further, standard Austrian German shows ‘Besonderheiten’ in word-formation, e.g. in terms of the use of a ‘Fugen-s’ (‘gap-filling -s’): A: *Schweinsbraten* vs. G, CH: *Schweinebraten* (‘pork roast’); but also concerning the formation of diminutives, with the typical (dialect-derived) form *-erl*: e.g. A: *Sackerl* vs. G: *Säckchen* (‘shopping bag’) – (see de Cillia 2006b; Ebner 2008; Tatzreiter 1988; Wiesinger 2006). On the morphosyntactic level, the almost exclusive use of perfect tense instead of preterite in spoken language (e.g. *ich habe geschrieben* vs. *ich schrieb* – ‘I wrote’) is a notable Austrian feature, as is the use of the auxiliary *be* instead of *have* in connection with certain verbs: A: *ich bin gestanden/gesessen/gelegen* vs. G: *ich habe gestanden/gesessen/gelegen* – ‘I am/have stood/sat/laid down’) – (e.g. Ebner 2008; Tatzreiter 1988; Wiesinger 2006).

Concerning pragmatics, Austrian German (standard as well as dialect) is vastly under-researched. A rare few pragmatic ‘Besonderheiten’ are recorded in comparison with German German, such as the use of titles as terms of address particularly in connection with the T-form, as in *Servus, Herr Sektionsschef, wie geht’s Dir?* (‘Hi Mr.Chief-of-Section, how are you’),

⁸⁸ Note that Ammon et al. (2004), as notable proponents of the pluricentric conceptualization of German, distinguish between ‘Nationale Vollzentren’ (‘full centers’), where the national ‘particularities’ of standard German have been codified in reference works (mainly dictionaries, e.g. the *Österreichisches Wörterbuch*/ÖWB) – this applies to Austria, Switzerland, and Germany – and a set of ‘Nationale Halbzentren’ (‘half centers’), where this is not the case to the same extent – these comprise Liechtenstein, Luxemburg, East Belgium, and South Tyrol. German is an official language in all seven of the listed states/regions. Ebner (2008) provides a recent, concise summary description of standard Austrian German under a ‘pluricentric’ view of German.





or even in writing, as in *Sehr geehrter Herr Professor, lieber Rudi!* ('Dear Mr. Professor, dear Rudi!') – (examples provided by R. de Cillia, personal communication; see also de Cillia 2006b). Wiesinger (2006: 16–17) furthermore reports that it is unusual in Austria to use personal names in addressing acquaintances; he also suggests that Austrians, compared to northern Germans, may appear more 'effuse', 'kind', or even 'long-winded' and 'repetitive' in their general language use ("Dass sich Österreicher besonders gegenüber der meist kurz angebundenen norddeutschen Verhaltensweise liebenswürdig und wortreich, ja manche zum Teil sogar umständlich und wiederholend ausdrücken, ist auch ein pragmatischer Zug"). Muhr (1987) provides a brief comparative analysis of the use of some discourse markers in Austrian and German German. However, there appears to be little work that discusses dialect vs. standard pragmatics within Austrian German that could be integrated into the present study.

Research on prosody is similarly scarce in the Austrian context.⁸⁹ Moosmüller (1985) provides an exception, finding that both vowel quantity and pitch contour play a role in the discrimination of standard and dialect (see also reporting of results in Moosmüller 1988b; 1991; 1995a). Thus, relatively longer vowels together with rising intonation in the second syllable of minimal-pair tokens are likely to be identified as dialectal (vs. standard) by native speakers. Moosmüller (1988b) furthermore describes a more monotonous intonation contour for Viennese dialect in particular. However, such findings cannot easily be extrapolated to natural speech data or to Austrian standard and dialect on a general level, and are overall too inconclusive to provide an additional set of criteria for standard-dialect differentiation for the present study.⁹⁰

Overall, then, a number of 'Besonderheiten' have been attested regarding Austrian vs. German spoken standard usage on the morphological and syntactic level. For the purposes of my project, these 'particularities' in conjunction with pan-German codified norms of standard language use constitute a handy blueprint for the standard-dialect delimitation, in the sense that any usage that falls outside the paradigm of Austrian and pan-German standard usage could arguably be labeled dialectal. Such a categorization can be checked back against and confirmed via descriptions of Bavarian-Austrian, to the extent that Austrian non-standard usage on the level of newer super-regional dialects coincides with or is based in the traditional regional dialects (see discussion further above).

For the differentiation of standard and dialect on the lexical level, the recent milestone publication of the *Variantenwörterbuch des Deutschen*

⁸⁹ Research on German prosody has recently increased in Germany – see e.g. Selt-ing (2005) for a description of the variation of intonation in the context of Berlin dialect; see also Auer et al. (2000); Peters et al. (2002).

⁹⁰ I nevertheless return to considerations of intonation in the course of discussing my dialect perception experiment in chapter 3.





(‘Dictionary of German Variants’ – Ammon et al. 2004; hereafter VWB) constitutes a valuable reference. It is the first dictionary dedicated entirely to national and regional variants of standard German. Entries were selected on the basis that they represent a *standard* national or regional (but not pan-German) ‘Besonderheit’ in form, usage, meaning, or frequency of occurrence (Ammon et al. 2004: XIff.). Standard-using text sources as well as existing dictionaries (e.g. the *Österreichisches Wörterbuch*) were used as the basis for the entry selection process (see also Ammon 1998). Not included in the dictionary are dialectal or ‘colloquial’ (‘umgangssprachliche’) as well as obsolete words, and professional or presumably ephemeral jargon. However, the authors qualify this by noting that idioms that could be attributed either to Dialekt or Umgangssprache were still included in the dictionary ‘if they occurred frequently in standard texts and therefore constituted borderline cases for the standard’ (“wenn sie öfter auch in Standardtexten vorkommen und deshalb einen Grenzfall des Standards darstellen” – Ammon et al. 2004: XII) – which, of course, points to a certain ‘residual fuzziness’ in the selection process that is only to be expected in view of the close entanglement of standard and dialect in many German-speaking areas (see my discussion above).

In the case of Austria, the ‘Besonderheiten’ of the lexicon arise for example from the specificities of Austrian statehood, legal system, and administration (thus e.g. the designation ‘Landeshauptmann’ vs. German German ‘Ministerpräsident’ for the head of a province), as well as from the base dialects and their different geographic strata (Ebner 2008; Wiesinger 2006). Thus, Austria shares a specifically Upper German lexicon with southern Germany and Switzerland (vs. middle and northern Germany), e.g. in words like *Orange* vs. middle/northern German *Apfelsine* – ‘orange’, or *Knödel* vs. *Kloß* – ‘dumpling’. On the level of the Bavarian-Austrian stratum, Austria and Bavaria share e.g. *Topfen* (vs. elsewhere *Quark* – ‘curd cheese’) or *Kren* (vs. *Meerrettich* – ‘horseradish’). Other words may be of more local/regional origin, such as e.g. *Sturm* for freshly fermented grape juice, which is in use in the wine-producing areas of Austria (all examples from Wiesinger 2006; see also Ebner 2008).⁹¹

For the purposes of the present project, then, the VWB constitutes a useful codex of *standard* Austrian lexical usage; any lexical items outside this corpus could arguably be considered non-standard/dialectal.

⁹¹ In terms of semantic fields, a statistic compiled by Ammon (1995) has shown that of a selection of 418 specifically Austrian lexical items, 24% referred to food and eating; 22% to administration, the legal system, health administration, school, or military; 20% to trade, commerce, agriculture, and traffic; 13% to household and clothing; 7% to human behavior and socialization, character traits, and body parts; and 5% to sports and games (with 5% ‘other’).





2.5. Summary and implications for the current study

In this chapter, I have presented an outline of language use in Austria, with a particular focus on the standard-dialect dichotomy that is at its foundation. After a brief overview of the regional base dialects, I discussed the main complexities involved in the definition and delimitation of Austrian standard vs. dialect. I then selected the ‘two-competence model’ as a theoretical backdrop for my present study; such a model assumes two underlying systems (competences) that Austrian native speakers share, ‘Dialekt’ and ‘Hochsprache’ (Dressler & Wodak 1982; Moosmüller 1991). Speakers are assumed to intentionally target one or the other while speaking; the analytic focus is thus on how these systems can (or cannot) be differentiated. Natural phonology has supplied a useful view of standard-dialect differentiation at the phonological level in the Austrian context. Based on this view, I identified a set of phonological features that have been shown to differentiate the two competences of Austrian speakers, ‘Dialekt’ (dialect) and ‘Hochsprache’ (standard): the natural processes of *l*-vocalization and *ge*-reduction, as well as input-switching (use of corresponding standard-dialect forms that are diachronically but not synchronically related).

Further, I have argued that existing descriptions and codifications of Hochsprache can provide a useful basis for the standard-dialect delimitation on the morphological, syntactic, and lexical level.

My next step in the present study consists in a dialect perception experiment in which I apply the information so far compiled to a data set recording the standard-dialect distinction as perceived by Austrian native speakers. Specifically, I investigate in how far passages of natural speech that have been marked as ‘dialectal’ by native speakers show any of the above listed phonological features (input-switches, *l*-vocalization, *ge*-reduction), and whether any dialectal morphological/syntactic/lexical features can be attested. The results thus gathered will provide direct guidelines for my subsequent discourse analysis of the interactional use of Austrian dialect in TV discussions (see chapter 5).







3. THE DIALECT PERCEPTION EXPERIMENT

3.1. Introduction

In this chapter, I present a perception experiment in which I asked Austrian native speakers to listen to recorded samples of naturally occurring talk in Austrian German and to mark up transcripts of these samples according to where they heard dialect being used, as opposed to standard. The purpose of this experiment is to gain insight into the criteria that a broad Austrian audience (i.e., for my present purposes, the viewers of a public broadcast TV discussion show) can be assumed to apply in their discrimination of dialectal vs. standard speech. The results from this investigation can then be employed to contextualize, inform, and ultimately validate my own native speaker's/analyst's judgments regarding the identification of dialectal passages in conversational data, namely in episodes from the TV show *Offen gesagt*, for the purposes of a discourse analysis of the interactional functions of Austrian dialect use (see chapter 5).

In the following, I start out with a general overview of past research on perception within sociolinguistics, in the context of which my experiment is located. I then proceed to the description of the experiment itself and the analysis of its outcomes. My analysis applies existing descriptions of Austrian German as outlined above in chapter 2 in the categorization of those linguistic features that appear to be most commonly recognized as dialectal by my informants. I conclude with a summary of my findings, a discussion of their implications for my broader research project, as well as an assessment of the methodology used in this perception experiment.

3.2. Sociolinguistic research on speech perception

Since the inception of the field of sociolinguistics, the vast majority of research has been concerned with speech *production*, i.e. what people actually *say*. By contrast, speech *perception*, which is concerned with what people *hear*, has so far remained the “neglected stepsister” (Thomas 2002: 115; see also Fridland et al. 2004; Kretzschmar 1999; Preston 1999a,b),⁹² although interest currently appears to be increasing (Labov 2006).

In a recent overview of acoustically-based ‘socioperceptual’ experiments, Thomas (2002) identifies and discusses five main areas of inquiry: the investigation of (1) listeners’ ability to identify the regional dialect, ethnicity, or socioeconomic level of speakers;⁹³ (2) how stereotypes can

⁹² This, despite the fact that perception is a constitutive part of communication – see my discussion in chapter 1.

⁹³ to which speakers’ sexual orientation should be added (see e.g. Queen 2007).





influence the perception of sounds; (3) the perception of vowel mergers or splits; (4) how dialectal differences affect the categorization of phones; and (5) listeners' language attitudes (as elicited e.g. in personality or job suitability assessments). The first and last categories (sociolinguistic identification of speakers; language attitude research) dovetail with the field of 'perceptual dialectology' or 'folk dialectology' (as exemplified e.g. in Preston 1989, 1999c; Long & Preston 2002) with its tradition of mapping dialect areas and boundaries according to the popular beliefs ('perceptions') of non-expert informants, although unlike other socioperceptual research such studies often do not use auditory stimuli. Further, research that falls into the last category (investigation of attitudes) is typically located within the tradition of the social psychology of language and concerned inter alia with the causes and effects of language ideology on speaker evaluation (for overviews see e.g. Agheysi & Fishman 1970; Cargile et al. 1994; Fasold 1984; Garrett et al. 2003; Giles & Powesland 1975; Preston 2002; Ryan & Giles 1982; Smit 1996).

Recently, there has been a general increase in work that marries descriptive studies of sociolinguistic variation (i.e. production) with acoustically-based perception studies that explore listener effects such as social categorization (for examples see Campbell-Kibler 2007; Fridland et al. 2004, 2005; Long & Preston 2002; Munson et al. 2006; Niedzielski 2001; Wolfram et al. 1999; see also Labov 1966 for one of the earliest models; as well the special issue on 'Attitudes, Perception, and Linguistic Features' of the *Journal of Language and Social Psychology* – Milroy & Preston 1999; the special issue on 'Modelling Sociophonetic Variation' of the *Journal of Phonetics* – Jannedy and Hay 2006; and see Moosmüller 1985, 1991 for work specifically on Austrian German). Typically, perception experiments within this context use short units of speech (words, sentences, often synthesized and acoustically manipulated), asking informants to categorize these according to different criteria depending on the study's particular descriptive focus, e.g. whether the speech sample/speaker sounds more or less 'Southern', 'Canadian', 'gay', 'lower class', 'white-collar', etc. Using short samples allows researchers to isolate the effects of single linguistic variables on listener perception while keeping other variables constant, and facilitates comprehensive acoustic exploration and analysis. (The trade-offs are a heightened experimental artificiality and the fact that informants' responses are largely predetermined in terms of the variables/features of speech they can focus on for their social identification judgments.)

To pick a recent example for illustration, Fridland, Bartlett, and Kreuz (2004, 2005), drawing on descriptive research on the Southern vowel shift in the U.S., devised a series of perception experiments that included the manipulation of the first and second formants of relevant vowels (i.e. the vowels' distinguishing frequencies) in otherwise identical tokens to generate gradients of Southern-shifted samples. They demonstrated that informants are sensitive even to very small-scale phonetic differences such as





slight alterations in F1 and F2 values, and are able to produce social categorizations of speech samples in accordance, successfully identifying tokens as shifted (i.e. Southern) or non-shifted (i.e. non-Southern). Concomitantly, they also labeled the samples as more or less educated and pleasant sounding, consistently attributing higher pleasantness and education scores to non-Southern shifted variants. Furthermore, there appeared to be a link between the salience of phonetic information and local speech norms; namely, that in the process of social evaluation informants picked up more on vowel shifts local to Memphis, the study's setting (e.g. shifts in front vowels), than on shifts that had previously been attested as more widespread across the U.S. (e.g. shifts in back vowels).

In the Austrian context, Moosmüller (1991) reports an experiment in which she asked informants to classify a series of speech samples according to speakers' assumed profession (university professor, secretary, tram conductor, etc.). The speech samples were manipulated to vary according to one particular feature at a time ([a] ↔ [ɔ] input-switch; /-vocalization; *ge*-reduction; Viennese dialectal monophthongization of [æ] > [a:]), so that the effect of these features on social evaluation could be isolated. In addition, samples of free conversation in standard and dialectal Austrian German were included. The results showed that the use of the tested dialect features, but of input-switches in particular, is readily perceived and stigmatized by informants of all social classes.

In a second experiment, Moosmüller (1985, 1991) investigated effects of prosody on standard-dialect discrimination, using pairs such as *Kosten* ('cost') and *Kasten* ('cupboard'), the latter realized with an [a] ↔ [ɔ] dialectal input-switch, so that the two become homophones on the segmental level ([^hkɔsdŋ]). The results showed that informants were able to successfully identify dialectal vs. standard tokens based on certain configurations of vowel quantity and pitch contour.⁹⁴

Experiments such as the ones described above are a promising step towards illuminating the relationship between linguistic production on the one hand, and perception, recognition, awareness, and social evaluation on the other. They show that "fine-grained acoustic characteristics are associated with differential evaluations – even when exceedingly small speech stimuli are presented" (Edwards 1999: 108). In that sense, socioperceptual research has convincingly refuted speculation that small-scale phonological variation may only be accessible to the highly-trained ears of linguist-experts (a question raised e.g. in Giles 1973; Robinson 1972).⁹⁵

⁹⁴ See also further discussion of the experiment towards the end of this chapter.

⁹⁵ Note, however, the above-mentioned potential relativity of perception to local speech norms (Fridland et al. 2004), as well as the attested influence of attitudes on perception (e.g. Niedzielski 1999, 2001; Strand 1999). Overall, this suggests that, while non-linguists' speech perception may not a priori be limited in terms of scale (i.e. they may be sensitive to very small-scale phonetic detail), it may be constrained by social habitus and experience, a limitation linguist-experts are





Further, as the experiments discussed above illustrate, perceptual research from a variationist perspective is directly and methodologically related to social psychological research on language attitudes and speech evaluation. In its most typical form, the latter strand of research presents informants with lengthy speech samples coupled with a questionnaire to elicit assessments regarding speakers' overall perceived level of education, pleasantness, employability etc. (see overviews cited above). In fact, socio-perceptual experiments as exemplified above in the studies by Fridland et al. (2004, 2005) and Moosmüller (1985, 1991) can in part be viewed as a remedial response to past criticism which pointed out that, while language attitude experiments have proven useful and successful in eliciting socially relevant folk beliefs and stereotypes associated with linguistic varieties, they rarely addressed the issue of whether the informants actually recognized which varieties were being employed or how/that they differed, and rarely drew links between evaluative outcomes and specific linguistic variables or speech attributes (see Edwards 1999; Preston 1989, 1999a; Williams et al. 1999).⁹⁶ As Edwards (1999: 108) puts it, the critics' argument was "for a more linguistically aware social psychology or a more psychologically aware sociolinguistics", a call which current socioperceptual research is beginning to address.

Of course, the argument could be made that recognizing and placing the variety one is listening to is not even necessary in order to be able to produce an evaluative response to a speech sample.⁹⁷ This, however, raises questions regarding the validity and interpretability of the experimental outcomes, i.e. what exactly *is* the subject of the stereotypes recorded with regards to a certain speech sample – regional or social dialect features identified by the listeners, a speaker's tone of voice or timbre, intonation or speech rate, or something else completely: did the speaker simply remind a listener of a friend, family member, celebrity?⁹⁸

presumably trained to (or have the tools to) overcome in their research on linguistic variation beyond their own native repertoires.

⁹⁶ But see Bradac et al. (1988), who examine lexical convergence/divergence, as well as Brown et al. (1975), who examine speech rate, for examples of language attitude studies attempting to isolate the effects of single variables on evaluative outcomes.

⁹⁷ In fact, the so-called 'inherent value hypothesis' (connected to early 'deficit' theories of linguistic variation and non-standard speech) suggested that some varieties (accents, dialects, languages) are *inherently* more pleasant-sounding than others. This position has since largely been abandoned in favor of an 'imposed norm hypothesis' that posits the dominant role of sociocultural norms in attitudinal evaluation (see discussion in Giles and Powesland 1975). Further, it appears plausible to assume that when faced with unfamiliar varieties informants will simply transpose evaluations from similar-sounding familiar varieties rather than responding to any 'inherent value' of the unfamiliar varieties themselves (see also Williams et al. 1999).

⁹⁸ This point is also made in Preston (1989), as discussed by Williams et al. (1999).





Therefore, it seems that from a methodological perspective, establishing that informants show *some* level of recognition or ‘folk linguistic awareness’ (Preston 1996, 2002) of the varieties under investigation is a requisite for the validation of most types of attitudinal experiments and their outcomes.⁹⁹ And even though the detailed acoustic analyses and experimental set-ups of socioperceptual research such as described above may exceed the scope of most social psychology-based language attitude investigations, the issue can still be treated adequately in the study design for example by asking the informants about the (social, regional) origin of the speakers they heard in an experiment (Preston 1989; see e.g. Smit 1994, Soukup 2000, and my language attitude study in chapter 4 for this approach); by asking them to categorize the samples according to a (pre-determined) taxonomy of styles (e.g. Taylor & Clément 1974) or by applying accent mildness/broadness and formality scales (Giles 1973); and/or by recording and qualitatively analyzing informants’ open comments in interviews and questionnaires.¹⁰⁰

3.3. Perceptions of style-shifting

I have already pointed out in chapter 1, with reference to Irvine’s (2001) conception of styles as forming a ‘system of distinctiveness’, that the issue of listeners’ awareness, recognition, and differentiation of varieties displayed in speech samples they are to evaluate is particularly acute if the varieties tested are closely related and share many linguistic features. What distinguishes one variety as an identifiable entity from another in informants’ perception? How are the varieties linguistically constituted, and which features are their most salient markers? I have also argued that these questions are of crucial import in sociolinguistic research focused on the investigation of style as a dynamic communicative resource for identity-management and meaning-making in interaction: the idea that speakers use styles strategically to elicit certain listener responses and thus achieve certain communicative effects and outcomes, such as a change in footing or key and concomitant frame-shift, the projection of different personas, even accommodation or divergence from the addressee, a heightened formality of the situation, etc., is basically *predicated* on the assumption that the different styles deployed are distinguishable for and perceived by listeners, so that this perception can be incorporated into the contextually situated interpretation of the ongoing discourse.

I have then argued that it follows that one prerequisite for the analysis of the interactional meaning and functions of the use of styles and style-

⁹⁹ See also Preston (1996, 2002) and Williams et al. (1999) for a discussion of different ‘degrees’ of folk linguistic awareness.

¹⁰⁰ For a more detailed and specific discussion of the theory and study of language attitudes see chapter 4 below, in which I present my own attitudinal experiment.





shifting in conversation should be the investigation of when and where listeners actually hear different styles being employed in ongoing talk. Socio-perceptual research from a variationist perspective has already begun to make some inroads here by tracking the effects of variation in isolated tokens and sentences on listeners' identification and differentiation of closely related linguistic varieties (see my discussion above). However, from a discourse-level perspective, the results are as yet limited in explanatory power because of the obvious discrepancies of task and scope between categorizing very small (possibly manipulated) speech samples, as in the typical experiment, and identifying and processing styles ad hoc within long stretches of emergent natural conversation, as in real-life interaction. Speaker evaluation studies under the tradition of language attitude research, while also supplying a body of work on the use of different styles and concomitant social evaluations (e.g. Bradac et al. 1988; Giles 1973; Taylor & Clément 1974), are likewise limited by methodological artifact. To some extent, such experiments can indeed be viewed as a close recreation and simulation of style-shifting in conversation, in the sense that they make it participants' task to actively evaluate the use of different linguistic varieties (styles) in juxtaposition, very similar to when a speaker shifts from one language variety into another in natural interaction (an argument I myself have made in chapter 1). However, the common limitation here is that each speech sample presented in the experiment is taken to function as an exemplar of one linguistic variety, to be identified, compared, and evaluated *as a whole* (e.g. in the case of Taylor & Clément 1974, as 'standard French' vs. 'familiar French' vs. Canadian dialectal 'joual'). In other words, while styles may routinely be shifted *between* experimental samples in an attitude study to measure concomitant evaluative effects, deployment of and shifting between different styles *within* one speech sample, and exactly where, how, and what stylistic boundaries are perceived in the emergent flow of talk, is rarely investigated.

In short, then, there is a noticeable methodological gap concerning socioperceptual research that is specifically geared towards perceptions of style-shifting and the deployment of different styles over longer, naturally occurring stretches of talk. In fact, Coupland (1980) appears to be the only one to date who has addressed the issue in an experimental design. In a study investigating the style-shifting pattern of a travel agent in Cardiff, Coupland supplemented his own linguist's delimitation of the agent's styles (obtained via correlating occurrence rates of linguistic variants with different constellations of the contextual factors 'topic', 'channel', and 'participants') with judgments of style-shifting elicited from 38 student informants. The informants were presented with nine speech samples of the travel agent; they received a transcript of the samples in standard orthography, and were asked to mark every point where they perceived a shift in accent mildness/broadness to occur, to record the direction of the shift, and to rate every half-line of discourse on a 5-point scale from most standard (1)





to least standard (5). The results showed “a remarkable degree of consistency over the 38 sets of evaluations” (Coupland 1980: 8), and provided a much more fine-grained identification of styles than did the preceding analysis based solely on the three contextual factors. Additional findings were (1) the occurrence of ‘fine transitions’, where “a speaker may move gradually from one style to another in a way that is, by definition, not detectable by the approach to linguistic variable[s] through correlations” (Coupland 1980: 10); and (2) the inadequacy of ‘topic’ alone as a correlate of style, which appears to take the backseat to the effects of the ‘function of the interaction’.¹⁰¹ Similarly, Coupland found that some interactionally meaningful shifts are not interpretable in terms of Labov’s criterion of ‘amount of attention paid to speech’.¹⁰²

Coupland’s study is one of the earlier ones embodying the paradigm shift from regarding styles as more or less automated correlates of contextual factors (topic, channel, participants) or of attention paid to speech to a conception of style as a pro-active communicative resource for speakers, which necessarily implicates the listener as the dialogic partner and ‘target’ of the stylistic variation deployed in the interaction (see chapter 1). As mentioned before, it is from this theoretical perspective also that I undertake my own investigation of the interactional use and functions of different varieties/styles (dialect and standard) in the Austrian context. In the following, then, I describe the methodological set-up and results of my own dialect perception experiment, extrapolated from Coupland’s, and intended to address the above-mentioned analytic gap by investigating when and where listeners actually hear distinct styles being employed in ongoing talk.

3.4. Methodology and design of the experiment

For my experiment investigating perceptions of dialect vs. standard speech in Austrian German, I asked 42 Austrian native-speakers to listen to an audio tape containing 12 passages of naturally occurring talk, and to mark up any sequence where, according to their own perception, ‘dialect’ (‘Dialekt’ or ‘Umgangssprache’) or ‘non-standard speech’ (‘nicht Hochsprache’) occurred, as opposed to standard (‘Hochsprache’ – see chapter 2 on language use in Austria). For the purposes of this task, the informants were given transcripts of the excerpts written out entirely in standard German so as not to anticipate judgment; they used colored markers for underlining the relevant text passages.¹⁰³ Each speech sample was played twice in immediate succession, after which the informants were furthermore asked to assign a score from a range of 1 (‘Dialekt’) to 5 (‘Hochsprache’) to the

¹⁰¹ Coupland references Ervin-Tripp (1964) for this term.

¹⁰² With a reference to Labov (1972).

¹⁰³ See Appendix A1 for the original transcripts used.





dominating speaker(s) of each sample. Subsequent to the experiment, I conducted (and tape-recorded) hour-long debriefing interviews with the informants in which I asked them to provide comments on the task as well as on the topic of Austrian standard and dialect use in general.

The samples of talk used in the experiment were taken from different episodes of the Austrian TV discussion show *Offen gesagt*, that is, from the same pool of data that I draw on for my investigation of the interactional use of Austrian dialect in conversation (see chapters 1 and 5). This way, the results from the perception experiment were to be directly applicable within the context of the subsequent discourse analysis.

Each speech sample selected contained at least one instance of a shift from standard into dialect according to my own judgment – mostly (but not exclusively) within one longer speaker-turn. The speech samples displayed a range of different frequencies of dialect features – from almost none to almost constant intermingling of standard and dialect.¹⁰⁴ The sample length ranged from approximately 35 to 100 seconds, with an average of 71.92 seconds. The word count was between 91 and 275, with an average of 187. The samples were always played in the same order (with faster and more intricate/lower sound quality samples towards the end, to allow for some adjustment to the task).¹⁰⁵

The final set of 12 excerpts from the show used in the perception experiment was selected after a pilot run in which an original 16 excerpts were played to four participants (two in two sessions); selection was largely based on these informants' responses and suggestions made in extensive follow-up interviews.¹⁰⁶

A total of 42 informants, all from the Middle Bavarian-Austrian dialect region (see chapter 2), completed the experimental task and debriefing interview, in a total of 19 sessions (group size: between one and four).¹⁰⁷ The informants were recruited from my own family, friends, and friends-of-

¹⁰⁴ See further below for more detailed discussion of the speech samples and amount of dialect features in connection with the overall 'dialectness'/'standardness' score received by each speaker.

¹⁰⁵ Low sound quality was due to the original recordings during the TV broadcast.

¹⁰⁶ Impressionistically, the markings of the pilot study informants did not appear to differ qualitatively from the responses of the participants in the 'main' experiment; therefore, the pilot study informants' responses to the 12 excerpts selected for the main study were included in the pool of results analyzed.

¹⁰⁷ In fact, the experiment was originally conducted with 45 participants; however, three sets of responses had to be excluded from analysis – one because it was incomplete (the participant had to leave to attend to her baby), the second because of acoustic difficulties during the experiment, and the third because the informant turned out not to be from the Middle Bavarian-Austrian dialect region.

Of course, treating informants from the Middle Bavarian-Austrian region as a homogeneous group glosses over potential conceptual differences e.g. of what 'standard Austrian German' sounds like in Vienna vs. Lower Austria vs. Upper





friends; they range in age from 20 to 70 years (27 informants in the age group of 20–35; 15 in the age group of 50–70).¹⁰⁸ 26 are from the province of Upper Austria, 11 from Lower Austria, and 5 from Vienna. With one exception, all of them have a middle-class (i.e. ‘not working-class’) social background; about half of them hold an academic (master’s) degree.¹⁰⁹

3.5. Presentation and analysis of results

3.5.1. *The underlining task*

My first step in quantifying the results from the perception experiment was to compile and tabulate all instances where a word had been underlined by one or more informant(s).¹¹⁰ This first tabulation showed that of the total of 2,240 words included in the transcript of the speech samples used, 1,536 (or 68.6%) had been underlined at least once by one of the 42 participants. However, the overarching purpose of this experiment was to find out what a broader audience of Austrians or, in other terms, a sizeable part of the Austrian population (rather than individuals) could perceive as dialectal speech, in view of operationalizing the results for a subsequent discourse analysis of TV broadcasts for a national viewership. I therefore decided to set a cut-off at 11 ‘underlinings’ (26.2% or about a quarter of informants) for my further analytic exploration of the data. While admittedly arbitrary, this cut-off level appeared to be a good fit for the data in terms of eliminating idiosyncratic responses and outliers, but also taking the difficulty of the task, and particularly the speed at which it had to be executed (i.e. at natural speech rate), into account: setting the cut-off higher, e.g. at the ‘mean’ of 50% (21 underlinings), would have failed to capture the more fine-grained responses of those informants who were fastest in speech processing.¹¹¹

With this cut-off level in place, the total number of words underlined by at least 11 out of 42 participants is now exactly 350 out of 2,240 (= 15.6%).

Austria (see Moosmüller 1991). However, small sample sizes did not allow for a meaningful investigation of region of origin as a variable in the present data set.

¹⁰⁸ Inclusion of these particular two age groups resulted from the fact that, due to time limitations, I recruited informants among my own as well as my parents’ friends and siblings.

¹⁰⁹ As pointed out in chapter 1, with this sociolinguistic profile the informants for my dialect perception experiment fit in very well with the target audience of the TV show *Offen gesagt*.

¹¹⁰ I counted as ‘underlined’ any word that was at least *half* underlined, based on my own observation during the experiment that speed of execution oftentimes caused informants to leave off underlining halfway through words which they clearly intended to mark.

¹¹¹ It was particularly some of the older informants who complained about the task speed. However, importantly, it appears that problems with speed resulted merely in fewer, but not qualitatively *different*, markings.





Unless otherwise indicated, my ensuing linguistic analysis of the dialect perception experiment data focuses on these 350 words.

My next step was to investigate in how far findings from past research on Austrian German, as reported in chapter 2, would line up with and be able to account for my perception experiment data, first with regards to phonological features, and then in the context of morphosyntax and lexicon.

In terms of phonology, earlier research has suggested that there are three very salient criteria by which Austrians are likely to discriminate dialect from standard speech: (1) the use of dialectal input-switches (i.e. of dialect forms that are not synchronically but only diachronically linked to corresponding standard forms), as well as (2) the application of the processes of *l*-vocalization (e.g. in *Schule* [ʃuɪ] ‘school’), and (3) *ge*-reduction (e.g. in *gewesen* [ˈgveːsn̩] ‘been’).¹¹² In order to find out whether my own informants also applied these three ‘diagnostics’, I first did a close transcription of the speech samples used in the experiment, to capture the linguistic variation involved.¹¹³ I then tabulated the 350 most highly underlined tokens in IPA transcribed form, labeling those tokens that indeed contained an input-switch, *l*-vocalization, or *ge*-reduction. In addition, I also recorded any other non-standard features that I could perceive in the tokens, drawing on existing descriptions of Austrian German (Dressler & Wodak 1982; Moosmüller 1987b, 1991, 1995a,b, 2007; Moosmüller & Vollmann 2001; Scheutz 1985; Wodak-Leodolter & Dressler 1978).

For illustration, Table 3 below shows the ten tokens that received the highest overall number of underlinings by the informants (from 100% to 92.9%; N = 42 to 39). (For a complete table with all 350 tokens see Appendix A3.)¹¹⁴

¹¹² Indeed, neither of these three features appears in Muhr’s (2007) Austrian standard pronunciation dictionary.

¹¹³ See Appendix A2 for the full close transcription, which uses eye-dialect.

¹¹⁴ Transcription conventions for the dialect as used in the tables are adapted from Moosmüller (1991, 1995a,b); Muhr (2007); and Scheutz (1985). For mere comparative and illustrative purposes, Table 3 and Table A3 furthermore list corresponding (hypothetical) pronunciations in the standard. Transcription of standard pronunciation is adapted from *Duden Aussprachewörterbuch* (2000) and Muhr (2007) and according to Austrian mainstream usage also features ‘collapsing’ of plosives (see discussion above).

Line numbers are based on the close transcription of the speech samples in eye dialect (see Appendix A2). The gloss/English translation for each token is based on its context of occurrence in the speech samples.

I thank Sylvia Moosmüller for her detailed comments on my transcriptions.





Token #	Token (<i>gloss</i>)	Excerpt #	Line #	N of 'dialect' under- linings	'Dialect' underlining – percent (N = 42)	Standard pronuncia- tion	Actual realiza- tion	Dialect feature(s) involved
1	darf (<i>may</i>)	8	12	42	100%	[d̥a:f]	[d̥ɛf]	input-switch
2	hatschen (<i>limp</i>)	12	14	42	100%	['ha:ʃn]	['ha:ʃn]	lexical
3	zusammen (<i>together</i>)	4	4	41	97.6%	[tsu'samen]	[tsɔ̃m]	input-switch; contraction of unstressed syllables (schwa-deletion, nasal assimilation/deletion)
4	geschehen (<i>be served</i>)	2	12	40	95.2%	[gɛ'ʃe:n]	[kʃe:n]	ge-reduction
5	zusammen (<i>together</i>)	4	4	40	95.2%	[tsu'samen]	[tsam]	contraction of unstressed syllables (schwa-deletion, nasal assimilation/deletion)
6	täte (<i>would</i>)	6	1	40	95.2%	['d̥e:d̥ɛ]	[d̥e:d̥]	morphosyntactic; <i>e</i> -apocope
7	das (<i>that</i>)	1	1	39	92.9%	[d̥as]	[d̥e:s]	input-switch
8	machen (<i>make</i>)	5	10	39	92.9%	['maxɛn]	[max]	input-switch; contraction with [ma] (token #9)
9	wir (<i>we</i>)	5	11	39	92.9%	[vi:rɛ]	[ma]	input-switch (enclitic); contr. with ['max] (token #8)
10	rasch (<i>quickly</i>)	5	11	39	92.9%	[raʃ]	[rɔʃ]	input-switch

Table 3: List of the 10 most underlined tokens (incl. transcription of actual realization and categorization of dialect features involved)



Table 3 previews one of the most salient findings in this perception experiment, which is that the biggest proportion of tokens identified as dialectal by the informants indeed contain input-switches. In Table 3, input-switches are most notably exemplified in one of the two items that were underlined by *all* of my informants, i.e. token #1 [d̥æf] ('may'), which is a dialectal alternate to standard [da:f]. Further input-switches occur in token #3 [tsõm] (vs. standard [tsu'samen] – 'together'); #7 [d̥e:s] (vs. standard [das] – 'that', 'the'); token #8 [m̥ax] (vs. standard [ˈmaxen] – 'make'); token #9 (enclitic) [ma] (vs. standard [vi:ɐ] – 'we'); and token #10 [r̥ɔ] (vs. standard [raʃ] – 'quickly').¹¹⁵

Overall, then, the postulation that input-switches are highly perceptible as dialect features (mainly due to the fact that no intermediate forms exist that would 'bridge' standard and dialect, and that one form cannot be synchronically derived from the other e.g. via a phonological rule – see e.g. Moosmüller 1991) is borne out in the present data: of the 350 most highly underlined tokens tabulated, 185 (53%) show an input-switch (see Table A3 in the appendix). Token #34 [ˈaf̥x] (vs. standard [ˈaɛnfax] – 'simply') even contains two.

Table 4 below provides a categorization of all input-switches recorded in the 350 tokens, based on Dressler & Wodak (1982), Wodak-Leodolter & Dressler (1978), and Moosmüller (1991, 1995a,b). Furthermore, the table shows an overall 'mark-up score' for the input-switches, which is their average number of underlinings as calculated from the total number of underlinings received by all the input-switches divided by the total number of words with an input-switch. While such a calculation is admittedly very crude in the sense that it does not take into account local production factors such as speech rate, environment, sentence stress, overlaps, or speaker idiosyncrasies, all of which are likely to have rendered some tokens more easily perceptible than others in the natural talk, it arguably serves to provide an general idea of how salient input switches are to native speakers.

As mentioned before (see chapter 2), Moosmüller (1991) has stated that some input-switches are more easily perceptible (or readily perceived) than others, mainly due to the different degrees of phonetic distance between the respective standard and dialectal variants. To investigate this further in my own data, I also assigned each individual category of input-switch a 'mark-up score' for comparison. (Of course, this procedure can likewise only serve for general illustration, as it pitches isolated lexical items against segmental switches and multiple against single occurrences.)

¹¹⁵ See also chapter 2 for a list of some of the most common input-switches in Austrian German.





Standard ↔ Dialect	(Example)/ Gloss	N of tokens	N of underlinings	Underl./ token (average)
[ɔ̥a:f] ↔ [ɔ̥æʋf]	<i>may</i>	1	42	42
[sɪnd̥] ↔ [san]	<i>are</i>	1	37	37
[ʃnaed̥] ↔ [ʃnaeb̥d̥]	<i>(it) snows</i>	1	33	33
[æ] ↔ [ɛ]	[ˈmæçd̥e] ↔ [mɛçd̥] <i>want</i>	1	32	32
[ði:] ↔ [ɔ̥e:]	<i>the</i>	1	31	31
[u:] ↔ [ʊʋ]	[ˈgu:dn̥] ↔ [ˈguʋdn̥] <i>good people</i>	5	134	26.8
[vi:ʋ], [mi:ʋ] ↔ [ma]	<i>we, me</i>	3	(57 + 23) = 80	26.7
[ɔ̥as] ↔ [ɔ̥e:s]	<i>that, the</i>	14	350	25
[aɛ] ↔ [a:]	[væ:s] ↔ [va:s] <i>know</i> ; [ˈæne] ↔ [ˈa:n̥e] <i>one</i> (fem.)	20	481	24.1
final fricative presence/absence: [iç] ↔ [i:]; [miç] ↔ [mi:]; [siç] ↔ [si:]; [ɔ̥ox] ↔ [ɔ̥o:]; [noɔ̥] ↔ [no:]; [aɔ̥x] ↔ [a:]	<i>I, me, oneself, yet, still, also</i>	28	(259 + 58 + 119 + 35 + 156 + 43) = 670	23.9
[ɔ̥un] ↔ [ɔ̥an]	<i>do</i>	1	22	22
[niçd̥] ↔ [nɛ:d̥]	<i>not</i>	8	187	21.8
[a] ↔ [ɔ]	[raʃ] ↔ [rɔʃ] <i>quickly</i>	82	1,760	21.6
del. of n: [ʃo:n] ↔ [ʃɔ:]; [man] ↔ [ma]	<i>quite, anyhow</i> ; <i>one</i>	7	(99 + 43) = 142	20.3
[is̥d̥] ↔ [is]	<i>is</i>	12	226	18.8
Total		185	4,267	23

Table 4: Input-switches in the set of most highly underlined tokens categorized, tokens per category, underlinings per category, and average number of underlinings (‘mark-up score’)

As Table 4 indicates, then, tokens containing or comprising an input-switch were rather highly underlined – on average 23 times per token. Put differently, an average of 54.8% of the informants underlined each input-switch token. And in fact, this score remains the same if adjusted to include only those tokens that contain no *l*-vocalization or *ge*-reduction (see below) in addition to the input-switch (N = 180).

The results also suggest that an input-switch such as [is̥d̥] ↔ [is] may be less readily perceived as dialectal than others (though the rate for [is] is still at 18.8 or 45%). As Moosmüller (1991) points out, the phonetic difference between the two competing forms [is] and [is̥d̥] is rather small, which may make the input-switch more difficult to distinguish, particularly in unstressed sentence position. (Note furthermore that [is] ↔ [is̥d̥] has some-





what of a special status because it can also be interpreted as a consonant-cluster reduction process, although historical evidence supports the input-switch interpretation.) Further, Moosmüller's (1991) claim that the [a] ↔ [ɔ] input-switch is lower on the perceptability scale than other vowel switches is also borne out in the calculations shown above.¹¹⁶

Additional evidence that input-switches are highly perceptible and will indeed be heard as dialectal by informants can be derived from a complementary analysis of those 704 tokens in the transcript that have *not* been underlined by *any* informant at all, meaning that presumably none of the informants perceived them as dialectal/non-standard. This analysis shows that there are only two instances in the data in which an input-switch has gone altogether un-underlined; this, although according to my own estimate based on a rough 'translation' of the un-underlined text passages into dialect, there were about 225 places of *possible* occurrence for input-switches (places where input-switches could have occurred). The first instance where an input-switch went un-underlined is an [a] ↔ [ɔ] switch in the last sentence of excerpt #4 (line 12), with a realization of [ʃdɔ:tsʊld] vs. standard [ʃdɑ:tsʊld] 'state debt'. However, this token falls into overlapping conversation, which makes it quite difficult to perceive in the first place and probably caused it to go unnoticed. The second instance occurs in the middle of excerpt #12 (line 11) with a realization of [is] vs. standard [isɔ] 'is' (in speaker GV's sequence: "es is überraschend für mich ..." – 'it is surprising for me ...'). Again, the phonetic difference between the two competing forms is rather small; furthermore, all other occurrences of [is] were marked up by at least some informants. This leads me to conclude that the one [is] token in extract (12) 'slipped by' the informants rather than having been ignored or explicitly perceived as standard.

So far, then, we have seen that input-switches appear to be great candidates for dialect 'diagnostics': they are readily underlined as dialectal/non-standard by up to 100% of listeners and by more than half of them on average, and they account for over half of all underlined tokens (N = 185 out of 350 or 53% – see above). Their high saliency attested in the present results falls in line with previous findings that input-switches are well controllable in terms of both production and perception, in the sense that "speakers readily switch from one [form] to the other, depending on the circumstances, and usually notice when other speakers switch in this way" (Moosmüller 1995b: 257–58).

Another type of dialect feature attested in the data is *l*-vocalization, identified by Moosmüller (1988b, 1991) as a natural process in the dialect

¹¹⁶ In fact, Moosmüller (1991) postulates that diphthongization in [i:] ↔ [ɪɐ] and [u:] ↔ [ʊɐ] is better perceptible than the switches [y, œ] ↔ [i, ɛ], which in turn are better perceptible than [a] ↔ [ɔ]. While this hierarchy is not exactly borne out in the present results (with [ʰmœçdɛ] ↔ [mœçdɛ] ranking higher than predicted), any generalizations from my data are of course limited in power by the small token counts.





that has no counterpart in the standard, which makes it quite noticeable and thus another likely diagnostic for social evaluation.¹¹⁷ In the 350 most highly underlined tokens of my perception experiment, 19 tokens (5.4%) feature an *l*-vocalization. [ˈfœksanˌvœtʃɔfɔ] (vs. standard [ˈfɔlksanˌvaltʃafɔ] – ‘people’s advocacy’), which occurred twice in the data (tokens #226, 305), even features two *l*-vocalizations. The mark-up score of *l*-vocalization was again close to half (20.7 underlinings or 49.3% of informants on average per token). Note, however, that 4 of the tokens also contain an input-switch, although taking these out barely affects the score (adjusted score: 20.1 or 47.9%). The complementary analysis of the tokens that remained completely un-underlined by the informants showed that none of them contained an *l*-vocalization, although at least 38 possible places occur. Thus, overall, the present data confirm *l*-vocalization as another good candidate for dialect identification.

A second dialectal process that does not apply in standard language and should thus be easily perceptible concerns the prefix *ge-*, which can either be reduced through schwa-deletion before fricatives or vowels (e.g. token #214 [ˈgve:sɲ] vs. standard [ˈgeˈve:sɲ] – ‘been’), or deleted altogether before stops (e.g. token #25 [ˈgaɲɛn] vs. standard [ˈgeˈgaɲɛn] – ‘gone’) – (see again chapter 2 for discussion). This process, usually referred to as *ge*-reduction, occurs in 9 of the 350 most highly underlined tokens (2.6%), and has a very high mark-up score of 31, which corresponds to an average of 73.8% of informants (279 total underlinings; only one of the tokens also contains an input-switch; none of them contains an *l*-vocalization). No *ge*-reductions occur in the un-underlined tokens, although they feature at least 14 possible places. *Ge*-reduction therefore is also confirmed in my data as a good diagnostic for the identification of what will be perceived as dialectal/non-standard by Austrian listeners.

Taken together, input-switches, *l*-vocalization, and *ge*-reduction already account for about 60% of the highly underlined tokens (208 out of 350). And if we next look beyond phonology to morphosyntax and the lexicon, this level can be raised further.

Thus, from a morphosyntactic perspective, the following dialectal features can be identified in the set of tokens most frequently underlined by the informants, with an overall mark-up score of 21.9 (52.1% of informants on average).¹¹⁸

- (1) Use of the stigmatized auxiliary *tun*:
token #6 in excerpt 6/line 1 *tät mi intressiern* (*tun*-periphrasis in Konjunktiv II/subjunctive; compare standard: *würde mich interessieren* – ‘would interest me’); token # 145 in excerpt 9/line 15 *die dan Sie [...]*

¹¹⁷ See chapter 2 for further discussion of *l*-vocalization.

¹¹⁸ Description of features based on Elspaß (2005); Maiwald (2002); Wiesinger (2006); Zehetner (1985).





sanktionieren (*tun*-periphrasis in present tense;¹¹⁹ cf. std. *die sanktionieren Sie* – ‘you sanction them’); and token # 152 in excerpt 7/line 6 *dann tue ich ein paar Technikern [...] überlassen ...* (*tun*-periphrasis in present tense; cf. std. *dann überlasse ich ein paar Technikern ...* – ‘then I let a few technicians ...’)

- (2) Use of the dialectal 2nd p. pl. ending -s (which is historically a reduction of the enclitic dialectal pronoun *es* corresponding to standard *ihr*): token # 33 *könntets* (vs. std. *könntet ihr* – ‘could you’; here, this includes deletion of token #40 *ihr*); and token #212 *ihr sollts* (vs. std. *ihr sollt* – ‘you shall’)
- (3) Use of diminutive -(er)l: token #35 *bissl* (vs. standard *bisschen* – ‘a little’)
- (4) Omission of the 2nd p. pronoun: token #142 in excerpt 7/line 9 *da hast dreifuffzig* (vs. std. *da hast du dreifuffzig* – ‘here you have three-fifty’; the deleted token is #179 in the data)
- (5) Use of dialectal case system/ending: token #76 in excerpt 1/line 9 *wem i ongreifn mecht* (dative; vs. std. *wen ich angreifen möchte* with accusative – ‘whom I want to touch’); and token #292 in excerpt 9/line 16 *muas i ihna scho sogn* (vs. std. *muss ich ihnen schon sagen* – ‘must I tell you yet’)
- (6) Use of a dialectal relative pronoun/syntactic construction: tokens #148, #149, #259, and #301 in excerpt 1/line 11: *wo ma ihn versteht* (vs. std. *den man versteht* – ‘whom one understands’)
- (7) Use of -ma (an input-switch – see above) as an enclitic pronoun for the 1st p. pl., causing deletion of the verb ending -en: thus, tokens #8 & #9 are contracted as [‘moxma] (vs. std. *machen wir* – we make); tokens #200 & 270 are contracted as [‘visma] (cf. standard *wissen wir* – ‘we know’)

Another morphological feature that appears rather frequently in the highly underlined tokens is *e*-apocope in word-final position, for example in the form of deletion of the verbal inflection of 1st person singular present tense: e.g. token #78 (*ich*) *mein* vs. standard (*ich*) *meine*, ‘(I) mean’ – here, deletion of the suffix -e is categorical in the dialect, but it is also widely attested in upper class/educated/formal speech (de Cillia 2006b; Moosmüller 1991; Scheutz 1985), although it is not a feature of ‘Schriftsprache’ (the pronunci-

¹¹⁹ also contains an input-switch





ation norm based on writing language – see chapter 2). In the perception experiment data, *e*-apocope also occurs in the form of deletion of the inflection of 1st and 3rd person singular subjunctive: e.g. token #126 (*es*) *wär* (vs. std. (*es*) *wäre* – ‘it would’). A total of 19 highly underlined tokens show *e*-apocope in either of these two forms – and not a single one of the completely un-underlined tokens, despite 10 potential places of occurrence! The average mark-up score in the highly underlined token set is fairly strong at 21 or 50%. In 14 of these tokens, *e*-apocope is the only identifiable dialectal feature; while 4 tokens also contain an input-switch (e.g. token #157 [hə:b] vs. std. [‘hə:bɐ] – ‘I have’), and one occurs in auxiliary *tun* (token #6 *tāt* – see above). Thus, it becomes apparent that although *e*-apocope in the context of verb-inflections has been widely attested among high prestige speakers, my informants perceive it as a dialectal/non-standard feature. This is further evidence for the fact that ‘Hochsprache’ (oriented towards the ‘Schriftsprache’ or writing language – see my discussion in chapter 2) is the *ideal* (but not ‘real’, in the sense of actually used) standard target norm (a point also made in Moosmüller 1991). In fact, this ambiguous status of *e*-apocope within the field of tension between an ‘idealized’ and a ‘realized’ standard norm leads me to discard it as a clear standard-dialect differentiation diagnostic for my present purposes (see chapter 5), despite my experimental results.

From a lexical perspective, 16 tokens of the highly underlined set can be described as dialectal or non-standard usage, with an average mark-up score of 26.3 (63%). Of these, 5 are discourse markers: *halt* (token #55, #117, #264),¹²⁰ which would correspond to standard *eben* (‘just’, ‘simply’); and *eh* (token #45, #77), corresponding to standard *ohnehin* (‘anyway’). *Duden*, *Das große Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache in acht Bänden* (1993–95) lists *eh* as ‘umgangssprachlich’ (‘non-standard’), but not *halt* (which Ammon et al. 2004 call ‘gemeindeutsch’ – ‘common German’); however, Zehetner (1985) does describe *halt* as a dialectal feature.

Further, *Duden* lists *hatschen* (‘limp’ – token #2), *leiwand* (‘great’ – #12),¹²¹ *wurscht* (‘no matter’ – #14), *Jogl* (as in #104 *Lederhosenjogl* – ‘Lederhosen-hicks’),¹²² *super* (#109), *drüber* (as in #240 *drübergefahren* – ‘passed over’), and *drauf* (‘upon’ – #332) as ‘umgangssprachlich’, and *Klampfe* (‘guitar’ – #121) as ‘veraltet’ (‘obsolete’). The *Variantenwörterbuch* (Ammon et al. 2004) labels *fuffzig* (as in #80 *dreifuffzig*, vs. standard *dreifünfzig* ‘three-fifty’) as ‘Grenzfall des Standards’ (‘borderline case of standard’). Token #222 *Megafettnapf* (‘mega howler’, ‘gigantic embarrassment’) is not listed in the dictionaries *per se*, but can be described as non-standard because

¹²⁰ Note that tokens #55 and #117 also contain an *l*-vocalization and are thus realized as [hœd].

¹²¹ realized with an input-switch as [‘laevɔnd]

¹²² Comments from a few informants also showed that they did not think ‘Lederhosenjogl’ existed as a word, and marked it as dialectal/non-standard for that reason.





derived from the phrase *ins Fettnäpfchen treten* (meaning ‘to put one’s foot in one’s mouth’ – literally *to step into the pot of fat*), which is listed as ‘umgangssprachlich’ in the *Duden*. Token #57 *herumgegründelt* is not noted either, but is in all probability a non-standard variation of the verb *gründeln* (‘wallow’), used metaphorically in excerpt 9/line 5 to indicate a low approval rate in opinion polls.

In sum, morphosyntactic and lexical considerations can account for 53 tokens, of which 40 tokens do not contain any of the phonological dialect features identified further above. Taken together, then, a total of 248 out of the 350 tokens or about 70% of the most highly underlined token set can be accounted for by at least one of the measures used for dialect vs. standard discrimination from my previously established ‘toolkit’ (i.e. input-switches, *l*-vocalization, *ge*-reduction, morphosyntax, lexicon), which thus seems to exhibit considerable explanatory power. However, further exploration is warranted to see what additional patterns of dialectal features could be identified in the remaining tokens that are still unaccounted for.

In her description of the relationships between Austrian standard and dialect, Moosmüller (1988b, 1991) lists natural phonological processes that apply both in spoken standard and dialect (see also my discussion in chapter 2). One of these processes is progressive nasal assimilation, which applies to syllable-final nasals following a stop (after schwa-deletion). In the perception experiment data, this concerns for example token #201 [‘le:bɱ] (vs. standard target [‘le:bɛn] ‘live’) or token #193 [‘li:gɱ] (vs. standard target [‘li:gɛn] ‘exist on record’). This process is applied in 26 out of 28 possible tokens from the highly underlined data set (and 16 of them also include an input-switch); but it is also featured in 14 out of 20 possible places of occurrence in the completely un-underlined tokens. Thus, the evidence points to the fact that progressive nasal assimilation is indeed shared by Austrian dialect and standard, and not necessarily perceived as a differentiating ‘diagnostic’. This is also confirmed in the data from Muhr’s standard-oriented *Österreichisches Aussprachewörterbuch* (2007), which routinely lists assimilated tokens as standard. However, the case appears to be different whenever progressive nasal assimilation is concomitant with deletion of the stop preceding the nasal, e.g. in token #187 [haɱ] (the assimilated form would be [‘ha:bɱ]; standard target: [‘ha:bɛn] ‘have’). Such stop-deletion was attested in 15 out of those 26 highly underlined tokens that showed nasal assimilation, and had a mark-up score of 20.8 (49.5%). By contrast, it did not occur in the un-underlined tokens at all. It appears therefore that stop-deletion in the context of nasal assimilation is perceived as dialectal by the informants. However, because most of the stop-deleted tokens (12 out of 15) also contain an input-switch (e.g. token #161 [‘haɱ]), the status of this stop-deletion process as a candidate for dialect identification per se is not clear-cut.

Another natural phonological pattern that occurs in the highly underlined token set are various types of syllable reductions and contractions,





which presumably enhance ease of articulation. For example, token #5 [tsam] ('together') shows high syllable reduction and has a mark-up score of 40 (corresponding standard form: [tsu'samen] 'together'). Token #3 [tsōm] shows the same reductions, but additionally contains an input-switch (mark-up score: 41 or 97.6%). Similar dialectal contraction of the initial syllable occurs with tokens #26 & #72, contracted as ['tskfæliç] (vs. standard *zu gefährlich* – 'too dangerous'); further, tokens #70 & #97 are contracted as ['tskœnen] (vs. standard *zu können* – 'to be able to'). Token #127 ['ɔxd̥ɐ̯dræsg] (vs. standard ['axd̥un̩dræsig] – 'thirty-eight') and token #128 ['tsvaɐ̯dræsg] (vs. standard ['tsvaɐ̯un̩dræsig] – 'thirty-two') comprise syllable reductions in the conjunction *und* ('and') used in German formation of numbers.

Contractions like these may in part be a consequence of rapid speech or a tendency to enhance ease of articulation, particularly in cases where they are not accompanied by other clear dialect features. In fact, further allegro forms appear in the data. Thus, tokens # 82 & #91 are contracted as [vɪəs] (vs. standard *wir sie* – 'we them'); tokens #116 & #130 as [wœs] (containing an /-vocalization; compare standard *weil es* – 'because it'); tokens #9 & #27 as [mas] (vs. std. *wir es* – 'we it'); and tokens #241 & #197 as [d̥i:s] (vs. std. *die es* – 'which it'); similarly token # 306 [si:s] (vs. std. *Sie es* – 'you it') and #307 [kans] (vs. std. *kann es* – 'can it').¹²³

Consonant-cluster simplification is not necessarily a function of rapid speech, but it is another process that enhances ease of articulation. Further above, I have already mentioned that the dialectal variant [is] (vs. std. [isd̥]), which is usually interpreted as an input-switch in the literature (Dressler & Wodak 1982; Moosmüller 1991), can also be read in terms of a consonant-cluster simplification. Four more tokens in the data showed such simplification, namely two instances of [jets] (vs. standard [jetsd̥] 'now' – tokens #131 & #324; average mark-up 18/42.9%); and two instances of [niks] (vs. standard [niçts] 'nothing' – tokens #38 & 143; average mark-up 28/65.5%).

A final noticeable pattern in the mark-ups by the informants concerns disfluencies: interestingly, these, too, were considered non-standard (dialectal?) by the participants. Thus, the data contains 9 tokens that can be classified as hesitation particles (*äh, ah, ahm*) or false starts; the average mark-up score for these items is 15 (35.7%). More than anything else this is a confirmation of the fact that in people's psychological reality Austrian dialect falls into the same or a very similar category to incorrect or faulty speech, a point that consistently came out in my debriefing interviews as

¹²³ Note that for tokens #305 and #306, the transcript given to the informants already contained the contracted form with an apostrophe (*Sie's, kann's*). This editing error (which was due to the fact that such contractions are possible even in writing) may have resulted in fewer underlinings for these two tokens, because it obscured the process. However, the fact that the tokens were underlined at all still goes to show that such contractions are very consistently perceived as non-standard by informants.





well (with informants labeling standard as ‘richtig’ – ‘correct’ and dialect as ‘schlampig’ – ‘sloppy’; see also my discussion in chapter 2).

In sum, the patterns and processes identified above can now account for 277 of 350 tokens or almost 80% of the data.

Table 5 below shows the adjusted token counts per category of dialect feature as identified above (by frequency of occurrence; tokens with multiple features are listed separately as a group at the end). As can be seen, *ge*-reductions, lexical items, contractions, and input-switches, as well as words containing multiple dialect features, received the most mark-ups in the experiment.

Feature	<i>N</i>	<i>percent</i>	‘mark-up’ score
input-switch	151	43.1%	23.0 (54.8%)
morphosyntactic	25	7.1%	20.0 (47.6%)
lexical	12	3.4%	26.0 (62.0%)
misc. contractions	12	3.4%	23.4 (55.7%)
<i>l</i> -vocalization	12	3.4%	18.5 (44.0%)
disfluencies	9	2.6%	15.0 (35.7%)
<i>ge</i> -reduction	7	2.0%	30.0 (71.4%)
consonant-cluster simplification	4	1.1%	22.8 (54.3%)
stop-deletion (w/nasal assimilation)	3	0.9%	18.3 (43.6%)
multiple features	42	12.0%	24.4 (58.0%)
Total	277	79.1%	

Table 5: Proportions of dialect feature categories in the set of most highly underlined tokens

The remaining tokens ($N = 73$) show no perceptible dialect feature from any of the categories listed above.¹²⁴ I will focus on these tokens and their implication for my study in more detail further below. First, however, I discuss the results of a second task my informants for the perception experiment were asked to complete, i.e. the assignment of overall ‘dialectness’ and ‘standardness’ scores.

¹²⁴ Note that for only 18 of these 73 tokens a dialectal realization (using any of the segmental features identified above) would have been possible, while for the remaining 55 a standard and dialect realization would sound very much the same from a phonological perspective.

While some of these tokens show lenition of fortis stops (e.g. token #213 [‘unde] vs. *Duden Aussprachewörterbuch* (2000) [‘unte] – ‘among’), this is a process shared by both Austrian dialect and standard pronunciation (see my discussion in chapter 2). This is supported by the fact that stop-lenition, like nasal assimilation (if not concomitant with stop-deletion), also occurs in the un-underlined tokens. Thus, I rejected it as a dialect feature category in my data analysis.





3.5.2. The ‘dialectness’/‘standardness’ score

As I mentioned in my discussion of the experimental design above, subsequent to completing the mark-up for a particular excerpt, the informants were also asked to assign a score from a range of 1 (‘Dialekt’) to 5 (‘Hochsprache’) to the dominating speaker(s) of the relevant passage. The goal of this procedure was to see whether the amount of dialectal features attested in a particular speech sample was indeed a good predictor of how ‘dialectal’ a speaker sounded to Austrian informants overall. In other words, if contrary to my expectation there was no correlation to be found between amount of dialect tokens and perception of ‘dialectness’/‘standardness’, then it would have to be assumed that intervening variables (such as prosody) play a more vital role than predicted.

In fact, a first outcome of this task was not related to the scores per se, but rather to the system imposed. I had assigned the score 5 to standard, and score 1 to dialect; however, quite a few of my informants accidentally reversed the poles during the task and later had to revise their scores accordingly. Comments showed that this was due to parallels of my scale with the Austrian school grading system, where 1 is in fact the best grade and 5 the worst (fail). As it turned out, then, having a score of 5 assigned to the ‘good’ language use (standard) and 1 to the ‘bad’ (dialect) was entirely counterintuitive to my informants. Thus, for example, one of my participants, upon hearing what he thought to be a particularly dialectal speaker, exclaimed “der kriagt an Fünfer” (‘he’ll get a fiver’ – the failing grade). Another person (herself a schoolteacher) even refused to use my scale and instead consistently inverted it to ‘fit’ the grade scale.¹²⁵ These reactions once again vividly illustrate the stigma attaching to dialect use in Austria, and its associations with incorrect and ‘lesser’ speech (see also my discussion in chapter 2 and the language attitude experiment in chapter 4).

To analyze the results from the score assignment task, then, I first computed the average ‘standardness’ score received by each speaker. Next, I calculated the percentage of highly underlined (i.e. dialectal/non-standard) tokens within the total amount of words produced by each speaker, after which I ran a Pearson’s correlation test with these two variables, using Microsoft Excel. The results are illustrated in Figure 2 below:

¹²⁵ Scores were recoded accordingly during data analysis.



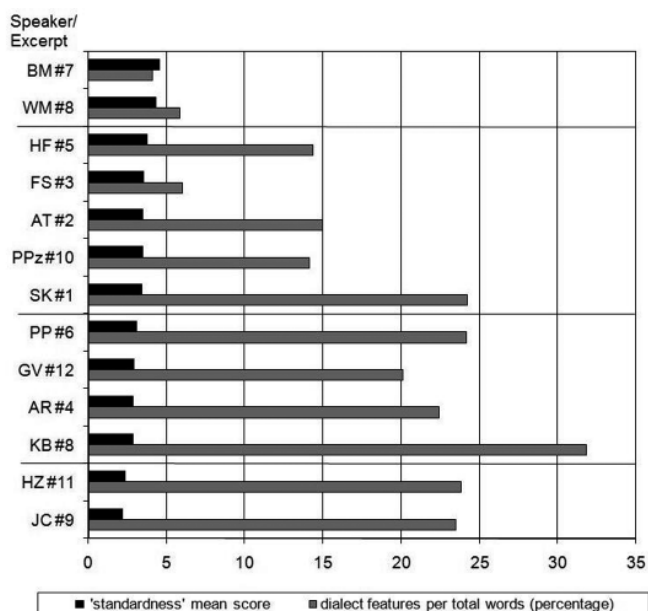


Figure 2: 'Standardness' mean score for each main speaker in the 12 excerpts, and percentage of dialectal tokens in each speaker's total word count

As Figure 2 shows, speaker BM (of excerpt 7) received the highest 'standardness' score of 4.54, while speaker JC (of excerpt 9) received the lowest, 2.20. Horizontal lines between groups of bars delimit homogeneous subsets of means as derived from subsequent paired-samples T-tests (computed with SPSS for Windows), i.e. groups of mean 'standardness' scores that do not differ significantly ($p < 0.05$). Thus, for example, the scores of BM and WM are not significantly different, while the scores of WM and HF are.

A correlation test matching the 'standardness' score with the percentage of dialectal tokens as perceived by my informants yielded a correlation coefficient of -0.8 (Pearson's r), which indicates a rather strong negative correlation between the two variables (perfect correlation would be a coefficient of -1). This means that the 'standardness' score indeed goes up as the dialect token percentage decreases and vice versa, thus confirming the hypothesis that the more dialect tokens (at least from the categories I identified and described further above) the listeners perceive, the lower they will rate a speaker on 'standardness'.

However, a few apparent 'anomalies' remain open to discussion. In particular, it is interesting to record that speaker FS, although showing an almost equally low percentage of dialectal tokens as WM (FS: 6.02%; WM: 5.84%), received a significantly lower 'standardness' score, which puts him in a group with HF, AT, PPz, and FK, all of whom produced many more dialect tokens as perceived by the informants. The case is similar with





PP (24.18% dialect tokens) and SK (24.21%), where the former also scores significantly lower. Further, KB, who had the highest percentage of dialect tokens in the sample (31.82%), scored significantly higher on ‘standardness’ than HZ and JC, who nevertheless had a relatively lower dialect token percentage (23.83% and 23.48% respectively).

One could speculate that these patterns are indeed an indication of intervening effects of prosody – for example, that a Viennese intonation contour contributes to relatively lower ‘standardness’ scores (HZ, JC, KB, PP, and FS are all from Vienna, while SK is from Carinthia). Such a claim has some foundation in respective comments (identifying Viennese speakers) from my informants in the post-experiment interviews. Other speech characteristics could also have influenced the ratings – thus, some informants commented that speaker HZ sounded like he was intoxicated (“permanent ang’soffen”, as one of my friends put it); or that JC sounded ‘aggressive’.¹²⁶ Furthermore, the speakers in the excerpts are all public figures, and most of them politicians; it could thus also be imagined that knowledge about their character, background, or political ideology influenced the scores. Some speakers were indeed recognized acoustically by the informants; thus, one person mentioned that JC tried to speak more dialectally because he was a social democrat (“macht auf Jungsozialist” – ‘plays the young socialist’). Finally, speech content could also have an effect on perceptions of ‘standardness’: for example, in excerpt 3, speaker FS provides a satiric comment of the role of Austrian president; and the ironic undertone could also have contributed to him not being perceived as ‘standard’ as other speakers with comparably low amounts of dialect tokens. Similarly, JC’s passage (excerpt 9) could be described as a rant against political opponents.

Overall, then, the percentage of dialect features in a speech sample is quite clearly not the only criterion for perceptions of ‘standardness’ vs. ‘dialectness’. Nevertheless, the scoring task confirms it to be a solid measure for how dialectal or standard a speaker will be perceived to sound by listeners.

3.5.3. *The ‘unaccounted-for’ tokens*

As I have just shown, the number of words which at least 25% of my perception experiment informants underlined as ‘dialectal’ in the transcripts inversely correlates with overall ‘standardness’ scores that were assigned to the respective speakers. However, so far, my inventory of identified dialect features has ‘only’ accounted for 80% or 277 out of the 350 highly underlined tokens in the data, while 73 tokens show no perceptible dialect feature

¹²⁶ Perceived age and gender could also play a role that is difficult to assess; note, however, that only one speaker of the set, AR, is female.





from any of the categories I have listed (see Table 5 in 3.5.1. above).¹²⁷ Further investigation is warranted into the reasons for which a quarter or more of my informants underlined these remaining 73 tokens as dialectal/non-standard.

In fact, it seems quite likely that an explanation may grow out of a very noticeable pattern that appears in the data, which is that the vast majority of the unaccounted-for tokens (70 out of 73) occur in immediate juxtaposition to a word containing identifiable dialect features, or are surrounded by such words. For illustration, consider a passage from excerpt 2 (lines 8–14) of the perception experiment, as shown in Figure 3 below. The dark grey cells identify tokens with salient dialect features (input-switches, *ge*-reduction, etc. – see my tabulations further above in this chapter) and which have been underlined by at least a quarter of my perception experiment informants. The light grey cells identify tokens that have also been underlined by at least a quarter of the informants, but which show no perceptible dialect feature from the categories I have listed:

AT:	... die	Frau	Außenminister	nichts	anderes	zu	tun	hatte	als	zu	sagen,
	... the	Ms.	Foreign Minister	nothing	different	to	do	had	than	to	say,

najo,	und	zwar	öffentlich,	nachzulesen	auf	der	Homepage	des
well,	and	in fact	publicly,	readable	on	the	homepage	of the

Außenministeriums,	der	Text	steht	fest,	najo,	des	san	kane	Guaten,
Foreign Ministry,	the	text	stands	fixed,	well,	those	are	no	good people,

gegen	die	liegt	eh	sozus-,	gegen	die	liegen	eh	sozusagen
against	them	exist	anyway	so to sp-	against	them	exist	anyway	so to speak

Anzeigen	vor,	im	Innenministerium,	und	denen	wird	scho
charges	here,	in the	Ministry of the Interior	and	them	will	anyhow

recht	g'schehn.	Das	war	ihre	Ant-	das	war	ihre	Reaktion	zum
right	be served.	That	was	her	Ans-	that	was	her	reaction	for the

Schutz	österreichischer	Staatsbürger	die	im	Ausland	verhaftet	werden ...
protection	of Austrian	citizens	who	in	foreign parts	arrested	were ...

Figure 3: Extract from lines 8–14 of excerpt 2 from the perception experiment; shading indicates tokens underlined by at least a quarter of informants

¹²⁷ and, as mentioned before, for most of these tokens a standard and dialect realization would sound very much the same from a segmental perspective (see footnote 124).





This illustration shows that the accounted-for and unaccounted-for tokens are in immediate juxtaposition. Together, they make up much of a supposed ‘quote’ that AT puts into the mouth of the former Austrian Foreign Minister in this passage, and by way of which he presents her allegedly very negative attitude towards a leftist theater group arrested in the course of the tumultuous G8 summit in Italy in 2001 (‘they deserved what they got’).¹²⁸

Again, such juxtaposition occurs with 70 out of 73 unaccounted-for tokens. Overall, then, this pattern seems to suggest that at least some of the informants processed and evaluated the speech they were presented with in chunk form rather than word-by-word. This certainly demands further investigation into the nature of these ‘chunks’, viz. whether there is any systematicity to them beyond the mere linear adjacency of clearly dialectal and hitherto unaccounted-for tokens.

A first hypothesis could be that syntactic considerations play a role. Such a notion would dovetail with a body of research on bilingualism that explores syntactic (constituency) constraints on location and extent of code-switches (e.g. Muysken 2000; Poplack 1980, 1998; Sankoff & Poplack 1981; see Shenk 2006 for a recent overview and discussion of this research). However, the idea that the highly underlined stretches of talk are actually syntactic constituents is not consistently borne out in the present data, as it only applies to roughly half of the underlined ‘chunks’. A different kind of patterning thus seems more likely.

A second rather obvious explanation would be that the perception of whether or not a whole stretch of talk sounds dialectal may be contingent upon supra-segmental phenomena such as rhythm or prosody. This is all the more likely because in the post-experiment interviews, when asked what criteria they applied to discriminate dialect from standard, my informants frequently mentioned that ‘Sprachmelodie’ (‘speech melody’) also played a role for them. Further, recent research on intonation in German regional varieties (e.g. Auer et al. 2000) has shown that measurable differences exist for example between Hamburg and Berlin dialects. And in fact, Moosmüller (1985, 1991) has demonstrated in her own perception experiments that Austrian informants can successfully identify isolated and otherwise homophonic tokens as dialectal merely based on differences in vowel length and pitch contour (see my brief discussion of her experiment in chapter 2). Further, she found Viennese dialect speakers to exhibit a ‘flatter’ sentence intonation than speakers of Viennese standard (‘gehobene Umgangssprache’). However, this latter result is difficult to generalize, because the prosodic pattern of Viennese dialect is quite idiosyncratic in and of itself. Judging from my own experience, it does not apply to other Middle Bavarian-Austrian or super-regional (urban) dialects, such as the forms of dialect used by the speakers in my perception experiment extracts. In addition,

¹²⁸ I discuss this particular data passage in more detail in chapter 5.





Moosmüller's experiments (as also discussed in Moosmüller 1988b; 1995a) appear inconclusive regarding the comparative effects of discourse context on intonation (e.g. questions vs. statements, projecting turn-continuation vs. turn-completion).

All in all, then, past research on prosody in Austrian German does not provide a sufficient basis for an evaluation of the role of prosody in my perception experiment data. In order to explore the issue at all, it thus became necessary to conduct some foundational research on prosodic patterns of Austrian standard and dialect. I therefore teamed up with Zhaleh Feizollahi, a phonetician/phonologist, for a comparative investigation into at least some aspects of Austrian German prosody. In particular, we undertook a small-scale comparative study of intonational contour and phrasing in Austrian standard vs. dialect (reported in detail in Soukup & Feizollahi 2007).¹²⁹

An intonational analysis of the perception experiment excerpts, or any excerpts from the TV show *Offen gesagt*, could not ensure the necessary analytic comparability and compatibility of data for our purposes, because it rarely if ever at all happens that the *exact same* utterance occurs once in dialect and once in standard, uttered by the same speaker, in naturally occurring talk. Analyzing such 'minimal pairs', however, would be the necessary basis for drawing conclusive inferences regarding differences or similarities of standard and dialectal intonation. Our solution was to rather take recordings made in preparation for my verbal-guise study on Austrian German (see chapter 4), for which I had originally recorded two female speakers each reading/performing the same text (on the topic of genetic food engineering) once in dialect and once in standard, in order to afterwards select the best combination of recordings for my survey. The resulting two sets of exactly matching utterances lent themselves very well to a comparative intonational analysis.¹³⁰

In order to identify and compare the intonation contour and phrasing of the four recordings, Feizollahi used the ToBI (Tones and Break Indices) annotation method (Beckman & Elam 1997). In detail, she applied the autosegmental-metrical method, which uses a series of level low (L) and high (H) tones to describe the pitch contours on prominent syllables and at the edges of prosodic domains. All stressed syllables ('pitch accents') were analyzed, as were the 'edge tones' at the right edge boundary of intonational phrases (looking only at phrases with a break index of strength 3

¹²⁹ A closer acoustic investigation of Moosmüller's (1985) finding that other prosodic aspects such as vowel length could play a role in standard-dialect discrimination was beyond the scope of my present project as well as of our comparative study, and must therefore remain unexplored for now.

¹³⁰ See Table 6 in chapter 4 for the original versions of the text, including IPA transcription. Note that for the male speakers used in my language attitude experiment only one type of recording was made by each (i.e. one speaker performed standard, the other dialect).





or 4).¹³¹ Frequency (F_0) was extracted using the auto-correlation pitch tracking method in PRAAT (Boersma & Weenink 2007). After annotating the recordings with ToBI, Feizollahi discussed and fine-tuned the results with me as a native speaker of Austrian German.

The main finding from this study is that the standard and dialect varieties from the recordings are indeed very similar in terms of intonation and phrasing. All five pitch contours identified in the data (high, low, rising, falling and rise-fall) are used in both the standard and dialect performances, and these contours are usually found on the exact same word within a phrase, so that there is also a great consistency in the placement of tones.

The pitch contours at the right edge of phrases are similar to the pitch accent contours, and both speakers use the boundary tones with the same pragmatic intent (rises to convey continuation of speech, a low tone to signal the end of a sentence or to convey finality, and a quick fall to convey indignation). A comparison of the tonal contours at the ends of phrases showed once again very similar tonal patterns in the standard and dialect performances.

One potential point of difference that appeared was that both speakers tended to parse the standard variety of the text into more phrases. However, an expansion of our intonational study would be needed to draw any conclusive inferences from this apparent trend.

Overall, then, we concluded from our analysis that there is a high degree of consistency of intonational patterns between Austrian standard and dialect, particularly regarding choice of pitch accents and boundary tones as well as their placement. Of course, ours is a very limited study of only two speakers with only one reading for each variety; so much remains open for discussion and investigation. But for my present purposes of interpreting the data from my perception experiment, I do not find a basis to assume that there is any *inherent* intonational difference between standard and dialect that the informants might have (primarily) relied on to identify shifts from standard into dialect.

This nevertheless leaves open the possibility that the speakers in the perception experiment extracts generally *set off* stretches of talk via intonation breaks and/or pauses. This idea falls in line with research on the structuring of talk into 'Intonation Units' (IUs), a concept developed by Chafe (e.g. 1979, 1987, 1993, 1994), and which commonly refers to "a sequence of words combined under a single, coherent intonational contour" (Chafe 1987: 22). The IU is not an acoustically measured unit, but rather a perceptual, auditory unit of a 'gestalt' type (Shenk 2006; Schuetze-Coburn et al.

¹³¹ In our use of ToBI annotation, a break index of strength 3 indicates a small pause (< 250 ms) which would usually be marked with a comma in a discourse analysis transcript. A break index of strength 4 corresponds with a longer pause (> 250 ms) commonly marked with one or more periods in a transcript. The term intonational 'phrase' as used here refers to a stretch of talk delimited by pauses of break index 3 or 4.





1991). It is said to encompass the information that is in the speaker's focus of attention at a given moment (Chafe 1993; see also Couper-Kuhlen 2001 for discussion). The identification of IUs is primarily impressionistic and usually draws on features such as changes in pitch, duration of syllables and words, intensity, voice quality, and speaker turn, as well as pausing (see Chafe 1994; see furthermore Couper-Kuhlen 2001 for an overview of current research on intonation in interaction).

Shenk (2006) specifically analyzes the role played by IUs in conversational code-switching. Investigating interactions among English-Spanish bilinguals, Shenk segments the talk into IUs based on two 'primary cues' – changes in pitch and word duration to mark the beginning of a new IU – as well as additional cues like creaky voice or pauses. She finds that the speakers she is analyzing code-switch overwhelmingly at IU boundaries.

However, using the same cues, I could not find a similar pattern for the chunks of talk that were highly underlined by my own perception experiment informants. An impressionistic analysis of the passages concerned showed that while the unaccounted-for tokens frequently do occur within the same IU as accounted-for dialectal words, together these do not usually make up entire IUs by themselves; i.e. there is no consistent pattern where clear prosodic breaks occur immediately before or after the underlined stretches of talk. Thus, the IU does not turn out to be a unit of analysis that convincingly explicates my hitherto unaccounted-for perception experiment data.

In sum, then, and based on all these considerations, the most likely explanation for those words in the perception experiment data that were underlined by at least a quarter of my informants but do not show any identifiable dialect feature, is the fact that they almost exclusively occur in immediate juxtaposition to clearly dialectal words. In other words, I must for now be content to use simple 'physical' adjacency in order to account for the data.

3.6. Summary, discussion, and implications

In this chapter, I presented a dialect perception experiment in which I asked native speakers of Austrian German to listen to samples of natural speech from the TV show *Offen gesagt* and to indicate where they perceive dialectal speech, as opposed to standard, to occur, by underlining relevant stretches of talk in a (standard) transcript. The results show that dialectal input-switches as well as the application of processes of *l*-vocalization and *ge*-reduction, which previous literature has suggested to be features that are readily perceived as dialectal, are indeed good diagnostics for the identification of Austrian dialect/non-standard speech, as evidenced in the informants' responses. Morphosyntactic features of dialect such as use of auxiliary *tun* or of dialectal/non-standard lexical items were also highly





perceived, as was *e*-apocope in verb-endings, although the status of the latter remains unclear due to its spread into standard-oriented speech as attested in prior research (e.g. Moosmüller 1991; Scheutz 1985). Additional ‘diagnostics’ of dialect were found in processes of nasal-assimilation with concomitant stop-deletion, consonant-cluster reductions, and various contractions. Further, some informants considered speech disfluencies as non-standard as well.

Subsequent to the analysis of the tokens underlined by the informants in the perception experiment, I calculated and compared mean ‘dialectness’/‘standardness’ scores assigned to the dominant speaker(s) of each speech sample by the informants. Results show that the percentage of identified dialect tokens within the total word count produced by each speaker inversely correlates with how ‘standard’ the speaker was perceived to be by informants, providing further evidence of the validity of the identified features as overall dialect ‘diagnostics’.

Roughly 80% of the tokens highly underlined by the informants could be accounted for with the features listed above; however, the remaining 20% could not be accounted for this way. Based on the notion that informants processed the speech samples in chunks rather than token-by-token, as evidenced in the fact that the majority of unaccounted-for tokens occur in juxtaposition with or in the same constituent or phrase as tokens that show distinct dialect features, I subsequently explored syntactic constituency and intonation as possible explanations for the remaining data. Neither of these showed conclusive results, so that the most likely explanation for the unaccounted-for tokens remains their immediate juxtaposition to clearly dialectal words.

Overall, one outcome that has become apparent in my perception experiment is that the informants indeed oriented themselves towards the writing language norm (‘Schriftsprache’) in their judgment of standard vs. dialectal speech, rather than towards actual usage (e.g. that of the Viennese upper middle class, which Moosmüller 1991 identified as a super-regional spoken standard norm of sorts). This is exemplified and evidenced in the rather high rate of underlinings of tokens featuring *e*-apocope in verb endings, but also of contractions involving the pronoun *es* (‘it’), both processes that are common among socially prestigious speakers and in formal situations (see Moosmüller 1991). The orientation towards the written norm is also manifest in comments by some of my informants stating that a particular stretch of talk could not be labeled standard because it cannot be written down this way (‘das kann man ja nicht schreiben’). In that sense, my perception experiment seems to support Moosmüller’s (1991) postulation that the underlying system speakers of Austrian German draw on when targeting standard language use is an idealized ‘Hochsprache’ as the realization of ‘Schriftsprache’, rather than a usage-based norm such as ‘gehobene Umgangssprache’ (‘high colloquial language’), as Moosmüller calls upper class/formal speech.





Of course, arguably, the strong orientation towards a written standard manifest in the experiment could also be seen as an artifact of the experimental set-up, namely as a function of the task of having to underline stretches of talk in a written transcript: if a token in its actual realization sounds noticeably different from what is found in the transcript, this alone could be an impetus for underlining it as non-standard. This, then, constitutes one of the caveats of the present experiment.

A further methodological limitation lies in a potential ordering effect, meaning that the ordering of speech samples may have had an effect on the mark-up outcomes. Some of my informants themselves claimed that they became 'stricter' ("strenger") in their underlining and assignment of overall scores to the speakers as the experiment progressed – they declared themselves increasingly more likely to identify a token or a speaker's stretch of talk as dialectal over the course of time.¹³² This, presumably, because it took them some time to familiarize themselves with the task. Further, it cannot be excluded that the informants zoned in on specific dialect features that they heard in the first samples for the remainder of the task. While such effects could have been identified by switching up the order in which the speech samples were played for the experiment, I decided against this partly because of mere technical considerations, but also because I had lined up what appeared to me to be faster-rate/more intricate/lower sound quality samples towards the end, to allow the informants some time to adjust. Repeating the experiment with a different order of samples, and perhaps also with different samples which are more evenly matched in quality and speech rate, would be necessary to resolve the issue.

Another methodological issue concerns the recording of answers in the experiment – in particular, it was at times difficult to decide whether an informant had meant to underline a token or not (specifically with regards to very short words). As I mentioned in my description of the study design and methodology above, I counted as 'underlined' any token that was at least *half* underlined, based on my own observation that speed of execution oftentimes caused informants to leave off underlining halfway through words which they clearly intended to mark. However, it is impossible to claim that this decision achieved perfect accuracy and trueness to the informants' intentions.

Further limits of this experiment are imposed by the use of natural speech data for evaluation: as some of the informants pointed out, the task assigned to them was actually quite difficult, involving rapid processing (is the utterance dialectal or standard?) and simultaneous response (underlining). Thus, it cannot be assumed that the underlined tokens were in fact all of those the informants would perhaps have perceived as dialectal at a

¹³² This again shows the association of dialect with negligent, sloppy, and incorrect speech, and standard as the 'correct' form that would pass a 'strict' teacher's scrutiny.





slower speech rate. Again, further experimental testing and modification of the set-up could provide some insight into this issue. It should be noted, however, that the use of natural speech samples is essential if the experiment is to simulate a real-life speech situation (such as engaging in a TV discussion, as in my present research context). In that sense, slowing the speech rate would have been counterproductive for my purposes. Instead, I decided on playing each sample twice in immediate succession to elicit more fine-grained responses from the informants. Of course, this practice, too, would have to be subjected to further experimentation to establish its validity (as listeners in a real-life situation do not have the option to rewind and replay talk for interpretation and evaluation).

Comparing my own experiment with Coupland's (1980), it furthermore has to be noted that my version is of a less 'exploratory' and open-ended nature: while Coupland asked his informants to indicate any sorts of style-shifts as they perceived them (without providing them with closer specification), and to use a 5-point scale of 'standardness', I explicitly instructed my informants to only focus on and identify 'dialect'/'non-standard speech' ('Dialekt' or 'Umgangssprache'; 'nicht Hochsprache'), in order to elicit and test a set of criteria ('diagnostics') by which Austrian informants discriminate dialect from standard. Thus, the scope of my study is limited to the standard-dialect dichotomy, instead of perhaps exploring and assessing more fine-grained style-shifts within and across these varieties. Moreover, the outcome of the assessment might have been different had I asked my informants to identify 'standard' passages (instead of dialectal ones). However, again, it was the explicit purpose of my perception experiment to inform a subsequent discourse analysis investigating the interactional functions of dialect in conversation; and design and methodology of the experiment were tailored to this end. It is to be hoped that perception experiments geared towards style-shifting will become more frequently and routinely applied within sociolinguistics in the future, so that the effects of different configurations of experimental set-ups and variables can be explored and the methodology thoroughly tested for its overall potential and validity.

Finally, then, the central implications I draw from this experiment for my broader study are as follows: (1) on the phonological level, dialectal input-switches, *l*-vocalizations, and *ge*-reductions are useful measures by which to discriminate Austrian dialect from standard in natural talk; (2) dialectal morphology, syntax, and lexicon are also valid indicators; and (3) perceptions of dialect in conversation are not necessarily limited to the identification and processing of single features or tokens, but rather may lead to the identification and processing of broader chunks of talk as dialectal.

In this chapter, then, as proposed in the methodological outline of my study (see chapter 1), I have explored the first aspect of an Austrian perceptual 'system of distinction' (Irvine 2001), namely the distinctive perception





of *linguistic cues*, showing that there is a rather strong consensus among Austrian speakers as to which cues (features) will be heard as dialectal as opposed to standard. In the next chapter, I turn to the investigation of the second component of this system – the contrast in social meanings attaching to the perceptually distinct varieties of standard and dialect.





4. THE LANGUAGE ATTITUDE EXPERIMENT

4.1. Introduction

In this chapter, I present a field experiment investigating the language attitudes of Austrian native speakers towards dialectal and standard Austrian German, the dialect being what constitutes my central interest. As I have argued before, perception and realization of the contrasting social meanings attaching to standard and dialect is a second integral part of an Austrian stylistic ‘system of distinction’ (Irvine 2001) and thus of interactional meaning-making via the strategic use of styles, complementing the perception of linguistic cues, which I explored in the last chapter.

I start out this chapter by locating the experiment within the theoretical and methodological frame of language attitude research in general. Then I describe my own experimental design in some detail. Next, I present the statistical analysis and evaluation of the data obtained. I close the chapter with a summary and discussion of the results, which also considers the implications of the findings for my broader research agenda.

4.2. The study of language attitudes

Basically, the cover term ‘language attitudes’ designates all ‘attitudes’ that are directed towards language as a referent (Fasold 1984). In an early review of the then nascent research paradigm investigating such attitudes, Agheysi and Fishman (1970) distinguish between studies using a behaviorist and a mentalist view of the underlying psychological concept of ‘attitude’ (see also DeFleur & Westie 1963). According to behaviorist theory, attitudes lie in people’s responses to social situations and can therefore simply be determined through observation and behavior analysis – no complicated, indirect inferences are necessary. The downside of this approach is, however, that attitude becomes a dependent variable dominated by particular contexts and stimuli, and on these terms behavior is quite unpredictable. Most modern work is therefore based on mentalist theory, which depicts attitude as a (mental) state of readiness, an *independent* variable intervening between stimulus and response – an “evaluative orientation to a social object” (Garrett et al. 2003: 3). However, this approach is not unproblematic either: attitude elicitation within this framework is necessarily complex and tricky, because it is assumed that attitudes are not directly observable. Therefore, a great deal of effort has gone into “devising ingenious experiments designed to reveal attitudes without making subjects overly conscious of the process” (Fasold 1984: 147).

The study of *language* attitudes is usually undertaken from the perspective of social psychology (e.g. Ryan & Giles 1982), under which the concept





has been defined as “any affective, cognitive or behavioral index of evaluative reactions towards different language varieties or their speakers” (Ryan et al. 1982: 7). Such a definition is very praxis-oriented in that it integrates the abstract, unobservable nature of attitudes into a description on the basis of observable factors, namely ‘indices of evaluative reactions’, thus paving the grounds for attitudinal experiments (see Smit 1996).

Arguably the most popular and productive experimental method in the social psychological language attitude research paradigm is the ‘speaker evaluation’, in which informants are typically asked to assess a set of audio-recordings of anonymous speakers, usually on the basis of adjective scales containing rating items such as ‘educated’, ‘intelligent’, or ‘likeable’. The underlying assumption that attitudes towards particular varieties are equivalent to attitudes towards the speakers of these varieties (see the above definition) then allows the analyst to draw up the general attitudinal profile of the informant group, usually based on a statistical computation of the average rating scores received by the different speakers in the experiment.

The most commonly applied method in speaker evaluation experiments is the ‘matched-guise technique’ (Lambert et al. 1960; Lambert 1967). In the original version of this technique, multilingual speakers are recorded reciting the same text in different ‘guises’ (language varieties to be tested); the recordings produced are then played to and rated by informants who are presumably unaware that the speaker remains the same across the different samples. Thus, any divergence in the ratings obtained (e.g. concerning speakers’ ‘intelligence’, ‘friendliness’, or ‘honesty’) can be traced back to the particular language varieties used, rather than to any actual divergence between speakers (which is non-existent). In other words, ‘speaker’ is a controlled variable in the analysis.¹³³

Despite the benefits this set-up has for subsequent data interpretation, however, some researchers have switched to using an adapted form of the original matched-guise technique, often called the ‘verbal guise’, in which they record different speakers for each language variety to be tested rather than one multilingual speaker for all (e.g. Alford & Strother 1990; Gallois & Callan 1981; Garrett et al. 2003; Smit 1996; Soukup 2001; see furthermore the methodological discussion in Garrett 2005). In some cases, this adaptation is a function of a study’s scope: in order to divert informants from the fact that they are hearing the same speaker multiple times, the original technique uses ‘dummy’ voices in between. This considerably increases the time and effort involved in carrying out the test (for example, Romaine 1980 used a total of twenty speech samples), a complication which can render a study impracticable – particularly in view of recruiting a large number of informants over a short period of time (Soukup 2000). Further,

¹³³ For further discussion of the matched-guise technique, see e.g. Agheysi & Fishman (1970); Fasold (1984); Garrett (2005); Garrett et al. (2003); Giles and Bourhis (1976); Smit (1996).





it may simply be impossible to find speakers who are equally competent in the language varieties to be tested (Smit 1994); and if such speakers can be found, they may run the danger of producing hyperbolic performances that sound artificial and caricature-like (Soukup 2000; see also Alford & Strother 1990). It is for this latter reason that the ‘verbal guise’ version as outlined above (recording different speakers, in their ‘usual’/‘native’ variety) has even been called preferable to the original matched-guise version: “[the verbal guise] employs natural, rather than feigned, accents which may really only represent the speaker’s stereotypes; in addition, it eliminates the possibility that speakers will systematically vary their voice qualities in an attempt to exaggerate differences between their two guises” (Gallois & Callan 1981: 349). It is for a combination of these reasons (study scope, avoiding artificiality) that I use the verbal guise technique for the experiment I present here (see also ‘speaker selection’ further below).

A central theoretical issue in *any* type of attitude study is whether or not attitudes have identifiable subcomponents. The mentalist model that appears to have the most currency in the social psychological paradigm identifies three components of attitude: the cognitive (comprising knowledge/thought/beliefs), the affective (feelings), and the conative (behavior, readiness for action) – (see e.g. Baker 1992; Cargile et al. 1994; Garrett et al. 2003; Smit 1996). The latter, conative, is traditionally the most ‘troublesome’ for attitude researchers: as numerous studies have shown, the relationship between attitudes and real-life action is notoriously neither straightforward nor simple (see Baker 1992).¹³⁴ Arguably, the status of the affective component is ambiguous as well – although most researchers would agree that the feelings evoked by a stimulus are an important part of an overall attitude (see e.g. Cargile et al. 1994; Garrett et al. 2003), I would hesitate to subscribe to the idea that an attitude can be *entirely* affective in nature, as Cargile et al. (1994: 222) seem to suggest may occur in an encounter with a speaker whose language or accent is unidentifiable to the hearer (so that there is presumably no prior knowledge to draw on). I believe that even in such a case it is rather likely that a hearer simply (cognitively?) transposes attitudes from a familiar to an unfamiliar variety that somehow sounds similar, rather than responding affectively to any ‘inherent’ quality of the sounds. More likely, then, affective and cognitive components of

¹³⁴ Probably the most famous and most often quoted illustration of discrepancies between attitude and behavior comes from LaPiere’s (1934) study of hotel and restaurant managers’ treatment of Chinese patrons, in which actual (friendly) behavior was quite inconsistent with previously expressed (negative) attitudes. Bainbridge (2001: 8) mentions that a number of investigators have taken to postulating ‘behavior intention’ as a variable intervening between ‘words and deeds’.

The complicated relationship between attitudes and behavior may furthermore be part of the reason why recent theoretical models of language attitudes are increasingly intricate and complex (e.g. Bradac et al. 2001; Cargile et al. 1994).





attitudes are intermingled to various degrees at all times; but at any rate, their relationship appears to be as yet under-researched (see Forgas 2008 for discussion from a psychological perspective).

The cognitive component of attitudes is the one that direct elicitation in attitudinal research (e.g. in interviews, questionnaires) is most likely to evoke; it is also, however, the level on which the concept of attitudes is most difficult to keep apart from related terms and concepts such as 'stereotypes', 'beliefs', 'opinions', and 'ideology'. Overall, there is in fact a noticeable lack of clear distinctions in this regard in the literature.

Smit (1996) states that 'belief' is the cognitive concept that is closest to 'attitude', and is often used to describe its cognitive component, so that the terms may in fact overlap.

'Opinion' is defined by Baker (1992: 14) as an overt belief without affective reaction that is verbalizable and represents a viewpoint. By contrast, Baker states that 'attitudes' contain affective reactions, may be latent and conveyed verbally as well as non-verbally, and relate to human 'functioning'. However, he goes on to concede that 'opinion' and 'attitude' tend to be synonymous in everyday speech.

'Stereotypes' can be defined as group-oriented, tendentially oversimplified, undifferentiated, and standardized images/beliefs/opinions shared by a collective.¹³⁵ In that sense, they form a part of the sociocultural 'schematic knowledge' participants bring to an interaction (see chapter 1). Like beliefs, they are variously regarded as either a part of or a reference point for the cognitive component of attitudes, and thus the terms are also often used synonymously, particularly when emphasizing the sociocultural grounding of attitudes.

Garrett et al. (2003) discuss the notion of 'ideology' in relation to attitudes, defining the former (ideology) as "a patterned but naturalized set of assumptions and values associated with a particular social or cultural group" (p.11).¹³⁶ Instead of clearly differentiating the two terms, then, they in fact point out that one of their goals is to show "how particular methods in the study of language attitudes, in combination with each other, can build richly differentiated accounts of the ideological forces at work in a community" (Garrett et al. 2003: 11).

In short, we note that the concept of 'language attitude' clearly overlaps and intersects with all of the above-listed notions of 'belief', 'opinion', 'stereotype', and 'language ideology'. A more detailed disentangling of the implied relationships is beyond my present scope. For terminological purposes, however, Garrett et al.'s statement above warrants some further

¹³⁵ For a corresponding definition of 'stereotype' see Hauptfleisch (1977), who follows Rokeach (1968). For further discussion of 'stereotypes' see also Petersen & Six (2008); Tajfel (1982).

¹³⁶ See Woolard & Schieffelin (1994); Woolard (1998) for further discussion of the concept 'ideology' in the context of language study; see also Lippi-Green (1997) for further discussion in the American context.





consideration, as it enhances an impression I have formed on reading the respective literature, which is that the term ‘language attitudes’ is nowadays used as a shorthand designator for the methodology and concomitant *types of data* generated specifically by the social psychological approach (i.e. mostly the speaker evaluation paradigm), rather than to reference a psychological *entity* that is clearly and independently definable in distinction from related concepts figuring in sociolinguistic investigation (such as the above-listed). In the context of my present study, then, I will follow this usage of designating as ‘language attitude’ any evaluative outcome generated by my respective experiment.¹³⁷

As I have already mentioned above, under the social psychological paradigm, ‘language attitudes’ have traditionally been elicited via large-scale surveys, producing generalized language attitude profiles of variously configured informant populations (see Ryan & Giles 1982 for a variety of examples). The quantitative methodology involved has in fact been much criticized over the years, particularly with regards to its inherent artificiality and its suppression of any variability in the responses, as well as for a frequent disregard of contextual factors of language use (i.e. whether the language varieties under investigation are at all congruent with the situational contexts, topics, and settings in which they are presented), and for failing to establish plausible links between experimentally recorded attitudes and their effects on behavior (see e.g. Cargile 2002; Carranza 1982; Garrett et al. 2003; Giles & Ryan 1982; Fasold 1984; Hyrkstedt & Kalaja 1998; Potter 1998; Potter & Wetherell 1987; Smit 1996).

Much of the criticism seems well-founded with regards to the past experiments described therein, and has in fact been addressed in more recent incarnations of the methodology. For example, researchers now sometimes use samples of free speech as opposed to performances of pre-determined texts to reduce artificiality in speaker evaluations (e.g. Garrett et al. 2003). In a much earlier attempt at methodological improvement, Bourhis and Giles (1974) designed a now-famous experiment in a Welsh theater in such a way that informants remained unaware that their language attitudes were being tested at all – what was measured were behavioral responses to a public announcement made in different language varieties.¹³⁸

However, each variation on the methodology has brought along its own set of problems and restrictions. Thus, free speech samples are difficult to control in terms of content and the language variants used (e.g. amount of

¹³⁷ I furthermore use the terms ‘stereotype’ and ‘social meaning’ in alternation with ‘attitude’ to foreground the role of the cognitive aspects of culturally shared schematic knowledge in the process of attitude elicitation.

¹³⁸ Listeners were asked to obtain and complete a questionnaire regarding theater programming. Return rate of the questionnaires was taken as indicative of language attitudinal response (see a detailed discussion in Fasold 1984). This experiment has since been reproduced and elaborated upon by Kristiansen in Denmark (Kristiansen & Giles 1992).





non-standard grammatical or phonological features), compromising speaker comparability and thus to a certain degree the validity of the outcomes. The Welsh theater experiment, despite having the benefit of reducing researchers' influence on informants, necessarily glossed over inhomogeneities in the respondent groups, using theater audiences that attended on different evenings as if they were the same set of informants (see Fasold 1984). Assessing the criticisms and subsequent attempts at improving speaker evaluation studies, Smit (1996) thus comes to the conclusion that the various suggestions of modification, although justified and useful in particular instances, have not resulted in a thorough-going, generally-applicable improvement upon original forms of experimentation, a statement that appears to hold to date.

The inherent artificiality of an experimental set-up and the generalizations due to large-scale quantifications typical of speaker evaluation studies are particular reasons why social constructivists have suggested abandoning such surveys altogether in favor of interpretive, discourse-based attitudinal assessments (see e.g. Hyrkstedt & Kalaja 1998; Potter 1998; Potter & Wetherell 1987). In their view, a discourse-analytic approach better takes into account the idea that the expression of attitudes is an 'evaluative process' rather than a form of tapping into stable 'objects' in a speaker's mind. I contest, however, that the recasting of attitudes as a process does not necessarily have the demise of the speaker evaluation experiment as its logical consequence. Rather, I believe it is more productive to concomitantly recast the experiment itself in the terms of a 'communicative situation' in which *meaning-making activity* is taking place, and of which attitudinal evaluation is an intended outcome.

The point I am making here is probably best illustrated with the rationale underlying my own attitudinal experiment, as outlined in chapter 1. There, I have argued that using speaker evaluation to elicit language attitudes is central to my present research agenda of investigating the interactional functions of Austrian dialect use, in that such experimental design is able to *closely recreate and simulate* the process of conversational 'contextualization'. After all, what participants are asked to do in speaker evaluation experiments is to actively assess and interpret the use of different linguistic varieties in juxtaposition, similar to when speakers perform shifts from standard speech into dialectal variants in a conversation to contextualize their utterances in terms of the social meanings attaching to the different speech varieties. In both cases – speaker evaluation and conversational contextualization – listeners are called upon to activate culturally shared, stereotypical, positive or negative associations attaching to the particular language varieties they hear being used, for the purposes of interpreting what is going on in the activity (interaction) they are engaged in.

Thus, I make the fundamental assumption that the meaning-making process involved in a speaker evaluation experiment and in a natural conversational setting are similar in essential ways. This assumption is what allows me to use the present attitudinal field study as an information source for the discourse analysis presented further below in chapter 5: in the





attitudinal study, I elicit and record language attitudes Austrian native speakers *actively call up* upon hearing dialectal and standard speech; and in the discourse analysis, I use the knowledge thus gained to investigate how speakers can exploit common knowledge about such attitudes *and their activation* in their strategic use of dialectal varieties in interaction.

What I hope to have made clear here is that attitudinal experiments can, and indeed should, be regarded as a language-based activity (a language-game, as it were) just like conversational interaction. And just like in any other interaction, the contextual parameters making up its 'frame' are essential factors in the meaning-making process involved. If, then, an attitudinal experiment is designed so that its contextual factors are held sufficiently comparable to those obtaining in a conversational interaction, an extrapolation of findings from one data set to the other is by all means validated. As such extrapolation is bound to be highly informative (as I propose to demonstrate in my study), this altogether provides a new *raison d'être* for the traditional speaker evaluation experiment, finally bringing it into the 21st century of constructionist sociolinguistics, so to speak.

In the following, then, I present my speaker evaluation experiment against the background of the above considerations, showing how the goal of comparability and compatibility of the attitudinal and the discourse data set influences my design of the experimental 'contextual frame'.

4.3. Methodology and design of the experiment

In chapter 1, I outlined the contextual parameters of my discourse data drawn from the TV show *Offen gesagt* i.a. in terms of the parameters commonly applied in the social psychological investigation of language attitudes (see Giles & Ryan 1982), concluding that the communicative situation presented by the show can be characterized as *formal* (because taking place on a public stage and playing to an anonymous audience at home); *group-centered* (because the focus is on the participants' group-membership rather than their unique individual identity); and *status-stressing* (because based on opposition, which arguably highlights status/power negotiations rather than being conducive to displays of solidarity). I described one of the main tasks in the language attitude experiment design as recreating a similarly configured communicative situation and concomitant speech event as a frame of reference to be presented to the informants, for them to incorporate into the process of attitudinal evaluation.

I then mentioned that two main contextual frames need to be distinguished in any attitudinal experiment: (1) the immediate physical conditions under which the experiment is being carried out – e.g. in the course of a university lecture, in a high school classroom, in a private home; and (2) the 'virtual' setting proposed to the informants within the speaker evaluation task itself – e.g. a simulated courtroom situation (Lind & O'Barr 1979),





presenting the speakers as if they were applicants for a job in radio broadcasting (Grinstead et al. 1987; Smit 1996), or for a job in sales (Soukup 2000). Commonly, researchers have limited options to choose from regarding the actual physical setting in which to administer the experiment, for mere practical reasons of informant recruitment and time constraints. My own experiment as described here was in fact necessarily carried out in a formal and status-stressing educational setting, in the course of university classes and seminars or in a classroom outside of class time, simply because this allowed me to recruit a large and rather homogeneous group of informants of a desired social background over a short period of time without being able to offer financial remuneration (see section 4.3.3. below on ‘study informants’). Fortunately, the contextual parameters of this physical setting coincide with my experimental needs.

The *virtual* setting (frame of reference) of the speaker evaluation task is open to much more manipulation and purposeful design. In my own case, I manipulated this contextual frame by introducing a public speaking scenario under which ‘communication trainees’ (= the recorded speakers) perform an argument to an ‘anonymous public audience’ (= the study informants), who are asked to give feedback on how the speakers ‘come across’ in their presentation (= carry out a speaker evaluation), supposedly for the purposes of rhetorical training, feedback, and improvement. Such a framing of the experiment seemed particularly appropriate because, quite in keeping with the framing of the TV discussion show *Offen gesagt*, it (1) sets up the presentation of a monologue (an argument); (2) highlights deliberate language use as a key to success; (3) introduces the notion of public speaking in front of an anonymous audience, which can be characterized as a status-stressing context; and (4) by the same token also establishes a group-centered context, in the sense that personal characteristics of the speakers are unknown and irrelevant to the audience (and vice versa). In the following, I describe the way I set up this virtual frame in more detail.

To establish the public speaking scenario as frame of reference for the informants in the speaker evaluation experiment, I devised the following oral introduction, which I performed on-site at every session prior to playing the recordings (translated from standard Austrian German):

I will now play audio recordings of four individuals, and then I ask you to assess them according to personal characteristics. These persons are participants in a communication training seminar. These participants have all received the same text with the instruction to ‘appropriate’ and then present it. The goal of this survey is to give them feedback: How are these persons in their very individual way of performing the text perceived by a public audience, such as you? Meaning, what personal profile is created and conveyed if one hears somebody speak like that in public?¹³⁹

¹³⁹ Stressing that the speakers were to be assessed according to their ‘very individual way of performing the text’ (“in ihrer individuellen Art diesen Text zu





In order to more explicitly approximate the experimental frame with that of the TV discussion show *Offen gesagt*, I also introduced the idea that one could imagine the speakers to be appearing in the setting of a public discussion, “for example a panel discussion or a TV discussion”.

Of course, as Glassie (1982: 521) points out, “What matters is not what chances to surround performance in the world, but what effectively surrounds performance in the mind”.¹⁴⁰ Remarkably, then, in her questionnaire, one of my study informants actually ended up referencing *Offen gesagt*, commenting that the female standard speaker might do well on a TV discussion show such as this; and a few other informants also placed the speakers in the general context of public discussions in their comments regarding speakers’ typical target audience. I take this as evidence that the experimental design was successful in bringing a public speaking/discussion frame of reference ‘to mind’ for the informants, and thus establishing relevant parallels to the TV discussion show setting.

4.3.1. The text

The virtual frame introduced in the experiment, as described above, is directly conducive to presenting a monologue to the informants, a typical (and useful) feature of speaker evaluation experiments that allows the informants to ‘tune in’ to the language use they are assessing. Using a monologue in my experiment has the additional benefit of recreating a ‘communicative event’ that frequently occurs within the speech situation of the discussion show (see also the SPEAKING grid presented in chapter 1) – a longer stretch of talk by a single participant, whose turn is usually assigned by the host (single-speaker turns being the desired norm, for reasons of comprehensibility of the broadcast).

In keeping with *Offen gesagt*’s discussion activities and goals, the resulting stretches of talk often comprise the presentation of an opinionated (or even highly political) argument or standpoint. The next step in my study design, then, was to draft a text, to be performed by my speakers, which represented such an argument or standpoint that could conceivably occur on the show. The text I compiled was one on the topic of genetically engineered food, based on newspaper interviews and parliamentary debates by Austrian politicians, and closely modeled on sequences from the *Offen gesagt* data in terms of overall argument structure (opinion – example/elaboration – counter-opinion – re-statement of opinion/summary).¹⁴¹ I chose the topic of genetic engineering because it (1) constitutes a current political

präsentieren”) was intended as a subtle way of justifying the dialect usage in the performances.

¹⁴⁰ quoted in Macaulay (1991: 5ff.).

¹⁴¹ See also Schifffrin (e.g. 1987) on argument structure; Strachle (1997) on argument in a (German) German conversational context.





issue, and one that could plausibly be discussed in a public setting,¹⁴² but also (2) because most Austrians are predictably against genetically modified food or at least in favor of clear labeling, if they have any preformed opinion at all; thus, while being political, the topic was unlikely to polarize the informants into opposing camps.

Table 6 below presents the text in my own English translation/gloss, as well as in the standard Austrian version and the dialectal version as handed out to the speakers for the purposes of recording their performances. The IPA transcription below each version represents the performative ‘target’; and in fact all speakers kept very close to this ‘idealization’ in their individual readings. (See also section 4.3.4. on ‘speakers’ below, as well as chapter 2 above on language use in Austria.)

English translation	
Standard Austrian German version [transcription]	Dialectal Austrian German version [transcription]
I believe with regard to medicine	
Ich glaube in Bezug auf die Medizin [iç glaʊbɐ in ʁɛtsu:g aʊf di mɛdʲtsi:n]	I glaub in da Medizin [i glaʊb in ɖa mɛdʲtsi:n]
most people after all are in agreement	
sind sich ja die meisten Menschen einig, [sɪnd siç ja di mɛstɐn mɛnʃn aɛnɪg]	san si jo die Meisten einig, [san si jo di mɛstɐn aɛnɪg]
that there we the progress through	
dass wir da den Fortschritt durch die [ɖas vi:a ɖa: ɖɛn fɔʁʃʁɪtʃ dʁʊx di]	dass ma do den Fortschritt durch die [ɖas ma ɖɔ ɖɛn fɔʁʃʁɪtʃ dʁʊx di]
genetic technology would like to have, because	
Gentechnik schon haben wollen, weil es [gɛ:ndɛçnik ʃɔn ha:bʊn vɔln vɛl es]	Gentechnik scho hoben woin, weu's [gɛ:ndɛçnik ʃɔ: hɔm vɔɛn vɔɛs]
there after all it is about fighting	
dort eben um die Bekämpfung von [dɔʁɐ̯t ɛ:bʊn um di bɛkɛmpfʊŋ fɔn]	dort eben um die Bekämpfung vo [dɔʁɐ̯t ɛ:n um di bɛkɛmpfʊŋ fɔ:]
diseases. But with regard	
Krankheiten geht. Aber in Bezug [krʌŋkhaɛɖn gɛ:ɖ aʁɐ in ʁɛtsu:g]	Kronkheiten geht. Ober in Bezug [krɔŋkhaɛɖn gɛɖ ɔʁɐ in ʁɛtsu:g]
to agriculture are	
auf die Landwirtschaft sind [aʊf di lʌndvʲrɛtʃafɖ sɪnd]	auf die Londwirtschaft san [aʊf di lɔndvʲrɛtʃɔfɖ san]

¹⁴² *Offen gesagt* in fact frequently picks up such public interest/health-related issues – for example in the shows from 12/01/2002 on increased international traffic (“Transitlawine”); 12/07/2003 on animal rights (“Chefsache Tierschutz-Gesetz”); 04/04/2004 on smoking (“Feldzug gegen die Raucher?”); 10/17/2004 on energy issues (“Teurer Strom, teurer Sprit – warum zahlen wir soviel?”); 01/16/2005 on the Avian Flu (“Vogelgrippe-Bedrohung oder Panikmache?”); 02/05/2006 on air pollution and traffic (“Feinstaub – zwischen Fahrverbot und Hysterie”).





English translation	
Standard Austrian German version [transcription]	Dialectal Austrian German version [transcription]
most Austrians yet still by	
die meisten Österreicher doch noch um [ði maesdn œsd̥ɐɐæçə ɔx nɔx um]	die meisten Österreicher do nu um [ði maesdn œsd̥ɐɐæçə ɔ: nu um]
far more skeptical. And that is	
Einiges skeptischer. Und das hängt [æniges skep̥ɕiçə und̥ das hɛŋɡ̊]	Einiges skeptischer. Und des hängt hoit [æniges skep̥ɕiçə und̥ des hɛŋɡ̊ hœɕ]
according to my opinion very much with the fact	
meiner Meinung nach schon sehr damit [maen̩ maenuŋ na:x ʃɔn sɛə ɕa:miɕ]	meiner Meinung noch scho sehr damit [maen̩ maenuŋ nɔx ʃɔ: sɛə ɕa:miɕ]
to do that we Austrians a	
zusammen, dass wir Österreicher eine [tsusamen ɕas vr̩ œsd̥ɐɐæçə aen̩]	zsam, dass mir Österreicher a [tsɔm ɕas m̩r̩ œsd̥ɐɐæçə a]
certain control want to have over that	
gewisse Kontrolle haben wollen über das [gevis̩e kɔnd̥rɔle ha:b̥m̩ vɔln̩ yb̥ɛ ɕas]	Kontrolle hom woin über des [kɔnd̥rɔle hɔm vɔen̩ yb̥ɛ ɕe:s]
which we eat or do not eat.	
was wir essen oder auch nicht essen. [vas vr̩a esn̩ oɕ̥ɛ aɔx niç̥ esn̩]	wos ma essn̩ oder wos ma a net essen. [vɔs ma esn̩ oɕ̥ɛ vɔs m̩ɐ a ne:ɕ esn̩]
Therefore is in this whole discussion about	
Darum ist in der ganzen Diskussion über die [ɕarum is̥t̩ in̩ ð̥ɛə ɡants̩n̩ ɕiskusjo:n̩ yb̥ɛ ɕi]	Drum is in der gonzen Diskussion über de [ɕrum is in̩ ð̥ɛə ɡonts̩n̩ ɕiskusjo:n̩ yb̥ɛ ɕe]
genetic technology the vital point for me	
Gentechnik für mich der springende Punkt [ge:nd̥ɛçnik̩ f̥ɪɐ̩ miç̥ ð̥ɛə ʃbr̩ŋende̩ ɔŋɡ̊]	Gentechnik für mi der springende Punkt [ge:nd̥ɛçnig̩ f̥ɪɐ̩ mi: ð̥ɛ ʃbr̩ŋende̩ ɔŋɡ̊]
labeling. Let's take for example	
die Kennzeichnung. Nehmen wir zum Beispiel [ði kentsaɛçnuŋ ne:men̩ vr̩ɐ̩ tsum̩ ɔaɛʃbi:l]	die Kennzeichnung. Zum Beispü bei [ði kentsaɛçnuŋ tsum̩ ɔaɛʃɔy̩ ɔaɛ]
milk: when today in a store	
die Milch: Wenn ich heute in einem Geschäft [ði milç̥ ven̩ iç̥ hœɕ̥ɛ in̩ aen̩em̩ ɡɛʃɛf̥]	da Mûch: Wann i heit in an Gschäft [ɕ̥ɛ my:ç̥ vɔn̩ i: hœɕ̥ in̩ an̩ kʃɛf̥]
I buy milk, I don't know at all	
Milch kaufe, weiß ich überhaupt nicht, [milç̥ kaɔf̥e vaes̩ iç̥ yb̥ɛhaɔb̥ɕ̥ niç̥]	Mûch kauf, waß i überhaupt net, [my:ç̥ kaɔf̥ va:s̩ i yb̥ɛhaɔb̥ɕ̥ ne:ɕ̥]
what kind of fodder the cow has gotten.	
welches Futter die Kuh bekommen hat. [vɛlç̥ɛs̩ fuɕ̥ɛ ɕi ku: ɔkɔmen̩ haɕ̥]	wöches Futter die Kuah kriagt hot. [vœç̥ɛs̩ fuɕ̥ɛ ɕi ku̯ ɡr̩ɛɡ̊ haɕ̥]
There is too little information.	
Da gibt es zu wenig Information. [ɕa ɡiɕ̥ts̩ tsu:ve:nig̩ infɔmatsjo:n̩]	Do gibt's zweng Information. [ɕ̥ɔ ɡiɕ̥ts̩ tsven̩ infɔmatsjo:n̩]
Meaning, it says nowhere whether the cow	
Also, da steht nirgends ob die Kuh, [alsɔ ɕa ʃɕ̥e:ɕ̥ nr̩ɛɡens̩ oɔ̯ ɕi ku:]	Oiso do steht nirgends drauf ob die Kuah, [œso ɕ̥ɔ ʃɕ̥e:ɕ̥ nr̩ɛps̩ ɕraɔf̩ oɔ̯ ɕi ku̯]





English translation	
Standard Austrian German version [transcription]	Dialectal Austrian German version [transcription]
that has given the milk with genetically	
von der diese Milch kommt, mit gentechnisch [fɔn dɛv ði milç kɔmɔ miɔ ge:nɛçniʃ]	von der die Mũch kummt, a gentechnisch [fɔ: dɛv ði my:ç kumɔ a ge:nɛçniʃ]
altered fodder was fed.	
verändertem Futtermittel gefüttert wurde. [fɛvɛndɛtɐm fuɔɐmɪtl̩ ɡɛfʏtɛɐ̯t vʊɐɐ]	veränderts Futtermittel ɡfressn hot. [fɛɛndats fuɔɐmɪtl̩ kʁɛsn̩ hɔɔ]
And I think that's not okay! One cannot	
Und ich finde das geht nicht! Man kann nicht [ʊnd̩ iç ʃɪnd̩ ɔas ɡe:ɔ niçɔ man kan niçɔ]	Und i find des geht net! Ma kann net [ʊnd̩ i: ʃɪnd̩ ɔes ɡɛɔ ne:ɔ ma kɔn: ne:ɔ]
simply act according to the motto:	
einfach agieren, so nach dem Motto: [aɛnfax aɡɪɪɐn so nax ɔɛm moɔo]	afoch agieren so noch dem Motto: [a:ɔx aɡɪɪɐn so nox ɔɛm moɔo]
it doesn't matter, and the people will	
es ist ohnehin egal, und die Leute werden [ɛs ɪst̩ o:nehɪn eɡa:l ʊnd̩ ði lɔɐɔ vɛɐɐn]	es is eh wurscht, und die Leit wern [ɛs ɪs e: vuɛʃɔ ʊnd̩ ði lɛɐɔ vɛɐn]
some day to genetic technology	
sich schon irgendwann an die Gentechnik [siç ʃon ɪɡɛndwɔn an ði ɡe:nɛçnik]	si scho irgendwann an die Gentechnik [si ʃɔ: ɪɡɛndwɔn an ði ɡe:nɛçnik]
in the food get used. Rather, as	
in den Lebensmitteln gewöhnen. Sondern als [b̥æ ɔɛn le:bɛnsmɪtl̩n ɡɛvœ:nɛn sɔnd̩ɛn als]	bei de Lebensmittel ɡwohna. Sondern ois [b̥æ ði le:bɛnsmɪtl̩ ɡvɔ:nɛ sɔnd̩ɛn ɔes]
consumer I have in my opinion	
Konsument habe ich meiner Meinung nach [kɔnsʊmɛnt̩ hɔɔ iç mɛɛnɛ mɛɛnuŋ na:x]	Konsument hob i meiner Meinung noch [kɔnsʊmɛnt̩ hɔɔ i mɛɛnɛ mɛɛnuŋ nox]
a right to honest information and	
ein Recht auf ehrliche Information und [aɛn rɛçɔ aɔf e:ɐlɪçɛ infoɐmatsjo:n ʊnd̩]	a Recht auf ehrliche Information und [a rɛçɔ aɔf e:ɐlɪçɛ infoɐmatsjo:n ʊnd̩]
exact labeling. So that I	
genaue Kennzeichnung. Damit ich eben [ɡɛnaɔɛ kɛntsɛçnuŋ ɔamɪɔ iç e:bɛn]	genaue Kennzeichnung. Damit i eben [ɡɛnaɔɛ kɛntsɛçnuŋ ɔamɪɔ i: e:bɛn]
can decide myself what on	
selbst bestimmen kann was auf [sɛlbst̩ bɛʃɔɪmɛn kan vas aɔf]	söber bestimmen kann wos auf [sœβɛ bɛʃɔɪmɛn kɔ: vɔs aɔf]
my plate goes and what doesn't.	
meinen Teller kommt und was nicht. [mɛɛnɛn ɔɐlɛ kɔmɔ ʊnd̩ vas niçɔ]	mein Töller kummt und wos net. [mɛɛn ɔɐlɛ ku:mɔ ʊnd̩ vɔs ne:ɔ]

Table 6: Text passage used in the speaker evaluation study – English translation; standard Austrian German version ('Hochsprache'); dialectal version; IPA transcriptions





The dialect version of this text consists of 201 words, of which exactly 100 (49.8%) contain at least one salient feature of Middle Bavarian-Austrian dialect (see Table 7 below):

Feature	in N of words
input-switch	71
ge-reduction	2
l-vocalization	11
morpho-syntactic feature	4
lexical	2
contraction	5
words with multiple features	5
Total	100

Table 7: Types and distribution of salient dialect features in the dialect version of the text used in the language attitude experiment

This specific text has the additional advantage of introducing an agriculture-related theme, which was intended to further justify the dialectal performances: agriculture, connected with rurality, is a typical domain of dialect use in Austria (see also Moosmüller 1991 on the ‘romanticization’ of Austrian dialect). Thus, even though public speaking and discussion may be regarded as status-stressing environments in which standard language will be the expected norm (see Ryan & Giles 1982), dialect use is at least *plausible* in a discussion of a farming-related topic.

4.3.2. Further contextual parameters of the study design: the physical setting

I have already mentioned above that the virtual frame of reference of any speaker evaluation is embedded within the broader context of the actual physical setting in which the experiment is taking place. To now provide a more detailed description of this physical setting: my experiment was carried out at four schools of higher education in the province of Upper Austria. These schools are Universität Linz (henceforth ‘Uni Linz’), Fachhochschule Oberösterreich Campus Linz (‘FH Linz’), Pädagogische Akademie des Bundes Linz (‘Pädak Linz’); and Fachhochschule Oberösterreich Campus Hagenberg (‘FH Hagenberg’).¹⁴³ Of the four schools, three are located in the city of Linz (the capital of Upper Austria); FH Hagenberg is located close by, around 20km northeast of the city.

¹⁴³ The official English translation of ‘Fachhochschule’ on the schools’ own websites is ‘University of Applied Science’; however, as no doctoral degrees can be obtained at a Fachhochschule, the translation ‘college’ may fit the description better within an American educational context. The status of the Pädagogische Akademie is similar to that of the Fachhochschule.





Figure 4 below illustrates the geographic location of the field study:



Figure 4: Map of Austria, showing Upper Austria and the location of Linz
Image: © Christian Löffler

Informant recruitment was the main factor in deciding that the experiment would be held at universities and colleges: I was so fortunate as to obtain permission from faculty members at the listed schools to conduct my survey during a class meeting or outside class time at scheduled meetings at their departments, which allowed me to test a total of 310 participants in 15 sessions, with group sizes ranging from 4 to 33 participants (see also section 4.3.3. below on informants).¹⁴⁴ 11 sessions with a total of 287 informants were conducted in the course of university or college classes, and 4 sessions with a total of 23 informants on-campus but outside of class time.

As mentioned before, then, the concomitant physical surroundings of my experiment are characterized by a certain formality, status-orientedness, and group-centeredness, because they implicate an academic and educational frame (particularly in those cases where the survey was conducted during class time, usually in the presence of the instructor). Furthermore, a high degree of anonymity, impersonality, and distancing is involved in the testing situation, as the participants engage in a heretofore unfamiliar activity with a previously unknown investigator (me) and unknown subjects that are to be rated (the recorded speakers). Again, formality, status-stressing, and group-centeredness are also characteristic of the speech situation of the TV discussion show from which my discourse data are drawn (see above), so that the contextual parameters of the two

¹⁴⁴ In fact, many more faculty members as well as a number of my own friends and relatives were involved in facilitating access to the informants. I am very grateful for their help and support, as well as for that of all my participants in the experiment.





data sets are roughly in line with each other on this level as well, in addition to lining up on the level of the virtual setting.

On a more macro-social level, the study location of Linz in Upper Austria also constitutes an important contextual factor of my experiment. Linz is my home town and where I grew up, which affords the advantage that I am very familiar with the local people, places, and (linguistic) habits; and my network connections proved invaluable for the success of the present field study. But the city and surrounding province also represent an interesting research site on language attitudes for other reasons. For one, Linz and Upper Austria were not included in the seminal past speaker evaluation research on Austrian language attitudes (Moosmüller 1991): in this research, the Middle Bavarian-Austrian dialect area (covering the northern parts of the country – see chapter 2) was represented by the cities of Salzburg and Vienna. However, judging from my own experience growing up in Linz and studying/living in Vienna on and off for 10 years, but also being somewhat familiar with Salzburg through family and friends and personal visits, I believe that Linz is a complex and intriguing attitudinal research site that cannot easily be subsumed under research carried out in Salzburg or Vienna, because in Linz dialect has much more currency and a higher acceptance throughout all social groups than in either of the other two cities, but particularly in Vienna, where dialect usage is associated with low social class and status (Moosmüller 1991). That is to say, in Linz and its surrounding urban area dialect is spoken in public situations (e.g. in shops, at soirees and similar social gatherings, public discussions, even in church sermons, etc.) much more regularly, ‘tenaciously’, and ‘unmarkedly’ than in other capitals in the Bavarian-Austrian region that I am familiar with (Salzburg, Sankt Pölten in Lower Austria, Vienna, Graz). This may partly be to do with the fact that unlike Salzburg and Vienna, Linz relies on industry and technology rather than high culture and tourism for its main income. But be that as it may, the fact is that in Linz dialect is the *expected* variety in most encounters, even formal ones.

To illustrate this with real-life examples, ‘Linzers’ routinely speak dialect when interviewed for radio or TV on the street, whereas in other cities people are more likely to make an effort to speak standard, especially in Vienna. Public officials are also more likely to ‘operate’ in the dialect, so that the vice-governor of Upper Austria, Christoph Leitl (a Linzer), upon transferring to the position of new president of the Austrian Federal Economic Chamber (‘Wirtschaftskammer’) in Vienna in 2000, could be witnessed giving an interview *in dialect* for the main Austrian evening news show (*Zeit im Bild 2*) on the public broadcasting station ORF 2 – a highly unusual occurrence on that program, standard speech being the absolute norm for national news broadcasts. (In fact, in his second interview on the same program a few weeks later dialect was completely substituted by standard speech). And lastly, during my own field work for this study, I attended a lecture in Electronic Engineering at Uni Linz, in which the instructor used dialect even in his highly scientific explanation of mathe-





mathematical formulas and diagrams. (Comments by my study informants and other students at Upper Austrian institutions of higher education confirm that this is not unusual, and indeed often constitutes a comprehension problem for international students).

The point I would like to make here, then, is that the present attitudinal field study is embedded in a sociolinguistic situation where dialect usage is arguably more 'egalitarian' and pervasive across all social groups and domains (i.e. not restricted to lower class or private settings) than in any other major Austrian urban center, at least in the Middle Bavarian-Austrian dialect area (Salzburg, Sankt Pölten, Vienna). It is therefore most interesting to see whether in this geographic area attitudes towards dialect are perhaps more nuanced and less exclusively focused on the negative than previously recorded in Austrian matched-guise attitude research (e.g. Moosmüller 1988a, 1991). In other words, if there is *any* place in Austria where dialect can be found to preserve a certain prestige and status among a highly educated/middle and upper class audience (such as the target audience of *Offen gesagt*), it would probably be in Linz.

4.3.3. Study informants

While the selection of university and college students as informants for a language attitude study (or any field study in general) is typically a function of convenience, in that it allows for the recruitment of large and socially rather homogeneous groups (e.g. in terms of age and educational background), in my present case such an informant sample is also justified by the fact that it shows certain parallels to the make-up of the target audience for the TV discussion show from which my discourse data are drawn (see chapter 1). As I have mentioned before, according to media surveys for the show *Offen gesagt* as provided by the hosting public broadcast station ORF, upper class and upper middle class audiences (which typically include the highly educated in Austria) are in fact overrepresented during the relevant viewing period (Sunday nights after 10pm). Thus, a student sample aligns quite well with the typical audience of *Offen gesagt* in terms of social and educational background.

In terms of age, the largest groups of viewers of the show are located in the segments of 40–49 and 50–59 years. Although my informant sample, with an age range of 19–36 years, 65% within the range of 20–24, and an average age of 24 years, thus does not exactly match up with the typical *Offen gesagt* viewers, it could be argued that this is merely a question of time, with my participant sample representing the format's audience potential of the future.¹⁴⁵

¹⁴⁵ Kalin (1982) makes a similar argument with regard to using university students as judges in virtual employment interview settings, pointing out that some of





Overall, then, the final participant sample for my language attitude experiment comprises 242 students of higher education in Upper Austria, aged 19–36, and all ‘Austrian natives’, which for the purposes of my present study I defined to comprise those individuals who indicated in the questionnaire that they were born and raised in Austria (specifically: in the Bavarian-Austrian dialect region, which excludes the province of Vorarlberg), that their mother tongue is some variant of Austrian German (dialect, standard, or both), and that at least one parent is Austrian.¹⁴⁶

The distribution of sexes within the sample is fairly equal, with 52.9% females (N = 128) and 47.1% males (N = 114). 198 of the 242 informants (81.8%) indicated that they had grown up in the province of Upper Austria, of which 35 (14.5% of the total sample) had grown up in the capital of Linz; 25 (10.3%) indicated they had been raised in the neighboring province of Lower Austria; 12 (5%) in Salzburg; 4 (1.7%) in Styria; 2 (0.8%) in Vienna; and 1 (0.4%) in the Tyrol. The vast majority of informants furthermore indicated their mother tongue to be the dialect (167 out of 242, or 69%), with only 4.1% (N = 10) indicating it to be the standard, and 26.9% (N = 65) indicating both.

The reason for recruiting participants from four different schools of higher education – Uni Linz, FH Linz, FH Hagenberg, and Pädak Linz (see above) – was a desire to cover a wide variety of study subject specializations in the sample. (In the Austrian educational system, students specialize in at least one subject right from the beginning of their university career; and schools often specialize in certain subject programs.) Uni Linz is one of 22 public universities in Austria and comprises faculties of social sciences and economy, of law, and of technology and natural sciences; it counts a student body of around 12,000.¹⁴⁷ FH Linz specializes in programs in the area of social and health science, while FH Hagenberg hosts programs in information technology. Pädak Linz is dedicated to teacher education (and the only school represented here that includes programs in humanities). All of these institutions are much smaller than Uni Linz.¹⁴⁸

them may soon enough be in a position to make hiring decisions.

Note that the strong bias of informants’ age towards the range of 20–24 (65%) meant that statistical testing for age-effects on the ratings did not yield meaningful results (see presentation of results further below).

¹⁴⁶ Informants who did not fit this description and/or the age restriction (19–36) were excluded from the sample. Out of a total of 310 informants participating in the experiment, the size of the final sample used in the analysis was thus reduced to 242, which also excludes 31 informants employed as a control group (see section 4.3.4. below on speaker selection).

¹⁴⁷ Source: Austrian Federal Ministry of Education and Cultural Affairs; numbers for Fall 2005 (http://archiv.bmbwk.gv.at/universitaeten/stats/studierende_fh.xml – accessed 02/04/2008).

¹⁴⁸ As of 2005, the total student count for Fachhochschule enrollment in all of Upper Austria was around 3,500 (see http://archiv.bmbwk.gv.at/universitaeten/stats/studierende_fh.xml – accessed 02/04/2008). Enrollment at Pädak Linz was





The distribution of informants across the schools represented in the sample is as follows:

School	N	Percent
Uni Linz	140	57.85%
Pädak Linz	50	20.66%
FH Hagenberg	27	11.16%
FH Linz	25	10.33%
Total	242	100%

Table 8: Distribution of informants across schools

Thus, the students recruited at Uni Linz comprise the biggest group (more than half of the sample), followed by the groups from Pädak Linz, FH Hagenberg, and FH Linz, in that order.

The frequency distribution of the informants according to study subject is as follows:

Subject	N	Percent
Economics (Socioeconomics, Economic Science)	67	27.7
Special Education Teacher Training	33	13.6
Software Engineering	27	11.2
Social Management	25	10.3
Pedagogy of Economics	23	9.5
'Mechatronics' (Robotics)	21	8.7
Languages (English, German)	16	6.6
Natural Sciences (Chemistry, Physics)	11	4.5
Law	8	3.3
Sociology	6	2.5
Other*	5	2.1
Total	242	100

* 'Other' includes the following subjects: Pedagogy of Arts and Crafts, Pedagogy of Mathematics, IT for Economics, General Teacher Education

Table 9: Distribution of informants across study subjects

around 2,000 (for 2004/05; see report by the Federal Minister of Education and Cultural Affairs to the Austrian Parliament, Dec 2005: [http://www.stvg.com/pekpnb.nsf/0/496bce54fedcf188c125719c004ac40c/\\$FILE/F%C3%BCnfter%20Bericht%20NR.pdf](http://www.stvg.com/pekpnb.nsf/0/496bce54fedcf188c125719c004ac40c/$FILE/F%C3%BCnfter%20Bericht%20NR.pdf) – accessed 01/20/2009).





Note that, with two schools that host large programs/faculties in social sciences, business management, and economics (Uni Linz and FH Linz), there is a certain predominance of students of these subjects in the sample.¹⁴⁹

Such, then, is the make-up of my informant group for the present language attitude experiment; and I believe to have shown that the selection of informants, too, fits in well with my broader research agenda of matching up my attitudinal and discourse data sets. In the following, it remains to be described how my selection of speakers and design of the speaker evaluation questionnaire tie in with my overarching goal of integrating the speaker evaluation experiment with the subsequent analysis of conversational data.

4.3.4. *Selection of speakers*

As mentioned at the outset of this chapter, my language attitude field study employs an adapted version of the matched-guise technique (Lambert et al. 1960), the ‘verbal guise’, in which speech samples from four different speakers are presented to the informants for evaluation. The language varieties to be tested in this experimental set-up are an urbanized (as opposed to rural) dialect of Austrian German vs. a standard form of Austrian German (see chapter 2 on language use in Austria), as such is also the nature of the varieties occurring on the show *Offen gesagt*. For each variety, I recorded a speech sample by one male and one female speaker. Thus, my sample consisted of one male dialectal speaker (henceforth ‘DcM’), one female dialectal speaker (‘DcF’), one male standard speaker (‘StM’) and one female standard speaker (‘StF’).

I have already briefly pointed out the fact that speaker selection under the verbal guise technique is based on the ideal of recording ‘authentic’ (natural-sounding) performances but also constrained by the need to control the impact of using different speakers on comparability (and thus generalizability) of the ratings. Arguably, then, it seems that comparability of the speech samples can be sufficiently established if the speakers do not diverge greatly in voice quality, but ideally also in social background and personal disposition, in terms of the personality traits measured in the experiment.

For my field study, I thus approached persons whom I know rather well and whom I judged to be good matches by the above criteria. I recorded a total of 7 speakers, and pilot-tested them in 6 sessions with friends and

¹⁴⁹ Again, the skewing and unequal distribution of informants across schools and study subjects did not allow for a meaningful statistical analysis of effects of those variables on evaluative outcomes. (See presentation of results further below.)





family. Based on the feedback gained I then selected those four speakers for my study that appeared to be the best fit and delivered the most natural-sounding performances. Of the four speakers, DcM, DcF, and StM are from Linz, the capital of Upper Austria and third-largest city in the republic (population ca. 180,000), while StF is from Steyr (population ca. 39,000), an industrial center about 45 km (28 miles) southeast of Linz and the third-largest city in Upper Austria; she currently lives in Vienna.¹⁵⁰ As the speakers selected were thus all born and raised in one of the major urban centers of Upper Austria, they match up well with each other's, but also the informants', regional and linguistic background (see above).

At the time of recording, DcF, StM, and StF were between 29 and 32 years, and DcM was 21. StM and DcM were pursuing a degree in higher education (both at the same university); StF and DcF had already obtained their degree, both in humanities.

All four speakers are in fact competent in both standard Austrian German and dialectal Austrian German; I cast them the way I impressionistically judged them to sound most natural. In the case of the dialectal speakers, who are the main focus of my field study, it was also important that the accent and prosody exhibited in the respective performances was a match. Although there can, of course, be no hundred percent guarantee for this, comparability was first of all ensured by the two speakers being from and growing up in the (same) city and having a similar middle class social background (they even went to the same academic high school, though at different times). As for the amount of dialectal features outside of prosody and intonation, providing the speakers with the same detailed 'eye-dialect' script for the text to be read proved to be a good means to delimit the range of variation (see text and transcriptions in 4.3.1. above).

All speakers were recorded multiple times; recordings were made in a quiet setting (in a home or office) to ensure the absence of background noise. I then selected the best (most natural sounding) recordings for use in the study, also based on feedback from family and friends whom I had asked to listen to and comment on the speakers. The selected recordings were then digitized (including editing out hesitation phenomena) using the software 'GoldWave', v.5.13.

For the actual experimental session with the informants, the speech samples were played in two different orders, to control for ordering effects on the ratings: (1) StM-DcM-StF-DcF, and (2) StF-DcF-StM-DcM. Thus, the standard speakers were always heard first by the informants, 'tuning them in' to the task. This decision was made in view of the fact that, as pointed out above, my interest with this experiment lay mainly in the evaluation of and ratings obtained by the dialectal speakers.

¹⁵⁰ Population statistics taken from Statistik Austria (<http://www.statistik.at> – accessed 01/20/2009).





Both types of ordering were applied in 7 sessions each, and an attempt was made to have roughly equal distributions of study subjects in the respective informant groups. Order (1) ended up being played to 142 informants (58.7%), and order (2) to 100 informants (41.3%).

I in fact also carried out a fifteenth, 'control' session at Uni Linz with a group of 31 informants, in which I replaced DcF with a different female dialect speaker. This was intended to test whether the effect of language use (i.e. dialect) did indeed take precedence over individual speakers' characteristics in informants' speaker evaluation: similar ratings for the two different females would confirm this hypothesis. Subsequent statistical analysis yielded only marginal rating differences between DcF and her replacement DcF₂ (who was in fact from a different dialect area in Upper Austria, close to the German border, but had been claimed to sound 'less hick' by some of my friends with whom I had previously tested the speakers); thus, my original DcF scored higher ratings on self-confidence, emotionality, and relaxedness, which judgment coincided with my own impression and the reason why I chose DcF over DcF₂ for the main experiment in the first place. No further significant rating differences were found. In addition to validating the findings from my experiment, this outcome also further justifies the use of the verbal guise technique and employing different speakers for the different guises to curb artificiality (see discussion above).

4.3.5. *The rating scales*

The response scheme I used in my experiment to record informants' speaker evaluations is based on so-called 'semantic-differential scales', as originally developed by Osgood et al. (1957) and adapted for language attitude investigations by Lambert and his colleagues (1960; see also Fasold 1984; Garrett 2005). Such scales commonly present opposite extremes of a personality trait on each pole, such as 'friendly' vs. 'unfriendly' or 'educated' vs. 'uneducated', with a range of blank boxes in between. Informants are instructed to place checkmarks on these scales; the closer they check to one pole, the more they believe this trait to be true for a given speaker. Thus, one basic premise of this approach is that attitudes can be measured in gradients (Garrett 2005; Romaine 1980). Different variations of semantic-differential scales may have different numbers of increments between the poles (5 or 7 is common); further, some are unipolar instead of bipolar, so that only one realization of the personality trait is given ('friendly', 'educated') – (for further discussion see e.g. Fasold 1984; Garrett 2005; Garrett et al. 2003).

For the purposes of my present study, I used 5-point bipolar semantic differential scales, which I presented to the informants in the form of a questionnaire (see appendix B for the original German version). This questionnaire contained four identical pages (one for each speaker to be





assessed), each with a rating grid comprising the following 22 adjective pairs (German original; *English translation*):

sympathisch	–	unsympathisch	<i>likeable</i>	–	<i>not likeable</i>
gebildet	–	ungebildet	<i>educated</i>	–	<i>uneducated</i>
vertrauenswürdig	–	nicht vertrauenswürdig	<i>trustworthy</i>	–	<i>not trustworthy</i>
höflich	–	unhöflich	<i>polite</i>	–	<i>impolite</i>
intelligent	–	unintelligent	<i>intelligent</i>	–	<i>unintelligent</i>
freundlich	–	unfreundlich	<i>friendly</i>	–	<i>unfriendly</i>
ehrlich	–	unehrlich	<i>honest</i>	–	<i>dishonest</i>
selbstbewusst	–	nicht selbstbewusst	<i>self-confident</i>	–	<i>not self-confident</i>
kompetent	–	nicht kompetent	<i>competent</i>	–	<i>not competent</i>
fleißig	–	faul	<i>industrious</i>	–	<i>lazy</i>
natürlich	–	gekünstelt	<i>natural</i>	–	<i>artificial</i>
viel Sinn für Humor	–	kein Sinn für Humor	<i>good sense of humor</i>	–	<i>no sense of humor</i>
schlau	–	nicht schlau	<i>clever</i>	–	<i>not clever</i>
emotional	–	unemotional	<i>emotional</i>	–	<i>unemotional</i>
locker	–	nicht locker	<i>relaxed</i>	–	<i>not relaxed</i>
ernst	–	unernst	<i>serious</i>	–	<i>non-serious</i>
aggressiv	–	nicht aggressiv	<i>aggressive</i>	–	<i>not aggressive</i>
streng	–	nicht streng	<i>strict</i>	–	<i>not strict</i>
konservativ	–	aufgeschlossen	<i>conservative</i>	–	<i>open-minded</i>
grob	–	sanftmütig	<i>rough</i>	–	<i>gentle</i>
arrogant	–	unarrogant	<i>arrogant</i>	–	<i>non-arrogant</i>
derb	–	vornehm	<i>coarse</i>	–	<i>refined</i>

Below the rating grid I posed the question ‘How powerful was the presentation of the argument here?’ (“Wie schlagkräftig wurde das Argument hier präsentiert?”), with another 5-point scale between the pair ‘very powerful’ and ‘not powerful’ (“sehr schlagkräftig – nicht schlagkräftig”). Each page was then rounded off with the two questions ‘Which target audience would this speaker most appeal to?’ and ‘Which target audience would this speaker least appeal to?’ (“Bei welchem Zielpublikum würde diese/r Sprecher/in am besten//am schlechtesten ankommen?”), with some room for explanation and other comments.

The list of adjective pairs for the rating grid itself was compiled with numerous considerations in mind. For one, it reflects past experimental research on language attitudes in a variety of contexts, and the rating dimensions that have been found useful therein.¹⁵¹ In a refinement of his

¹⁵¹ for example research done in the tradition of language attitude study at the University of Vienna English department: Hebenstreit (1998); Gudenus (1999); Micheli (2001); Smit (1994); Soukup (2000); Stenzenberger (1992); Teufel (1995).





original research on language attitudes, Lambert (1967) has furthermore suggested that the personality dimensions on which informants typically rate speakers can be categorized into three groups – ‘competence’ (e.g. intelligence, education), ‘personal integrity’ (e.g. honesty, trustworthiness), and ‘social attractiveness’ (e.g. friendliness, sense of humor).¹⁵² While Lambert’s categorization was merely intuitive, a sophisticated computer-based factor analysis carried out by Zahn and Hopper (1985) and pooling a large number of speech evaluation tools and adjective items also found a threefold categorization of rating dimensions. The factors identified were ‘superiority’ (including such dimensions as intelligence, education, social status); ‘attractiveness’ (e.g. friendliness, likeability, honesty); and ‘dynamism’ (e.g. laziness, aggressiveness, enthusiasm). For reasons of cross-cultural comparison and research consistency, it seemed therefore useful to reflect these three categories in the rating grid, by including corresponding adjectives (e.g. ‘intelligent’; ‘friendly’; ‘aggressive’); and furthermore, by mixing up the items on the grid accordingly (i.e. alternating items from different groups).

However, Garrett et al. (2003: 64) have criticized that “taking scales used in previous studies [...] may induce some circularity in the research process, whereby the well-documented dimensions simply become better documented and so perhaps are assumed to be exhaustive, while others remain out of view”; and they warn against the assumption that the same set of ‘universal’ dimensions will always be salient in language attitude research across different populations. Such criticism can be addressed by conducting pilot interviews and investigations in the respective research population, in order to identify which labels are most meaningful for speaker evaluation in the given context. Thus, my above list of adjective pairs very centrally reflects the concepts and associations mentioned in connection with the use of standard or dialectal varieties of Austrian German as extracted from the debriefing interviews with my 42 dialect perception experiment informants (see chapter 3). Basing my rating grid on their input further integrated my language attitude experiment with my proposed subsequent discourse analysis of conversational data, in the sense that the latter is intended to provide interpretations of instances of conversational contextualization that are generally plausible and meaningful for Austrian native speakers, and reflect common cultural knowledge.

In addition to the dialect perception experiment interviews, I also consulted prior literature on Austrian language attitudes (e.g. Moosmüller 1988a, 1991, 1995b; de Cillia 1997) and on attitudes in a wider Germanophone context (e.g. Weil & Schneider 1997; Ammon 1997), for the same

¹⁵² See also Edwards (1982) for a brief discussion.





purpose of identifying concepts and stereotypes for my study which had already been shown to be meaningful.¹⁵³

Lastly, but quite essentially, the list of adjectives I ultimately proposed to my informants also had to ‘work’ in the framework of my study itself; thus, I could only include items that seemed plausible in the established virtual context of supposedly giving a trainee in public speaking feedback on his or her presentation style (see above).

Time and practicality constraints (as projected from the perspective of prior experience – see Soukup 2000) then imposed the limitation of the rating grid to the 22 adjective pairs listed above.

Based on the assumption that in their ratings informants would mainly focus on one side of the grid, and presumably the left side (reflecting reading direction), the grid was furthermore designed such that the left side included the primary list of adjectives to be tested (the salient stereotypes), whereas the right-hand side contained opposites that were mainly simple derived negatives. This was also intended to avoid semantic confusion and inconsistency within adjective pairs. Thus, preference was given to affixed forms such as “unintelligent” over e.g. ‘dumm’ (‘dumb’, ‘stupid’), or composites such as “nicht locker” (‘not relaxed’) over more ambiguous or semantically loaded opposites such as ‘verklemmt’ (‘uptight’, but with a connotation of ineptitude).

In the questionnaire, the rating grid part of the experiment, representing the indirect attitude elicitation via the speaker evaluation, was followed by a brief placement task in which the informants were asked to assess where they thought the speakers they had heard were actually from (“Woher, glauben Sie, kommen die Sprecher/innen?”). For this purpose, the first sentences of each speaker was to be played one more time, leaving short pauses in between to give the informants time to write down their best guesses. This task in turn was followed by a set of direct questions to the informants, intended for contextualization of the speaker evaluation: (1) “Wie wirkt dialektaler Sprachstil im Allgemeinen auf Sie?”/“Warum?” (‘What impression does dialectal style give you in general?’/‘Why?’); (2) “Wie wirkt hochsprachlicher Sprachstil im Allgemeinen auf Sie?”/“Warum?” (‘What impression does standard style give you in general?’/‘Why?’); (3) “Gibt es für Sie Situationen, in denen der Gebrauch eines dialektalen Sprachstils sehr unpassend ist?”/“Wenn ja, welche?” (‘To you, are there situations in which use of a dialectal style is very inappropriate?’/‘If yes, which?’); (4) “Gibt es für Sie Situationen, in denen der Gebrauch eines hochsprachlichen Sprachstils sehr unpassend ist?”/“Wenn ja, welche?” (‘To you, are there situations in which use of a standard style is very inappropriate?’/‘If yes, which?’). Such mixing of direct and indirect methods of attitude elicitation also answers Giles &

¹⁵³ I am furthermore grateful to Sylvia Moosmüller and Ute Smit for their input and feedback on early versions of the questionnaire.





Ryan's (1982: 223) call for "methodological eclecticism" to triangulate findings (see also Garrett 2005).

The questionnaire closed with a short section asking the informants for selected biographical information (sex, age, study subject, region of origin, current residence, father's and mother's region of origin, mother tongue). (See Appendix B for the full original version of the questionnaire.)

Once the final version of the questionnaire and the selection of speakers were completed, I successfully piloted my language attitude experiment in four run-through sessions with friends and family, before taking it to the student informants. No changes became necessary after this pilot phase.

4.4. Presentation and analysis of results

In this section, I present the statistical evaluation of the data obtained in my language attitude field study, computed with the software SPSS for Windows v.14.0., as well as an analytic assessment of the results. In this analysis, just as in my experimental design, my particular focus is on the ratings obtained by the speakers of dialectal Austrian German, in view of my ensuing discourse analysis of conversational data, which has the same focus.

The main part of my presentation of results is concerned with the speaker evaluation experiment (section 4.4.1. below). Subsequently, I also discuss the outcomes of the brief placement task ('Where do you think the speakers are from?') as well as of the direct attitudinal questions. I close the chapter on my language attitude field study with a summary and discussion of findings.

4.4.1. *The speaker evaluation*

4.4.1.1. Data coding

As outlined in section 4.3.5. above, the response scheme for the speaker evaluation part of my field study consisted of 5-point bipolar semantic differential scales, the same for each speaker, which comprised 22 opposite adjective pairs such as 'intelligent' – 'unintelligent'; 'friendly' – 'unfriendly'; 'honest' – 'dishonest' etc. This list, presented in form of a grid, was complemented by the question 'How powerful was the presentation of the argument here?', which headed another 5-point scale with the poles of 'powerful' and 'not powerful'. Lastly, the participants were asked to indicate which target audience they believed each speaker would be most or least successful and effective with, and why.¹⁵⁴

¹⁵⁴ See original version of the questionnaire in Appendix B.





For the purposes of statistical analysis, the original rating scales with the range 2, 1, 0, -1, -2 (from left to right) were converted into a 5, 4, 3, 2, 1 scale of positive values during data coding, in order to facilitate the computation of mean scores and interpretation of results.¹⁵⁵ The leftmost adjective pole (e.g. 'intelligent', 'friendly') was assigned the top value (5) and its opposite pole (e.g. 'unintelligent', 'unfriendly') the lowest (1).

In the majority of instances, the order within the adjective pairs was such that the socially desirable attribute (e.g. 'intelligent', 'friendly', 'educated') constituted the leftmost pole on the grid, while the socially less desirable counterpart ('unintelligent', 'unfriendly', 'uneducated') was listed on the rightmost side. However, the grid also contained a few items where the order was reversed, as in the items 'aggressive', 'strict', 'conservative', 'rough', 'arrogant', and 'coarse': these socially 'undesirable' items were also placed on the left side, because that side of the grid was intended to reflect the most common stereotypes assumed to be called up by the use of dialectal speech, as based on preceding interviews and gathered from the relevant literature (see section 4.3.5. above on the rating grid). This was due to my general assumption that the informants would mainly focus on the left side during the scoring process, in keeping with reading direction. Also, the opposites of the 'negative' items concerned were seen as more complex and semantically less forceful (German "unaggressiv" – 'not aggressive'; "nicht streng" – 'not strict'; "sanftmütig" – 'gentle' etc.) – another reason for relegating them to the right side of the grid. But in order to ensure that high scores in the calculation of results would consistently be indicative of ratings close towards the socially more desirable adjective pole throughout, thus avoiding potential confusion, the polarity was reversed for the listed set of negative items in the coding process. This means that, for example, a score of 5 on 'aggressive' was recoded into a score of 1 under the new label of its counterpart 'not aggressive', a score of 4 was recoded into a score of 2, and so forth. In the same manner, the item 'strict' was recoded into its counterpart 'not strict', 'conservative' into 'open-minded', 'rough' into 'gentle', 'arrogant' into 'not arrogant', and 'coarse' into 'refined'.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵⁵ The original labeling range of 2 to -2 was merely intended as a memory support for the informants, to recall the assessment scheme as presented in the oral introduction ('the closer you tick to one pole, the more you believe this attribute to apply to the speaker'). The scale of 5 to 1, used for convenience in the mean calculation, was not used in the questionnaire, as it was likely to call up interfering associations with the Austrian school grading system (which uses a 1–5 number scale, 1 being the best grade – see also chapter 3).

¹⁵⁶ Arguably, of course, being 'conservative' is not necessarily or inherently socially undesirable, although it was felt that it would be regarded as such by my predominantly young sample of informants. Similarly, the item 'serious' could be regarded as a socially undesirable attribute; however, it was felt that its opposite 'not serious' (German: "unernst") could have more negative connotations in the present experimental context of public speaking and presenting a rather serious political argument. Thus, polarity was not reversed for 'serious'.





This way, the socially desirable items are now all lined up together on the same side of the rating scales; and throughout the analysis higher ratings now consistently represent scores that are closer towards the more positively connotated adjective poles – ‘likeable’, ‘educated’, ‘trustworthy’, ‘polite’, ‘intelligent’, ‘friendly’, ‘honest’, ‘self-confident’, ‘competent’, ‘industrious’, ‘natural’, ‘good sense of humor’, ‘clever’, ‘emotional’, ‘relaxed’, ‘serious’, ‘not aggressive’, ‘not strict’, ‘open-minded’, ‘gentle’, ‘not arrogant’, and ‘refined’. Lower scores are those closer to their opposites.

4.4.1.2. Computation and analysis of results

The statistical analysis of the speaker evaluation part of my field study is largely based on comparisons of mean values extracted from the rating scale responses. My primary concern lies with the full response sample and in bringing out the overall stereotypical profiles attributed to the speakers in the experiment.¹⁵⁷

Regarding the potential effects of independent variables on the ratings outcomes, data exploration was limited to the investigation of the sole factor of informants’ sex (see 4.4.4. further below). This is mainly due to the fact that the sample can arguably be considered as fairly homogeneous, particularly regarding informants’ age as well as educational and geo-linguistic background (see section 4.3.3. on study informants above). Wherever else group comparisons according to independent variables would have seemed interesting (i.e. regarding local origin, current residence, self-identified mother tongue, school, and study subject), the distribution of informants across the individual groups was too skewed to allow for a meaningful analysis. (For example, matching up 198 Upper Austrians with only 25 Lower Austrians, 12 Salzburgers and 9 ‘Other’ Austrians would not have yielded any telling statistical results.)

¹⁵⁷ Note that this primary concern in fact preempts the use of factor analysis for data exploration, although such analysis is a quite commonly used tool in attitudinal research (see e.g. Lambert 1967; Soukup 2000; Zahn & Hopper 1985). What a factor analysis effectively does is to cluster the variables (adjective items) into groups that statistically behave in similar ways, thus reducing the number of variables that have to be dealt with. However, I believe that such reduction would run counter to my present purpose, which is to bring out nuances within the stereotypes and social meanings attaching to dialect vs. standard use in Austria. These would be prone to get lost in the computation of a few all-encompassing factor groups.





4.4.1.3. The adjective grid – comparisons of means

In order to obtain a detailed picture of the four speakers' overall perceived profile as expressed by my 242 informants, my first step was to conduct a repeated measures ANOVA comparing the speakers' mean scores for each of the 22 items in the bipolar grid.¹⁵⁸ These initial tests already indicated highly significant differences for the comparisons of means for every single item on the list, at $p < 0.001$. That is to say, for each of the 22 adjective items, it was found that the overall patterning of the mean differences for the four speakers (StM, StF, DcM, DcF) was statistically significant. This supports the general hypothesis that different performances elicited different social evaluations from the informants, presumably due to the use of different linguistic varieties (as the basic hypothesis of matched-guise type studies would predict).

To identify which individual speakers or groups of speakers in particular showed statistically significant mean differences in their ratings, and which did not, I then carried out a series of post-hoc paired-samples T-tests comparing individual speakers' mean scores for each item. These T-tests were done in hierarchical order (highest mean paired with second-highest, second-highest with third-highest etc.) to reduce the potential for Type I error in the calculations.¹⁵⁹

Table 10 below shows the results from the repeated measures ANOVAs, listing the average score (\bar{x}) of each speaker per adjective item as computed in the procedure. For simplicity, only the left-hand (socially desirable) adjective poles from the grid are listed. Note that not all participants always responded for each adjective item on the list; thus, the N of responses on which these mean calculations as well as the repeated measures ANOVAs are based actually ranges from 236 to 242, as indicated. In addition, Table 10 shows the main results from the post-hoc paired-samples T-tests. Superscripts are used to designate homogeneous subgroups of means (means that do not significantly differ from each other). The ordering of items in this table furthermore reflects how certain groups of variables (adjective items) exhibit quite similar patterns regarding the hierarchy of speakers' means, a point I pick up further below.

¹⁵⁸ ANOVA ('Analysis of Variance') is a statistical procedure that compares variances within and between samples to estimate the significance of differences between a set of means; a repeated measures ANOVA is applied to a set of related means ('repeated measures') – (see Coolican 2004). In the present case, the means are related in that each individual informant 'repeatedly' assigned a score (i.e. assigned a score to each of the four speakers in succession).

¹⁵⁹ Type I error refers to wrongfully rejecting the null hypothesis when it is true (Coolican 2004); i.e. in the present case assuming that the mean scores are significantly different when they are in fact not.





Adjective item	DcM (\bar{x})	DcF (\bar{x})	StM (\bar{x})	StF (\bar{x})	N	F*
natural	4.66 ^a	4.42 ^b	2.46 ^d	3.07 ^c	242	268.484**
honest	4.29 ^a	4.13 ^b	3.31 ^d	3.72 ^c	240	63.024**
emotional	4.23 ^a	4.08 ^b	2.10 ^d	3.30 ^c	241	236.500**
relaxed	4.11 ^a	3.76 ^b	2.38 ^c	2.54 ^c	240	166.230**
likeable	4.02 ^a	3.59 ^b	3.20 ^c	3.30 ^c	241	32.639**
not arrogant	3.95 ^a	3.78 ^b	3.44 ^c	2.76 ^d	241	60.496**
sense of humor	3.68 ^a	3.43 ^b	2.24 ^c	2.17 ^c	237	177.478**
polite	3.55 ^b	3.50 ^b	3.95 ^a	3.85 ^a	239	13.907**
intelligent	3.23 ^c	2.99 ^d	3.48 ^b	3.96 ^a	236	59.751**
serious	3.09 ^c	3.13 ^c	3.47 ^b	3.79 ^a	241	26.974**
educated	3.02 ^c	2.83 ^d	3.52 ^b	4.04 ^a	240	93.344**
refined	2.62 ^c	2.48 ^d	3.66 ^b	3.95 ^a	241	218.388**
not aggressive	3.22 ^c	3.22 ^c	4.20 ^a	3.44 ^b	242	52.946**
gentle	3.06 ^c	2.97 ^c	3.78 ^a	3.26 ^b	240	43.235**
industrious	3.52 ^b	3.54 ^b	3.43 ^b	3.76 ^a	237	8.482**
competent	3.36 ^b	3.05 ^c	3.22 ^b	3.84 ^a	239	28.435**
clever	3.36 ^b	3.13 ^c	3.11 ^c	3.62 ^a	239	24.027**
friendly	3.95 ^a	3.71 ^{b,c}	3.73 ^b	3.54 ^c	241	7.603**
trustworthy	3.82 ^a	3.54 ^b	3.20 ^c	3.60 ^b	240	15.372**
open-minded	3.32 ^a	2.85 ^b	2.77 ^b	2.71 ^b	238	15.594**
not strict	3.34 ^b	3.15 ^c	3.71 ^a	2.63 ^d	241	43.689**
self-confident	4.25 ^a	4.15 ^a	3.15 ^b	4.30 ^a	241	93.322**

** indicates statistical significance of variance as found in the repeated measures ANOVA ($p < 0.001$)

Different superscripts designate statistically different means as found in the post-hoc T-tests ($p < 0.05$); same superscripts designate homogeneous groups.

Table 10: Overall speaker ratings – results from repeated measures ANOVAs and post-hoc T-tests

Figure 5 is a visualization of Table 10 above, plotting the speakers' mean scores per adjective item across the informant population. This figure furthermore renders visible some of the more extreme rating differences between the speakers (see also Table 10 above): thus, the ratings of the dialectal speakers on items 'natural', 'emotional', 'relaxed', and 'sense of humor' are far higher than those of the standard speakers; while both standard speakers in turn score distinctly higher on 'educated' and 'refined'. For items such as 'friendly', 'industrious', and 'clever' the mean scores are rather clustered together.

* The F value is a routinely reported measure in statistics that indicates the ratio of between-groups to within-groups variance (Coolican 2004).



Mean score

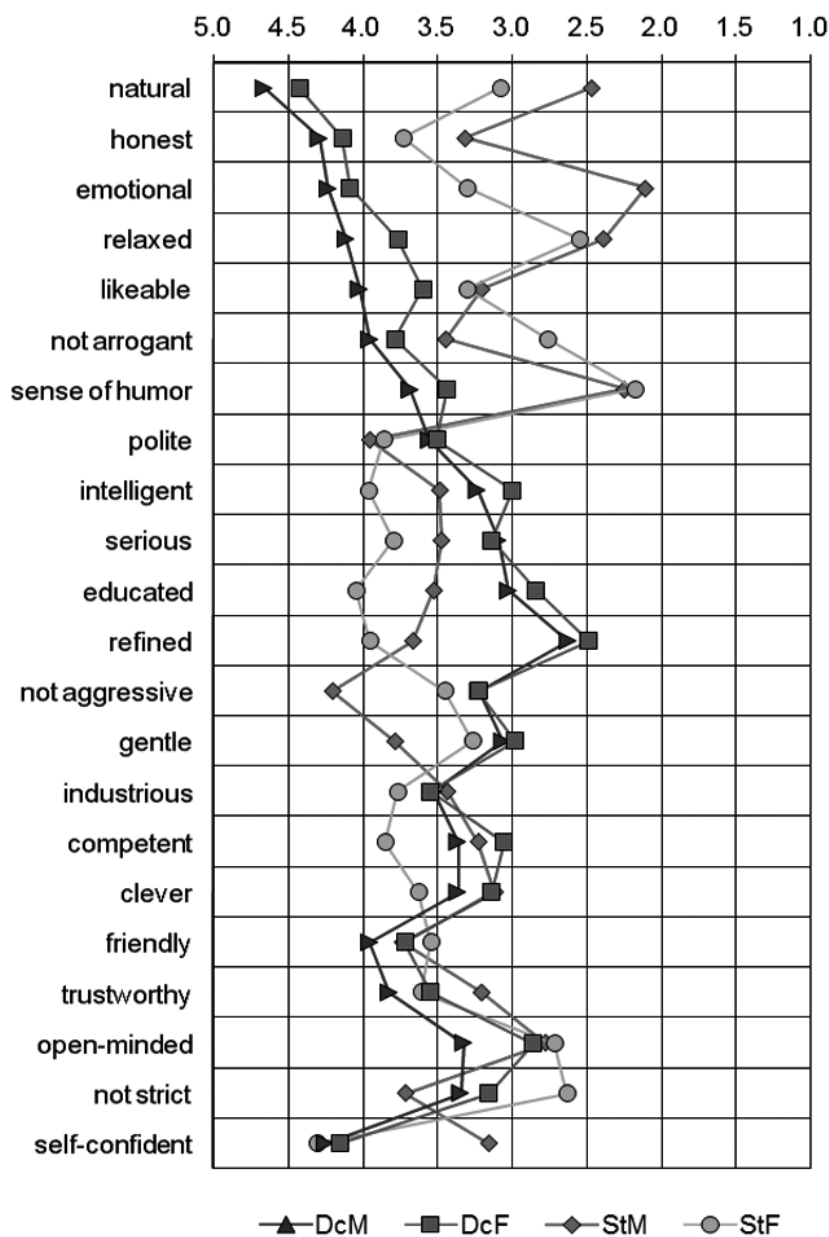


Figure 5: Overall speaker ratings – line diagram of mean scores for each speaker



What jumps out from Figure 5 at first glance is the strong parallelism of the ratings obtained by the two dialectal speakers DcM and DcF, which suggests a positive correlation between their mean scores (i.e. as one score goes up the other goes up as well, and vice versa). And indeed, a statistical computation of the correlation patterns among the four speakers' mean scores for all 22 adjective items (using Pearson's product moment coefficient 'r' as a parametric measure of correlation – see e.g. Coolican 2004) confirms such a relationship:

	Pearson's r	N	p
DcM – DcF	0.966	22	0.000**
StM – StF	0.477	22	0.025*
DcM – StM	–0.549	22	0.008*
DcF – StF	–0.127	22	0.574
DcM – StF	–0.232	22	0.298
DcF – StM	–0.437	22	0.042*

* marks significance at $p < 0.05$; ** marks significance at $p < 0.000$

Table 11: Pearson correlations between the speakers' overall mean scores

With a Pearson's r close to 1 (= perfect correlation), namely $r = 0.966$, the relationship between the mean scores obtained by the two dialectal speakers is indeed extraordinarily strong. The relationship between the mean scores of the standard speakers is also significant, though more moderate. A distinct negative (= inverse) relationship is shown to exist between the overall ratings of DcM and StM, and similarly, between DcF and StM, meaning that, as the mean ratings of the dialectal speakers go up, the ratings for the standard male tend to go down, and vice versa. (No such significant relationship is found for the female standard speaker.)

I have already mentioned that the overall distribution of means gives rise to patterns where certain groups of variables exhibit a similar ranking of the speakers. Two main trends can be identified regarding the two dialectal speakers, who, as I have pointed out before, are the primary focus of this investigation. The first trend is constituted by a set of variables for which the two dialectal speakers significantly outscore their standard speaking peers (i.e. score significantly closer to the semantically 'positive' adjective pole). This set comprises the items 'natural', 'honest', 'emotional', 'relaxed', 'likeable', 'not arrogant', and 'good sense of humor'. Also, for all of these items, DcM (the male) scores significantly higher than DcF (the female).

As Figure 5 above illustrates, the mean differences between the dialectal and standard speakers are particularly big (i.e. exceed one full point) for 'natural' (DcM $\bar{x} = 4.66$, $s = 0.66$; DcF $\bar{x} = 4.42$, $s = 0.97$; StF $\bar{x} = 3.07$, $s = 1.17$; StM $\bar{x} = 2.46$, $s = 1.22$; $N = 242$), with a mean difference between DcF₁ (ranked second) and StF₂ (ranked third) of $|\bar{x}_1 - \bar{x}_2| = 1.35$. The dialect





speakers' scores on 'natural' are furthermore the highest means recorded throughout the entire grid. 'Relaxed' shows a pattern similar to 'natural' (DcM $\bar{x} = 4.11$, $s = 0.96$; DcF $\bar{x} = 3.76$, $s = 1.14$; StF $\bar{x} = 2.54$, $s = 1.06$; StM $\bar{x} = 2.54$, $s = 1.12$; $N = 240$), with a mean difference between second-ranked DcF₁ and third-ranked StF₂ $|\bar{x}_1 - \bar{x}_2| = 1.22$. 'Sense of humor' also falls into this group (DcM $\bar{x} = 3.68$, $s = 0.97$; DcF $\bar{x} = 3.43$, $s = 1.01$; StM $\bar{x} = 2.24$, $s = 0.98$; StF $\bar{x} = 2.17$; $s = 0.92$; $N = 237$), with the means of second-ranked DcF₁ and third-ranked StM₂ differing by a margin of $|\bar{x}_1 - \bar{x}_2| = 1.19$. (Note that here the difference between StM and StF is not significant).

The mean differences between the two dialectal speakers DcM₁ and DcF₂ is greatest for the items 'likeable' ($\bar{x}_1 = 4.02$, $s = 0.96$; $\bar{x}_2 = 3.59$, $s = 1.18$; $|\bar{x}_1 - \bar{x}_2| = 0.43$; $N = 241$), and 'relaxed' (see above; $|\bar{x}_1 - \bar{x}_2| = 0.35$). The only other items on which the mean difference between the dialectal speakers exceeds 0.3 (one-third of a point on the 5-point scale) are 'open-minded' (DcM $\bar{x}_1 = 3.32$, $s = 1.16$; DcF $\bar{x}_2 = 2.85$, $s = 1.19$; $|\bar{x}_1 - \bar{x}_2| = 0.45$; $N = 238$) and 'competent' (DcM $\bar{x}_1 = 3.36$, $s = 1.01$; DcF $\bar{x}_2 = 3.05$, $s = 0.96$; $|\bar{x}_1 - \bar{x}_2| = 0.31$; $N = 239$) – (see below). Again, DcM scores higher than his female peer on all these counts.

The second general trend exhibited in the data concerns variables where the dialectal speakers score significantly *lower* than both of their standard speaking counterparts. This is the case with the items 'polite', 'intelligent', 'not aggressive', 'serious', 'gentle', 'educated', and 'refined'. By far the biggest difference of mean scores between the standard and the dialectal speakers occurs with 'refined' (StF $\bar{x} = 3.95$, $s = 0.82$; StM $\bar{x} = 3.66$, $s = 0.81$; DcM $\bar{x} = 2.62$, $s = 0.80$; DcF $\bar{x} = 2.48$, $s = 0.88$; $N = 241$), where the difference between second-ranked StM₁ and third-ranked DcM₂ $|\bar{x}_1 - \bar{x}_2| = 1.04$. 'Educated' (StF $\bar{x} = 4.04$, $s = 0.88$; StM $\bar{x} = 3.52$, $s = 0.92$; DcM $\bar{x} = 3.02$, $s = 0.98$; DcF $\bar{x} = 2.83$, $s = 0.92$; $N = 240$) also shows a rather big difference, with a gap between StM₁ and DcM₂ of $|\bar{x}_1 - \bar{x}_2| = 0.5$.

StF leads the field in the majority of cases within this group of items – she scores significantly higher than her male counterpart for 'intelligent', 'serious', 'educated', and 'refined', while StM scores higher only on 'not aggressive' and 'gentle'. As for the dialectal speakers, what is noticeable in this second group of items, just as in the first group, is that wherever a statistically significant difference between DcM and DcF occurs, DcF is the one who is consistently rated lower, as in the cases of 'intelligent', 'educated', and 'refined' (mean differences are not significant for 'polite', 'not aggressive', 'serious', and 'gentle').

Falling somewhat outside of the two patterns identified above are the items 'industrious', 'competent', 'clever', 'friendly', 'trustworthy', 'open-minded', 'not strict', and 'self-confident'. StF takes a significant lead for 'industrious', while none of the other speakers' ratings differ significantly. Similarly, StF has the highest score for 'competent', followed by DcM and StM, who do not show significant differences, while DcF once more comes





in last by a significant margin. StF also ranks at the top for 'clever', but here, DcM outscores StM, whose mean rating is similar to that of DcF.

DcM has the highest mean scores for 'friendly', 'trustworthy', and 'open-minded', while his female counterpart DcF rates similar to the standard speakers on these counts: she falls right between them for 'friendly'; her ratings for 'trustworthy' do not differ significantly from StF's (with StM scoring lowest); and as for 'open-minded', DcF's score does not show a significant difference from either of the standard speakers'.

StM receives the highest score for 'not strict', followed by the dialectal speakers (with DcM again taking a significant lead over DcF), and StF coming in last. StM furthermore has the lowest score on 'self-confident', where the other speakers have rather high scores that do not differ significantly (StM $\bar{x} = 3.15$, $s = 1.14$; DcF $\bar{x} = 4.15$, $s = 0.82$; DcM $\bar{x} = 4.25$, $s = 0.84$; StF $\bar{x} = 4.30$, $s = 0.87$; $N = 241$). In fact, 'not strict' and 'self-confident', together with 'emotional', represent the set of instances where the mean difference between the two standard speakers exceeds one full point on the 5-point scale ('not strict': StM $\bar{x}_1 = 3.71$, $s = 1.09$; StF $\bar{x}_2 = 2.63$, $s = 1.17$; $N = 241$; $|\bar{x}_1 - \bar{x}_2| = 1.08$; 'self-confident': (see above) $|\bar{x}_1 - \bar{x}_2| = 1.15$; 'emotional': StM $\bar{x}_1 = 2.10$, $s = 1.10$; StF $\bar{x}_2 = 3.30$, $s = 1.16$; $N = 241$; $|\bar{x}_1 - \bar{x}_2| = 1.2$). Recall furthermore that StM scored highest of all on 'not aggressive' and 'gentle' (see above). Assessing these results together with rather frequent feedback received in the questionnaires that describes StM's speech as 'mellow' or even 'lackadaisical', I would tend to assume that his rather extreme scores on these listed items, which are so widely divergent from those of the female standard speaker, are a potential function of the speaker's vocal performance of the text rather than of his use of language (standard speech).¹⁶⁰ This does not imply, however, that there may not be an underlying genuine gender difference involved as well: it seems quite plausible that female standard speakers are perceived as stricter, rougher, and more aggressive than male standard speakers in general; after all, the female dialectal speaker was also perceived as stricter than her male counterpart (see above).¹⁶¹

If, then, we decide that the widely diverging scoring pattern of the standard speakers on the items 'industrious', 'competent', 'clever', and 'not strict' can be accounted for by assuming that factors outside of mere language use interfered with and affected StM's scores, and if we therefore take StF (whose ratings seem less subjected to such influence, judging by

¹⁶⁰ This is, of course, a commonly known risk in verbal guise studies with different speakers representing the different guises (see above).

¹⁶¹ I am also basing this assumption on personal experience – early on in my fieldwork, having presented my study to one set of student-participants by speaking in standard Austrian German myself, I was afterwards told by the professor of the university class to try to avoid speaking to the students 'like a strict elementary school teacher', a comment which I largely attribute to my standard language use, compounded by the issuing of instructions.





informant feedback) rather than StM as the stereotypical model for standard speech evaluation, we could tentatively conclude that dialectal speakers can indeed be perceived as a bit lazier, more incompetent, not as clever, and not as strict as standard speakers in general. Such a conclusion gains validity in the light of common stereotypes associated with non-standard ('non-mainstream') speakers in general (see e.g. Lippi-Green 1997; 2004). Of course, additional testing with different speakers would be needed to confirm such a hypothesis and conclusion.

4.4.1.4. Target audiences

In addition to the bipolar scales, the informants were asked to respond to the following set of questions for each speaker they listened to: 'Which target audience would this speaker most appeal to?' and 'Why?' ("Bei welchem Zielpublikum würde diese/r Sprecher/in am besten ankommen?" – "Warum?"); and 'Which target audience would this speaker least appeal to?' – 'Why?' ("Bei welchem Zielpublikum würde diese/r Sprecher/in am schlechtesten ankommen?" – "Warum?"). These questions were intended to collect additional comments and explanations from the informants that would contextualize their ratings, but also to further illuminate the profile of a 'typical' dialectal or standard speaker via the elicitation of the relevant 'typical' addressees, which could allow conclusions as to concomitant (dis-) preferred domains of language use (Fishman 1964, 1972a, 1972b; see also Fasold 1984).¹⁶²

The gathered responses actually proved most useful in corroborating that the informants had indeed picked up on the use of different linguistic varieties by the different speakers. Thus, without being cued, almost half of the informants volunteered the information that their assessment of target audiences for DcM and DcF was influenced or even directly determined by these speakers' use of dialectal Austrian German (variously referred to as "Dialekt", "Umgangssprache", "Mundart", or designated as "nicht Hochdeutsch" – not standard Austrian German). In absolute numbers, 115 out of 235 or 48.9% of those informants who returned any comment at all on the above target audience questions for speaker DcM mentioned that the speaker's use of dialect factored into their response. For DcF, the rate was similar at 49% (111 out of 225 answers returned). More general feedback that referred to speakers' 'language use' or 'speaking style' but did not specify further was not taken into account here, but suggests that the actual rate of influence was much higher. This outcome is very remarkable, given

¹⁶² An additional question presented below the grid, 'How powerful was the presentation of the argument here?' ("Wie schlagkräftig wurde das Argument hier präsentiert?"), did not yield any conclusive results; discussion is therefore omitted here.





that the informants were responding to an open question here and that their answer was not restricted or guided in any way. This furthermore strongly supports the hypothesis that, at least for DcM and DcF, individual speaker and performance effects on the ratings were largely overridden by the dominant effect of language use, and that the experiment was probably successful in eliciting general stereotypes attaching to dialectal language use in Austria rather than differentiated individual reactions to specific speakers and their recorded local performance.¹⁶³ Note furthermore that none of the informants ‘misidentified’ any of the speakers in their comments, e.g. by attributing dialectal use to the standard speakers or standard use to the dialectal speakers.

As for the standard speakers, language use was mentioned far less frequently (StM: only 4 out of 232 informants responding mentioned non-dialectal or standard language use, i.e. 1.7%; StF: 8 out of 225 or 3.5%). This may confirm the standard speakers’ function as a ‘baseline’ in the experiment (see section 4.3.4. on speaker selection above); also, it may indicate that standard was indeed the ‘expected’ (and by extension, ‘non-mentionable’) language in this experiment, which could be due to the overall formality and status-stressing character of the two laminated experimental frames (see discussion in 4.3. above).

What also became clear in the answers, as already pointed out above, was that StM’s individual performance in the speech sample had probably influenced the ratings to some degree beyond the effects of language use, thus at least partially explaining why his mean scores at times pattern differently from those of StF (although, as mentioned, potential gender effects should not be discarded). Thus, 69 out of 232 respondents (29.7%) described his performance in the lines of ‘langweilig’ (‘boring’), ‘eintönig’ (‘flat’), ‘unemotional’, ‘nicht dynamisch’ (‘not dynamic’), and ‘heruntergelesen’ (‘read off’). Note, however, that StF, who, according to some of my pilot study informants, was on the brink of emoting a bit *too much* in her performance, also received the occasional feedback of sounding flat and unemotional (in 7 out of 225 responses or 3.1%)! Furthermore, her ratings on the adjective item ‘emotional’ (see above) are far behind those of the dialectal speakers. Thus, at least as concerns a perceived lack of dynamism and emotion, it seems that StM’s individual performance only further compounded and magnified, and was in return magnified by, a general effect of standard language use.

In terms of preferred target audience, the picture is once more much clearer for the dialectal than for the standard speakers, rendering the stereotypes and clichés more salient – especially, again, in the light of the fact

¹⁶³ As mentioned further above, this was also corroborated in a small control experiment I conducted towards the end of my fieldwork, in which I replaced DcF with a different female dialect speaker, which had little effect on the ratings – see section 4.3.4. on ‘speaker selection’.





that informants' responses to the relevant questions were not guided in any way. Quite remarkably, then, a full 93 out of 225 responding informants (41.3%) located DcF's target audience at least partially within the farming and rural population. The number is somewhat lower but still impressive for DcM (33.6%, or 79 out of 235 responses). This, despite the fact that both speakers actually hail from the capital of Upper Austria, Linz, and thus speak an urban dialect (see 4.3.4. above). Arguably, of course, the topic presented by the speakers (genetically engineered food) may have had some influence on this outcome; however, the perceived connection between dialect and rurality has also been attested in previous research (e.g. Moosmüller 1991).

Further, 11.1% of respondents for DcF and 8.9% for DcM indicated that the typical target audience was likely to have received little education. Similarly, on the question which audience the speakers would be least effective with, 35.6% (80 out of 225) responding informants for DcF and 33.2% (78 out of 235) for DcM indicated that the speakers would not appeal to a well-educated audience. Corresponding responses to the standard speakers remained largely under 10%, and were thus not conclusive, although a tendency towards assuming a more highly educated audience for the standard speakers could be detected.

One salient point in the responses to the standard speakers, however, was that quite a number of informants expressed the opinion that the speakers could be effective in a public media setting (TV, radio, especially in connection with news presentations). This was the case with 17.8% of respondents for StF (40 out of 225) and 9.5% of respondents for StM (22 out of 232). Similar indications were rare for the dialectal speakers (below 2%), and usually specified their appeal to local/regional media, where dialect use would be more common than on Austrian national TV, for which standard language usage is the norm (particularly on the news – see Moosmüller 1991 and Pollak 1992 for discussions of Austrian 'news language').

As a last point, the comments on the open questions largely reinforced a finding from the analysis of mean scores as described above: 21.3% of the respondents for DcM (i.e. 50 out of 235), and 16% for DcF (36 out of 225) commented that the speaker sounded particularly "natürlich" ('natural'), "authentisch" ('authentic'), "ehrlich" ('honest'), "volksnah" ('close to the people'), and/or "bodenständig" ('grounded'). Similar comments regarding the standard speakers were rare. This seems to confirm that dialectal Austrian German is the people's language; and it already previews the responses to the more global direct questions of Part II of the questionnaire (see below), where dialect is found to be the dominant language of the private domain.





4.4.2. *Speakers' perceived origin*

Once the informants had rated all four speakers on the rating scales and open questions, they were asked to assess where they thought the speakers they had heard were actually from (“Woher, glauben Sie, kommen die Sprecher/innen?”). For this purpose, the first sentence of each speaker was played one more time, leaving short pauses in between to give the informants time to write down their best guesses. Although this assessment was done post-hoc (after the ratings had been finished), and thus allows no conclusions as to whether the informants were influenced by their perceptions of speakers' origin in any way during the ratings process, I was interested to see whether or not they recognized the speakers as locals (being from Linz, or Upper Austria more generally).

As it turned out, not all informants interpreted the question about speakers' provenance to refer to geographic origin (see below). The numbers of informants who did indicate any specific geographic location for DcM was N = 193; DcF: N = 190; StM N = 182; StF N = 195. Percentage calculations for geographic origin as presented in the following are based on these absolute numbers of responses.

In terms of geographic origin, then, the dialectal speakers indeed had a high recognition rate as being locals: 76.1% of respondents (147 out of 193) indicated that they believed DcM to be from Upper Austria (listing various regions), and 70.6% (134 out of 190) did so for DcF. 14 informants (7.3%) furthermore specified that DcM could be from the city of Linz, as did only 7 (3.7%) for DcF. Further high mentions for the perceived regional origin of the dialectal speakers included the provinces of Salzburg (DcM 4.1%; DcF 7.4%) and Lower Austria (DcM 3.6%; DcF 7.4%) – both being neighboring provinces of Upper Austria. A few indicated the Austrian capital Vienna and its surrounding area (DcM 3.1%; DcF 2.1%). Overall, 100% of informants whose response included any specific geographic designation indicated the dialectal speakers to be from somewhere in Austria.¹⁶⁴

Recognition as locals was much lower for the standard speakers: 39% (71 out of 182) believed StM to be from Upper Austria (with 20.9% or 38 informants specifically indicating him to be from Linz), and only 15.9% (31 out of 195) thought so for StF (with 9.7% or 19 informants specifically listing Linz). In fact, almost half of the respondents believed StF to be from Vienna or its

¹⁶⁴ In fact, the only non-Austrian geographic location mentioned for the dialectal speakers was Bavaria ('Bayern'), with one mention for DcM and one mention for DcF. However, the same informants also indicated a possible Austrian provenance. Note also that Bavaria falls into the same dialect area as most of Austria, i.e. the Bavarian-Austrian area (see website of the Austrian Academy of Science – <http://www.oeaw.ac.at/dinamlex/Dialektgebiete.html>). This, I believe, is reflected in the fact that the informants indicated 'Bavaria' rather than 'Germany' ('Deutschland', 'BRD') – Austrians generally tend to make a clear distinction between Bavaria and the rest of Germany in the context of language use.





surrounding area (49.2% or N = 96) – a claim for which there could be some linguistic basis in her accent, as Vienna is actually where she studied and lived at the time I recorded her, though she was born and raised in Steyr, Upper Austria (this city was specifically mentioned by only one informant). Note, however, that StM, who has never lived outside of Linz, also had a high rate of mentions for Vienna as his supposed geographic origin (30.8% or N = 56). Furthermore, although the vast majority of informants identified the standard speakers as Austrian (StM: 96.7% or 176 out of 182; StF: 95.9% or 187 out of 195), some informants also indicated that they could be from Germany ('Deutschland') – (StM: 3.3% or N = 6; StF: 6.7% or N = 13). These findings suggest that standard language use is stereotyped by some Upper Austrians as more of an outgroup, rather than a local, phenomenon – i.e. as something that people from Vienna or Germany would speak. (This is confirmed by Moosmüller 1987b and 1991, who finds that standard Austrian German is widely associated with upper class Vienna).

Rather than, or in some cases in addition to, geographic provenance, some informants also attributed certain social and professional backgrounds to the speakers in their responses. In keeping with the comments given on speakers' ideal 'target audiences', then, the standard speakers were consistently attributed higher social positions, and professions entailing a better educational background, than the dialectal speakers. Thus, the labels applied to the standard speakers included 'medical doctor', 'teacher', 'academic', 'scientist', 'politician', 'government official' ("Beamter"), as well as the more global 'upper class', 'rich parents', 'from an educated family', and 'bourgeois' ("bürgerliches Milieu"). In keeping with the responses to the open questions on 'target audience', some informants also again mentioned 'TV/radio presenter' as labels for the standard speakers.

In contrast, agriculture-related labels (e.g. "Landwirt", "Biobäuerin", "Bergbauerndorf") dominated with the dialectal speakers, with further labels such as 'employee' ("Angestellter"), 'medical assistant', 'worker', 'apprentice', 'uneducated', and 'lower class'. 'Student' was the sole label implying any higher education for the dialectal speakers.

4.4.3. Responses to the direct questions

To further contextualize the speaker evaluation as described above, the second half of the questionnaire contained a set of four direct attitudinal questions on which the informants were asked to expand:

- (1) 'How does dialectal speech style strike you in general?'
("Wie wirkt dialektaler Sprachstil im Allgemeinen auf Sie?")
- (2) 'How does standard speech style strike you in general?'
("Wie wirkt hochsprachlicher Sprachstil im Allgemeinen auf Sie?")





- (3) 'Are there situations in which the use of a dialectal speech style seems inappropriate to you? If yes, which?'
("Gibt es für Sie Situationen, in denen der Gebrauch eines dialektalen Sprachstils sehr unpassend ist? Falls Ja, welche?")
- (4) 'Are there situations in which the use of a standard speech style seems inappropriate to you? If yes, which?'
("Gibt es für Sie Situationen, in denen der Gebrauch eines hochsprachlichen Sprachstils sehr unpassend ist? Falls Ja, welche?")

These questions were kept quite broad and vague (in the sense that 'dialectal' and 'standard' speech style were not defined in any way), and were intended to elicit attitudes and stereotypes more directly and overtly, in compliment to the speaker evaluation, to see how the responses recorded under the two different approaches would line up.

As it turned out, then, the responses to the first two questions ('How does dialectal/standard speech style strike you in general?') indeed largely mirrored (and thus further confirmed) the results obtained from the speaker evaluation.¹⁶⁵ I here present a selection of the labels used to describe the two speech styles, with the intention of further outlining and giving substance to the overall language attitude profiles associated with the respective varieties.

Thus, the dominant positive labels for 'dialectal style' comprised "natürlich" ('natural'), "ehrlich" ('honest'), "freundlich" ('friendly'), "persönlich" ('personal'), "angenehm" ('pleasant'), "authentisch" ('authentic'), "volksnah" ('of the people'), "vertraut" ('familiar'), "gemütlich" ('laid back'), "locker" ('relaxed'), "offen" ('open'), "emotional", "ländlich" ('rural'), "warm", "vertrauenswürdig" ('trustworthy'), and "aus dem Bauch heraus" ('from the gut'). A repeated theme was the depiction of dialectal style as a symbol of personal identification – be it identification with the speaker, with one's 'own people', or with the style itself (see also de Cillia 1997, Pollak 1992, and Steinegger 1998 on dialect as an Austrian identification symbol; see Moosmüller 1991 on the romanticization of dialect). The predominant negative label to describe dialectal style was "ungebildet"

¹⁶⁵ It should of course be duly taken into account that the open questions were posed immediately after an experiment during which the informants had just gone over the same list of adjectives four times, in relation to the different linguistic varieties they had heard. Thus, some cross-influencing between the two parts of the survey must be admitted, particularly in terms of the labels and adjectives used in the responses to the open questions. Consider also, however, that this did in no way restrict informants' liberty of which attributes and labels they applied to which of the two language varieties/styles and how. At least in that sense the validity of the responses obtained for the open questions can be assumed to be unaffected. Furthermore, the responses were in keeping with those I gathered in the debriefing interviews with my Austrian informants subsequent to the dialect perception experiment.





(‘uneducated’); in the same line, attributes listed included “unintelligent”, “inkompetent”, “unprofessionell”, “bäuerlich” (‘hick’), “provinziell” (‘provincial’), “naiv”, “unsachlich” (‘lacking objectiveness’), “plump” (‘crude’), and “derb” (‘coarse’). Informants furthermore repeatedly brought up the issue that dialectal style can be problematic because of its incomprehensibility to some interlocutors (see also Moosmüller 1991 for similar findings).

Conversely, positive labels applied to standard speech included its comprehensibility across regions and milieus (“leicht verständlich”). Standard speech was also frequently described as sounding “gebildet” (‘educated’), “intelligent”, and “kompetent”,¹⁶⁶ as well as “professionell”, “wissenschaftlich” (‘scientific’), “seriös” (‘respectable’), “kultiviert” (‘cultivated’), “elegant”, “sachlich” (‘objective’), and “neutral”. Negative labels comprised “künstlich”/“gekönstelt” (‘artificial’), “arrogant”, “unpersönlich” (‘impersonal’), “unemotional”, “hochgestochen” (‘pompous’), “angeberisch” (‘pretentious’), “distanziert” (‘distant’), “steif” (‘stiff’), “besserwisserisch” (‘know-it-all’), “formell”/“förmlich” (‘formal’), “streng” (‘strict’), “kalt”/“kühl” (‘cold’), “steril”, and “abgehoben vom Volk” (‘removed from the people’). Interestingly, a few informants also mentioned that standard speech could give the impression that the speaker was trying to disguise his or her origins (“der Eindruck entsteht, verschleiern zu wollen, woher man kommt”). Such associations would certainly go a long way towards explaining why standard speech was recorded to sound less honest and dialect to sound more trustworthy by comparison in the speaker ratings (see above). Such negative fallout of standard use could arguably constitute a particularly strong incentive for dialect usage in everyday face-to-face encounters.

All in all, a few clear dichotomies seem to arise in the responses to the first two open questions: where dialectal speech sounds “natürlich” (‘natural’), “persönlich” (‘personal’), “volksnah” (‘of the people’), and “ehrlich” (‘honest’) but also “ungebildet” (‘uneducated’), standard sounds “gekönstelt”/“künstlich” (‘artificial’), “formell”/“förmlich” (‘formal’), and “distanziert” (‘distant’), but is most widely comprehensible, as well as the objective language of science and the educated elite (“nur Gebildete reden so” – ‘only educated people talk like that’).

The responses to open questions (3) and (4) (‘Are there situations in which the use of a dialectal/standard speech style seems inappropriate to you?’) again very much fall in line with the picture as compiled so far. First of all, a vast majority of the informants indicated that they could indeed think of situations where either dialectal or standard style would be inappropriate: 87.2% or 211 out of 242 respondents supported the statement for

¹⁶⁶ But see the comparatively low ratings obtained by StM on ‘competent’ in the speaker evaluation. The noticeably high mentions of ‘competent’ in connection with standard speech in the open questions are thus more reason to assume that some of StM’s ratings were liable to influence by his individual performance rather than speech style used.





dialectal style (with 9.1% or N = 22 indicating 'No'; and 3.7% or N = 9 checking 'No Comment'), and 78.1% or 189 out of 242 did so for the standard (with 14.1% or N = 34 saying 'No'; and 7.9% or N = 19 not providing any comment). This already suggests that the informants perceive the two styles as having situation-specific appropriateness and functions, an impression that is reinforced by informants' comments such as 'For each situation, there is an appropriate speech style', and 'One should know in which situation which style is appropriate and then use it accordingly'.

A majority of the situations which the informants mention, then, as ones where dialectal style would be inappropriate, can be characterized by a certain degree of formality and an intellectual/academic context. Thus, 83 out of a total of 213, or 39% of those respondents who elaborated on their answer with a comment, indicated that dialectal speech style was inappropriate in a scientific setting involving higher education such as at a university, among experts ("Fachleute"), or in a paper presentation ("Vortrag"). 29 informants (13.6%) mention any presentations in general ("Präsentationen"), and 33 (15.5%) list public speaking ("öffentliche Rede") and discussions ("öffentliche Diskussion"), or official occasions ("offizieller Anlass"). Further, 7.5% (N = 16) cite public or university examinations (e.g. the high school exit exam 'Matura'). 11.7% (N = 27) once again mention public media (radio, TV, news); 8.7% (N = 20) list job interviews ("Vorstellungsgespräche"), with an additional 5.2% (N = 11) indicating a professional setting in general. On a related but more topical than situational level, 6.1% (N = 13) comment that dialectal speech is inappropriate for important explanations and the transmission of facts ("Informationsvermittlung").

A second major trend in the responses to question (3) is centered around the issue of comprehension, and thus more audience- than situation-oriented: 70 out of 213 informants, or 32.9%, brought up the issue of comprehension in relation to the use of dialectal style, specifying that speaking in dialect can be inappropriate in interaction with people who cannot be expected to understand it, such as with persons whose first language is not German and/or who don't speak it well, with Germans, or even with people from a different region of Austria.

In turn, in their responses to question (4), a majority of 109 out of 191 responding informants, or 57.1%, commented that the use of a standard style can be inappropriate in situations characterized by privacy and informality, such as in private and very personal interaction with family and friends. 14 informants (7.3%) additionally commented that standard use was particularly inappropriate when everybody around was speaking dialect. 4 informants specified that standard style was inappropriate when talking about one's emotions. 22 respondents (11.5%) indicated that standard style would be inappropriate in meetings of private organizations ("Vereine"), in habitual gatherings at the local pub ("Wirtshaus", "Stammtisch"), or at folk gatherings and festivals in general ("Volksveranstaltungen"). 19 informants, or 10%, once more picked up a theme that has already





come up, in connection with the typical audience for dialectal speakers and their provenance: thus, they indicated that standard style would be inappropriate in rural (“ländlich”) and agricultural settings, which were thus consistently found to be the stronghold of the dialect and its speakers.

4.4.4. Informants’ sex as an independent variable

As I have pointed out above (see section 4.4.1.2.), informants’ sex was the sole independent variable that allowed for meaningful group comparison within the present data sample. To test for any influence of informants’ sex on the ratings, then, I ran an independent-samples T-test comparing the groups of females (52.9%; N = 128) and males (47.1%; N = 114).

Ultimately, the factor ‘sex’ proved to have only a limited and quite predictable effect on the ratings: a comparison of the speakers’ mean scores between the two populations showed that whenever any significant differences arose, it was due to the fact that the female informants were consistently rating the speakers higher/closer to the more desirable adjective pole than the male informants, without a single exception.¹⁶⁷ This was particularly noticeable in the ratings of StF, where 12 items were affected; she was thus rated by the females as more educated, trustworthy, polite, intelligent, friendly, honest, industrious, clever, open-minded, having more sense of humor, and as less aggressive than by the males. DeM was affected on 11 items (‘friendly’, ‘competent’, ‘good sense of humor’, ‘not aggressive’, ‘not strict’, ‘open-minded’, ‘gentle’, ‘not arrogant’, ‘refined’; further, his score for ‘serious’ was lower). Thus, quite noticeably, these two speakers seemed to be more ‘popular’ with the female informants. Similarly, DeF was rated higher by the females on friendliness, open-mindedness, gentleness, and less seen as aggressive and serious than by the males. StM was given higher scores on ‘polite’, ‘gentle’, ‘not aggressive’, and ‘not arrogant’. Because of the predictability and consistency of these results, the explanatory power of this independent variable remains arguably quite low regarding the overall ratings outcome.

¹⁶⁷ The same effect was in fact found in Soukup (2000).





4.5. Summary and discussion of results

In this chapter, I have presented a language attitude study investigating the social meanings and stereotypes Austrian natives associate with dialectal and standard language use. The core of this study is a speaker evaluation experiment in which 242 Austrian informants rated four different Austrian speakers (two standard speakers, two dialect speakers, one male and one female each) on 5-point bipolar semantic differential scales containing 22 adjective items. Further, the informants responded to a set of open questions, assessing each speaker's typical audience and where they believed the speakers to be from, and providing general comments on standard and dialect language use.

Statistical analysis of the responses was largely based on comparisons of mean scores extracted from the rating scales, across the entire population. The results showed that the dialectal speakers were perceived as more natural, honest, emotional, relaxed, and likeable than their standard speaking peers, as well as having a better sense of humor. Yet they were also judged to sound more aggressive. By contrast, the standard speakers were perceived as more polite, intelligent, educated, gentle, serious, and refined, but also as sounding more arrogant. The results furthermore suggest that standard speakers could be regarded as tendentially more competent, more industrious, cleverer, but also stricter than dialect speakers, although the outcomes were not as conclusive in these respects.

In part, the results from the present study mirror findings from past research in various cultural settings that frequently attest higher competence-related scores (i.e. for example scores of education and intelligence) for standard or 'prestige' language speakers than for non-standard/non-mainstream/minority language speakers (see e.g. Edwards 1999; Fasold 1984; Lambert et al. 1960; Lippi-Green 1997, 2004; Moosmüller 1988a, 1991; Ryan & Giles 1982; Soukup 2000). This outcome is expected particularly for experiments conducted in a status-stressing, group-centered, and formal experimental context and frame such as the present (see section 4.3.). After all, sounding educated, intelligent, polite, and refined are likely to be very desirable qualities in such settings, which usually gives standard speakers an edge over their dialectal counterparts.

However, in the present study, the dialect speakers in turn were found to have an edge over their standard speaking peers regarding attributions of 'social attractiveness'- or 'affect'-related scores (e.g. honesty, likeability, emotionality, naturalness, sense of humor). This outcome is more remarkable because far less predictable from past research on Austrian German (but see Luhman 1990; Romaine 1980; Soukup 2000 for similar results in different contexts). In particular, Moosmüller (1988a), conducting a questionnaire-based attitudinal study in Vienna, finds that neither upper/middle class *nor* lower class informants attach any prestige to dialect usage on social attractiveness-related items: although the informants of the lower





class did in fact reject the very negative characterizations of Viennese dialect by middle and upper class informants, they at the same time did not support positive characterizations either. Overall, Viennese dialect was judged to sound not very tolerant, kind-hearted, friendly, likeable, or honest (in addition to sounding not very intelligent). And although Viennese dialect is particularly and notoriously unpopular all across Austria, due to the fact that unlike other dialects it is perceived as indicative of low social class rather than rural provenance (Moosmüller 1991), intolerance, ridiculing, and negative attitudes have also been reported regarding Austrian dialect usage in general, be it rural or urban (*ibid.*). Note, however, that this research did not include Upper Austria as a data collection site. In this light, then, the outcome of the present study also seems to confirm my initial contestation that dialect carries more social value and acceptance in Linz than in any other urban center in Austria (see section 4.3.2. above).

In research on language attitudes, cases where non-standard speakers are judged positively on (usually) affective measures, against the grain of the overall higher prestige of standard languages, are commonly discussed with reference to the notion of ‘covert prestige’ (see Trudgill 1972, citing Labov 1966b), which captures the idea that non-standard languages with low mainstream social value may have a high value in local settings (see also Wolfram & Schilling-Estes 2006), although, as the term suggests, such dispositions have a tendency to not be overtly expressed or readily admitted to by those who hold them (Trudgill 1972). In the present case, it has certainly been demonstrated that Upper Austrian informants connect dialect use with a certain ‘affective’ value and preference in their judgment of different speakers. However, considering the bigger picture emerging from the data, I suggest that a term such as ‘functional prestige’ could maybe better capture my informants’ attitudinal pattern regarding dialect and standard use. This, because it seems to have become quite evident that there are certain things that one can and cannot do with *either one* of the varieties, at least in the context of the present group-centered and status-stressing setting: clearly, one cannot use dialect in such a context to project intelligence, education, politeness, seriousness, and refinement; but in turn, dialect has ‘beaten’ standard hands-down for the projection of naturalness, honesty, emotionality, likeability, relaxedness, and humor.

This outcome provides some valuable differentiation to past research in other Austrian urban settings that has so far not attested functional limitations on *standard* Austrian German, only on the dialect. Thus, Moosmüller (1991) quotes a Viennese informant with the words “Dialekt ja, aber nur dort wo er hingehört” (‘dialect yes, but only where it belongs’); she adds that “Keine einzige der befragten Personen hat jemals der Hochsprache derartige Beschränkungen auferlegt” (‘None of the persons polled have ever imposed similar restrictions on the standard’ – *ibid.*: 164). Similarly, Reiffenstein (1977) predicts a general language shift pattern in Austria towards more standard speech, due to the limited functions of dialect ver-





sus the more broadly usable, ‘situation-independent’ (“situationsunabhängig” – *ibid.*: 178) standard. The current findings contradict such a ‘factotum’ view of the standard, providing more evidence for the demands of ‘situation adequacy’ (‘Situationsadäquanz’ – see e.g. Moosmüller 1991; Pollak 1992) on language use (see also findings in Steinegger 1998). However, it remains to be seen whether such egalitarian compartmentalization of dialect and standard usage, based on affective prestige of the dialect, translates to language production on a national level (in particular, to a national TV show, broadcast from Vienna – see chapter 5), or whether it merely holds in a regional setting such as the one of this field study (Linz/Upper Austria).

Returning to the study results at hand, the dialectal speakers’ overall mean scores were shown to correlate very strongly, which indicates the stereotyping of dialect speakers in general to be consistent, and suggests that the outcomes of this investigation are quite powerful and generalizable. But despite the fact that the dialectal speakers’ ratings were usually close together, with differences between them never exceeding half a point on the five-point scale, the female dialectal speaker scored consistently lower (i.e. closer to the socially less desirable adjective pole) than her male counterpart in all instances where a significant difference arose. This suggests a gender effect by which using dialect comes at a higher cost for females than for males – an effect which has also been attested in past research in different cultural contexts (e.g. Alford & Strother 1990; Luhman 1990; Trudgill 1972; Van Antwerp & Maxwell 1982; but see Soukup 2000 for a counter-example where a female Southern American English speaker fares better than her male counterpart). Conversely, as regards the positively connotated ratings of the dialect speakers, we could say that dialect use can generate more benefit for a male speaker than for a female. In a similar line, the fact that the male standard speaker was lagging behind his female counterpart on items such as perceived cleverness, education, refinement, intelligence, and competence, while also a potential side-effect of his individual performance, nevertheless points to the possibility that male speakers stand to gain less by using standard speech than do females. From the perspective of my present research interests, I would interpret this to mean that male speakers run less of a social risk when they shift from standard into dialect for communicative effect in a formal situation, because the consequences for or ‘damage’ to their perceived prestige and competence/intelligence are potentially less severe than they are for women.

In sum, then, the present study has found that speaking in dialect is regarded negatively as concerns the projection of low intelligence, education, seriousness, politeness, and refinement as well as more aggressiveness; but it is regarded positively concerning likeability, honesty, emotionality, relaxedness, humor, and above all naturalness. These results have proven to be quite robust by various measures (negligible control group effects





upon substitution of the female dialect speaker; near-perfect correlation between the two dialect speakers' scores; low/predictable influence of the independent variable of informants' sex on the ratings; consistency of speaker evaluation outcomes with responses to direct questions). We have furthermore seen that the dialect's domain is the private, among family and friends, and its territory are the rural areas; the standard's domain is in ritualized and rather formal public functions and public speaking, in academia, and in transnational and international communication (for the sake of comprehensibility).

In so far as the present findings coincide with past attitudinal research in Austrian settings (Moosmüller 1991; Steinegger 1998), particularly regarding the negative stereotypes attaching to dialect use, the discussed attitudinal pattern can be rather safely assumed to be shared across the country and throughout Austrian culture. In so far as the present outcomes supplement or even fail to line up with past findings from different research sites, their explanatory power in application remains open to investigation.

In the next chapter, I present an analysis of discourse data from the Austrian TV show *Offen gesagt*, investigating dialect use in a natural conversational setting. In this analysis, I will draw on the findings of my attitudinal field study in order to explore how the social meanings (attitudes, stereotypes) that have been shown to attach to and be evoked by dialect use can be drawn into the interactional meaning-making process and harnessed to do interactional work.





5. SPEAKER DESIGN IN THE AUSTRIAN TV DISCUSSION SHOW *OFFEN GESAGT*

I have set out with this study to trace and illuminate the mechanisms and processes of contextualization involved in the rhetorical use of Austrian dialect. I have proposed that an intrinsic dialogic link exists between the sociocultural meanings (attitudes, stereotypes) associated with linguistic varieties such as Austrian standard and dialect and the respective rhetorical uses to which these same varieties can be put in interaction. In chapter 3, I then investigated which features exactly Austrian listeners are likely to identify as dialectal, by means of a dialect perception experiment. Subsequently, in chapter 4, I presented a language attitude survey capturing the most common stereotypes standard and dialect use will generally trigger in Austrian native speakers. Now, in the present chapter, I bring my accumulated observations and findings to a data set of naturally occurring talk, to see how they hold up in application to a study of *speaker design* in the high performance context of a TV political discussion show.

In the following, I start out by continuing the presentation of the discourse data begun in chapter 1, ultimately focusing on one particular episode of the Austrian TV show *Offen gesagt*, which I then analyze in detail in an attempt to uncover participants' strategic use of dialect features. While my analysis takes an interactional sociolinguistic perspective (see chapter 1), it draws heavily on my findings from the previously described experimental methodologies. I close with a summary of my analysis and a discussion of its implications.

5.1. Data and methodology

As I have already mentioned in chapter 1, the discourse data I am analyzing here are drawn from a pool of 34 hour-long episodes of the Austrian TV discussion show *Offen gesagt* ('Openly Said'), video-recorded randomly between January 2004 and early May 2005. After viewing the 34 recorded episodes, I selected eight for transcription, based on a first impression that these eight contained a certain amount of identifiable passages of standard-dialect shifting, which is my central interest in the analysis.

Below is a list of the transcribed episodes' titles and broadcast dates (in chronological order), as well as a brief synopsis for each (Table 12):





1	“Wer soll in die Hofburg” <i>Who belongs in the presidential palace</i>	01/18/2004
	Five invited guests representing the two opposing political camps involved in the election (one journalist, two actors, one historian, one local Viennese politician) discuss the upcoming Austrian presidential race	
2	“Sprengstoff für das Heer” <i>Dynamite for the army</i>	01/25/2004
	Four invited guests (two members of the army reform commission, one journalist, one army general) discuss the ongoing efforts to overhaul the Austrian armed forces	
3	“Was brachte die Wende” <i>What did the change of government bring</i>	02/08/2004
	Four years after a major change of government, the three parliamentary presidents (from the three major parties) as well as one journalist take stock	
4	“Mächtige Pensionisten, ohnmächtige Jugend” <i>Powerful retirees, powerless youth</i>	02/15/2004
	In the wake of a pension rate adjustment, six invited guests (two representatives each of the young and old generation, two scientific experts) discuss the current pension system and needs for reform	
5	“Landeshauptleute in Bedrängnis” <i>Governors under pressure</i>	02/27/2004
	Six invited guests representing all four Austrian parliamentary parties (two current provincial governors, four candidates for the provincial council) discuss the situation prior to the upcoming elections in Carinthia and Salzburg	
6	“Der Endspurt im Rennen um die Hofburg” <i>End spurt in the race to the presidential palace</i>	04/18/2004
	Six invited guests (for each candidate, one member of parliament, one member of the supporting committee, and the head of advertising) discuss the two contenders in the imminent presidential elections	
7	“Sind Politiker bei uns unten durch?” <i>Are we through with politicians?</i>	09/26/2004
	Five invited guests (one PR manager, one parliamentary president, two former politicians, and one actor/comedian) discuss the public image and role of politicians	
8	“Farbwechsel auf der Regierungsbank” <i>Change of color in the government</i>	04/10/2005
	Five invited guests (including the four chairpersons of the main parliamentary parties) discuss the new formation and renaming of one of the parties involved in the current government, and the repercussions for the political situation in Austria	

Table 12: Titles (with translation), broadcast dates, and synopses of the eight transcribed episodes of *Offen gesagt*





In sum, these episodes feature thirty-five invited guests, six of whom appear twice. Ten of the guests are female, and twenty-five are male. Three different ORF hosts appear in these eight shows.

Having transcribed these shows and thus engaged with them more closely, I picked out one episode for a detailed linguistic analysis (see below). My goal with this analysis was to identify potentially strategic dialect usage patterns, and subsequently to attempt extrapolation of my findings to the full body of data (all eight transcribed episodes).¹⁶⁸

The episode I picked is in fact the first one of the list, “Wer soll in die Hofburg” (‘Who belongs in the presidential palace’), broadcast on January 18th, 2004. I chose it because (1) two of the participants are well-known Austrian actors, who due to their education and profession can be expected to command a very broad range of language use and to apply it strategically in such a public setting; (2) the topic of the episode is the then ongoing Austrian presidential race, and it unites participants from opposing political camps, which provides the grounds for much political sparring and competitive exchange and is also particularly likely to highlight language use as a strategic ‘weapon’ in the effort to win arguments and score points with the audience; and (3) all speakers in this episode have a low to moderate dialect rate and do not continuously mix standard and dialect, but rather keep them clearly separate, whereas the other shows each contain at least one participant whose ‘baseline’ language production is more of a mixing of standard and dialect, which makes it difficult to find convincing linguistic evidence of clear breaks.

The “Hofburg” episode I picked is hosted by discussion leader FFW, a 60 year-old journalist born and educated in Vienna.¹⁶⁹ The show features five invited guests:

- FM is one of the two above-mentioned well-known Austrian actors, as well as an author and play director, and somewhat of an artistic legend. Born in Vienna in 1919, he has held engagements at every major Austrian theater, has played in films and on TV, and is recipient of the honorary title ‘Kammerschauspieler’, as well as of numerous other awards.¹⁷⁰ As an Austrian public figure, he is also politically engaged: he was invited to the show as a member of the supporting committee

¹⁶⁸ My analysis in the following is based on transcription of the episode’s audio and does not take visual aspects of the interaction into account, in a necessary limitation of scope.

¹⁶⁹ Source: FFW’s homepage – as it turns out, he is in fact nowadays a member of the Viennese city council for the People’s Party (ÖVP).

¹⁷⁰ Source: ‘AEIOU – Das Annotierbare Elektronische Interaktive Oesterreichische Universal-Informationssystem’, a publicly funded Austrian online encyclopedia (http://austria-forum.org/wbtmaster/courses/aeiou_forum1.htm – accessed 01/20/2009)





for the widely favored (male) presidential candidate of the Social Democratic Party (SPÖ; the socialists), who in fact was elected later on.

- FS is the other actor, specializing in political comedy. He was also born in Vienna, in 1965, and is most famous for being founder, author and actor of a political comedy group that dominated the scene in the early 1990s. He is furthermore a playwright and book author, and has received numerous comedy awards.¹⁷¹ He features in the *Offen gesagt* episode as the ‘voice’ of the young people (as repeatedly intimidated by FFW, the host), and seems to enjoy playing a critical ‘devil’s advocate’ who satirizes the role of the Austrian president while taking neither of the candidates’ side.
- SK is a professor of history at the Karl-Franzens-Universität in Graz. He frequently contributes his historical expertise to publicly funded exhibitions and projects; politically, he supports the conservative People’s Party (ÖVP), which becomes evident in the show in his promotion of the (female) ÖVP candidate, who at the time was Austrian Foreign Minister. SK was born in 1952 in the southernmost Austrian province of Carinthia.¹⁷²
- Participant AT is a print media journalist and founder and editor of a well-known leftist Viennese weekly newspaper. He furthermore contributes regularly to other major German-language newspapers and magazines, and has authored numerous books on Austrian public life.¹⁷³ His leftist political views are evident in his support for the SPÖ candidate; and in the course of the show he repeatedly criticizes the opposing candidate from the People’s Party. Born in Bregenz in 1949, AT hails from the westernmost Austrian province of Vorarlberg.¹⁷⁴

¹⁷¹ Source: FS’s homepage

¹⁷² Source: SK’s homepage

¹⁷³ Source: interview with AT published online

¹⁷⁴ As I pointed out in chapter 2, Vorarlberg is actually the only Austrian province that is Alemannic-speaking. However, despite the fact that AT is from there, he does not exhibit any noticeable Vorarlberg accent, nor does he use any features that would be characteristic of Alemannic, especially regarding the vowel system. Rather, his use of e.g. *l*-vocalization and the [a] ↔ [ɔ] switch (the latter untypical for Alemannic, which usually prefers a clear [a] sound), is an indication that AT has very successfully ‘learned’ Bavarian-Austrian, probably due to spending a big part of his life in Vienna (he founded his Viennese newspaper thirty years ago). Overall, then, AT’s mastery and use of Bavarian-Austrian dialect, which parallel those of the other discussion participants, leads me to regard him on the same basis as the other speakers I analyze here, who all have a Bavarian-Austrian background.





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The diagram illustrates the experimental setup. At the top, a 'projection screen' is shown. Below it, six participants are seated in a circle, each with a name in a circle: FM (top-left), MG (top-right), AT (middle-left), SK (middle-right), FS (bottom), and an unlabeled participant (bottom). Each participant is associated with a 'camera' box. The 'camera' boxes for FM, MG, and FS are positioned outside the circle of participants, while the boxes for AT and SK are positioned inside the circle, closer to the participants. The 'camera' box for the unlabeled participant is positioned at the bottom right, outside the circle.

After deciding to focus on this particular episode of the TV discussion show *Offen gesagt* for my in-depth analysis of the strategic use of Austrian dialect in interaction, I proceeded to underlining all dialect features in its transcript. Based on the findings from my perception experiment (see chapter 3), as well as past research on Austrian German (e.g. de Cillia 2006b; Dressler & Wodak 1982; Moosmüller 1991; Wiesinger 2006 – see my discus-

¹⁷⁵ Sources: Homepage of the ÖVP Innere Stadt; homepage of the cultural commission of the First District; homepage of the women's platform of the ÖVP



sion in chapter 2), I picked out the following features, which had a high recognition rate as ‘dialectal’ among my perception study informants: (1) input-switches; (2) *ge*-reductions; (3) *l*-vocalizations; (4) consonant-cluster reductions; (5) unstressed syllable-reductions; (6) morpho-syntactic characteristics of dialect; and (7) non-standard lexical items; as well as any combination of these.

As it turns out, the amount of dialect features in the episode is quite considerable: 957 out of the total 11,928 words in the transcript, or 8%, are dialectal. This appears to be a rather unwieldy amount of tokens for a detailed analysis; but the fact of the matter is also that it cannot reasonably be claimed that every single dialect feature in the conversation was produced for a rhetorical purpose by one of the speakers. Indeed, as past research has pointed out, Austrian speakers commonly use a certain amount of dialect features in natural talk even when *targeting* the standard ‘Hochsprache’ (see Moosmüller 1991; see also my chapter 2 on language use in Austria), which is the expected linguistic norm on the TV show. A variety of linguistic factors, but also situative, physiological, and psychological factors such as speech rate, casualness, emotionality, attention, or tiredness, influence production beyond speaker’s intent (see Auer 1995b; Dressler 1984; Dressler & Wodak 1982; Foltin & Dressler 1997; Moosmüller 1991).

A pre-selection of the data to be analyzed is therefore warranted in order to narrow the data down to such stretches of dialectal talk that are *most likely* to have been produced with rhetorical intent. Thus, I decided to only focus on stretches of talk within a single speaker-turn that consist of *at least three adjacent words* which each show one or more features of Austrian dialect (not counting repetitions). Establishing such a unit of analysis has the affordance that it is indeed more likely that speakers have produced an intentional shift from standard into dialect when they keep it up for more than just one or two words.

As an additional step in this focusing process, I drew up a ‘dialect profile’ for each of the six participants in the episode, in order to find their standard ‘baseline’. After all, as I have just pointed out above, speakers commonly produce a certain amount of dialect features even when supposedly speaking ‘standard’. The idea behind drawing up the speakers’ dialect profiles, then, was to establish if there were any dialect features the participants might be using consistently or predominantly throughout their talk in most possible places of occurrence, so that the production of these features cannot conclusively be assumed to constitute a *strategic* shift from standard into dialect. In other words, a high rate of occurrence of a particular dialect feature, especially when the feature is consistently embedded in otherwise standard talk, suggests that its use is due to linguistic or external factors that act outside of the speaker’s rhetorical goals.¹⁷⁶

¹⁷⁶ This, of course, harks back to my discussion in chapter 1 of Irvine’s (2001) notion of styles as ‘systems of distinctiveness’: if the use of a certain dialect vari-





The details of the dialect profile for each speaker are given in the appendix (Tables C2–C7). One finding I take from this analytic step is that there is a high rate of occurrence for the input-switch [isd] ↔ [is] ('is') across all speakers, as well as for *e*-apocope in the form of deletion of the verbal inflection of 1st person singular present tense, as in *ich mein* vs. standard *ich meine* ('I mean'). For [isd] ↔ [is], the five invitees use the dialectal form on average 75% of the time, or in N = 353 out of 471 possible occurrences (FS: 86.2%; AT: 76.6%; MG: 75.9%; FM: 73.9%; SK: 72.9%). The only exception is FFW, the host, who uses the dialectal form only half of the time (N = 15 out of 30). As for *e*-apocope, the occurrence rate is on average 52.5% or N = 109 out of 209 possible occurrences (AT: 60.6%; FFW: 60%; MG: 54.6%; SK: 52.5%; FS: 48.2%; FM: 43.3%).

Both [is] and *e*-apocope occur in stretches of speech that are otherwise entirely held in the standard. Furthermore, past research on Austrian German (de Cillia 2006b; Moosmüller 1991; Scheutz 1985) has shown both features to be pervasive in upper class/educated/formal speech. Thus, although both [is] and *e*-apocope were highly underlined by my perception study informants as dialectal (see chapter 3), I consider them general features of spoken (vs. written) language and perhaps a tribute to enhancing ease of articulation or increasing speech rate rather than as representing deliberate shifts into dialect. The case is similar with the *l*-vocalized variant of the discourse marker *also* (realized as [ˈbəsɔ] or [ˈaəsɔ] instead of standard [ˈalso] – 'thus', 'therefore'), which on average is produced 54.7% of the time (N = 41 out of 75), and accounts for 56.2% of all *l*-vocalizations in the episode (N = 41 out of 73). This tells me that it may have been at least tendentially/partially lexicalized in its dialectal form, and thus does not necessarily constitute a strategic shift into dialect either.

In identifying units of three or more dialectal words in the transcript, I therefore decided to disregard instances of [is], *e*-apocope, and *l*-vocalized *also*. In addition, I found that speaker AT has an uncommonly high usage of dialectal [ma] vs. standard [man] (3rd person indefinite pronoun 'one'), at 77.4% (N = 48 out of 64), which arguably means that he prefers the dialectal over the standard form in general rather than using it to strategically shift into dialect in particular instances. This does not appear to be the case for the other speakers. Thus, I disregarded this feature when identifying dialect stretches specifically in AT's talk. No further salient speaker idiosyncrasies emerged in the analysis of the speakers' dialect profiles.¹⁷⁷

ant is categorical or at least predominant, it is difficult to argue that it constitutes a point of 'distinction' and creates a 'contrast' to the standard from the speaker's perspective.

¹⁷⁷ Regarding usage of the standard, however, note in addition that participant FM, the 'old-school' actor, occasionally even uses 'Bühnendeutsch' ('stage German'), evidenced particularly in a voicing of syllable initial/s/ (e.g. in [ˈza:ɡen] vs. common Austrian spoken standard [ˈsa:ɡen] – 'say'). This form of standard is usually only mastered by those undergoing special training; FM's usage in conversation





Applying the above-listed criteria in my identification of three- (or more) word stretches of dialect in the speech of the six participants in the *Offen gesagt* episode “Wer soll in die Hofburg?”, I found a total of 43 instances of such stretches overall – listed in Table C8 in the appendix (together with speaker and an English gloss). 20 of these stretches were produced by speaker FM, 15 by AT, 6 by SK, and 2 by MG, while FFW and FS did not produce any set of three or more dialectal words in a row. Having compiled these stretches of dialectal talk, I then drew up a brief description and characterization of the discourse context in which each occurs (see again Table C8 in the appendix), with the goal of uncovering any emerging usage patterns.

As it turns out, I did find what I would argue to be discourse-level regularities in the usage of dialectal talk. In particular, out of my 43 multi-word dialect stretches, seven occurred in the context of direct reported speech or “the presentation of verbal actions that are displaced by person and/or time” (Schiffrin 2002: 317) – a phenomenon Tannen (1986, 1989) refers to as ‘constructed dialogue’ (see below).¹⁷⁸ Two instances each occur in the talk of FM, AT, and SK, and one instance in that of MG (see Table C9 in the appendix). Further, eleven stretches of dialect were produced in connection with short, interjected turns representing comments on something previously said by another participant (10 instances produced by FM, 1 by AT; see Table C10 in the appendix). These two types of conversational moves represent the clearest potential patterns emerging from my analysis of the multi-word dialect stretches, and I discuss them therefore in detail below. Subsequently, I also present an analysis of the passage that contains the most multi-word dialect stretches within one speaker turn (four), and which coincides with an expression of heightened emotion. In all these instances, negative rhetorical use of the dialect appears to predominate, which leads me as a final point to look for more positive contexts of dialect usage in the data. I then conclude with a summary of and comments on my findings.

points to the fact that he indeed commands a greater range of linguistic variation than most Austrian speakers.

¹⁷⁸ My identification of stretches of reported speech is largely based on the occurrence of quotatives such as forms of the verb *sagen* (‘to say’). To furthermore differentiate direct from indirect reported speech, I use Coulmas (1986) as well as *Duden, Die Grammatik* (2005), both of whom list characteristic features of indirect speech in standard German such as deictic shift, temporal adjustment, use of subjunctive, infinitive construction, and/or use of the conjunction *dass*. See also Vlatten (1997) for a conversation analytic study of reported speech in (German) German using similar criteria.





5.2. Dialect use in constructed dialogue

Tannen (1986, 1989)¹⁷⁹ points out that quoting and reporting utterances by others has more than anything else the character of a ‘constructed dialogue’ in which the current speaker’s voice and the embedded voice of the quoted speaker necessarily intermingle, so that the act of animating another’s utterances constitutes a ‘reframing’ of those utterances rather than an ‘authentic’ retelling.¹⁸⁰ Fairclough uses the similar concept of ‘represented discourse’, holding that in indirect speech “there is always an ambivalence about whether the actual wording is attributable to the person whose speech is represented, or to the author of the main text” (1992: 105).¹⁸¹

To disentangle and explicate this intermingling of voices and the relationships between ‘quoter’ and ‘quotee’ in instances of constructed dialogue, interactional sociolinguists frequently draw on Bakhtin’s (1981 [1975], 1984, 1986 [1952–53]) discussion of ‘dialogicality’ and Goffman’s (1974, 1981) concept of ‘production format’.¹⁸² Bakhtin distinguishes two main senses of dialogicality in his writings, which can be called ‘general dialogicality’ and ‘specific dialogicality’ (to use Tovaes’ 2005 terms).¹⁸³ The former refers to the fact that all utterances are inherently dialogical, as they inevitably echo ‘prior texts’ (see my discussion in chapter 1). The second concerns discourse that has a “deliberate orientation towards the words of others” (Tovaes 2005: 21) in a concrete and overt way. Such discourse is usually labeled ‘double-voiced’, and reported speech is a typical example. Bakhtin (1984) furthermore distinguishes between uni-directional and vari-directional double-voiced discourse: in the former, the speaker’s purposes and the projected purposes and intentions of the quotee are essentially the same, whereas in the latter they are directly opposed, so that the discourse

¹⁷⁹ With reference to Bakhtin (1981 [1975]; 1986 [1952–53]); Goffman (1974); Voloshinov (1973 [1930])

¹⁸⁰ going back to the notion of frame as the definition of ‘what is going on’ in a given interactional moment – see Goffman (1974), Tannen & Wallat (1993).

¹⁸¹ See also Clark and Gerrig (1990) on quotation as demonstration (selective depiction).

¹⁸² See also my outline of interactional sociolinguistics in chapter 1.

¹⁸³ Note that Morson and Emerson (1990, 1997), whose writings on Bakhtin are foundational to much Anglo-American reception of his work, actually distinguish three senses of dialogue, the first two (‘dialogue in the first and second sense’) corresponding to Tovaes’ categorization, and ‘dialogue in the third sense’ being “a vision of the world and of truth” under which truth can be conceived as “something that can only be represented by a conversation, as something that by its very nature demands many voices and points of view” (Morson & Emerson 1997: 266). I am using Tovaes’ (2005) terminology here because I believe it is more helpfully descriptive of the point Bakhtin is making.





of the quoted person and content are treated in a “critical or hostile fashion” (Morson & Emerson 1990: 152).¹⁸⁴

Goffman’s concept of ‘production format’ (1981) is particularly helpful to tease out the locally emergent relationships (‘footings’) between the quoting and the quoted speaker (or their ‘voices’), because his framework breaks the notion of the ‘speaker’ down into that of an utterance’s ‘principal’, ‘author’, ‘animator’, and ‘figure’ (see my discussion in chapter 1), making it clear that these do not always or necessarily coincide. For example, in constructed dialogue, the quoting interactant usually projects the idea that s/he is only the secondary ‘animator’ of words originally authored and ‘principaled’ by somebody else, thus achieving a distancing and detachment from the quoted person and content, and hedging responsibility.¹⁸⁵ But note that the quoter has in fact complete control over how s/he presents the quote (*frames* it), which is why it would be an illusion to assume that the quoting speaker is indeed merely the animator: “In the deepest sense, the words have ceased to be those of the speaker to whom they are attributed, having been appropriated by the speaker who is repeating them” (Tannen 1989: 101). And the alignment (footing) the quoting interactant takes up towards the quoted person and content is a central part of the framing of the constructed dialogue – of the construction of ‘what is going on’ (see Goffman 1974; Tannen & Wallat 1993).

But although reported speech thus does not necessarily (or ever) constitute an accurate representation of the quote and the way it was originally produced (or may indeed even be a rendition of imaginary words that were never actually uttered – see Tannen 1989), its use creates an ‘aliveness’ that almost inevitably adds “a tone of authenticity and veracity” (Schiffrin 2002: 317, with reference to Goffman 1981).¹⁸⁶ Thus, “[t]he construction of directly reported speech in which the narrator shows not only *what* was said, but *how* it was said, is a very powerful tool in constructing the identity of the figure [i.e. the ‘quotee’] in the audience’s mind” (Hamilton 1998: 63).

This brings me back to my data and to an investigation of how and why the discussion show participants would use *dialect* to construct their rendition

¹⁸⁴ Bakhtin furthermore divides vari-directional double-voiced discourse into ‘passive’ and ‘active’ forms. In the former (just like in unidirectional discourse), a speaker uses other people’s words for his/her own purposes. In the latter, an example of which would be an instance of ‘hidden polemic’, “the speaker does not use someone else’s words to convey his or her meaning but references those words or anticipates them” (Tovares 2005: 22; see also Morson & Emerson 1990). For my present purposes, I am only concerned with passive uni- and vari-directional discourse.

¹⁸⁵ The issue of distancing is discussed in detail in Clark and Gerrig’s (1990) article on ‘quotation as demonstration’ (or ‘selective depiction’).

¹⁸⁶ See also Tannen’s (1989) discussion of constructed dialogue as an ‘involvement strategy’ or a way to engage and invest the audience in the conversation.





of quotes. Consider, for example, passage (1) below (which I already briefly mentioned in chapter 3), in which AT is recounting an incident in which an Austrian alternative theater group was arrested in the course of the tumultuous G8 summit in Italy in 2001. AT is claiming that the Austrian Foreign Minister at the time, who, we recall, is the opposing presidential candidate to AT's own favorite, made a big mistake because she did not immediately intervene with Italian authorities on behalf of the theater group, despite the obscurity of the charges pressed. (Dialect features are shown in **bold**; the five-word continuous dialect stretch I originally identified is highlighted in grey; reported speech is set off by curly braces.)¹⁸⁷

- (1) a AT: ... Da geht's nämlich um nicht mehr
b um nicht weniger als dass dort ein paar linke Theater, leute im Zuge,
c dieser Veranstaltung festgenommen wurden, österreichische
d Staatsbürger und Staatsbürgerinnen, und dass die Frau
e Außenminister nichts anderes zu tun hatte als zu sagen, {najo,} und
f zwar öffentlich, nachzulesen auf der Homepage des
g Außenministeriums der Text steht fest, {najo, des san kane Guatn,
h gegen die liegt **eh**, äh sozus-, gegen die liegen **eh** sozusagen
i Anzeigen vor, im Innenministerium, und denen wird **scho** recht
j **gschehn**.} ... Das war ihre Ant- das war ihre Reaktion zum Schutz
k österreichischer Staatsbürger die im Ausland, verhaftet werden,
l [Später hat sie sich darauf-]
m FFW: [Wurde heftig kritisiert]
n AT: später hat sie sich darauf ausgedet dass dəs sozusagen, dubiose
o Informationen des Innenministeriums gewesen seien, die ihr da aus
p dem, ominösen Ekis-Computer zur Verfügung gestellt wurden auch
q noch? seinerzeit, was ihr sehr viel Ärger mit dem Innenminister auch
r eingetragen hat der in diesem Fall zurecht über sie empört war weil
s da is da sin ja nur Anzeigen aber keine Verurteilungen drin, also das
t war ein echter, sozusagen ein
u MG: Aber fact ist dass sie geholfen hat
v AT: Nein sie hat eben nicht

(English gloss:)

- a AT: ... *Because this is about nothing more*
b *nothing less than that there a few leftist theater people in the course of*
c *this event [the G8 summit] were arrested, Austrian*
d *citizens, men and women, and that the Madam*
e *Foreign Minister didn't have anything better to do than to say, {well,} and*
f *this in public, can be checked on the homepage of the*
g *Foreign Ministry, the text is fixed there, {well, those are no good people,*
h *against them are anyway, so to say, against them are anyway so to say,*
i *charges recorded in the Interior Ministry, and thus right*
j *will them be served.} ... That was her reaction to protect*
k *Austrian citizens who are arrested abroad*
l *[Later she has herself with]*

¹⁸⁷ See Appendix C1 for transcription conventions used.





- m FFW: *[Was strongly criticized]*
 n AT: *Later has she herself with this excused that those so to say dubious*
 o *informations of the Interior Ministry were, which her there from*
 p *the ominous Ekis computer were given for her disposal in addition?*
 q *back then, which her a lot of trouble with the Interior Minister also*
 r *brought has who in this case justly with her indignant was because*
 s *there is there are after all only charges but no convictions in it, so that*
 t *was a real, so to say a*
 u MG: *But fact is that she has helped*
 v AT: *No she has really not*

AT's multi-word dialect stretch in line g comprises five input-switches (which my perception experiment showed to be very salient for Austrian listeners).¹⁸⁸ [a] ↔ [ɔ] in *najo* (vs. std. *naja* – 'well'); [ɖas] ↔ [ɖe:s] ('those'); [sɪŋɔ] ↔ [san] ('are'); [aɛ] ↔ [a:] in *kane* (vs. std. *keine* – 'no'); and [u:] ↔ [ʊɐ] in *Guatn* (vs. std. *Guten* – 'good people'). Note, though, that the sequence of reported speech in which AT 'quotes' the Foreign minister actually starts out with an earlier *najo* (line e) which precedes an insertion, and further on additionally includes two instances of the dialectal discourse marker *eh* ('anyway' – line h), a [ʃo:n] ↔ [ʃɔ:] switch ('anyway' – line i), and ends with a *ge*-reduction in *g'schehn* (vs. std. *geschehen* – 'be served' – line j), followed by a pause.

Sequentially, AT's use of the first input-switched *najo* occurs after a stretch of talk that is held entirely in the standard, and thus nicely sets off the beginning of his alleged 'quote' of the minister (or of the 'voicing zone', in Agha's 2005 terms). Auer (1995a) explicitly discusses such setting off of reported speech as a frequent function of the juxtaposition of linguistic varieties. But I propose that there is much more to AT's use of dialect than its mere structural and sequential function of creating a noticeable break to alert the listener to the fact that reported speech is being rendered. What I am arguing is that in his reported speech sequence, AT is using dialect *strategically* to express an antagonistic footing towards the Minister and what she allegedly said, and to present her in a negative light.

It already becomes clear from utterances preceding and following the 'voicing zone' that AT takes up a negative, antagonistic stance towards the Minister's position and what he considers her cold-heartedness towards these poor leftist theater people rotting in an Italian jail: just before the sequence presented in (1) above, AT has set up the idea that the Minister has committed a major blunder ("ein Megafettnapf", as he phrases it), which he is about to tell. After the quote, he adds the ironic 'That was her reaction to protect Austrian citizens who were arrested abroad' (the irony

¹⁸⁸ In fact, the passage presented in (1) was one of the samples I used in my perception experiment. The five words in AT's dialect stretch ("najo, des san kane Guatn") had an average mark-up score of 34.6 or 82%. *G'schehn* in line j even had a mark-up score of 40 or 95%.





arising from the fact that the Minister's response as quoted clearly cannot be called 'protective' at all), and later on he repeats his labeling of the episode as a big blunder ("Megaflopp"). The overall effect, then, is one of a negative alignment between AT and the Minister.

But it is in fact AT's performance of the Minister's discourse using dialect features that really drives the negative evaluation of her actions home and makes it very blatant to the Austrian native speaker: by rendering the Minister's words in the dialect, AT is in fact *embodying* his negative stance towards the Minister's position. As we recall from my language attitude study in chapter 4, low education, unintelligence, coarseness, roughness, and even aggressiveness are common negative stereotypes associated with the use of Austrian dialect. In other words, when an utterance is contextualized with dialect use, such are some of the connotations that are called up in the average native speaker's mind, as the attitudinal experiment has clearly shown. Of course, the experiment also brought out positive dialect stereotypes such as that it sounds more likeable, friendly, relaxed, humorous, and natural than standard, as well as less arrogant. However, I would argue that, as a function of the negativity of the contextual 'environment' and alignment AT is setting up by what he is saying, these positive connotations are backgrounded, and the negative ones very much highlighted and activated.

Such contextualization in terms of the negative stereotypes attaching to dialect use effectively enhances the antagonistic cast of AT's conversational move: by 'quoting' what the Minister allegedly said with dialect features, he is implicitly expressing his contempt, because the negative social images called up by the dialect-use *reflect back* on the Minister who is supposedly speaking here (or, in Schifffrin's 2002 terms, who is the 'deictic center' of the quote). Basically, the dialect renders her utterance an object of contempt in its linguistic form; and, by extension, it does so with its content and alleged author/principal (the Minister), positioning her as an awful person. To speak in Labov and Waletzky's (1967) terms, the dialect delivery automatically provides an 'internal evaluation' of what is said, and in the present context this evaluation is clearly negative. In Bakhtin's terms, AT is producing a vari-directional (hostile) double-voicing, which ultimately constructs the Minister as a despicable persona.

AT's rhetorical goal of presenting the Minister in a negative light is all the more obvious to the Austrian listener because it is actually highly unlikely, if not outright impossible, that the Minister (as a public official) has really made the respective comment in dialect: first, she is a most consistent standard speaker, especially when in a public role. Secondly, AT is claiming that the quote can be checked on the website of the Foreign Ministry, and it is indeed rather inconceivable that this website would publish anything written in the dialect, standard German being the written norm (see chapter 2). But in fact, this transparency of the violation of truthfulness additionally highlights the cynic and absurdist character of AT's truly





constructed dialogue, and further enhances the expression of AT's contempt towards the quote he is thus reframing.¹⁸⁹

All in all, then, I believe that we have here sufficient grounds to postulate that AT's dialect use in the reported speech passage is a *strategic* performance, rather than a mere sequentially operative setting-off tool. It is shaped by and expressive of his own perspective on the matter, in a dialogue mixing his voice with the one he attributes to the Minister.

Example (2) below shows a similar instance of constructed dialogue including a stretch of dialect talk, this time produced by participant FM. At this point in the discussion show, the immediate topic is expectations towards a president in terms of being a moral authority. FM is arguing that the private life of a president should not be an object of discussion at all, and that public opinion about a president changes constantly anyway. (Dialect features are again shown in bold; the three-word continuous dialect stretch is highlighted in grey.)

- (2) a FM: Ich habe wie ich seinerzeit den den, Rudi Streicher unterstützt hab,
 b hat **ma** **gsogt** {wie **konnst** du den Streicher unterstützen der Klestil is
 c so **klass**.} Dann hab ich mich mit dem Klestil befasst, hab mich mit
 d ihm angefreundet, **sohn** die, {wie **konnst** den Klestil unterstützen **des**
 e is **jo a furchterlicher Kerl**.} also bei uns ändern sich die Meinungen alle
 f drei vier Jahr.

(English gloss:)

- a FM: I have when I back then the the, Rudi Streicher supported have,
 b has **one said** {how **can** you Streicher support Klestil is
 c so **great**.} Then have I me with Klestil concerned, have with
 d him become friends, **say** they, {how **can you** Klestil support **that**
 e is **after all a horrible** guy.} so with us change the opinions every
 f three four years.

In his two overall sequences of constructed dialogue (delimited by curly braces), FM uses three [a] ↔ [ɔ] input-switches (two instances of *konnst* vs. std. *kannst* – ‘can you’, lines b and d; one instance of *jo* vs. std. *ja* – ‘after all’, line e); one [ɔas] ↔ [ɔe:s] (‘that’) switch (line d); one [aɛ] ↔ [a:] switch (in *a* vs. std. *ein* – ‘a’, line e), and one [y] ↔ [i] switch (in *furchterlich* vs. std. *fürchterlich* – ‘horrible’, line e). Furthermore, he produces the non-standard lexical item *klass* (‘great’) in line c, and a dialectal deletion of the 2nd person singular pronoun *du* in *konnst* (vs. std. *kannst du* – ‘can you’, line d). He in fact uses additional dialect features in the quotatives setting up the reported

¹⁸⁹ This ties in with Clark and Gerrig's (1990) notion of a ‘markedness principle’ in connection with direct quotation, which postulates that “[w]henver speakers mark an aspect of a quotation, they intend their addressees to identify that aspect as nonincidental” (p.774). I argue that AT is ‘marking’ the use of dialect here, to draw his audience’s attention to the fact that it is not incidental, and that they should read a meta-message that says the Minister’s response is ‘despicable’.





speech (*hat **ma** gsagt* vs. std. *hat **man** gesagt*– ‘has one said’, line b; *sogn die* vs. std. *sagen die* – ‘say they’, line d).

Similar to AT’s constructed dialogue presented in (1) above, FM’s use of dialect here is arguably strategic and rhetorical, rendering the two sequences of reported speech objects of ridicule and contempt by drawing in negative stereotypes. The context of negativity is set up by the fact that the two ‘quotes’, addressed to FM supposedly by the same unspecified people but years apart, are the exact opposite of each other – one saying president Klesl is ‘great’ (lines b-c), the other that he is a ‘horrible guy’ (lines d-e). Furthermore, FM annotates these quotes by saying that Austrian public opinion changes ‘every three four years’ (lines e-f). The overall contextual effect FM is setting up is therefore predominantly an ironic, but fundamentally negative, footing towards proponents of such contradictory opinions. And once again, this footing is embodied in the use of dialect in the voicing zone: as in example (1) above, the contextual environment of the constructed dialogue highlights the negative subset of the stereotypes called up by the dialect use, such as a lack of intelligence, education, and refinement, which reflect back on the alleged authors/principals of the quote.

All in all, it is interesting to note so far that dialect use in constructed dialogue passages may serve the expression of *negative* meta-messages such as antagonism and oppositional alignment, by contextualizing utterances with the respective stereotypes associated with Austrian dialect. Such negative effects are in fact manifest in six out of the episode’s seven instances of constructed dialogue which contain multi-word dialect stretches (see Table C9 in the appendix). The only exception is a sequence produced by participant SK, shown in (3) below, in which he discusses the history of the Austrian federal president’s political role and position. He explains that until the year 1929 the president was bound to the parliament like the chancellor, but that this was changed in the course of a constitutional reform. (As before, dialect features are shown in bold; the three-word continuous dialect stretch is highlighted in grey):

- (3) a SK: Jedenfalls Neunzehnneunundzwanzig hat **ma** gsagt
b {**des** is **net** **guat**, **machma** einen Gegenspieler zum Parlament und
c damit zum Bundeskanzler.} Neunzehnneunundzwanziger Verfassung,
d diese Verfassung sieht vor Volkswahl des Bundespräsidenten, und
e eine Ausweitung der Kompetenzen und der Rechte. Und
f witzigerweise diese Verfassung Neundundzwanzig ist heute, im
g Wesentlichen, noch, in Kraft.

(English gloss:)

- a SK: Anyway Nineteen-twenty-nine has **one said**
b **that is not good, create we** an opponent to Parliament and
c with that to the Chancellor. Nineteentwenty-nine constitution,
d this constitution provides for the popular election of the president, and





e *an expansion of competences and rights. And*
 f *oddly enough this constitution Twenty-nine is today, in*
 g *essence, still, in force.*

In his sequence of reported speech (lines b-c, delimited in curly brackets), SK produces a total of four input switches: [ɖas] ↔ [ɖe:s] ('that'); [niçɖ] ↔ [ne:ɖ] ('not'); [u:] ↔ [ʊə] in *guat* (vs. std. *gut* – 'good'); and enclitic [ma] ↔ [vi:v] ('we'). Contrary to the other cases of constructed dialogue, however, he does not set up any negative attitude towards what he is quoting, but rather appears to be neutral about it. Therefore, the negative stereotypes associated with dialect use are not being particularly highlighted; perhaps the only claim one could make here is that SK is using dialect to embody a readily-digestible summary of a political idea in 'simple', 'natural' words (referring to two further stereotypes associated with dialect), which gives the thought process he is presenting a certain immediacy, vividness and comprehensibility for non-experts (SK himself being an eminent expert on history).

But the fact remains that the majority of constructed dialogue passages including multi-word stretches of dialect actually coincide with an expression of an antagonistic footing towards what/who is being quoted, i.e. they are vari-directional double-voicings. Yet this finding is so far limited to only four of the participants of one particular episode of *Offen gesagt*. This raises the question of whether a general usage pattern could be traced across all episodes of the show, under which dialect is systematically being used in reported speech as a rhetorical device to achieve a negative internal evaluation of a supposed quote.

A first impressionistic investigation of reported speech in the remaining seven episodes I transcribed shows that the phenomenon indeed recurs in those as well. One particularly striking example, presented in (4) below, comes from the show "Mächtige Pensionisten, ohnmächtige Jugend" ('Powerful retirees, powerless youth'). It stands out because it represents the *only* instance in which speaker WM produces a multi-word dialect stretch at all. WM's speech is otherwise characterized by a very high degree of standardness: across his 66 speaker turns in the discussion show episode, his dialect rate is only 1.5% or 32 dialectal words in a total of 2,143 words uttered.

WM is a professor of labor and social law (Arbeits- und Sozialrecht) at the University of Vienna; he was also born in Vienna in 1959 and raised there.¹⁹⁰ In the said *Offen gesagt* episode on pension reform, he figures as an independent expert. Throughout the discussion, he lobbies for more solidarity across the generations, demanding that political representatives, particularly those of the retirees (two of whom are fellow participants in the discussion), show more social responsibility and willingness to compromise in their financial planning and demands in order to secure the government pension system for the coming generations.

¹⁹⁰ Source: WM's CV on his website





In the single passage where he shifts into dialect for a stretch of three words, WM shows himself to be irritated by a tendency of the other discussion participants to become lost in statistics and numbers, while he prefers to talk more generally about an apparent lack of solidarity among the generations, which he considers to be the key issue. (4) below is the end of a longer speaker turn in which WM makes the point that his perception of the attitude of the representatives of the elderly is that they suggest the current pension system simply be kept up for the next generation – an attitude he considers dangerously naïve und highly unaffordable:

- (4) a WM: [...] wer also für die junge Generation Verantwortung zeigt muss eine
b Perspektive entwickeln, wie er für die Jungen ein anderes, aber auch
c sicheres Pensionssystem entwickelt, und da greift es, ich muss mich
d wiederholen, zu kurz zu sagen es **deaf si nix** ändern.
e KB: Wer sogt denn **des**?
f WM: Sie haben gerade vorhin gesagt: 'Wir wollen, dass sie das gleiche
g Pensionssystem haben wie wir.' Das ist denkunmöglich.

(English gloss:)

- a WM: [...] whoever then for the young generation responsibility shows must a
b perspective develop, for how he for the young a different, but an also
c secure pension system creates, and there reaches it, I must myself
d repeat, too short to say {it **may itself nothing** change.}
e KB: Who **says** then **that**?
f WM: You have just before said: 'We want that they the same
g pension system have as we.' That is unthinkable.

WM's shift into dialect occurs at the very end of his turn (line d; multi-word dialect stretch highlighted in grey). He uses two input switches, [ɔ̃a:f] ↔ [d̥eəf] ('may'), and [siç] ↔ [si] ('itself'). In addition, [nix] ('nothing') is a consonant-cluster reduction (vs. standard [niçts]).¹⁹¹

Once more, the shift into dialect can be quite plausibly accounted for from the perspective of strategic contextualization. The preceding utterances already set up the supposed 'quote' as a point of criticism: "...und da greift es [...] zu kurz zu sagen ..." ('... and there it reaches [...] too short to say ...' – lines c–d). In other words, WM is claiming (or rather repeating from what he has said once before) that the opinion he is about to present is inadequate for resolving the problems of the Austrian governmental pension system. This way, he is setting up a negative stance towards the ensuing 'quote' (delimited above in curly braces), so that, just like in the examples I presented in (1) and (2) further above, his subsequent dialect use is

¹⁹¹ The passage presented in (4) is another one I used in my perception experiment. WM's dialect stretch had an average mark-up score of 37.3 or 88.8%; and *deaf* was in fact one of only two words in the experiment samples that had a mark-up score of 100%.





very likely to activate negative stereotypes associated with Austrian dialect, such as low education, unintelligence, coarseness, aggressiveness. Through this mechanism, WM is once more communicating an internal evaluation of the 'quote'. By rendering in the dialect what somebody has allegedly said (or meant to say) concerning the desirability of the pension system's status quo, he is embodying his contempt and antagonism towards this opinion, because the negative social images called up by the dialect use reflect back on whoever would have voiced such an idea.

That WM's utterance comes across as derogatory is further evidenced by the subsequent uptake by KB (incidentally a prominent representative of the elderly), who in line e shoots out "Wer sogt denn **des**?" (using two input switches – compare std. *wer sagt denn das*). In the context of WM's previous turn, this response takes the character of a challenge whose aggressiveness is again underscored by dialect use, and which dares WM to point his finger at KB and openly attribute the constructed quote and concomitant negative evaluation to him or the people he represents. But WM in fact picks up the challenge, in that he clarifies that he does indeed attribute the 'quote' to KB, rephrasing, and thus confirming, his negative evaluation of the attitude it represents more directly: "Sie haben gerade vorhin gesagt: 'Wir wollen, dass sie das gleiche Pensionssystem haben wie wir.' Das ist denkunmöglich" ('You have just before said: 'We want that they the same pension system have as we.' That is unthinkable' – lines f–g).

Further examples of a similar nature occur across all my transcribed episodes (and in fact throughout the entire body of untranscribed recorded data). This suggests that there could indeed be a general pattern under which vari-directional constructed dialogue, i.e. reported speech that is negatively evaluated by the speaker who quotes it, constitutes a preferred 'discourse slot' for the rhetorical use of Austrian dialect. The next question to address, then, is whether any quantitative evidence could be found to support and confirm this hypothesis.

To address this question, I proceeded to picking out *all* instances of constructed dialogue in the eight episodes of *Offen gesagt* that I had transcribed. I found a total of 238 such instances, with a word count of 2,693 for the respective voicing zones. This represents 2.8% of all words uttered in the episodes (N = 98,056). In terms of speaker turns at talk, 5.1% of turns, or N = 177 out of 3,456, include a sequence of constructed dialogue.

Of the 2,693 words in the constructed dialogue voicing zones, 327 words (12.1%) contain at least one dialect feature. Table 13 below provides an overview of the constructed dialogue passages found in each episode, together with the dialect rate:





Episode name	N of constructed dialogue passages	Total N of words in c.d. zones	N of dialectal words in c.d. zones	Dialect % of c.d. zones	Dialect % of non-c.d. passages
“Wer soll in die Hofburg” <i>Who belongs in the presidential palace</i>	46	530	54	10.2%	5.9%
“Sprengstoff für das Heer” <i>Dynamite for the army</i>	33	343	56	16.3%	8.3%
“Was brachte die Wende” <i>What did the change of government bring</i>	28	366	35	9.6%	10.7%
“Mächtige Pensionisten, ohnmächtige Jugend” <i>Powerful retirees, powerless youth</i>	23	268	12	4.5%	4.3%
“Landeshauptleute in Bedrängnis” <i>Governors under pressure</i>	27	300	47	15.7%	9.8%
“Der Endspurt im Rennen um die Hofburg” <i>End spurt in the race to the presidential palace</i>	23	206	24	11.7%	7.4%
“Sind Politiker bei uns unten durch?” <i>Are we through with politicians?</i>	24	302	53	17.6%	9.1%
“Farbwechsel auf der Regierungsbank” <i>Change of color in the government</i>	34	378	46	12.2%	8.6%
Total	238	2,693	327		
Average				12.1%	8%

Table 13: Number of constructed dialogue passages for each of the eight transcribed *Offen gesagt* episodes, including word count and percentages of dialectal words in the voicing zones

As Table 13 shows, the overall average dialect rate for constructed dialogue zones is 12.1% (327 out of 2,693 words), while the average rate for non-constructed dialogue discourse is only 8% (7,612 out of 95,277 words). Further, with the exception of one (“Was brachte die Wende”), all individual episodes have a higher dialect rate in reported speech than in the remaining text.¹⁹²

¹⁹² It is appropriate here to note that quantification of discourse-level features of talk is notoriously problematic because of the analytic shortcuts and compromises inevitably involved in the identification and generalization of patterns and units of analysis. However, despite this caveat, I believe that such quantification can have the benefit of adding texture and evidence to qualitatively-based claims





To explore whether the difference is statistically significant, I conducted a paired-samples T-Test comparing the mean dialect rate of the constructed dialogue zones with the mean dialect rate of the remaining (non-constructed dialogue) text, using SPSS. The results show that the difference is indeed significant ($p = 0.01$), meaning that the average dialect rate of the constructed dialogue zones is in fact fundamentally higher than that of the non-constructed dialogue passages.¹⁹³

In order to further specify this result, I then picked out all those constructed dialogue zones from the eight episodes that showed some clear evidence of coinciding with a speaker's negative footing towards the quoted content and/or person, similar to the examples I presented in (1), (2), and (4) above. I found 97 such passages in the total of 238 constructed dialogue sequences (= 40.8%). I then ran another paired-samples T-Test comparing the mean dialect rate of the 'negative' zones (19%) with the mean dialect rate of the 'non-negative' zones (8.8%). The results show that the difference is once more statistically significant ($p = 0.018$). This now provides quantitative support for the finding that participants in *Offen gesagt* indeed heighten their dialect use in the context of expressing an antagonistic footing towards something or somebody they are quoting, employing dialect to embody a negative evaluation.

5.3. Dialect use in one-liners

The constructed dialogue pattern I have just described is the most generalizable one I found in my analysis of multi-word dialect stretches in the *Offen gesagt* episode "Wer soll in die Hofburg", because it is reproduced by four different participants. A second potential pattern concerns the use of dialect in what I am calling 'one-liners', i.e. speaker turns that consist of a short, grammatically complete sentence which in some way qualifies (responds to, comments on, elaborates on, rekeys) the preceding speaker's turn.¹⁹⁴ In the "Hofburg" episode, eleven of the 43 multi-word dialect stretches occur in the context of such one-liners (see Table C10 in the appendix). Ten of these are in fact produced by one participant, FM, and

by providing 'ballpark' figures and statistical results for orientation, which is also the purpose of my own quantitative calculations presented here.

¹⁹³ Of course, this analysis is limited by the fact that I am comparing dialect rates across whole episodes rather than by individual speaker, and thus do not take into account potential usage idiosyncrasies. Despite this, I would argue that the usage pattern is consistent enough for the 'rough' quantifications I am using here to provide a sound basis for the corroboration of my qualitative findings. – See also footnote 193 above.

¹⁹⁴ Note that Auer (1995a) lists 'side-comments' as a frequent conversational locus for linguistic shifting (without providing a definition). Similarly Gumperz (1982), who lists 'interjections'.





one is produced by AT. Although this may thus well be a mere idiosyncrasy, I believe this pattern warrants further investigation, particularly in light of the fact that FM is a classically trained actor whose language use in the show ranges from dialect all the way to a groomed ‘Bühnendeutsch’ (‘stage German’ – see footnote 177 above), and even includes one playful shift into a ‘German German’ accent (Table C8, 22). He is thus presumably the participant with the greatest rhetorical command over his talk overall; and his dialect shifts can therefore be assumed to be almost inherently strategic.

Example (5) below is a typical instance of FM throwing in a one-line remark to qualify a previous speaker’s turn. In this passage, SK is arguing that the Austrian people are looking for a president that is not too remote and detached, but rather still a ‘tangible’, ‘real’ person. FM subsequently falls in with a word play on the notion of tangibility (FM’s multi-word dialect stretch is again highlighted in grey; dialect features are shown in bold print):¹⁹⁵

- (5) a SK: Darf ich nur noch etwas dazu sagen. Die Österreicher, und **des** ham
 b Sie ja früher an dritter Stelle erwähnt **i hob** genau zugehört, und trifft
 c sehr auch zu. Die Österreicher wollen auch einen Bundespräsidenten,
 d eine Bundespräsidentin, zum Angreifen. Eine, die quasi, angreifbar
 e is, nicht abgehoben irgendwo **do** oben nebulos äh herumschwimmt,
 f vielleicht in irgendwöchen Gesetzesmaterien, exzellent **si** ausken- die
 g **woin a** wos zum, Beispiel Jonas. Der war **a** Mensch zum Angreifen,
 h **jo?** einen Bundespräsidenten zum Angreifen
 i FM: **I waß net wem i ongreifen mecht**
 j FS: **@@des** is immer relativ **jo**
 k FM: von den Kandidaten
 l SK: **Na** angreifen haßt, einen Menschen, mit **wo ma** ihn versteht, der die
 m Sprache des Volkes mitspricht, **des** is schon glaub **i** wichtig.

(English gloss:)

- a SK: *May I only still something to that add. The Austrians, and **that** have*
 b *you after all earlier in third place mentioned **I have** exactly listened, and*
 c *applies also very much. The Austrians want a Mister President,*
 d *a Madam President, to touch. One that like, tangible*
 e *is, not detached somewhere up **there** nebulously floats around,*
 f *maybe in **some** matters of law, excellently **himself** is knowi- they*
 g ***want also something** to, for example Jonas. He was **a** person to touch,*
 h ***yes?** a president to touch.*
 i FM: ***I don't know whom I to touch want***
 j FS: ***@@that*** is always relative ***yes***
 k FM: *of the candidates*
 l SK: *No touching **means**, a person, with **where one** him understands, who the*
 m *language of the people also speaks, **that** is after all believe **I** important.*

¹⁹⁵ Notice that there is an additional three-word dialect stretch in SK’s talk (line g), which I discuss further below in 5.5 as example (9).





Notice that FM's interjection in line i is in fact held entirely in the dialect, with every single word showing a salient feature. He produces six input-switches, namely two instances of [iç] ↔ [i:] ('I'); one [aɐ] ↔ [a:] switch in *waß* (vs. std. *weiß* – 'know'); one [niçd] ↔ [ne:d] switch ('not'); one [a] ↔ [ɔ] switch in *ongreifen* (vs. std. *angreifen* – 'to touch'); and one [œ] ↔ [ɛ] switch in *mecht* (vs. std. *möcht(e)* – 'want'). In addition, FM uses the dative relative pronoun (*wem* – 'whom') with the transitive verb *angreifen* ('to touch'), which the dialect allows but which is incorrect in the standard, which requires the accusative (*wen*).¹⁹⁶

The overall effect FM creates with his interjection move is a 'rekeying' (Goffman 1974) of the notion of a 'tangible' president from serious to ironic, and thus ultimately a ridiculing of SK. FM sets up the irony by picking up SK's insistence on the word 'touch' and supposedly taking it literally in application to his own self. Similar, then, to the dialect usage in the context of constructed dialogue, the irony is strongly enhanced by the salient use of dialect. Taken together with the non-serious, ironic cast of the content of FM's utterance, the dialect is bound to activate dialect stereotypes such as humorousness, insincerity, coarseness, aggressiveness, and impoliteness for contextualization and interpretation, contributing to the impression that FM is producing a 'joke' (which is also evident in FS's uptake preceded by laughter). This joke effectively reframes SK's preceding utterance as an object of ridicule; thus, it not only creates a non-serious effect, but can also be said to represent an aggression, particularly in light of the fact that SK and FM support opposing presidential candidates in the discussion. In other words, FM is once more using dialect strategically (rhetorically) to embody an antagonistic footing he is taking up towards, in this case, a fellow discussion participant, SK.

Interestingly, then, I found that all eleven one-liners in which multi-word dialect stretches occur (see Table C10 in the appendix) to some degree express a negative, antagonistic meta-message, similar to the one in example (5). But again, ten of the eleven instances were produced by a single participant. So to further investigate whether the usage of dialect in one-liners, particularly for negative effect, constitutes a general pattern rather than an idiosyncrasy, I examined the other seven transcribed episodes for similar examples of one-liners containing a multi-word dialect stretch. (6) below is one such example from the show "Was brachte die Wende" ('What did the change of government bring'). This episode unites the three then-parliamentary presidents in a discussion assessing the progress made since Austria's last major change in government in the year 2000. In the sequence

¹⁹⁶ The passage presented in (5) was another one used in my perception study experiment. Results show that FM's dialect use was indeed highly perceptible to the informants: his utterance had an average underlining score of 28.4 or 67.6%, with *waß* ('know') receiving the highest score of the set at 37 out of 42 underlinings or 88%.





presented below, first parliamentary president AK from the People's Party (ÖVP) and second parliamentary president HF from the Social Democratic Party (SPÖ)¹⁹⁷ are arguing about whether or not parliamentary presidents should actively engage in everyday political ideologizing (and sparring) or rather take an objective referee stance. HF had originally mentioned that he had had qualms about accepting the invitation to participate in *Offen gesagt*, because he believed the parliamentary presidents should abstain from engaging in potentially heated and polemic debate of party politics. AK is now picking up HF's earlier argumentation to point out that his fear was unjustified as the three of them were well capable of having an orderly, civilized discussion (as before, dialect words are shown in bold and the multi-word dialect stretch is highlighted in grey):

- (6) a AK: [...] Ich möchte nur, Herr Präsident F., **i** glaub dass das eine gute
b Diskussion zwischen drei Präsidenten is wo niemand den anderen
c persönlich oder so, attackiert hat, oiso das hab ich
d [so irgendwie-]
e HF: **[no des] föhlat grod** noch!
f AK: Ja natürlich weil Sie gesagt haben Sie überlegen sich ob Sie hier
g her kommen, weil wir attackieren uns in der Regel nicht [...]

(English gloss:)

- a AK: [...] *I want only, Mr. President F., **I** think that this a good*
b *discussion between three presidents is where no one the other*
c *personally, or so, attacked has, so that have I*
d *[so somehow-]*
e HF: **[Well that] would be all that's missing!**
f AK: *Yes of course because you said have you were thinking whether you here*
g *should come because we attack each other normally not [...]*

HF's one-line interjection in line e, an ironic comment that it is the very least that could be expected in a discussion among the parliamentary presidents, that there would be no personal attacks, is held almost entirely in the dialect:¹⁹⁸ He produces an [a] ↔ [ɔ] input-switch in *no* (vs. std. *na* – 'well'); a [ɔ] ↔ [ɛ:s] switch ('that'), and an input-switch as well as a *ge*-reduction in *grod* (vs. std. *gerade* – 'just'). But the most salient feature in his sequence

¹⁹⁷ Note that HF was in fact one of the candidates whose campaign for the federal presidency was discussed in the show "Wer soll in die Hofburg" ('Who belongs in the presidential palace'); he was later elected.

¹⁹⁸ Note that I used a different passage from HF's talk in my dialect perception experiment (excerpt #5); HF's performance there received the third highest standardness score (3.75), which illustrates the fact that throughout the episode his dialect use is rather moderate.





concerns the verb, where he uses the noticeably dialectal subjunctive form *föhlat* (vs. std. *fehlte* or *würde fehlen* – ‘would be missing’).¹⁹⁹

Similar to FM’s one-liner in (5), HF’s dialect use enhances the expression of a non-sincere (ironic) and confrontational alignment with AK, by activating negative stereotypes attaching to Austrian dialect use, which are highlighted by the content of HF’s remark. His one-liner even has aspects of a set phrase, as similarly worded comments are frequently interjected in Austrian interaction to tell an opponent that he should not get any uncalled-for ‘crazy’ ideas. Thus, HF provides another example of an ironic (but not as ‘joke-y’ as FM’s) re-keying of a previous speaker’s statement; in this case, the re-keying effectively distances HF from AK’s ‘ridiculous’ idea that personal attacks could occur among parliamentary presidents. The ensuing turn by AK evidences that HF’s keying and footing are in fact taken up in terms of such a distancing move and even as a challenge: AK points out that it was HF himself who had had reservations about joining in the discussion for fear of mutual attacks. Once again, the communicative outcome of the sequence is an antagonistic alignment between the participants involved.

In order to find further evidence, then, for the hypothesis that one-liners, and particularly ones with a negative, antagonistic cast, constitute a second preferred locus of dialect use in addition to constructed dialogue, I undertook another quantification across all eight transcribed episodes. Based on the characteristics found in the “Hofburg” episode, I defined one-liners as all those speaker turns that (1) consist of no more than 12 words in a row; (2) constitute a grammatically complete sentence (which eliminates back-channel cues, fragments, one-word repetitions, and joint completions); (3) are not an immediate continuation of a previous turn by the same speaker, or an opening of a following one; and (4) are not talk-eliciting questions by the TV show host. As a result, I picked out a total of 525 one-liners from the transcribed episodes. Table 14 below provides an overview, including word counts and dialect percentages of the one-liner turns for each episode:

¹⁹⁹ Note that the dialectal realization of the vowel in the first syllable ([œ]) is affected by the following [l] in a process related to *l*-vocalization (see e.g. Scheutz 1985 for details).





Episode name	N of one-liners	Total N of words in one-liners	N of dialectal words in one-liners	Dialect % of one-liners	Dialect % of non-o.-l. passages
“Wer soll in die Hofburg” <i>Who belongs in the presidential palace</i>	84	579	116	20%	5.4%
“Sprengstoff für das Heer” <i>Dynamite for the army</i>	53	325	73	22.5%	8.1%
“Was brachte die Wende” <i>What did the change of government bring</i>	36	217	38	17.5%	10.5%
“Mächtige Pensionisten, ohnmächtige Jugend” <i>Powerful retirees, powerless youth</i>	45	290	19	6.6%	4.2%
“Landeshauptleute in Bedrängnis” <i>Governors under pressure</i>	76	686	131	19.1%	9.4%
“Der Endspurt im Rennen um die Hofburg” <i>End spurt in the race to the presidential palace</i>	78	527	74	14.4%	7.2%
“Sind Politiker bei uns unten durch?” <i>Are we through with politicians?</i>	75	446	86	19.3%	8.9%
“Farbwechsel auf der Regierungsbank” <i>Change of color in the government</i>	78	542	110	20.3%	8.1%
Total	525	3,612	647		
Average				17.9%	7.7%

Table 14: Number of one-liners for each of the eight transcribed *Offen gesagt* episodes, including word count and percentages of dialectal words

As Table 14 shows, the average dialect rate for one-liners is 17.9% (647 out of 3,612 words), while the average rate for discourse outside of the one-liners is only 7.7% (7,292 out of 94,444 words).²⁰⁰ All individual episodes exhibit a higher dialect rate in the one-liners than in the remaining text. To explore whether the difference in the dialect rate between one-liners and the remaining text is statistically significant, I once more conducted a

²⁰⁰ Of course, the case is even clearer upon taking both constructed dialogue and one-liners into account simultaneously, which overlap in only 8 words (of which 4 contain dialect features). A respective calculation shows that the remaining ‘other’ discourse from the eight episodes has an adjusted average mean dialect rate of 7.6%, compared with the 12.1% of constructed dialogue and 17.9% of the one-liners.





paired-samples T-Test comparing the mean dialect rates using SPSS. The results show that the difference is indeed statistically significant ($p = 0.000$).

To furthermore investigate whether in one-liners, too, negative meta-messages correlate with heightened dialect use, just like in constructed dialogue, I then picked out those one-liner passages for which there was evidence in content and/or uptake that they expressed a participant's negative footing towards the comment's referent (usually the previous speaker), similar to the examples I presented in (5) and (6) above. As it turned out, for the majority of one-liners (69.3% or $N = 364$ out of 525) there was some discursal evidence to be found that they established a negative participant footing. Another paired-samples T-Test comparing the mean dialect rate of the 'negative' one-liners (22%) with the mean dialect rate of the 'non-negative' ones (9.1%) showed that the dialect rates were indeed significantly different ($p = 0.003$).

Overall then, it appears that the use of dialect in one-liners that establish a negative footing between participants is not merely an idiosyncrasy of participant FM; rather, results from a quantitative investigation indicate that this pattern holds across all eight episodes of *Offen gesagt* which I have transcribed. Based on this finding, I argue that the use of dialect in one-line interjections that negatively qualify a referent/previous speaker's turn is generalizable as another common rhetorical strategy deployed by speakers of Austrian German.

5.4. Dialect use expressing heightened emotion

The two patterns I have just discussed, dialect use in constructed dialogue and in one-liners, constitute the clearest and most consistent ones found in my analysis of the 43 multi-word dialect stretches in the "Hofburg" episode. As another point, however, it appears worthwhile to also consider the data passage that encompasses the most dialect stretches within a *single* turn of talk, namely a full four in just three lines of transcript.

In the respective passage, presented in (7) below, the topic is once more the political (in)dependence of the president, this time in connection with everyday interior affairs. MG's turn in lines a–d actually harks back to an earlier sequence in which it was intimated that her candidate might have too close ties with the chancellor and the government to be able to assume a truly objective, balancing role in interior politics. MG is now trying to turn the tables and suggest that the opposing candidate, having been Socialist Party chairman for a long time, is none the fitter for the job (FM's multi-word dialect stretches are again highlighted in grey; dialect features are shown in bold print):





- (7) a MG: Und es is außerdem noch, wie **ma** da gehört ham eine
b Überparteilichkeit gefordert, und dann is das Nonplusultra jemand
c der dreißig Jahre, SPÖ Partei ah Vorsitzenderstövertreter is? **Des** iss
d donn?
e FM: Die Frau Minister is **jo a** ÖVP Mitglied, oder **net**?
f MG: Mitglied, aber ohne Parteifunktion.
g FM: **Och** um Gottes **Wün**, **wann i** Außenminister bin und Mitglied bin
h **hob i** ober **ollerhand** zu reden, oiso, nein, **tuan** Sie's **net**, **tuan** Sie's **net**
i **owi spün gnä** Frau, **tuan** Sie's **net owispün**. **Na**. **San net** immer nur die
j **an** bes und die **ondern** guat.

(English gloss:)

- a MG: *And it is also still, how **we** there heard have a*
b *beyond-party attitude demanded, and then is the ne plus ultra somebody*
c *who thirty years Social Democratic party **vice**-chairman is? **That** is it*
d ***then**?*
e FM: *The Madam Minister is **after all also** People's Party member, or **not**?*
f MG: *Member, but without a party function.*
g FM: ***Oh** for God's **sake**, **when I** Foreign Minister am and member am*
h ***have I but a whole lot** to say, so, no, **do** you it **not**, **do** you it **not***
i ***downplay dear** lady, **do** you it **not downplay**. **No**. **Are not** always just the*
j ***ones bad** and the **others good**.*

I believe it would not be overstating the case to say that in g–j, FM is flying off the handle in response to what MG has just said, in terms of the Foreign Minister being a simple party member rather than holding an important party office, unlike her opposing candidate (whom FM supports), with the implication that this particularly qualifies her for becoming an ‘objective’, politically independent federal president. In the above sequence, FM actually produces a total of 26 dialect features, of which 19 are input-switches: 5 [a] ↔ [ɔ] switches (*och* vs. std. *ach* – ‘oh’, line g; *hob* vs. std. *hab* – ‘have’, line h; *ober* vs. std. *aber* – ‘but’, line h; *ollerhand* vs. std. *allerhand* – ‘a whole lot’, line h; *ondern* vs. std. *andern* – ‘others’, line j); 2 [iç] ↔ [i:] (‘I’) switches (lines g and h); 4 [niçɔ] ↔ [nɛ:ɔ] (‘not’) switches (lines h and i); 4 [u:] ↔ [ʊɐ] switches in *tuan* (vs. std. *tun* – ‘do’, two instances in line h and one in i; note that *tun*-periphrasis is in and of itself dialectal) and in *guat* (vs. std. *gut* – ‘good’, line j); 2 [æ] ↔ [a:] switches, in *Na* (vs. std. *nein* – ‘no’, line i) and in *an* (vs. std. *einen* – ‘ones’, line j); 1 [sɪŋɔ] ↔ [san] (‘are’) switch (line i); and 1 [œ] ↔ [ɛ] switch in *bes* (vs. std. *böse* – ‘bad’, line j). In addition, FM produces three *l*-vocalizations in *Wün* (vs. std. *Willen* – ‘sake’, line g) and (*owi*)*spün* (vs. std. *spielen* – ‘play’, two instances in line i). In the latter (*owispün*), he furthermore uses the dialectal deictic *owi* (vs. std. *hinab*, *herunter* – ‘down’). Further nonstandard forms that occur are the connector *wann* (vs. std. *wenn* – ‘when’, line g), and the reduction of std. *gnädige* to *gnä* (‘dear’, line i).

The overall effect created in this predominantly dialectal sequence is one of an outburst of anger (in German one would say ‘ihm platzt der





Kragen'). And I would in fact argue that the emotionality of this outburst is dramatically highlighted and underscored by the use of dialect. After all, 'emotional' was one of the attributes on which the rating differences between the dialect and standard speakers were greatest in my language attitude experiment (with the dialect speakers scoring much higher – see chapter 4). The same was in fact the case with the items 'natural' and 'honest', where again the dialect speakers scored much higher. Thus, I suggest that FM's dialect use adds a contextualizing effect of 'honest', 'real', 'natural' (just?) emotion – in this case, anger – and gives it an appearance of coming 'straight from the heart', on a very personal level.

In addition, like in previous examples, the negatively flavored context of opposition and antagonism set up via the content of FM's words, i.e. that MG's argument is highly unacceptable, once more is likely to draw in the negative stereotypes commonly associated with Austrian dialect use, namely aggressiveness, coarseness, roughness, impoliteness, unintelligence. All these further enhance the impression of FM's pouring out his anger; but by directly addressing MG with his tirade, the negative stereotypes are also particularly directed at her, and put her, much more than him, in a bad light, in the sense that 'this is the kind of response her comment/she deserves'. This effect is further enhanced by FM's 'down-talking' to and patronizing of MG as if she were a naïve child who has committed a blunder, starting with "Och um Gottes Wün" ('for God's sake', line g), which is an exclamation commonly used with mishaps, and ending with the 'moral' admonition "San net immer nur die an bes und die ondern guat" ('Are not always just the ones bad and the others good' – lines i–j).

It appears tricky to extrapolate a general, quantifiable usage pattern and unit of analysis from this instance of dialect use in the context of heightened emotionality; therefore, I will not attempt to do so. However, to shed at least some further light on the issue, I find it useful to consider some interesting parallels between the passage presented in (7) above and an emotional outburst sequence that occurs in one of the other episodes, "Landeshauptleute in Bedrängnis" ('Governors under pressure'). The participant concerned is GB, who is a central figure in the Social Democratic party (SPÖ), of Upper Austrian origin, and currently the first female governor of the province of Salzburg.²⁰¹ The episode of *Offen gesagt* in which she appears was actually broadcast prior to the 2004 elections in which her party won the control of the Salzburg government and subsequent to which she became governor.

In the first half of this episode, GB exhibits a noticeably low dialect rate of only 6 dialect words in 1,104 words total (0.5%) over 24 turns. This changes drastically about 40 minutes into the episode, in a sequence in which she is responding to what she perceives as unfair accusations by her political opponent, the incumbent governor, regarding dirty campaigning and a lack of

²⁰¹ Source: GB's personal homepage





tangible results in her work. During this sequence of about 1½ minutes, she produces a total of 51 dialect features across just 284 words in three turns, which now corresponds to a sharply increased dialect rate of 18%. (8) below is an excerpt from this passage (dialect features are marked in bold):

- (8) a GB: Lieber [[Herr Landeshauptmann]] i glaub **net** dass die Wählerinnen und
b Wähler, ahm so **blöd san** und so **stöstas** hin dass sie sogn, die SPÖ leistet
c zwar nichts aber wir, finden sie is die bessere Partei. **Des** is i find **des**
d **net** nur kränkend für uns und für mich persönlich sondern eigentlich
e **a** für die Leut die bei Meinungsumfragen gefragt werden, **weu des**
f is eigentlich, **des** wos du aussogst du sogst, keine Leistungsbilanz,
g nur gelächelt und dafür gibts soviel Zuspruch. Das is nicht in Ordnung.

(English gloss:)

- a GB: Dear [[Mr. Governor]] I believe **not** that the voters ((*masc.+fem.*)),
b ahm so **stupid are** and so **present you them** that they **say** the SPÖ achieves
c actually nothing but we, find it is the better party. **That is I find that**
d **not** only insulting for us and for me personally but actually
e **also** for the people who in opinion polls asked are, **because that**
f is actually, **that what** you **state** you **say**, no results,
g only smiled and for that there is so much acclaim. That is not okay.

Thus, GB sharply increases her use of dialect features in connection with a passage in which she is counter-attacking an opponent and expressing her personal reaction to what he has said (e.g. lines c–e: “i find des net nur kränkend für uns und für mich persönlich sondern eigentlich a für die Leut [...]” – ‘I find that not only insulting for us and for me personally but actually also for the people [...]’); and the effect created by this is one of heightened emotionality, taking it personally, and ‘flying off the handle’, very similar to FM’s sequence presented in (7) above. GB’s direct addressing of her opponent (‘Dear Mr. Governor’ – line a) once again also directs the language form she is using at him, suggesting that this is the ‘appropriate’ way to talk to him (i.e. in the ‘lower’ language of dialect). The negative stereotypes such as aggressiveness, brutality, coarseness, and impoliteness, which are likely to be activated in connection with the negative content of this outburst, furthermore create the impression that this is now a real fight (with a hint of a suggestion of an ensuing ‘brawl’ in the air).

As I believe examples (7) and (8) illustrate, then, situations of heightened emotionality, particularly anger, would seem to constitute another possible locus in which dialect is likely to be used as an enhancing rhetorical strategy.





5.5. Positive uses of dialect?

One general finding that has so far come out of my discourse analysis of dialect use in the “Hofburg” episode is that there appears to be a preference for strategically deploying dialect in negatively cast contexts, such as creating antagonistic alignments, ridiculing an opponent, rekeying an utterance in an ironic way, expressing conflict, and/or pouring out anger. In fact, about half of the multi-word dialect stretches in the “Hofburg” episode occur in a ‘negative’ context of antagonism and opposition; and for the remaining ones, I could only detect one pattern in which dialect was tendentially used to positive effect and which showed a consistency and coherence similar to the cases of constructed dialogue and one-liners. This pattern emerges from four instances in which multi-word dialect stretches occur in a discourse context of ‘speaking in the name of the people’. Two of these instances were produced by SK, and two by AT. For illustration, consider again a passage I have already presented in (5) above, and which I reproduce again as (9) below (the second of SK’s instances actually occurs in connection with constructed dialogue – see example 3 above). In this passage, SK is expanding on his idea that a president should remain ‘in touch’ with the average population (SK’s multi-word dialect stretch is highlighted in grey; dialect features are shown in bold print):

- (9) a SK: [...] Die Österreicher wollen auch einen Bundespräsidenten,
 b eine Bundespräsidentin, zum Angreifen. Eine, die quasi, angreifbar
 c is, nicht abgehoben irgendwo **do** oben nebulos äh herumschwimmt,
 d vielleicht in irgendwöchen Gesetzesmaterien, exzellent **si** ausken- die
 e **woin a wos** zum, Beispiel Jonas. Der war **a** Mensch zum Angreifen,
 f **jo?** einen Bundespräsidenten zum Angreifen.

(English gloss:)

- a SK: [...] *The Austrians want a Mister President,*
 b *a Madam President, to touch. One that like, tangible*
 c *is, not detached somewhere up **there** nebulously floats around,*
 d *maybe in **some** matters of law, excellently **himself** is knowi- they*
 e ***want also something** to, for example Jonas. He was **a** person to touch,*
 f ***yes?** a president to touch.*

SK’s dialect stretch in line e contains one *l*-vocalization ([vœn] vs. std. [ˈvœlən] – ‘want’) and two input-switches ([aux] ↔ [a:] ‘also’; [a] ↔ [ɔ] in [vɔs] vs. std. [vas] – ‘something’). Now, it appears that, contrary to the majority of the previous examples, the dialect use here does not serve the enhancement of any antagonistic rhetorical effect. Rather, I suggest that an explanation for its occurrence lies in the fact that SK is here speaking ‘for the people’, expounding ‘what the people want’ – and doing so in the ‘people’s language’ (dialect). After all, another result from my language attitude experiment was that dialect sounds more ‘natural’ to Austrians, and that it





is the way the ‘Average Joe’ talks.²⁰² So these, too, are stereotypes that contextualize dialect use, particularly when the negative associations are not explicitly highlighted so that the positive ones such as naturalness but also honesty and likeability may come to the fore. Such contextualization, then, can create a rhetoric effect of speaking in the *voice* of the people, or, simply put, gives a political opinion an appearance of ‘street cred’.

Because of the low occurrence rate of this pattern and concomitant difficulties in establishing a quantifiable unit of analysis, I am not exploring the issue further here, although overall it appears to be another plausible pattern for dialect use to rhetorical effect. I return to a discussion of the positive and negative polarity of rhetorical dialect use below, in a summary and discussion of my findings.

5.6. Summary and discussion

In this chapter, I have presented a discourse analytic investigation of the use of dialect in the Austrian TV discussion show *Offen gesagt*. Out of eight transcribed episodes of the show, I analyzed one particular one – “Wer soll in die Hofburg” (‘Who belongs in the presidential palace’) – in some detail in this regard. I began my analysis by identifying all those stretches in the episode that consisted of three or more dialectal words in a row, reasoning that a shift into dialect is more likely to be intentional if it is kept up for this long. The features I picked out were those that were highly underlined as dialectal by the informants in my dialect perception experiment (see chapter 3). The result of this process was a list of 43 multi-word dialect stretches, which I then described and classified in terms of the discourse context in which they occurred. This led me to find two distinct patterns – seven of the stretches were produced within a sequence of reported speech or ‘constructed dialogue’ (Tannen 1989), and eleven within interjections of short speaker turns (‘one-liners’).

Subsequent closer analysis of the stretches occurring within constructed dialogue showed that most of them (six out of seven) were used in a negative context in which the dialect enhanced antagonistic meta-messages such as disagreement and oppositional footing between the quoter and the quoted content/speaker. I thus found dialect to be deployed for the projection of an ‘internal evaluation’ (Labov & Waletzky 1967) of the quoted utterance: negative stereotypes attaching to dialect use, such as unintelligence, low education, coarseness, aggressiveness, and impoliteness (as elicited in my language attitude experiment – see chapter 4), were brought to reflect on the supposed author/principal of the quote, positioning him/her as well as the quote itself as objects of contempt and/or ridicule. This ‘harmonic’ interplay between the sociocultural meanings (attitudes, stereo-

²⁰² See in particular the responses to the open questions, as discussed in 4.4.3.





types) associated with Austrian dialect and the rhetorical use to which the variety is put in conversational discourse now provides substantial interactive evidence for my earlier claim that the relationship between language attitudes and language use constitutes a Bakhtinian 'dialogue.'

In order to determine whether such a 'negative constructed dialogue' pattern would bear generalization across my whole body of data, I then extracted all constructed dialogue sequences ('voicing zones' – Agha 2005) from the full set of eight transcripts of *Offen gesagt* episodes. I subsequently separated them into negative and 'other' (non-negative) sequences, and conducted statistical tests to see whether the rate of dialect words in either set would differ significantly, which in fact it did, in the sense that it was higher in negative contexts. This provides quantitative support for my postulation that 'negative' constructed dialogue, in which the quoter sets up an antagonistic footing towards the quoted content and/or the quote's supposed author, is a preferred discourse slot for the rhetorical use of Austrian dialect in otherwise standard-dominated talk.

I then proceeded to a description of the second pattern I had identified: dialect use in 'one-liners', which occurred in eleven instances, of which ten were, however, produced by a single discussion participant (contrary to the use in constructed dialogue, which was much more evenly distributed across participants). There, too, I found evidence that dialect is employed strategically, for example to enhance the effect of establishing an antagonistic footing with another participant. In order to investigate whether or not this usage pattern is idiosyncratic, I then picked out all instances of one-liners from my eight transcripts. Subsequent statistical comparison of the dialect rate of one-liners with that of the remaining discourse showed that one-liners indeed had a significantly higher occurrence overall. Further, short turns with a negative, antagonistic cast exhibit a significantly higher dialect rate than those that are more positive (or at least not overtly negative). On a more general level, this suggests that dialect is also routinely used in one-line interjections to enhance a negative footing towards a referent (previous speaker).

As a next point in my analysis of multi-word dialect stretches, I focused on the passage of talk that contained the most such stretches within one speaker turn. This turn represented in fact an emotional outburst by one of the participants, and dialect was shown to contribute to the overall effect created of 'natural' and 'honest' emotionality and anger, and of patronizing another participant. Although there was no clear basis for quantification in this case, parallels between this instance and another one from a different episode, in which a participant sharply increased her dialect rate in the context of an emotional response, suggest that this, too, might constitute a routine site for rhetorical dialect use in interaction.

One general finding coming out of my discourse analysis of dialect use this far was that there appeared to be a preference for strategically deploying dialect in negative contexts, such as creating antagonistic alignments,





ridiculing an opponent, rekeying an utterance in an ironic way, expressing conflict, and/or pouring out anger. In fact, I could only find one coherent pattern of more positive dialect use in my list of multi-word dialect stretches – one that concerns four instances in which a participant projects that s/he is ‘speaking for the (average) people’. Voicing the ‘people’s opinion’ in the language of the people (dialect) appears to tap into more positive associations with dialect use, such as its naturalness, but probably also its perceived honesty and likeability.

However, about half of the multi-word dialect stretches from the episode I analyzed in detail occur in a negatively cast interactional context. And in fact, an overall impressionistic overview of all eight transcribed episodes shows that it is indeed very difficult to find any clear and unambiguous examples of multi-word dialect stretches in which dialect is used to any clear positive effect at all.²⁰³

Arguably, this outcome is at least in part a function of the situational frame from which I draw the discourse data I have analyzed. First, as I have pointed out in my description of the contextual parameters of the TV show *Offen gesagt* (see chapter 1), the expected language variety to be used on the show (and on Austrian public TV in general) is the standard. It is therefore imaginable that *any* use of dialect is prone to being heard in a negative way, due to its subverting of expectations, and that in consequence the discussion participants avoid positive uses of dialect so as not to go ‘against the grain’ and be misinterpreted. More plausibly still, it seems that the very activity the participants are engaging in during the show – arguing what are usually controversial and opposing viewpoints – necessarily occasions much establishment of negative footings between opponents;²⁰⁴ and dialect is simply a handy rhetorical tool to this end, because it so readily calls up negative associations, as the results from my language attitude experiment presented in chapter 4 have vividly demonstrated.

I would expect that in other situations and in connection with differently cast activities dialect would be put to more positive uses – particularly in familiar and intimate contexts, where dialect is the expected and preferred variety, judging by the informants’ responses to my respective ques-

²⁰³ The most notable one I could find in all 34 episodes of *Offen gesagt* recorded for this study occurred in an episode on school reform, in which a former school official uses dialect in launching an appeal to put the common good above party ideology when undertaking reform. Specifically, he is phrasing this appeal in the form of a catch-phrase-like sound bite (‘Let’s forget about terminology, let’s just do it!’). Contextualizing his slogan with dialect gives it an extra quality of a personal, honest, straight-shooting, straight from the heart, natural and emotionally moving appeal to common sense in this particular sequence.

²⁰⁴ See e.g. Tannen (1998) on ritualistic argument; but see Straehle (1997) for a discussion of ritualistic opposition as a conversational involvement strategy used by German speakers to create rapport.





tion on the attitude survey ('Are there situations in which the use of a standard speech style seems inappropriate to you?'). Further research in this direction could clarify this point. But for now, I note that in a public speaking context such as the one from which my data are drawn, the 'language of the people', Austrian dialect, which is spoken every day in almost any circumstance by the vast majority of the population (see chapter 2), is predominantly harnessed for negatively polarized interactional work, adding another facet to the ambivalent relationship between Austrians and their language use. This finding should not be underestimated in its implications: if we subscribe to the constructionist notion that social life and structure (identities, relationships, the self, social groups, culture, etc.) are emergent – constructed and re-constructed – in human interaction (see my discussion in chapter 1), it follows that strategic *negative* use of dialect in publicized interaction as I have described it here in turn *reconstructs* and thus ultimately propagates, validates, and 'highlights' the negative stereotypes attaching to dialect, 'erasing' the more positive ones; a fact which also projects concomitant negative effects for dialect *speakers*.²⁰⁵ Again, additional research, including for example a detailed 'content analysis' of public (e.g. media) and private discourses, i.e. an analysis of how instances of discourse represent and treat dialect and standard and their speakers, could illuminate how widespread and consistent such highlighting and erasure processes are in Austrian society, as well as tracing their consequences 'on the ground' (see e.g. de Cillia 1997; de Cillia & Wodak 2006; Muhr et al. 1995; Muhr & Sellner 2006; Pollak 1979, 1992; Steinegger 1998; Wodak et al. 1998; Wiesinger 2006 for some aspects of such a content analysis).

As a last point, an assessment and placement of my findings within the broader framework of speaker design approaches to sociolinguistic variation (e.g. Coupland 2001a,b, 2007 a,b; Schilling-Estes 1998, 2002, 2004) is now warranted, taking me back to the discussion at the outset of this study (chapter 1). I believe my case study constitutes another forceful demonstration of the analytic and explanatory power of the speaker design perspective: a more traditional variationist approach predicated on establishing mere correlational relationships between social variables (regional provenance, social class, etc.) and linguistic variables would have been unable to grasp the central role rhetorical creativity and interactional dynamics have been shown to play for language production in the concrete, local moments of talk described here. Indeed, my study further supports the idea that the use of linguistic styles in interaction is inherently 'metaphorical' (see

²⁰⁵ Bucholtz and Hall (2004: 495) use the term 'highlighting', which they appropriate from Goodwin (1994), to describe "any semiotic act that brings to salience some aspect of the social situation". They conceive of 'highlighting' as a converse of Irvine and Gal's (2000) notion of 'erasure' or the simplification process by which attending to one dimension of social meaning renders other meanings invisible (see also Irvine 2001).





Gumperz 1982), in the sense that my analysis clearly indicates dialect to function as a ‘second order indexical’ (Johnstone & Kiesling 2008; Silverstein 2003) that draws the social meanings (stereotypes) commonly associated with it into conversational inference and interpretation.²⁰⁶

My study furthermore adds to the body of speaker design research an original set of data in which dialect use for ‘*other-positioning*’ (the attributing of a position to another person) is explicitly foregrounded vis-à-vis dialect use for *self-positioning* and *self-presentation* (although self- and other-positioning are of course necessarily intertwined and co-constitutive; see Davies & Harré 1990; van Langenhove & Harré 1999). Both in data excerpts containing constructed dialogue and one-liners, as quoted above, dialect was harnessed in antagonistic moves that negatively positioned an opponent (target) and his/her viewpoint as an object for contempt (examples 1 and 4) or ridicule (examples 2, 5, and 6). Such data passages stand testimony to the truly *interactive* and *interpersonal* nature of conversational meaning-making as propagated under social constructivism. And I believe my analysis of these very passages has further demonstrated that the integration of speaker design approaches from a variationist (dialectological) vantage point with the perspective and methodological tools of interactional sociolinguistics, a path opened up notably in the work of Coupland and Schilling-Estes, is indeed a fruitful avenue for the exegesis of strategic language use, as such a multifaceted approach is elegantly able to uncover and describe the “microdynamics of indexicality” (Mendoza-Denton 2002: 489) involved.

²⁰⁶ In application of Silverstein’s (2003) modeling of indexicality, Johnstone and Kiesling (2008: 10) define ‘first-order indexicality’ as “the kind of correlation between a form and a socio-demographic identity or pragmatic function that an outsider could observe”. ‘Second order indexicality’ then occurs “when people begin to use first-order correlations to do social work” (ibid.). In the present context, ‘first order indexicality’ applies when a speaker is identified ‘simply’ as having a (Bavarian-Austrian) dialect background, while ‘second order indexicality’ describes the process by which (Bavarian-Austrian) dialect evokes not only a region or background but also the sociolinguistic stereotypes commonly associated with its speakers (such as naturalness, emotionality, coarseness, etc.).







6. CONCLUSION

“Irgendwie is ma des vorkuma so wie owischoassln” (‘Somehow it seemed to me like a put-down’) one of my dialect perception experiment informants remarked in a debriefing interview, using a typically Upper Austrian rural dialect term (“owischoassln”) to describe the impression she had received from listening to AT’s dialect use in his constructed dialogue sequence (analyzed as example 1 of chapter 5). Indeed, in at least half of the groups I conducted the experiment with, informants mentioned that they had felt that some of the speakers in the excerpts were using dialect on purpose in order to express some sort of negative attitude towards another person. With this, they were independently confirming the very observations that had led me to take on this study, as well as the ones that I take from it now.

In this study, then, I have explored the contextualization mechanisms by which speakers of Austrian German strategically draw commonly shared social meanings associated with Austrian dialect use into the locally situated meaning-making and –negotiating process of conversational interaction. I started out by situating my study within the more and more closely related theoretical frameworks of speaker design approaches to sociolinguistic variation and the discourse analytic study of interaction, particularly in the American tradition (chapter 1). I then proceeded to outline two main methodological issues to be addressed with my study, charting strategic language use and establishing the perceptual basis of a stylistic ‘system of distinctiveness’. Subsequently, I proposed my own method of approaching these issues, by focusing on the analysis of a high performance event (episodes from an Austrian TV discussion show), and integrating the results from two perception experiments into my exegesis. Next, I introduced the macro-sociolinguistic setting of my study in an overview of language use in Austria (chapter 2). Following this, I presented three sets of data and analysis, the first a dialect perception experiment (chapter 3), the second a language attitude experiment (chapter 4), and the third a discourse analysis of conversational data (chapter 5).

For the dialect perception experiment, I asked native speakers of Austrian German to listen to samples of natural speech from the TV show *Offen gesagt* and to indicate where they perceived dialectal speech, as opposed to standard, to occur, by underlining relevant stretches of talk in a (standard) transcript. The results showed that dialectal input-switches as well as the application of processes of *l*-vocalization and *ge*-reduction, which previous literature has suggested to be features that are readily perceived as dialectal, are indeed good diagnostics for the identification of Austrian dialect/non-standard speech, as evidenced in the informants’ responses, as were morphosyntactic features such as for example *tun*-periphrasis or *e*-apocope, and dialectal/non-standard lexical items.





However, about 20% of the tokens that had been highly underlined by the informants in the experiment could not be accounted for with commonly listed features of Austrian dialect such as the above. Based on the notion that the informants processed the speech samples in chunks rather than token-by-token, as evidenced in the fact that the majority of unaccounted-for tokens occurred in juxtaposition with or in the same constituent or phrase as tokens that showed distinct dialect features, I subsequently explored syntactic constituency and prosody as possible explanations for the remaining data. Neither of these showed conclusive results, so that the most likely explanation for the unaccounted-for tokens remains their immediate juxtaposition to clearly dialectal words.

I closed the chapter with a discussion of some of the methodological limitations of my experiment. These include the fact that a very apparent orientation of the informants towards the writing language norm ('Schriftsprache') in their judgment of standard vs. dialectal speech, while explicable by past research, could also have been an artifact of the experimental set-up, i.e. a function of the task of having to underline stretches of talk in a written transcript. A further limitation lay in unexplored potential ordering effects in the experiment. I also found that using underlining as a method of recording answers made it at times difficult to decide whether an informant had meant to mark a token or not. The use of natural speech data for evaluation was another potential source of complexities, as some of the informants found it difficult to complete the task at the speech rate of the recordings. Overall, I suggest that further experimental testing and modification of my methodology would provide valuable insight into any and all of these issues. In particular, using a different response scheme for the task could control informants' orientation towards the writing norm, for example by not providing a transcript but rather having informants write down the dialectal words they perceive (though I expect that the speech rate in the samples would have to be slowed to this end). Further, a potential ordering effect could be anticipated by mixing up the speech samples across different informant groups. It would also be interesting to see whether a difference in outcome would be generated by asking informants to underline 'standard' speech in the same samples (as opposed to dialectal/non-standard speech as I did). Lastly, an expanded experimental set-up could pick out those words that were underlined but do not show clear dialect features, and play them back to the informants in isolation, to further explore any (suprasegmental?) reasons for which they were marked as dialectal.

Subsequent to the dialect perception experiment, I presented a language attitude experiment investigating the social meanings and stereotypes Austrian natives associate with dialectal and standard language use (chapter 4). The core of this study was a speaker evaluation experiment in which 242 Austrian informants rated four different Austrian speakers (two standard speakers, two dialect speakers, one male and one female each) on 5-point





bipolar semantic differential scales containing 22 adjective items. Further, the informants responded to a set of open questions, assessing each speaker's typical audience and where they believed the speakers to be from, and providing general comments on standard and dialectal language use.

The results showed that the dialect speakers were perceived as more natural, honest, emotional, relaxed, and likeable than their standard speaking peers, as well as having a better sense of humor. Yet they were also judged to sound more aggressive. By contrast, the standard speakers were perceived as more polite, intelligent, educated, gentle, serious, and refined, but also sounding more arrogant. The results furthermore suggest that standard speakers could be regarded as tendentially more competent, more industrious, cleverer, but also stricter than dialect speakers, although the outcomes were not as conclusive in these respects.

The dialectal speakers' overall mean scores were shown to correlate very strongly, which indicates the stereotyping of dialect speakers in general to be quite consistent and suggests that the outcomes of this investigation are robust and generalizable. But despite the fact that the dialectal speakers' ratings were usually close together, the female dialectal speaker was consistently rated less favorably than her male counterpart, which suggests a gender effect by which using dialect comes at a higher cost for females than for males, and by which conversely dialect use can generate more benefits for a male speaker than for a female.

Further outcomes from the informants' answers to the open questions in the questionnaire showed that the dialect's domain is the private, among family and friends, and its territory is the rural area; the standard's domain is in ritualized and rather formal public functions and public speaking, in academia, and in transnational and international communication (for the sake of comprehensibility).

Suggested modifications of this experiment that might add perspective to my findings could undertake attitude elicitation in differently configured physical and virtual settings, such as in a private circle, and/or proposing the frame of reference of a more person-centered, solidarity-stressing interactional context (e.g. making an argument in a family discussion), with concomitant adaptation of the presented text. Further, using different speakers, or even the same speakers for both standard and dialect guises (as in the classic form of the matched-guise technique), could provide additional clues regarding the robustness of the stereotypes elicited. Lastly, using different accents (e.g. Southern Bavarian-Austrian, Alemannic, German German) would also result in adding interesting, nuanced aspects to the description of culturally shared language attitudes in Austria.

In my last analysis chapter (chapter 5), then, I drew together my findings from the previously presented experiments for the purposes of an interactional sociolinguistic discourse analysis investigating the strategic use of Austrian dialect in conversational data drawn from the TV political discussion show *Offen gesagt*. Out of eight transcribed episodes of the show, I





analyzed one particular one – “Wer soll in die Hofburg” (‘Who belongs in the presidential palace’) – in some detail in this respect. I began by identifying all those stretches in the episode that consisted of three or more dialectal words in a row, compiling a list of 43 such stretches, which I then described and classified in terms of the discourse context in which they occurred. This led me to find distinct patterns under which dialect was notably used in sequences of constructed dialogue and one-liners (interjections of short speaker turns).

Subsequent closer analysis of the stretches occurring within constructed dialogue showed that most of them were used in a negative context, for example to enhance an antagonistic footing between the quoter and the quoted content/speaker. I thus found dialect to be deployed for the projection of an ‘internal evaluation’ of the quoted utterance: negative stereotypes attaching to dialect use were brought to reflect on the supposed author/principal of the quote, positioning him/her as well as the quote itself as objects of contempt and/or ridicule.

Subsequently conducted statistical tests showed that the dialect rate was significantly higher in negatively connoted reported speech than in other types of constructed dialogue, providing evidence for my claim that ‘negative’ constructed dialogue is a preferred discourse slot for the rhetorical use of Austrian dialect in otherwise standard-dominated talk.

My analysis of the second pattern I had identified, dialect use in ‘one-liners’, similarly pointed to a strategic deployment of dialect to enhance antagonistic footings with another participant. Another round of statistical testing found that negatively oriented one-liners indeed had a significantly higher dialect rate than other types of interjections, suggesting such one-liners as a second preferred discourse slot for the strategic deployment of dialect. Subsequent further analysis of the multi-word dialect stretches furthermore suggested a pattern by which dialect is used in emotional outbursts.

Overall, the most salient finding in my discourse analysis was a preference for the rhetorical deployment of dialect in negative contexts, for example to enhance antagonistic alignments, ridicule an opponent, rekey an utterance in an ironic way, express conflict, and/or pour out anger. In fact, I could only find one coherent pattern of dialect use that tapped into more positive stereotypes, namely ‘speaking for the (average) people’, which appears to index associations of naturalness, honesty, and likeability.

I then suggested that this outcome could partly be attributed to the schematic expectations of language use in the contextual frame of the TV show I analyzed, as well as to the nature of the very activity the participants are engaging in during the show (arguing, conflict talk), which quite necessarily occasions much establishment of negative footings between opponents. It appears quite reasonable to assume that in other situations and in connection with differently cast activities (e.g. in connection with intimate talk in a family setting) dialect would be put to more positive uses.





Further research, analyzing discourse data from a variety of contexts, would be needed to illuminate this issue.

Overall, I find that my discourse analysis provides additional evidence for the inherently metaphorical nature of the conversational deployment of styles, and for the fact that Austrian dialect is used as a 'second-order indexical' by native speakers. Further, my data exegesis, particularly regarding strategic, negative 'other-positioning' of opponents, once more underlines the usefulness of integrating interactional sociolinguistic methodology and analysis with current speaker design approaches from a variationist perspective.

More generally, then, I claim that a main contribution of my study lies in its demonstration of how analytic tools and methodologies from various sub-disciplines of sociolinguistic inquiry (dialect perception, language attitude study, interactional sociolinguistics) can be drawn together to create a picture of interactional meaning-making that is in sum bigger than in its parts. Using two perception experiments in my study has helped me to unpack the process of contextualization and to trace it in more detail than it has been traced before, by showing how its constituent parts – differentiation and perception of linguistic cues, activation of contrasting social meanings via these cues, and strategic interactional application of these cues – create a dialogic nexus in situated interaction from which interpretation and meaning emerge, such as changes in footings and keys.

With this analysis, I have also contributed to the study of the function, use, and meaning of Austrian dialect. Here, the interactional sociolinguistic perspective, developed out of an American tradition of sociolinguistic research and discourse analysis, has played little role to date; and societal language attitudes have been similarly under-researched. This, despite the fact that, as I hope to have demonstrated, the sociolinguistic situation in Austria constitutes a rich setting for the study of the interplay of social meanings and language use.

My experimental investigation of the dialect perceptions of Austrian native speakers has furthermore added what I claim to be a promising new instrument to the toolkit of interactional dialect research. Arguably, the study of the strategic use of language varieties in interaction, or of language variation in general, has only just begun to give speech perception the attention it deserves as a vital constituent in meaning-making; by adding an experimental design that is specifically geared towards picking out the 'systems of distinction' of linguistic cues in instances of natural speech, I hope to have contributed to further increasing this interest.

Finally, I propose that my demonstration of how tried-and-tested tools and analytic methods from the social psychological investigation of language attitudes can be harnessed for purposes of linguistic exegesis in an interactional analysis, has the potential to give new impetus, direction, and purpose to the field of language attitude study itself. I believe it is worthwhile to thus attempt to 'rescue' these tools from an apparent theoretical





stagnation and looming obsolescence by integrating them into the ongoing social constructivist discourse, as this can shed new light even on the much-contested attitude-behavior relationship: strategic language use itself, of course, is a form of behavior, and the tracing of the dialogic links between language attitudes and use, as I have done it here, is a form of explicating the attitude-behavior interplay.

Of course, the true test of any analytic method is its replicability across research settings and contexts, as well as its ability to continue to produce insightful results. In that sense, my proposals of directions for future research mainly concern the call to apply my newly compiled analytic toolkit to a variety of sociolinguistic landscapes, to explore its full potential. My call makes particular reference to my dialect perception experiment, for which I have listed a number of methodological issues and variations that would need investigation.

As for the outcomes of my study, further investigation would be desirable specifically regarding the rhetorical use of Austrian dialect in different situational contexts, including non-high performance ones, in order to gain a bigger and more refined picture of the interactional work for which it can be deployed and a more complex understanding of the relationships between social meanings and dialect use. The finding that dialect is so readily harnessed for negatively oriented moves particularly warrants further exploration, as does the interactional navigation of the concomitant tensions between Austrian language use and Austrian identity. Here, my study links directly to research traditions established in the work of Austrian sociolinguists like Wodak and de Cillia.

In sum, then, I hope to have provided here what amounts to a thought-inspiring case study of the strategic use and function of (Austrian) dialect in interaction. To give the last word to Ludwig Wittgenstein, eminent Austrian sociolinguist *honoris causa*,

Wenn wir jedoch irgendetwas, das das Leben des Zeichens
ausmacht, benennen sollten, so würden wir sagen müssen,
daß es sein *Gebrauch* ist.

*But if we had to name anything which is the life of the sign,
we should have to say that it was its use.*

Wittgenstein, 1958.





APPENDICES

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APPENDIX A – AD CHAPTER 3: THE DIALECT PERCEPTION EXPERIMENT

A1: Original transcripts of speech samples used in the experiment

(1) [from the episode “Wer soll in die Hofburg”]

SK: Darf ich nur noch etwas dazu sagen, die Österreicher, und das haben Sie ja früher an dritter Stelle erwähnt, ich hab genau zugehört, und trifft sehr auch zu, die Österreicher wollen auch einen Bundespräsidenten, eine Bundespräsidentin, zum Angreifen. Eine, die quasi angreifbar ist, nicht abgehoben irgendwo da oben nebulos herumschwimmt, vielleicht in irgendwelchen Gesetzesmaterien, exzellent sich auskennt – die wollen auch was zum, Beispiel Jonas. Der war ein Mensch zum Angreifen, ja, einen Bundespräsidenten zum Angreifen

FM: Ich weiß nicht wem ich angreifen möchte

FS: Das ist immer relativ ja

SK: Angreifen heißt, einen Menschen, mit, wo man ihn versteht, der die Sprache des Volkes mitspricht, das ist schon einmal wichtig

AT: Aber das Land ist doch schon voller Lederhosenjogl und jeder zupft die Klampfe und steht vor irgendwelchen Bundesländerfahnen

FFW: Sie haben Sehnsucht nach einem Staatsnotar, der sehr maßvoll

AT: Nein, ich möchte einen Politiker, ich möchte kein Maskottchen, das ich knutsch

MG: Einen Parteipolitiker so wie’s aussieht

AT: Ich möchte keinen Teddybären

(2) [from the episode “Wer soll in die Hofburg”]

FFW: Es ist langsam ein bisschen zu detailliert

AT: Nein, das ist nicht detailliert, das ist sozusagen ein echter Megafettnapf der bis jetzt auch, ich hab ihn auch bis jetzt nicht in ordentlich – also ich hab Vorwurf auch noch nicht ordentlich dargestellt gehört. Da geht’s nämlich um nicht mehr um nicht weniger als dass dort ein paar linke Theaterleute im Zuge dieser Veranstaltung festgenommen wurden, österreichische Staatsbürger und Staatsbürgerinnen, und dass die Frau Aussenminister nichts anderes zu tun hatte als zu sagen, naja, und zwar öffentlich, nachzulesen auf der Homepage des Aussenministeriums, der Text steht fest, naja, das sind keine Guten, gegen die liegt eh sozusagen, gegen die liegen eh sozusagen Anzeigen vor, im Innenministerium, und denen wird schon recht geschehen. Das war ihre Ant- das war ihre Reaktion zum Schutz österreichischer Staatsbürger die im Ausland verhaftet werden, später hat sie sich darauf

FW: Wurde heftig kritisiert

AT: später hat sie sich darauf ausgedet dass es sozusagen dubiose Informationen des Innenministeriums gewesen seien, die ihr da aus dem





ominösen Ekis-Computer zur Verfügung gestellt wurden auch noch, seinerzeit, was ihr sehr viel Ärger mit dem Innenminister auch eingetragen hat, der in diesem Fall zurecht über sie empört war, weil da ist da sind ja nur Anzeigen aber keine Verurteilungen drin, also das war ein echter

MG: Aber fact ist, dass sie geholfen hat

(3) [from the episode “Wer soll in die Hofburg”]

FS: Ich würde ganz gern noch zu dem Bild dem vorher ges- dazu sagen von wegen Kapitän oder Marineminister, ich glaube es geht eher in die Richtung auf den modernen Kreuzfahrtschiffen gibt es einen Chefanimateur für die Unterwasserseniorengymnastik, und das ist eigentlich die Rolle, die dem heutigen Bundespräsidenten meiner Meinung nach eher zusteht, es ist eine Rolle wenn der Präsident von Tadschikistan da ist, der will am Abend in die Oper gehen, will er nicht alleine gehen, da will er dass jemand mitgeht, der verirrt sich sonst womöglich, es gehört die Klagenfurter Holzmesse eröffnet, es gehört die Rieder Zuchtbullenversteigerung eröffnet, also das sind die Aufgaben wo glaube ich den Bundespräsidenten eher die jungen Leute, die nicht mehr ganz so die Ehrfurcht vorm erhabenen Amt haben ihn eher sehen, und gerade die letzte Amtszeit unter Thomas Klestil hat uns ja gezeigt, dass es in die Richtung geht. Dass die politische, konkrete politische Funktion des Bundespräsidenten eigentlich immer geringer wird, und auch von den Leuten gar nicht gewünscht wird.

(4) [from the episode “Was brachte die Wende”]

AR: Können wir irgendwie uns einigen meine Herren, ob wir über die Vergangenheit reden wie Sie wollten, oder ob wir jetzt über Ankündigungen reden, weil wenn wir über, das geht irgendwie nicht zusammen, nein, es geht nicht zusammen, und wir schaffen Beschäftigung und wir haben die höchste Arbeitslosenrate, wobei, Herr Präsident Fischer, ich meine, die Sache mit dem, früher war ein Generaldirektor, wurde dafür gelobt dass er die Arbeitnehmer haltet, das ist schon richtig, nur, Sie wissen genauso, das war die falsche Politik zu lange, und das hat uns, da haben, ich meine, da haben die ÖVP und die FPÖ einfach recht, das hat uns einen Berg Schulden schon geschaffen, erinnern Sie sich an die 80er Jahre.

HF: Die Staatsschuld ist heute um keinen Groschen niedriger als im Jahr 2000

(5) [from the episode “Was brachte die Wende”]

HF: Aber ich glaube schon, äh, dass man argumentieren kann, dass das Prinzip des Konsenses äh in der jetzigen politischen Konstellation aus verschiedenen Gründen weniger groß geschrieben wird als das Prinzip des Konsenses früher groß geschrieben wurde, wenn ich mir die großen





Reformvorhaben, äh, etwa in den 70er Jahren, Strafrechtsreform, Universitätsreform, Volksanwaltschaft, Arbeitsverfassungsgesetz und so weiter anschau, da ist das wirklich gründlich und jahrelang diskutiert worden, da wäre es niemand eingefallen zu sagen speed kills, wir müssen das in wenigen Wochen parlamentarischer Arbeit durchsetzen, ich weiss schon, wenn man wenn man Widerstand erwartet, ist das machen wir es rasch, das ist schmerzloser, irgendwie eine Verlockung, aber ich glaube, dass aus einer länger dauernden Diskussion doch vernünftige Argumente herauskommen können, und dass es kein Zufall war, dass man dann halt das Arbeitsverfassungsgesetz doch einstimmig beschlossen hat und die Volksanwaltschaft doch einstimmig beschlossen hat, und die Strafrechtsreform, das ist halt am Thema Fristenregelung quasi hängengeblieben, aber darüber ist wirklich lange und gründlich diskutiert worden, und wenn ich heute ÖVP Abgeordnete aus dieser Zeit treffe, dann sagen die, wir sind damals zwar überstimmt worden, aber es war wirklich ein interessanter parlamentarischer Prozess.

(6) [from the episode “Was brachte die Wende”]

PP: Und dann an Sie noch die differenzierende Frage, nein tät mich interessieren jeweils was die Herren sagen und an Sie Präsident Prinzhorn die Frage ahm, weil Sie jetzt da gesagt haben alles super alles leiwand, wieso sagen Sie dann jetzt zum Beispiel in der aktuellen Pensionsfrage, unsäglicher Fehler ist da passiert, und sagen auch durchaus bei anderen Interviews, das ist nicht das erste Mal, sondern es ist oft schon zu sehr drübergefahren worden mit einer sozialen, mit zuwenig sozialem Fingerspitzengefühl, also, ganz so bruchlos wie Sie's darstellen kann's ja nicht sein

(7) [from the episode “Mächtige Pensionisten, ohnmächtige Jugend”]

BM: und zu sagen wir schaffen eine Pensionsverfassung, im breitesten Rahmen so wie in der Schweiz, so wie in Schweden, wo 85 wenn nicht 100 Prozent der parlamentarisch vertretenen Parteien dafür sind, gleichgültig, wer gerade in der Regierung und in der Opposition ist, da müssen alle zu dieser Verfassung stehen, und dann tue ich ein paar Experten, Technikern, Programmierern, Technokraten, die, überlassen die Maschine mit Daten zu füttern, im Rahmen dieser Verfassung, und nicht nach Gutsherrenart mich hinzustellen und sagen da hast du dreifünzig stimmt schon, sozusagen quasi Trinkgeld verteilen, aber das Trink- die Trinkgeldverteilermentalität mit den Pensionen, die diskretionären Eingriffe, die Schamlosigkeit, mit der sozusagen Leute, die alle ein Vielfaches an Pensionen haben wie die, deren Pensionen sie verwalten, ununterbrochen sozusagen, willkürliche Eingriffe und zwar sozusagen, eben, Eingriffe, die zeigen dass sie nicht wissen, was sie hier beschlossen haben, das halte ich für sehr sehr problematisch.





(8) [from the episode “Mächtige Pensionisten, ohnmächtige Jugend”]

WM: Es geht aus meiner Sicht nicht an, dass man gerade angesichts der ah Zahlenverhältnisse in der Wahlbevölkerung, ah, sich als Pensionistenvertreter fühlt, wenn man nicht auch eine Verantwortung für die junge Generation artikuliert und hört, und wenn die nur heisst, ihr sollt das gleiche Pensionssystem einmal haben wie wir es haben dann ist das blauäugig mit Verlaub, denn wir können angesichts einer sich wandelnden Bevölkerungspyramide nicht jenes Pensionssystem aufrecht erhalten das heute für die Pensionisten zum Glück existiert. Wer also für die junge Generation Verantwortung zeigt, muss eine Perspektive entwickeln, wie er für die Jungen ein anderes aber auch sicheres Pensionssystem entwickelt, und da greift es, ich muss mich wiederholen, zu kurz zu sagen es darf sich nichts ändern.

KB: Wer sagt denn das?

WM: Das haben Sie gerade vorhin gesagt. Wir wollen, dass sie das gleiche Pensionssystem haben wie wir, das ist denkunmöglich.

KB: Also sie können auf jeden Fall ein sicheres System haben wie wir es vorgefunden haben, und die Änderungen für die bin ich immer eingetreten. Eine der wesentlichsten Änderungen, die es überhaupt gibt, um die Ungerechtigkeiten beseitigen zu wollen, ist die Harmonisierung, eines der wesentlichsten Änderungen ist das Pensionskonto, dass einmal Klarheit geschaffen ist und jeder weiß, was auf worauf er Anspruch hat

WM: Herr Blecha vor über zwanzig Jahren wurde bereits ein Buch geschrieben über Adam Riese schlägt zurück.

(9) [from the episode “Weiter in der Tagesordnung?”]

AW: Was ist denn da passiert ...

JC: Es ist gar nichts passiert, denn die achtunddreißig neununddreißig Prozent hatte der Peter Ambrosy und die SPÖ Kärnten immer schon, das war in etwa der Level den sie hatten, das wissen wir aus den verschiedenen Umfragen, die dort präsent waren, und die FPÖ ist bei zweiunddreißig Prozent herumgegründelt, und je härter und daher stimmt das nicht, dass er Kreide gegessen hat der Jörg Haider, der Jörg Haider hat sich ja permanent kritisch mit der Politik der Bundesregierung auseinandergesetzt, jetzt sagen Sie das hat er nie kritisiert, zu wen soll man Stellung nehmen, hat immer die Politik der Bundesregierung vertreten, sagen Sie einmal leben Sie noch unter uns oder wo sind Sie, er hat bitte nichts anderes getan als in der letzten Zeit und vorher sogar bei der Steuerreform, mit verhandelt, nachher nachbessern, ändern und noch eine Korrektur, und dann ist das genauso gewesen bei der Pensionsgeschichte, mitbeschlossene Pensionskürzung, dann die Differenz auszahlen, und diese Doppelrolle, die er da spielt die tun Sie da jetzt noch sanktionieren, na Sie müssen masochistisch sein, politisch, na das muss ich Ihnen schon sagen, also, Sie müssen politische Masochisten sein, der wird das wenn Sie ihm jetzt auch noch einen Freibrief ausstellen





wird er das weiter machen noch schärfer, noch härter, weil dem ist es egal, dem Jörg Haider, nicht nur wer unter ihm in der FPÖ was zu reden hat, dem ist auch egal wer unter ihm Bundeskanzler ist, und das wird der Wolfgang Schüssel nämlich noch spüren in nächster Zeit.

(10) [from the episode “Sprengstoff für das Heer”]

PPz: Das war eine Stimme aus dem Gestern, das war eine wirkliche Stimme aus dem militärischen Gestern, aus der Vorstellung, als hätte es nie Einigungsprozesse, Kooperationsprozesse gegeben, und müsste jeder Kleinstaat von der wirklich überzeugenden Kleinheit Österreichs eine Vollarmee mit Kampfpanzern und mit Artillerie und mit Luftwaffe und mit verbundenen Waffen, Herr Generalmajor, das war zu Zeiten wo man völlig allein war möglicherweise berechtigt. Inzwischen machen wir ganz was anderes, und ich hab ein gewisses Verständnis, dass Vertreter genau dieser Waffengattungen sagen, es muss wurscht was sich geändert hat alles so bleiben, aber wir machen was anderes, und wir machen Europa hoffe ich als Kommission, ich möchte dem Ergebnis auch nicht vorgereifen, hoffe ich ein Angebot, wir können etwas, in einem Bereich wo uns mit Sicherheit niemand als Trittbrettfahrer bezeichnen wird, wir können aus Territorialstreitkräften überzeugende professionelle Krisenreaktionskräfte machen, aber die werden nicht mit schwerer Artillerie und mit Leopardpanzern

GV: die werden uns auch nicht anfordern in Brüssel, weil das, diese Aufgabe werden die gern

PPz: die interessieren sich nicht, wissen Sie, dass in Brüssel jeder lachen würde, wenn österreichische Militärs anbieten wir hätten doch noch ein paar übriggebliebene Leopardkampfpanser, könntet ihr die nicht irgendwo, die interessiert das nicht.

CSC: Das sagen Sie Herr Abgeordneter, ich sage Ihnen die Realität schaut anders aus

PPz: das wäre sehr freundlich, das wäre sehr freundlich, wenn das einmal zur Kenntnis genommen werden würde, und wir darüber reden könnten was sind wirklich die Zukunftsaufgaben, wir sind ja alle ein ziemliches Stück des Weges gegangen um überhaupt an der Reform teilnehmen zu können, ich hätte das früher alles ziemlich anders gesehen, beschäftige mich aber jetzt auch mit solchen Dingen weil ich es für sinnvoll halte.

(11) [from the episode “Sprengstoff für das Heer”]

HZ: Wenn es aber eine, eine Armee gibt in der der Berufssoldat den zunehmenden, eine zunehmende Bedeutung hat, einen, einen zunehmenden Teil etwa aus einer solchen internation- solcher, solcher Brigaden darstellt, dann muss auch, dann muss auch dafür gesorgt sein, dass der Berufssoldat natürlich, dass der Berufssoldat natürlich, sein Einsatz möglich sein muss, und es ist ja, wenn Sie immer sagen, wenn Sie immer sagen von der Verfassung, natürlich steht in der Verfassung,





wir haben ja die Aufgabe zu sagen was ist, und zu erwarten, dass die Politiker Konsequenzen ziehen und auch die Verfassung dann ändern, es ist nicht aufrechtzuerhalten, wenn jemand den Beruf eines Soldaten wählt, es ist nicht aufrechtzuerhalten, dass wenn dann jedesmal der in einem Interview, Fragen hat, bis fünf Minuten vor dem Einstieg ins Flugzeug, willst du doch oder willst du vielleicht nicht. Das muss man auch für die Zuschauer sagen, ein Lokomotivführer, der den Beruf eines Lokomotivführers ergreift, kann nicht einfach sagen, weil es jetzt Winter ist und es schneit fahr ich auf der Selztalbahnstrecke nicht, weil der, die ist mir zu gefährlich, das geht nicht, wenn ich einen Beruf wähle, wähle ich ihn natürlich mit all den Risiken.

(12) [from the episode “Sprengstoff für das Heer”]

CSC: Militär muss das, was es signalisiert auch durchsetzen können, sonst wird es nicht ernst genommen.

GV: – Gewichte, und als wir in diesen Raum gegangen sind haben wir uns in Belgien und weiß ich wo überall die Splitterwesten kaufen müssen, weil wir zwar sehr viel Geld für Panzer ausgegeben haben, und da bin ich beim Abgeordneten Pilz, und zuwenig auf die Leute auf die Sicherheit der Leute geschaut haben, wir haben zwar, um mit Bruno Kreisky zu reden, der ja die Panzer immer als Kette umschrieben hat, Kettenschützenpanzer, aber wir haben keine Radschützenpanzer die natürlich dort jetzt inzwischen beschaffen wurden, ja jetzt, aber als letztes haben wir sie, also ich glaube schon, es ist überraschend für mich, dass ich da so fast synchron mit dem Abgeordneten Pilz gehe, dass wir da so mindestens auf dem Fuß um einen Takt halt hinten hatschen und dass schon längstens eine Trendwende hätte eingeläutet werden müssen, und wenn ich höre aus Brüssel, dass wir jetzt wiederum Kettenfahrzeuge kaufen, Jaguarschützenpanzer und nicht in eine andere Richtung gehen, dann bin ich schon ein bisschen bei seiner Angst, es könnten, vielleicht nicht du Herr General,

CSC: Wieso hörst du das aus Brüssel

GV: Naja, weil ich mich auch erkundigt habe





A2: Close transcription of the speech samples (using eye-dialect)

(1)

- 1 SK: Darf ich nur, noch etwas dazu: sagen. Die Österreicher, und des hom Sie
2 jə, früher an dritter Stelle erwähnt, i hob genau zugehört, und äh trifft
3 sehr auch zu. Die Österreicher wollen auch einen Bundespräsidenten
4 eine Bundespräsidentin, – zum Angreifen. Eine, – die quasi, – angreifbar is
5 nicht abgehoben irgendwo do oben nebulos herumschwimmt, vielleicht
6 in irgendwölchen Gesetzesmaterien, exzellent si ausken – die woin a wos
7 zum, Beispiel Jonas. Der war a Mensch zum Angreifen, jo? einen einen
8 Bundespräsidenten zum, Angreifen.
9 FM: I waß net, wem i ongreifn mecht
10 FS: @@ des is immer relativ jo
11 SK: Angreifen hasst, einen Menschen, mit, äh wo ma ihn versteht, der der
12 die Sprache des Volkes-
13 [mitspricht, des is schon amoi wichtig]
14 AT: [aber] das Land is doch scho voller Lederhosenjogl und jeder zupft die
15 Klampfe und steht vor irgendwelchen Bundes
16 [länderfahnen]
17 FFW: [Sie haben Sehnsucht]
18 nach einem Staatsnotar. Der sehr massvoll
19 AT: nein, ich möcht an Politiker, i möcht ka
20 Mas[kottchen, des ich knutsch, i möcht kan Teddybären =]
21 MG: [an Parteipolitiker, so wies ausschauf]

(2)

- 1 FFW: Es is:, langsam ein bisschen zu detailliert
2 AT: Na, des is net detailliert, des is sozusogen, des is sozusogen ein echter
3 Megafettnapf der der bis jetzt auch – ich hab ihn auch, bis jetzt nicht in
4 ordentli- oiso i hob den Vorwurf a nu net ordentlich dargestellt gehört.
5 Da geht's nämlich um nicht mehr um nicht weniger als dass dort ein paar
6 linke Theater, leute im Zuge, dieser Veranstaltung festgenommen
7 wurden, österreichische Staatsbürger und Staatsbürgerinnen, und dass
8 die Frau Aussenminister nichts anderes zu tun hatte als zu sagen, najo,
9 und zwar öffentlich, nachzulesen auf der Homepage des
10 Außenministeriums der Text steht fest, najo, des san kane Guatn, gegen
11 die liegt eh, äh sozus-, gegen die liegen eh sozusagen Anzeigen vor, im
12 Innenministerium, und denen wird scho recht gschehn. Das war ihre
13 Ant- das war ihre Reaktion zum Schutz österreichischer Staatsbürger die
14 im Ausland, verhaftet werden,
15 [Später hat sie sich darauf –]
16 FFW: [Wurde heftig kritisiert]
17 AT: später hat sie sich darauf ausgedet dass dəs sozusagen, dubiose
18 Informationen des Innenministeriums gewesen seien, die ihr də aus dem,
19 ominösen Ekis-Computer zur Verfügung gestellt wurden auch noch,





20 seinerzeit, was ihr sehr viel Ärger mit dem Innenminister auch
21 eingetragen hat der in diesem Fall zurecht über sie empört war weil da is
22 da sin ja nur Anzeigen aber keine Verurteilungen drin, also das war ein
23 echter
24 MG: Aber fact ist dass sie geholfen hat

(3)

1 FS: Ich würd ganz gern wos zu dem Bild dem vorher ges – dazu sagen von
2 wegen Kapitän oder Marineminister, ich glaub es geht eher in die
3 Richtung auf den modernen Kreuzfahrtschiffen gibt es einen
4 Chefanimateur für die Unterwasserseniorengymnastik. Und das is
5 eigentlich die Rolle die, dem heutigen Bundespräsidenten meiner
6 Meinung nach eher zuasteht. Es is eine Rolle wenn dā, Präsident von
7 Tadschikistan da is, der will am Obend in die Oper gehn, hhwil er nicht
8 alleine gehen, da will er dass jemand mitgeht, der vairrt si sons
9 womöglich, es gehört die, Klagenfurter Holzmesse eröffnet, es gehört die,
10 Rieder Zuchtbullenversteigerung eröffnet, also das sind, die Aufgaben
11 wo, glaub ich, den Bundespräsidenten, eher die, jungen Leute, die nicht
12 mehr ganz so, die Ehrfurcht vorm, ehAbenen Amt haben ihn eher
13 sehen, und grade die letzte Amtszeit unter Thomas Klestil hat uns ja
14 gezeigt, dass es in die Richtung geht. Dass die, politische, konkrete
15 politische Funktion, des Bundes, präsidenten eigentl:ich immer geringer
16 wird, und auch von den Leuten gar nicht gewünscht wird.

(4)

1 AK: Können wir irgendwie, uns einigen meine Herrn, ob wir über die
2 Vergangenheit reden wie Sie wollten oder ob wir jetzt über
3 Ankündigungen reden, weil wenn wir über, das geht irgendwie nit
4 zsmm, na, es geht nicht zsmm. Und wir schaffen Beschäftigung und
5 wir hom die höchste Arbeitsla – losenrate. Wobei, Herr Präsident
6 Fischer, ich mein, die, Sache mit dem früher woa ein Generaldirektor,
7 wurde dafür gelobt dass er, die Arbeitnehmer haltet. Des is scho richtig,
8 nur, Sie wissen genauso des woa die foische Politik zu, zu lange, und
9 dos hot uns da ham, ich mein do hom die ÖVP und die FPÖ einfach
10 recht, dos hot uns an Berg Schulden, schon, geschaffen.
11 [Erinnern Sie sich an die achziger Johre.]
12 HF: [Die Stotsschuld ist heute um keinen Groschen] niedriger ois im Joa
13 Zweitausend.

(5)

1 HF: Aber. Ich glaube schon, äh, – dass man, argumentieren kann, dass, das
2 Prinzip des Konsenses, – äh, in der jetzigen politischen Konstellation, aus
3 verschiedenen Gründen, weniger groß geschrieben wird als das Prinzip
4 des Konsenses früher groß geschrieben wurde. Wenn ich mir die großen
5 Reformvorhaben, äh, etwa, in den siebziger Joan Strofrechtsreform





6 Universitätsreform Voiksannoitschoft Arbeitsverfassungsgesetz und so
7 weiter anschau, da is des wirklich, gründlich und jahrelang, diskutiert
8 worden, da wär es niemand eingefallen zu sogn speed kills, wir müssen
9 des, in wenigen, Wochen parlamentarischer Arbeit durchsetzen. I weiß
10 schon, – mm wenn man wenn man Widerstand-, erwartet, ist das, moch
11 ma's rosch, des is schmerzlos, irgendwie eine Verlockung. Aber ich
12 glaube dass aus einer, länger dauernden Diskussion, doch vernünftige
13 Argumente herauskommen können und dass es kein Zufall war dass
14 man dann halt däs Arbeitsverfassungsgesetz doch, einstimmig
15 beschlossen hat und die Voiksannoitschoft doch einstimmig
16 beschlossen hat, und die Stroferechtsreform, des is hoit am Thema
17 Fristenregelung quasi hängen geblieben aber darüber ist wirklich lange
18 und gründlich diskutiert worn und wenn ich heute, ÖVP Abgeordnete
19 aus dieser Zeit treffe, dann sogn die, wir sind damals zwar überstimmt
20 worn aber es war wirklich ein intressanter parlamentarischer Prozess.

(6)

1 PP: und dann an Sie noch die differenzierende Frage – na, tät mi intressiern,
2 jeweils was die Herrn sagen und, an Sie Präsident Prinzhorn die Frage,
3 ahm, – weu Sie jetzt do gsogt hom alles super alles leiwond, wieso sogn
4 Sie donn jetzt zum Beispi in der aktuellen Pensionsfrage, unsäglich,
5 Fehler is do passiert und sagen auch, durchaus bei andern Interviews,
6 des is nicht das erste Mal sondern es ist oft schon, zu sehr
7 drübergefahren worden mit einer sozialen, mit zuwenig sozialem
8 Fingerspitzengefühl also, ganz so bruchlos wie Sie's darstellen kann's ja
9 nicht sein.

(7)

1 BM: – und zu sagen, wir schaffen eine Pensionsverfassung, im breitesten
2 Rahmen so wie in der Schweiz, so wie in Schweden, wo fünfunachzig
3 wenn nicht hundert Prozent der parlamentarisch vertretenen Parteien,
4 dafür sind, gleichgültig wer gerade in der Regierung und in der
5 Opposition ist, da müssen alle, zu dieser Verfassung stehen, und dann
6 tue ich ein paar Experten Technikern, Programmierern, Technokraten,
7 die, überlassen die Maschine mit Daten zu füttern im Rahmen dieser
8 Verfassung, und nicht, nach Gutsherrenart mich hinzustellen und sagen
9 da hast dreifuffzig, ah stimmt schon sozusagen quasi Trinkgeld
10 verteilen, aber das Trink- die Trinkgeldverteilmentalität mit den
11 Pensionen die diskretionären Eingriffe, die Schamlosigkeit mit der
12 sozusagen Leute, die alle ein Vielfaches an Pensionen haben wie die,
13 deren Pensionen sie verwalten, ununterbrochen, sozusagen, –
14 willkürliche Eingriffe und zwar sozusagen, eben, – Eingriffe die zeigen
15 dass sie nicht wissen was sie hier beschlossen haben, das halte ich für
16 sehr sehr problematisch.





(8)

- 1 WM: Es, geht aus meiner Sicht nicht an dass man gerade angesichts der äh,
2 Zahlenverhältnisse in der, Wahlbevölkerung, ah, sich als
3 Pensionistenvertreter fühlt, wemman nicht auch eine Verantwortung für
4 die junge Generation artikuliert und hört. Und, wenn die nur heisst, ihr
5 sollts das gleiche Pensionssystem einmal habm wie wir es haben dann is
6 das blauäugig mit Verlaub. Denn, wir, können, angesichts einer sich
7 wandelnden Bevölkerungspyramide, nicht, jenes Pensionssystem
8 aufrechterhalten das heute, für die Pensionisten, zum Glück existiert.
9 Wer also, für die junge Generation Verantwortung zeigt muss, eine
10 Perspektive entwickeln, wie er für die Jungen, ein anderes aber auch
11 sicheres Pensionssystem entwickelt. Und da greift es, ich muss mich
12 wiederholen zu kurz zu sagen es deaf si nix ändern.
- 13 KB: Wer sogt denn des?
- 14 WM: Das haben Sie gerade vorhin gesagt. Wir wollen, dass sie das gleiche
15 Pensionssystem haben wie wir. Das ist, denkunmöglich.
- 16 KB: Also sie können auf jeden Foi ein sicheres System hom wie wir es
17 vorgefunden hoben, und die Änderungen für die bin i immer
18 eingetreten. Eine der wesentlichen Änderungen, die es überhaupt gibt
19 um die Ungerechtigkeiten beseitigen zu wollen, is die Harmonisierung,
20 eines der wesentlichen Änderungen is des Pensionskonto, dass amoi
21 Klarheit geschoffen is und jeder wäß, was auf worauf er Anspruch hat?
- 22 WM: Herr Blecha vor über zwanzig Jahren wurde bereits ein Buch
23 geschrieben über Adam Riese schlägt zurück.

(9)

- 1 JC: Es is goa nix passiert, denn die ochtadreissig neunundreissig Prozent
2 hotte, der Peter Ambrosy und die SPÖ Kärnten immer schon, des woa in
3 etwa der Level den sie hatten des wissma aus den verschiedenen
4 Umfrogn die:, dort präsent woan und die, FPÖ is bei zwaadreissig
5 Prozent herumgegründlt. Und, je, härter und daher stimmt das nicht dass
6 er Kreide gegessen hot der Jörg Haider der Jörg Haider hot si jo
7 permanent kritisch mit der Politik der Bunderegierung
8 auseinandergesetzt, xx jetzt song Sie des hot er nie: kritisiert zu wen soi
9 ma Stellung nehmen, xxx nur die Politik der Bundesregierung vertreten,
10 song si amoi leben Sie no, unter uns oder wo sind Sie, er hot bitte nichts
11 anderes getan, als in der letzten Zeit und vorher sowoi bei der
12 Steuerreform mit verhandelt nochher, nochbessern ändern, und no a
13 Korrektur. Und donn is des genauso gwesen bei der Pensions, gschichte
14 mitbeschlossene Pensionskürzung dann die Differenz auszeun, und diese
15 Doppelrolle die er do spielt die dan Sie do jetzt no sanktioniern na Sie
16 müssen masochistisch sein politisch na des muas i Ihna scho sogn. xx
17 Sie miassn politische Masochisten sein. Der wird des wonn Sie ihm jetzt
18 a nu an Freibrief ausstön wird er des weiter mochn no schärfer no härter.
19 Weil dem is es egal, dem Jörg Haider, net nur wer unter ihm in der FPÖ





20 was zu reden hot dem is auch egal wer unter ihm Bundeskanzler is. Und
21 des wird der Woifgang Schüssel nämli no spürn in nächster Zeit.

(10)

1 PPz: Des war eine Stimme aus dem Gestern, das war eine wirkliche Stimme
2 aus dem militärischen Gestern, aus der Vorstellung als hätte es nie;
3 Einigungsprozesse Kooperationsprozesse gegeben und müsste jeder
4 Kleinstaat von der wirklich, überzeugenden Kleinheit Österreichs eine
5 Vollarmee mit Kampfpanzern und mit Artillerie, und mit Luftwaffe und
6 mit verbundenen Waffen, Herr Generalmajor, des woa, zu Zeiten wo ma
7 völlig allein woa, möglicherweise berechtigt. Inzwischen mochen wir
8 ganz was anderes, und i hob ein gewisses Verständnis dass Vertreter
9 genau dieser Waffengattungen sogn, es muss wuascht was –, sich
10 geändert hot alles so bleiben, aber wir machen was anderes und wir,
11 machen Europa hoffe ich ois Kommission i möcht dem Ergebnis auch
12 net vorgreifen hoffe ich, ein Angebot, wir können etwas, in einem
13 Bereich wo uns mit Sicherheit niemand als Trittbrettfahrer, bezeichnen
14 wird, wir können aus Territorialstreitkräften überzeugende
15 professionelle Krisenreaktionskräfte machen, aber die wern nicht mit
16 schwerer Artillerie
17 [und mit Leopardkampfpanzern]
18 GV: [die wern uns auch nicht anfordern] in Brüssel, weil das,
19 [diese Aufgaben wern die gern xx]
20 PPz: [die interessieren sich nicht, wissen Sie dass in Brüssel jeder] lachen
21 würde, wenn, österreichische Militärs anbieten wir hätten do: nu a poa
22 übriggebliebene Leopardkampfpanzer, könntets de net irgendwo die
23 interessiert das nicht.
24 CSC: Das sagen Sie Herr
25 [Abgeordneter, ich sage Ihnen die Realität] schaut anders aus
26 PPz: [das wäre sehr freundlich,]
27 das wäre sehr freundlich, wenn das einmal zur Kenntnis genommen
28 werden würde und wir, drüber reden könnten was sin wirklich die
29 Zukunftsaufgaben. Wir sin jo olle ein ziemliches Stück @des Weges
30 gangen um überhaupt an der Reform teilnehmen zkönnen. Ich hätt des
31 früher olles ziemlich anders gesehn, ahbeschäftig mich aber jetzt auch
32 mit solchen Dingen weuis für sinnvoll halte.

(11)

1 HZ: wenn es aber eine, eine Armee gibt in der der Berufssoldat, den
2 zunehmenden, eine zunehmende Bedeutung hot, einen einen
3 zunehmenden Teil, äh etwa aus einer soichen, internation – soicher,
4 soicher Brigaden darstellt, dann muss auch dann muss auch dafür
5 gesorgt sein, [dass der] dass der Berufssoidot, natürlich, dass der
6 Berufssoidot natürlich, sein Einsatz, ähmöglich sein muass. Und, es is
7 ja, wenn Sie immer sogn, ((some overlap)) wenn Sie immer sogn von





8 der Verfassung, natürlich steht in der Verfassung wir hom ja die
9 Aufgabe, zu sagen was is, und zu erwoaten dass die Politiker
10 Kosequenzen ziehn, und auch die Verfassung dann ändern. Es ist nicht
11 aufrechtzuerhoiten, wenn jemand den Beruf d eines Soldaten wählt, es
12 ist nicht aufrechtzuerhoitn, dass wenn dann jedesmoi der in einem
13 Interview, Frogn hot, bis fünf Minuten vor dem Einstieg ins Flugzeug,
14 willst du doch oder willst du vielleicht nicht, Das muss man auch für die
15 Zuschauer sagen. Ein Lokomotivführer. Der den, Beruf eines
16 Lokomotivführers, ah ergreift, konn net afoch sogn, weus jetz Winter is
17 und es schneibt foar i auf der Selztalbahnstrecke nicht, weu, dea, die is
18 ma zgfährlich, däs geht nicht, wenn ich einen Beruf wähle, wähl ich ihn
19 natürlich, mit all den Risiken.
20 RB: Aber wenn ich euch zuhöre ist es ja faszinierend –

(12)

1 CSC: Das ist so. Militär muss das was es signalisiert auch durchsetzen
2 können, sonst wird es nicht ernst genommen.
3 GV: – Gewichte, und als wir in diesen Raum gegangen sind, ham wir uns in
4 Belgien und wass i wo überoi, die Splitterwesten kaufen müssen weil
5 wir, zwoa sehr viel Geld für Panzer aufgeben hom und do bin ich
6 beim Obgeordneten Pilz, und zuwenig auf die Leute auf die Sicherheit
7 der Leute geschaut hom. Wir ham zwoa, um mit Bruno Kreisky zu reden
8 der ja die Panzer immer als Kette umschrieben hot,
9 Kettenschützenpanzer, ober wir hom keine Ra:dschützenpanzer die
10 natürl:ich dort, jetzt inzwischen, beschaffen wird, ((some comment)) ja
11 jetz aber, als l:etztes ham wirs. Also ich glaube schon, es is
12 überraschend für mich doss ich do so, fast synchron mit dem
13 Obgeordneten Pilz geh dass wir do, so mindestens auf dem Fuaß um an
14 Takt, hoit hintn hatschn und doss, schon längstens, ei:ne Trendwende
15 hätte eingeläutet werden müssen und wenn ich höre aus Brüssel däss wir
16 jetz wie:derum Ketten, fahrzeuge kaufen Jaguarschützen –, panzer und
17 nicht, in eine andere Richtung gehen dann bin i scho a bissl, bei seiner
18 Angst es könnten, vielleicht nicht du
19 [Herr General,]
20 CSC: [Wieso hörst du das] aus Brüssel?
21 GV: Najo, weu i mi a erkundigt
22 hobe





**A3: Table showing tokens underlined as ‘dialectal’ in the
dialect perception experiment; cut-off: 11 underlinings**

N.B.:

- (1) Line numbers are based on the closed transcription of the excerpts (see A2 above)
- (2) The ‘target pronunciation’ transcription provided below represents an idealization (‘Hochsprache’) rather than a usage-based Austrian German standard (‘gehobene Umgangssprache’). This target pronunciation is largely adapted from the *Duden Aussprachewörterbuch* (2000) and Muhr (2007).
- (3) Transcription of the actual realization and identification of dialect features involved are based on Dressler & Wodak (1982); Moosmüller (1987b, 1991, 1995; personal communication); Moosmüller & Vollmann (2001); Scheutz (1985); Wodak-Leodolter & Dressler (1978)
- (4) Gloss/English translation is based on the context of occurrence in the excerpts



Token #	Token (<i>gloss</i>)	Excerpt #	Line #	No of 'dialect' under- linings	'Dialect' markings- percent (N = 42)	Standard pronunciation	Actual realization	Dialect feature(s) involved
1	darf (<i>may</i>)	8	12	42	100%	[da:f]	[dɛɐf]	input-switch
2	hatschen (<i>limp</i>)	12	14	42	100%	['ha:ʃh]	['ha:ʃh]	lexical
3	zusammen (<i>together</i>)	4	4	41	97.6%	[tsu'samen]	[tsɔm]	input-switch; contraction of unstressed syllables (schwa-deletion, nasal assimilation / deletion)
4	geschehen (<i>he served</i>)	2	12	40	95.2%	[ge'ʃe:n]	[kʃe:n]	<i>ge</i> -reduction
5	zusammen (<i>together</i>)	4	4	40	95.2%	[tsu'samen]	[tsam]	contraction of unstressed syllables (schwa-deletion, nasal assimilation / deletion)
6	tät (<i>would</i>)	6	1	40	95.2%	['dɛ:dɛ]	[dɛ:d]	morphosyntactic; <i>e</i> -apocope
7	das (<i>that</i>)	1	1	39	92.9%	[das]	[dɛ:s]	input-switch
8	machen (<i>make</i>)	5	10	39	92.9%	['maxɛn]	[mɔx]	input-switch; contraction with [ma] (token #9)
9	wir (<i>we</i>)	5	11	39	92.9%	[vi:ɐ]	[ma]	input-switch (enclitic); contr. with ['mɔx] (token #8)
10	rasch (<i>quickly</i>)	5	11	39	92.9%	[raʃ]	[rɔʃ]	input-switch



11	Guten, (good people)	2	10	38	90.5%	['gu:dn̩]	['guəd̩n̩]	input-switch
12	leiwand, (groovy)	6	3	38	90.5%	['laevand]	['laevɔnd]	lexical; input-switch
13	das (that)	6	6	38	90.5%	[das]	[d̥ɛ:s]	input-switch
14	wurscht (regardless)	10	9	38	90.5%	[vʊɐ̯d̥]	[vʊɐ̯d̥]	lexical
15	sagen, (say)	11	7	38	90.5%	['sagen]	[sɔŋ]	input-switch, progressive nasal assimilation, stop-deletion
16	weiß (know)	1	9	37	88.1%	[vaɐ̯s]	[va:s]	input-switch
17	sind (are)	2	10	37	88.1%	[sɪŋd]	[san]	input-switch
18	keine (no)	2	10	37	88.1%	['kaen̩]	['ka:n̩]	input-switch
19	gehört (must be)	3	9	37	88.1%	[g̥ɛ'hœ:v̥d̥]	['khœ:v̥d̥]	ge-reduction
20	sich (itself)	8	12	37	88.1%	[sɪç]	[sɪ:]	input-switch
21	nachher (later)	9	12	37	88.1%	['na:xɐ̯]	['nɔ:xɐ̯]	input-switch
22	ich (I)	5	9	36	85.7%	[ɪç]	[i:]	input-switch
23	das (that)	10	6	36	85.7%	[das]	[d̥ɛ:s]	input-switch
24	noch (still)	10	21	36	85.7%	[noχ]	[nu:]	input-switch
25	gegangen (gone)	10	30	36	85.7%	[g̥ɛ'gan̩]	['gan̩]	ge-reduction





Token #	Token (gloss)	Excerpt #	Line #	No of 'dialect' under- linings	'Dialect' markings- percent (N = 42)	Standard pronunciation	Actual realization	Dialect feature(s) involved
26	gefährlich, (dangerous)	11	18	36	85.7%	[ge'feeliç]	['kfeeliç]	ge-reduction; contraction with [ts] (token # 72)
27	es (it)	5	11	35	83.3%	[ɛs]	[s]	contraction with [ma] (token #9)
28	sagen (say)	5	19	35	83.3%	['sagen]	['səgn]	input-switch, progres- sive nasal assimilation
29	noch (still)	9	12	35	83.3%	[noχ]	[no:]	input-switch
30	doch (yet)	10	21	35	83.3%	[dɔχ]	[dɔ:]	input-switch
31	sich (himself)	1	6	34	81%	[siç]	[si:]	input-switch
32	anschaue (examine)	5	7	34	81%	['anʃaœ]	['anʃaɔ]	e-apocope (morph.)
33	könn tet (could)	10	22	34	81%	['kœndɛd]	['kœndɛds]	morphological: 2 nd p. pl. -s (contraction with token #40)
34	einfach (simply)	11	16	34	81%	['aenfax]	['a:fɔχ]	two input-switches
35	bisschen (bit)	12	17	34	81%	['biʃçɛn]	['biʃl]	morphological (diminutive ending)
36	mich (me)	6	1	33	78.6%	[miç]	[mi:]	input-switch
37	gesagt (said)	6	3	33	78.6%	[ge'sa:gd]	[ksəgd]	ge-reduction; input- switch



38	nichts (nothing)	8	12	33	78.6%	[niçðs]	[ni:ks]	assimilation/ consonant-cluster reduction
39	weiß, (knows)	8	21	33	78.6%	[vaəs]	[va:s]	input-switch
40	ihr (you)	10	22	33	78.6%	[i:ʁ]	–	contracted (included in 2 nd p. pl. –s of [ˈkœntetʃs] – token #33)
41	sagen, (say)	11	16	33	78.6%	[ˈsagən]	[soŋ]	input-switch, progres- sive nasal assimila- tion, stop-deletion
42	schneit (snows)	11	17	33	78.6%	[ˈnaed]	[ˈnaeɪbd]	input-switch
43	möchte (want)	1	9	32	76.2%	[ˈmœçðe]	[meçð]	input-switch; e- apocope (morph.)
44	naja, (well)	2	10	32	76.2%	[naˈja]	[naˈjo]	input-switch
45	eh (anyway)	2	11	32	76.2%	[e:]	[e:]	lexical
46	eine (one)	9	12	32	76.2%	[ˈaene]	[a]	input-switch
47	Abend (evening)	3	7	31	73.8%	[ˈa:bmd]	[ˈɔ:bmd]	input-switch
48	falsche (wrong)	4	8	31	73.8%	[ˈfalʃe]	[ˈfœʃe]	/-vocalization
49	das (this)	5	9	31	73.8%	[das]	[dɛ:s]	input-switch
50	hat (has)	9	6	31	73.8%	[haɪ]	[hɔɪ]	input-switch
51	die (those)	10	22	31	73.8%	[di:]	[dɛ:]	input-switch
52	nicht (not)	11	16	31	73.8%	[niçd]	[nɛ:d]	input-switch



Token #	Token (gloss)	Excerpt #	Line #	No of 'dialect' under- linings	'Dialect' markings- percent (N = 42)	Standard pronunciation	Actual realization	Dialect feature(s) involved
53	zusteht, (<i>befits</i>)	3	6	30	71.4%	['tsu:ʃdɛ:dʃ]	['tsue:ʃdɛ:dʃ]	input-switch
54	das (<i>that</i>)	5	16	30	71.4%	[das]	[dɛ:s]	input-switch
55	halt (<i>just</i>)	5	16	30	71.4%	[hald]	[hœd]	/-vocalization; lexical
56	ich (<i>I</i>)	8	17	30	71.4%	[iç]	[i:]	input-switch
57	herumgegründelt, (<i>wallowed</i>)	9	5	30	71.4%	[hɛr'umgɛ'gru:ndʃɪd]	[hɛr'umgɛ'gru:ndʃɪd]	lexical
58	nachbessern, (<i>amend</i>)	9	12	30	71.4%	['na:xbɛsɐn]	['no:xbɛsɐn]	input-switch
59	ein (<i>a</i>)	10	21	30	71.4%	[aɛn]	[a:]	input-switch
60	alle (<i>all</i>)	10	29	30	71.4%	['alɛ]	['ɔlɛ]	input-switch
61	ich (<i>I</i>)	12	4	30	71.4%	[iç]	[i:]	input-switch
62	nicht (<i>not</i>)	1	9	29	69.1%	[niçd]	[nɛ:d]	input-switch
63	das (<i>those</i>)	2	10	29	69.1%	[das]	[dɛ:s]	input-switch
64	nicht (<i>not</i>)	4	3	29	69.1%	[niçd]	[niɔ]	input-switch
65	Strafrechtsreform (<i>criminal justice reform</i>)	5	16	29	69.1%	['ʃdrafrɛçtsrɛ'fɔrm]	['ʃdrafrɛçtsrɛ'fɔrm]	input-switch



66	ist (is)	5	16	29	69.1%	[isd]	[is]	input-switch/ consonant-cluster reduction
67	sich (himself)	9	6	29	69.1%	[siç]	[si:]	input-switch
68	machen (do)	10	7	29	69.1%	[maxən]	[moxn]	input-switch, progres- sive nasal assimilation
69	nicht (not)	10	22	29	69.1%	[niçd]	[nɛ:d]	input-switch
70	zu (to)	10	30	29	69.1%	[tsu:]	[ts]	contraction with ['kœnən] (token #97)
71	hat, (has)	11	2	29	69.1%	[had]	[həd]	input-switch
72	zu (too)	11	18	29	69.1%	[tsu:]	[ts]	contraction with ['kfœliç] (token #26)
73	überall (everywhere)	12	4	29	69.1%	[,y:ber'al]	[,y:ber'œ]	/-vocalization
74	hinten (behind)	12	14	29	69.1%	['hindn]	['hindn]	[no perceptible seg- mental dialect feature]
75	auch (also)	12	21	29	69.1%	[aux]	[a:]	input-switch
76	wem (whom)	1	9	28	66.7%	[ve:m]	[ve:m]	morphosyntactic (use of dat. vs. std. acc.)
77	eh (anyway)	2	11	28	66.7%	[e:]	[e:]	lexical
78	meine, (mean)	4	6	28	66.7%	['maenɐ]	[maən]	e-apocope (morph.)
79	das (that)	5	11	28	66.7%	[das]	[dɛ:s]	input-switch
80	dreifünfzig (three fifty)	7	9	28	66.7%	[d̥rae'fʏmfʰtsiç]	[d̥rae'fuftsiç]	lexical



Token #	Token (gloss)	Excerpt #	Line #	No of 'dialect' under- linings	'Dialect' markings- percent (N = 42)	Standard pronunciation	Actual realization	Dialect feature(s) involved
81	war (was)	10	6	28	66.7%	[va:]	[vœ]	input-switch
82	sie, (them)	12	11	28	66.7%	[si:]	[s]	contraction with [vi:œ] (token #91)
83	Fuß (foot)	12	13	28	66.7%	[fu:s]	[fues]	input-switch
84	einen (one)	12	13	28	66.7%	['aenən]	[a:n]	input-switch
85	recht (right)	2	12	27	64.3%	[rɛçd]	[rɛçd]	[no perceptible seg- mental dialect feature]
86	gehört (must be)	3	9	27	64.3%	[gɛ'hœ:rɛd]	['khœ:rɛd]	ge-reduction
87	Strafrechtsreform (criminal justice reform)	5	5	27	64.3%	['ʃdrafreçtsrɛ:fɔəm]	['ʃdrafreçtsrɛ:fɔəm]	input-switch
88	es (it)	8	12	27	64.3%	[ɛs]	[ɛs]	[no perceptible segmental dialect feature]
89	war (was)	10	7	27	64.3%	[va:]	[vœ]	input-switch
90	übriggebliebene (left-over)	10	22	27	64.3%	['y:brɪgɛblɪ:bənɛ]	['y:brɪgɪblɪ:bənɛ]	ge-reduction
91	wir (we)	12	11	27	64.3%	[vi:œ]	[vi:œ]	contracted with [s] (token #82)
92	naja, (well)	2	8	26	61.9%	[na'ja]	[na'jə]	input-switch





93	ist (is)	6	6	26	61.9%	[isd]	[is]	input-switch/conso- nant-cluster reduction
94	Pensionsgeschichte (pension story)	9	13	26	61.9%	[bən'sio:nsge,jɪçdɐ]	[bən'sio:nskjɪçdɐ]	ge-reduction
95	was (what)	10	9	26	61.9%	[vas]	[vas]	input-switch
96	paar (few)	10	21	26	61.9%	[pa:]	[bøə]	input-switch
97	können, (be able to)	10	30	26	61.9%	['kœnən]	['kœnən]	contracted with [ts] (token #70)
98	Berufssoldat (pro- fessional soldier)	11	5	26	61.9%	[bɐ'ru:fsɔlda:d]	[bɐ'ru:fsœdɔ:d]	/-vocalization; input-switch
99	muss, (must)	11	6	26	61.9%	[mus]	[mues]	input-switch
100	fahr (drive)	11	17	26	61.9%	[fa:]	[fəə]	input-switch
101	schon (indeed)	12	17	26	61.9%	[ʃo:n]	[ʃɔ:]	input-switch
102	angreifen (to touch)	1	9	25	59.5%	['angraefm]	['ɔŋgræfm]	input-switch
103	heißt, (means)	1	11	25	59.5%	[haesd]	[ha:sd]	input-switch
104	Lederhosenjogl (Lederhosen hic-ks)	1	14	25	59.5%	['le:ðəho:sen,jɔ:gl]	['le:ðəho:sen,jɔ:gl]	lexical
105	würde (would)	3	1	25	59.5%	[vyrdɐ]	[vyəd]	e-apocope (morph.)
106	ist (is)	5	11	25	59.5%	[isd]	[is]	input-switch/conso- nant-cluster reduction
107	nein (no)	6	1	25	59.5%	[naen]	[na:]	input-switch
108	da (here)	6	3	25	59.5%	[da:]	[dɔ:]	input-switch

Token #	Token (gloss)	Excerpt #	Line #	No of 'dialect' under- linings	'Dialect' markings- percent (N = 42)	Standard pronunciation	Actual realization	Dialect feature(s) involved
109	super (<i>super</i>)	6	3	25	59.5%	['su:ɐ̯ɐ]	['su:ɐ̯ɐ]	lexical
110	sagt (<i>says</i>)	8	13	25	59.5%	[sa:ɡɔ̯]	[sɔ̯ɡɔ̯]	input-switch
111	bin (<i>am</i>)	8	17	25	59.5%	[bɪn]	[bɪn]	[no perceptible seg- mental dialect feature]
112	einmal (<i>once</i>)	8	20	25	59.5%	['ænmɑ:l]	['a:mœ]	input-switch; /-vocalization
113	Berufssoldat (<i>professional soldier</i>)	11	6	25	59.5%	[bɐ'ru:fsɔ̯ldɑ:d]	[bɐ'ru:fsœdɔ̯d]	/-vocalization; input-switch
114	sagen (<i>say</i>)	11	7	25	59.5%	['sagen]	[sœŋ]	input-switch, progres- sive nasal assimila- tion, stop-deletion
115	aufrecht zu erhalten (<i>to be kept up</i>)	11	11	25	59.5%	['aufrœçtsuɐ̯haldŋ]	['aufrœçtsuɐ̯hœdŋ]	/-vocalization
116	es (<i>it</i>)	11	16	25	59.5%	[ɛs]	[s]	contraction with [vœ] (token #130)
117	halt (<i>just</i>)	12	14	25	59.5%	[halt]	[hœd]	/-vocalization; lexical
118	mich (<i>me</i>)	12	21	25	59.5%	[mɪç]	[mi:]	input-switch
119	Ich (<i>I</i>)	1	9	24	57.1%	[ɪç]	[i:]	input-switch
120	ich (<i>I</i>)	1	9	24	57.1%	[ɪç]	[i:]	input-switch



121	Klumpfe (<i>guitar</i>)	1	15	24	57.1%	['gʌmpfɛ]	['gʌmpfɛ]	lexical
122	schon (<i>anyhow</i>)	2	12	24	57.1%	[ʃɔn]	[ʃɔ:]	input-switch
123	das (<i>that</i>)	4	9	24	57.1%	[das]	[dɔs]	input-switch
124	hat (<i>has</i>)	4	9	24	57.1%	[had]	[hɑd]	input-switch
125	haben, (<i>are</i>)	4	9	24	57.1%	['ha:bən]	['ham]	progressive nasal assimilation, stop-deletion
126	wäre (<i>would</i>)	5	8	24	57.1%	['vɛ:rɛ]	[vɛ:v]	<i>e</i> -apocope (morph.)
127	achtunddreißig (<i>thirty-eight</i>)	9	1	24	57.1%	['axdunˌdʁæsig]	['ɔxɔdˌdʁæsg]	input-switch; unstressed syllable reductions
128	zweiunddreißig (<i>thirty-two</i>)	9	4	24	57.1%	['tsvæunˌdʁæsig]	['tsvaadˌræsg]	input-switch; unstressed syllable reductions
129	noch (<i>still</i>)	9	10	24	57.1%	[noχ]	[no:]	input-switch
130	weil (<i>because</i>)	11	16	24	57.1%	[væɪ]	[vœ:]	<i>/</i> -vocalization; contraction with [s] (token #116)
131	jetzt (<i>now</i>)	11	16	24	57.1%	[jetsd]	[jɛ:ts]	consonant-cluster reduction
132	ich (<i>I</i>)	12	21	24	57.1%	[iç]	[i:]	input-switch
133	liegt (<i>exists</i>)	2	11	23	54.8%	[li:gd]	[li:gd]	[no perceptible seg- mental dialect feature]
134	war (<i>was</i>)	4	6	23	54.8%	[va:]	[vœ]	input-switch

Token #	Token (gloss)	Excerpt #	Line #	No of 'dialect' under- linings	'Dialect' markings- percent (N = 42)	Standard pronunciation	Actual realization	Dialect feature(s) involved
135	gar (at all)	9	1	23	54.8%	[ga:]	[gœ]	input-switch
136	ja (after all)	9	6	23	54.8%	[ja:]	[jə]	input-switch
137	mir (me)	11	18	23	54.8%	[mi:ə]	[ma:]	input-switch
138	wo (where)	12	4	23	54.8%	[vo:]	[vo:]	[no perceptible seg- mental dialect feature]
139	ein (a)	12	17	23	54.8%	[aən]	[a:]	input-switch
140	glaube (believe)	3	2	22	52.4%	['glaubə]	[glaub]	e-apocope (morph.)
141	hat (has)	4	10	22	52.4%	[had]	[həd]	input-switch
142	hast (have)	7	9	22	52.4%	[hasd]	[hasd]	morphological (2 nd p. sg. includes [du:] – token #179)
143	nichts (nothing)	9	1	22	52.4%	[niçts]	[niks]	assimilation/ consonant-cluster reduction
144	da (here)	9	15	22	52.4%	[da:]	[dɔ:]	input-switch
145	tun (do)	9	15	22	52.4%	[du:n]	[dan]	input-switch; morphosyntactic
146	man (one)	10	6	22	52.4%	[man]	[ma]	input-switch



147	Takt (<i>bar</i>)	12	14	22	52.4%	[dʌkd]	[dʌkd]	[no perceptible segmental dialect feature]
148	wo (<i>where</i>)	1	11	21	50%	[vo:]	[vo:]	morphosyntactic
149	man (<i>one</i>)	1	11	21	50%	[man]	[ma]	input-switch
150	äh (<i>uh</i>)	5	2	21	50%	[ɛ:]	[ɛ:]	hesitation particle
151	alles (<i>all</i>)	6	3	21	50%	[ˈales]	[ˈales]	[no perceptible segmental dialect feature]
152	tue (<i>do</i>)	7	6	21	50%	[ˈdu:ɛ]	[ˈdu:ɛ]	morphosyntactic
153	denn (<i>then</i>)	8	13	21	50%	[den]	[den]	[no perceptible segmental dialect feature]
154	ja (<i>after all</i>)	10	29	21	50%	[ja:]	[jɔ]	input-switch
155	hätte (<i>would have</i>)	10	30	21	50%	[ˈhede]	[ˈhe:d]	<i>e</i> -apocope (morph.)
156	Fragen (<i>questions</i>)	11	13	21	50%	[ˈfragen]	[frɔŋ]	input-switch, progressive nasal assimilation, stop-deletion
157	habe (<i>have</i>)	1	2	20	47.6%	[ˈha:bɛ]	[hɔb]	input-switch; <i>e</i> -apocope (morph.)
158	wollen (<i>want</i>)	1	6	20	47.6%	[ˈvɔlen]	[vɔen]	<i>/</i> -vocalization
159	kein (<i>no</i>)	1	19	20	47.6%	[kaen]	[ka]	input-switch
160	schon (<i>quite</i>)	4	7	20	47.6%	[ˈʃɔ:n]	[ˈʃɔ:]	input-switch
161	haben (<i>have</i>)	6	3	20	47.6%	[ˈha:bən]	[hɔm]	input-switch; progressive nasal assimilation, stop-deletion



Token #	Token (gloss)	Excerpt #	Line #	No of 'dialect' under- linings	'Dialect' markings- percent (N = 42)	Standard pronunciation	Actual realization	Dialect feature(s) involved
162	alles (all)	6	3	20	47.6%	['ales]	['ales]	[no perceptible seg- mental dialect feature]
163	ändern (change)	8	12	20	47.6%	['endən]	['endən]	[no perceptible seg- mental dialect feature]
164	das? (this)	8	13	20	47.6%	[das]	[dɛ:s]	input-switch
165	kann (can)	11	16	20	47.6%	[kan]	[kɔn]	input-switch
166	ist (is)	11	16	20	47.6%	[isd]	[is]	input-switch/conso- nant-cluster reduction
167	ist (is)	11	17	20	47.6%	[isd]	[is]	input-switch/conso- nant-cluster reduction
168	erkundigt (informed)	12	22	20	47.6%	[ɛʁ'kundɪçd]	[ɛʁ'kundɪçd]	[no perceptible seg- mental dialect feature]
169	habe (have)	12	21	20	47.6%	['ha.ʔɐ]	['hɔʔɐ]	input-switch
170	haben (have)	1	1	19	45.2%	['ha.ʔɐn]	[hɔn]	input-switch; progres- sive nasal assimila- tion, stop-deletion
171	sozusagen, (so to speak)	2	11	19	45.2%	[sɔtsu'sa:ɡn̩]	[sɔtsu's]	false start
172	sich (himself)	3	8	19	45.2%	[sɪç]	[sɪ:]	input-switch
173	nicht (not)	4	4	19	45.2%	[nɪçd]	[nɪçd]	[no perceptible seg- mental dialect feature]
174	war (was)	4	6	19	45.2%	[va:]	[vɔɐ]	input-switch





175	uns (<i>us</i>)	4	10	19	45.2%	[uns]	[uns]	[no perceptible seg- mental dialect feature]
176	äh, (<i>uh</i>)	5	1	19	45.2%	[ɛ:]	[ɛ:]	hesitation particle
177	weiß (<i>know</i>)	5	9	19	45.2%	[vaɐs]	[vaɐs]	[no perceptible seg- mental dialect feature]
178	da (<i>there</i>)	6	5	19	45.2%	[da:]	[da:]	input-switch
179	du (<i>you</i>)	7	9	19	45.2%	[du:]	–	morphological (included in 2 nd p. sg. form [hasɔ] of token #142)
180	Sie (<i>you</i>)	9	10	19	45.2%	[si:]	[si:]	[no perceptible seg- mental dialect feature]
181	möchte (<i>want</i>)	10	11	19	45.2%	[ˈmœçdɛ]	[mœçd]	<i>e</i> -apocope (morph.)
182	nicht (<i>not</i>)	10	12	19	45.2%	[niçd]	[nɛ:d]	input-switch
183	ist, (<i>is</i>)	11	9	19	45.2%	[isd]	[is]	input-switch/conso- nant-cluster reduction
184	Winter (<i>winter</i>)	11	16	19	45.2%	[ˈvɪndɐ]	[ˈvɪndɐ]	[no perceptible seg- mental dialect feature]
185	ich (<i>I</i>)	11	17	19	45.2%	[iç]	[i:]	input-switch
186	weiß (<i>know</i>)	12	4	19	45.2%	[vaɐs]	[va:s]	input-switch
187	haben (<i>have</i>)	12	11	19	45.2%	[ˈha:bən]	[ham]	progressive nasal assimilation, stop-deletion
188	das (<i>that</i>)	1	13	18	42.9%	[das]	[dɛ:s]	input-switch

Token #	Token (gloss)	Excerpt #	Line #	No of 'dialect' under- linings	'Dialect' markings- percent (N = 42)	Standard pronunciation	Actual realization	Dialect feature(s) involved
189	zupft (<i>picks</i>)	1	14	18	42.9%	[tsupfɔ̯]	[tsupfɔ̯]	[no perceptible segmental dialect feature]
190	möchte (<i>want</i>)	1	19	18	42.9%	['mœçdɛ]	[mœçɔ̯]	<i>e</i> -apocope (morph.)
191	keinen (<i>no</i>)	1	20	18	42.9%	['kaenən]	[ka:n]	input-switch
192	Nein, (<i>No</i>)	2	2	18	42.9%	[naen]	[na:]	input-switch
193	liegen (<i>exist</i>)	2	11	18	42.9%	['li:gen]	['li:ɡɪ]	progressive nasal assimilation [no other perceptible segmental dialect feature]
194	haben (<i>have</i>)	4	5	18	42.9%	['ha:ʔən]	[hɔm]	input-switch; progressive nasal assimilation, stop-deletion
195	das (<i>that</i>)	4	10	18	42.9%	[das]	[dɔs]	input-switch
196	da (<i>there</i>)	7	9	18	42.9%	[da:]	[da:]	[no perceptible segmental dialect feature]
197	es (<i>it</i>)	8	18	18	42.9%	[ɛs]	[ɛs]	contraction (with token #241)
198	jeder (<i>everybody</i>)	8	21	18	42.9%	['je:dɛ]	['je:dɛ]	[no perceptible segmental dialect feature]
199	das (<i>that</i>)	9	2	18	42.9%	[das]	[dɛ:s]	input-switch
200	wir (<i>we</i>)	9	3	18	42.9%	[vi:rə]	[ma]	input-switch (enclitic); contraction with [vis] (token #270)



201	leben (live)	9	10	18	42.9%	['le:bən]	['lebm]	progressive nasal assimilation [no other perceptible segmental dialect feature]
202	auszahlen, (paid out)	9	14	18	42.9%	['austsa:lən]	['austsən]	/-vocalization
203	noch (still)	9	18	18	42.9%	[nox]	[no:]	input-switch
204	habe (have)	10	8	18	42.9%	['ha:bə]	[həb]	input-switch; e- apocope (morph.)
205	es (it)	11	17	18	42.9%	[əs]	[əs]	[no perceptible seg- mental dialect feature]
206	höre (hear)	12	15	18	42.9%	['hœv:rɛ]	[hœ:rɛ]	e-apocope (morph.)
207	ich (I)	12	17	18	42.9%	[iç]	[i:]	input-switch
208	weil (because)	12	21	18	42.9%	[væɪ]	[vœ:]	/-vocalization
209	ja, (right)	1	7	17	40.5%	[ja:]	[jɔ]	input-switch
210	das (that)	4	7	17	40.5%	[das]	[dɛ:s]	input-switch
211	uns, (us)	4	9	17	40.5%	[uns]	[uns]	[no perceptible seg- mental dialect feature]
212	sollt (shall)	8	5	17	40.5%	[sɔld]	[sɔlts]	morphological – 2 nd p. pl. –s
213	unter (among)	9	10	17	40.5%	['undɛ]	['undɛ]	[no perceptible seg- mental dialect feature]
214	gewesen (been)	9	13	17	40.5%	[gɛ've:sn]	['gve:sn]	ge-reduction
215	noch (still)	9	18	17	40.5%	[nox]	[no:]	input-switch



Token #	Token (gloss)	Excerpt #	Line #	No of 'dialect' under- linings	'Dialect' markings- percent (N = 42)	Standard pronunciation	Actual realization	Dialect feature(s) involved
216	was (something)	9	20	17	40.5%	[vas]	[vəs]	input-switch
217	sagen, (say)	10	9	17	40.5%	['sagen]	['səgə]	input-switch, progressive nasal assimilation
218	was (what)	11	9	17	40.5%	[vas]	[vəs]	input-switch
219	um (by)	12	13	17	40.5%	[um]	[um]	[no perceptible segmental dialect feature]
220	voller (full of)	1	14	16	38.1%	['fələ]	['fələ]	[no perceptible segmental dialect feature] (maybe perceived as non-std b/c archaic)
221	die (the)	1	14	16	38.1%	[di:]	[di:]	[no perceptible segmental dialect feature]
222	Megafettnapf (mega howler)	2	3	16	38.1%	['me:ga,fɛdnapf]	['me:ga,fɛdnapf]	lexical
223	habe (have)	2	4	16	38.1%	['ha.bɛ]	[həb]	input-switch; e-apocope (morph.)
224	das (that)	4	8	16	38.1%	[das]	[dɛ:s]	input-switch
225	einen (a)	4	10	16	38.1%	['aenən]	[a:n]	input-switch
226	Volksanwaltschaft, (people's advocacy)	5	6	16	38.1%	['fɔlksan,valtʃaft]	['fɔksan,voetʃɔft]	two /-vocalizations; input switch



227	ahm, (<i>uhm</i>)	6	3	16	38.1%	[a.m]	[a.m]	hesitation particle
228	waren, (<i>were</i>)	9	4	16	38.1%	['va:n]	[vœn]	input-switch
229	schon (<i>indeed</i>)	9	16	16	38.1%	[ʃo:n]	[ʃɔ:]	input-switch
230	jedesmal (<i>every time</i>)	11	12	16	38.1%	['je:ðesma:l]	['je:ðesmœ]	/-vocalization
231	zwar, (<i>in fact</i>)	12	7	16	38.1%	[tsva:]	[tsvœ]	input-switch
232	ich (<i>I</i>)	1	2	15	35.7%	[ɪç]	[i:]	input-switch
233	die (<i>them</i>)	2	11	15	35.7%	[di:]	[dɪ:]	[no perceptible segmental dialect feature]
234	wird (<i>will</i>)	2	12	15	35.7%	['vɪrd]	[vɪrd]	[no perceptible segmental dialect feature]
235	ist (<i>is</i>)	3	6	15	35.7%	[isd]	[is]	input-switch/consonant-cluster reduction
236	da (<i>there</i>)	4	9	15	35.7%	[da:]	[dɔ:]	input-switch (not well perceptible b/c reduced)
237	haben (<i>are</i>)	4	9	15	35.7%	['ha:ʔən]	[hɔm]	input-switch; progressive nasal assimilation, stop-deletion
238	äh, (<i>uh</i>)	5	5	15	35.7%	[ɛ:]	[ɛ:]	hesitation particle
239	sagen (<i>say</i>)	6	3	15	35.7%	['sagen]	['sɔgɪ]	input-switch; progressive nasal assimilation
240	drüberfahren (<i>passed over</i>)	6	7	15	35.7%	['dʁy:bʁe:fa:ren]	['dʁy:bʁe:fa:ren]	schwa-deletion; lexical
241	die (<i>that</i>)	8	18	15	35.7%	[di:]	[dɪ:]	contraction (with token #197)



Token #	Token (gloss)	Excerpt #	Line #	No of 'dialect' under- linings	'Dialect' markings- percent (N = 42)	Standard pronunciation	Actual realization	Dialect feature(s) involved
242	das (the)	8	20	15	35.7%	[das]	[dɛ:s]	input-switch
243	geschaffen (created)	8	21	15	35.7%	[gɛ'ʃafm]	[gɛ'ʃɔfm]	input-switch
244	was (what)	8	21	15	35.7%	[vas]	[vɔs]	input-switch
245	war (was)	9	2	15	35.7%	[va:]	[vɔɐ]	input-switch
246	uns (us)	9	10	15	35.7%	[uns]	[ʊns]	[no perceptible seg- mental dialect feature]
247	machen (do)	9	18	15	35.7%	[maxɛn]	[mɔxɪ]	input-switch; progres- sive nasal assimilation
248	noch (still)	9	21	15	35.7%	[nɔx]	[no:]	input-switch
249	erwarten, (expect)	11	9	15	35.7%	[ɛɐ'va:dɪ]	[ɛɐ'vɔɐdɪ]	input-switch
250	aufrecht zu erhalten, (to be kept up)	11	11	15	35.7%	[ʔaufrɛçtsuɐəhaɪdɪ]	[ʔaufrɛçtsuɐəhɔɐdɪ]	/-vocalization
251	und (and)	11	17	15	35.7%	[ʊnd]	[ʊnd]	[no perceptible seg- mental dialect feature]
252	die (this [fem.])	11	17	15	35.7%	[di:]	[dɪ:]	[no perceptible seg- mental dialect feature]
253	haben, (have)	12	7	15	35.7%	[ʔa:'hɛn]	[hɔm]	input-switch; progres- sive nasal assimila- tion, stop-deletion
254	Naja, (Well)	12	21	15	35.7%	[na'ja]	[na'jɔ]	input-switch



255	ja (after all)	1	2	14	33.3%	[ja:]	[jɔ]	input-switch
256	die (they)	1	6	14	33.3%	[di:]	[d̥i:]	[no perceptible segmental dialect feature]
257	auch (also)	1	6	14	33.3%	[aux]	[a:]	input-switch
258	ein (a)	1	7	14	33.3%	[aɛn]	[a:]	input-switch
259	ihn (him)	1	11	14	33.3%	[i:n]	[i:n]	syntax
260	möchte (want)	1	19	14	33.3%	['mœçdɛ]	[mœçd]	e-apocope (morph.)
261	ich (I)	2	4	14	33.3%	[iç]	[i:]	input-switch
262	nicht (not)	2	4	14	33.3%	[niçd]	[nɛ:d]	input-switch
263	sozusagen (so to speak)	2	11	14	33.3%	[sotsu'sagen]	[sotsu'sagn̩]	progressive nasal assimilation [no other perceptible segmental dialect feature]
264	halt (precisely)	5	14	14	33.3%	[hal̩d]	[hal̩d]	lexical
265	was (what)	6	2	14	33.3%	[vas]	[vas]	[no perceptible segmental dialect feature]
266	haben (have)	8	16	14	33.3%	['ha:bɛn]	['hɔm]	input-switch; progressive nasal assimilation, stop-deletion
267	haben, (have)	8	17	14	33.3%	['ha:bɛn]	[hɔ:bɛn]	input-switch; progressive nasal assimilation
268	dass (so that)	8	20	14	33.3%	[das]	[das]	[no perceptible segmental dialect feature]



Token #	Token (gloss)	Excerpt #	Line #	No of 'dialect' under- linings	'Dialect' markings- percent (N = 42)	Standard pronunciation	Actual realization	Dialect feature(s) involved
269	ist (<i>is</i>)	8	21	14	33.3%	[isd]	[is]	input-switch/ consonant-cluster reduction
270	wissen (<i>know</i>)	9	3	14	33.3%	['visn]	[vis]	contraction with [ma] (token #200)
271	Umfragen, (<i>polls</i>)	9	4	14	33.3%	['umfra:ɡen]	['ʊmfrʊŋŋ]	input-switch; progressive nasal assimilation
272	oder (<i>or</i>)	9	10	14	33.3%	['o:də]	['o:də]	[no perceptible segmental dialect feature]
273	Sie (<i>you</i>)	9	15	14	33.3%	[si:]	[si:]	[no perceptible segmental dialect feature]
274	da (<i>here</i>)	9	15	14	33.3%	[da:]	[dø:]	input-switch
275	zu (<i>in</i>)	10	6	14	33.3%	[tsu:]	[tsu:]	[no perceptible segmental dialect feature]
276	ich (<i>I</i>)	10	8	14	33.3%	[iç]	[i:]	input-switch
277	irgendwo, (<i>somewhere</i>)	10	22	14	33.3%	['rɛŋɪd̥vɔ:]	['rɛŋɪd̥vɔ:]	[no perceptible segmental dialect feature]
278	solcher, (<i>of such</i>)	11	3	14	33.3%	['sɔçə]	['sœçə]	/-vocalization
279	solcher (<i>of such</i>)	11	4	14	33.3%	['sɔçə]	['sœçə]	/-vocalization
280	das (<i>that</i>)	11	18	14	33.3%	[das]	[dɛ:s]	input-switch
281	Sie (<i>you</i>)	1	1	13	31%	[si:]	[si:]	[no perceptible segmental dialect feature]





282	schon (<i>already</i>)	1	14	13	31%	[ʃo:n]	[ʃɔ:]	input-switch
283	gegen (<i>against</i>)	2	10	13	31%	['ge:ɡɪ]	['ge:ɡɪ]	[no perceptible segmental dialect feature]
284	am (<i>in the</i>)	3	7	13	31%	[am]	[am]	[no perceptible segmental dialect feature]
285	ist (<i>is</i>)	4	7	13	31%	[ɪsd]	[ɪs]	input-switch/consomant-cluster reduction
286	meine, (<i>mean</i>)	4	9	13	31%	['maenɛ]	[maɛn]	<i>e</i> -apocope (morph.)
287	es (<i>it</i>)	5	8	13	31%	[ɛs]	[ɛs]	[no perceptible segmental dialect feature]
288	die, (<i>those</i>)	5	19	13	31%	[di:]	[di:]	[no perceptible segmental dialect feature]
289	nicht (<i>not</i>)	6	6	13	31%	[niçd]	[niçd]	[no perceptible segmental dialect feature]
290	Wer (<i>Who</i>)	8	13	13	31%	[vɛ:v]	[vɛ:v]	[no perceptible segmental dialect feature]
291	die (<i>this</i>)	9	15	13	31%	[di:]	[di:]	[no perceptible segmental dialect feature]
292	Ihnen (<i>you</i>)	9	16	13	31%	['i:nɛn]	['i:nɛ]	morphological-case ending
293	sagen, (<i>tell</i>)	9	16	13	31%	['sagɛn]	[sɔɪ]	input-switch; progressive nasal assimilation, stop-deletion
294	reden (<i>say</i>)	9	20	13	31%	['re:dɪn]	['re:dɪn]	[no perceptible segmental dialect feature]
295	beschäftigte (<i>occupy</i>)	10	31	13	31%	[bɛ'ʃɛfdɪɡɛ]	[bɛ'ʃɛfdɪɡ]	<i>e</i> -apocope (morph.)
296	hat, (<i>has</i>)	11	13	13	31%	[hʌd]	[hʌd]	input-switch



Token #	Token (gloss)	Excerpt #	Line #	No of 'dialect' under- linings	'Dialect' markings- percent (N = 42)	Standard pronunciation	Actual realization	Dialect feature(s) involved
297	da (here)	12	13	13	31%	[da:]	[dɔ:]	input-switch
298	da (there)	1	5	12	28.6%	[da:]	[dɔ:]	input-switch
299	oben (above)	1	5	12	28.6%	['o:b̥m]	['o:b̥m]	[no perceptible seg- mental dialect feature]
300	was (something)	1	6	12	28.6%	[vas]	[vos]	input-switch
301	versteht, (understands)	1	11	12	28.6%	[fɛv'ʃdɛ:d]	[fɛv'ʃdɛ:d]	syntax
302	einen (a)	1	19	12	28.6%	['a:nən]	[a:n]	input-switch
303	die (them)	2	11	12	28.6%	[di:]	[dɪ:]	[no perceptible seg- mental dialect feature]
304	verirrt (lost)	3	8	12	28.6%	[fɛv'ɪrɔ]	[fɛv'ɪrɔ]	[no perceptible seg- mental dialect feature]
305	Volksanwalt- schaft (people's advocacy)	5	15	12	28.6%	['fɔlksan,valtʃaft]	['fɔksan,vɔɛfʌft]	two /-vocalizations
306	Sie's (you it)	6	8	12	28.6%	[si:s]	[si:s]	contraction ([si: ɛs])
307	kann's (can it)	6	8	12	28.6%	[kans]	[kans]	contraction ([kan ɛs])
308	immer (always)	8	17	12	28.6%	['ime]	['ime]	[no perceptible seg- mental dialect feature]
309	auf (to)	8	21	12	28.6%	[aɔf]	[aɔf]	false start





310	neunundreiig (<i>thirty-nine</i>)	9	1	12	28.6%	['nœnun ₁ dra̯ɛsiç]	['nœnun ₁ dra̯ɛsiç]	[no perceptible seg- mental dialect feature]
311	auseinander gesetzt, (<i>occupied</i>)	9	8	12	28.6%	[ausa̯ɛ'nanðəg̊ ₁ sɛtsd̥]	[ausa̯ɛ'nanðəg̊ ₁ sɛtsd̥]	input-switch
312	wo (<i>where</i>)	9	10	12	28.6%	[vo:]	[vo:]	[no perceptible seg- mental dialect feature]
313	Korrektur, (<i>correction</i>)	9	13	12	28.6%	[kœrɛk̊'du:ɐ̯]	[kœrɛk̊'du:ɐ̯]	[no perceptible seg- mental dialect feature]
314	muss (<i>must</i>)	9	16	12	28.6%	[mus]	[muas]	input-switch
315	nicht (<i>not</i>)	9	19	12	28.6%	[niçd̥]	[nɛ:d̥]	input-switch
316	zu (<i>to</i>)	9	20	12	28.6%	[tsu:]	[tsu:]	[no perceptible seg- mental dialect feature]
317	war (<i>was</i>)	10	1	12	28.6%	[va:]	[vɔ:ɐ̯]	input-switch
318	sich (<i>itself</i>)	10	9	12	28.6%	[siç]	[siç]	[no perceptible seg- mental dialect feature]
319	ist (<i>is</i>)	11	6	12	28.6%	[isd̥]	[is]	input-switch/conso- nant-cluster reduction
320	ja, (<i>after all</i>)	11	7	12	28.6%	[ja:]	[ja:]	[no perceptible seg- mental dialect feature]
321	immer (<i>always</i>)	11	7	12	28.6%	['imɐ̯]	['imɐ̯]	[no perceptible seg- mental dialect feature]
322	auf (<i>on</i>)	11	17	12	28.6%	[aɔf]	[aɔf]	[no perceptible seg- mental dialect feature]
323	haben (<i>have</i>)	12	7	12	28.6%	['ha:bɛn]	[ham]	progressive nasal assimilation, stop- deletion
324	jetzt, (<i>now</i>)	12	11	12	28.6%	[jɛtsd̥]	[jɛ:ts]	consonant-cluster reduction

Token #	Token (<i>gloss</i>)	Excerpt #	Line #	No of 'dialect' under- linings	'Dialect' markings- percent (N = 42)	Standard pronunciation	Actual realization	Dialect feature(s) involved
325	ist (<i>is</i>)	1	13	11	26.2%	[isd]	[is]	input-switch/cons- nant-cluster reduction
326	doch (<i>yet</i>)	1	14	11	26.2%	[dɔx]	[dɔx]	[no perceptible seg- mental dialect feature]
327	möchte (<i>want</i>)	1	20	11	26.2%	['mœɕdɛ]	['mœɕd]	<i>e</i> -apocope (morph.)
328	ist (<i>is</i>)	2	1	11	26.2%	[isd]	[is]	input-switch/cons- nant-cluster reduction
329	nicht (<i>not</i>)	2	2	11	26.2%	[niɕd]	[nɛ:d]	input-switch
330	noch (<i>yet</i>)	2	4	11	26.2%	[noɕ]	[nu:]	input-switch
331	gegen (<i>against</i>)	2	11	11	26.2%	['ge:gn]	['ge:gn]	[no perceptible seg- mental dialect feature]
332	darauf (<i>with this</i>)	2	15	11	26.2%	[dɐ'raʊf]	['dʁaʊf]	unstressed syllable contraction (schwa- deletion)
333	die (<i>the</i>)	4	8	11	26.2%	[di:]	[di:]	[no perceptible seg- mental dialect feature]
334	Schulden (<i>of debt</i>)	4	10	11	26.2%	['ʃuldɪn]	['ʃuldɪn]	[no perceptible seg- mental dialect feature]
335	schon, (<i>already</i>)	5	10	11	26.2%	[[o:n]	[[o:n]	[no perceptible seg- mental dialect feature]
336	zwar (<i>actually</i>)	5	19	11	26.2%	[tsva:]	[tsva:]	[no perceptible seg- mental dialect feature]



337	sagen (say)	6	2	11	26.2%	['sagen]	['sagŋ]	progressive nasal assimilation [no other perceptible segmental dialect feature]
338	ah (uh)	8	1	11	26.2%	[a:]	[a:]	hesitation particle
339	ah, (uh)	8	2	11	26.2%	[a:]	[a:]	hesitation particle
340	sind (are)	9	10	11	26.2%	[sɪnd]	[sɪnd]	[no perceptible segmental dialect feature]
341	ist (is)	9	13	11	26.2%	[ɪsd]	[ɪs]	input-switch/consonant-cluster reduction
342	einen (a [masc.])	9	18	11	26.2%	['aenən]	[a:n]	input-switch
343	ich (I)	10	11	11	26.2%	[ɪç]	[i:]	input-switch
344	solchen (such)	11	3	11	26.2%	['sɔlçən]	['sœçŋ]	/-vocalization, progressive nasal assimilation
345	der, (this [masc.])	11	17	11	26.2%	[dɛ:r]	[dɛ:r]	false start
346	geht (goes)	11	18	11	26.2%	[gɛ:d]	[gɛ:d]	[no perceptible segmental dialect feature]
347	haben (have)	12	9	11	26.2%	['ha:bən]	[hɔm]	input-switch; progressive nasal assimilation, stop-deletion
348	ja (yes)	12	10	11	26.2%	[ja:]	[ja:]	[no perceptible segmental dialect feature]
349	gehe, (go)	12	13	11	26.2%	[gɛ:ɛ]	[gɛ:]	e-apocope (morph.)
350	so (so)	12	13	11	26.2%	[so:]	[so:]	[no perceptible segmental dialect feature]





APPENDIX B – AD CHAPTER 4: THE LANGUAGE ATTITUDE EXPERIMENT

Original version of the questionnaire used

Fragebogen

Dieser Fragebogen ist anonym. Die Antworten werden ausschließlich für statistische Auswertung und wissenschaftliche Analyse verwendet. Die Teilnahme ist freiwillig.

Allgemeine Anmerkungen:

- Achten Sie bitte darauf, ALLE Fragen auszufüllen, und so genau wie möglich.
Bitte folgen Sie dazu den genaueren Angaben der Projektleiterin.
- Bitte arbeiten Sie allein und geben Sie Ihre persönliche Meinung an.
- Beachten Sie bitte die Zeitlimits für die einzelnen Abschnitte.
- Dies ist kein Test in irgendeiner Form. Es gibt daher keine ‘falschen’ Antworten, sondern nur richtige!
- Bitte revidieren Sie Ihre Antworten nicht im Nachhinein, und bessern Sie gegebene Antworten nicht nachträglich um.
- Bei Unklarheiten wenden Sie sich bitte an die Projektleiterin!

Einleitung und allgemeine Informationen zur Aufgabenstellung:

Sie werden nun Aufnahmen von vier Personen hören, mit Zwischenpausen. Diese Personen sind TeilnehmerInnen eines Kommunikationsseminar. Sie tragen alle den gleichen Text vor. Ziel dieser Umfrage ist es, diesen TeilnehmerInnen Feedback zu geben: Wie kommen sie mit ihrer individuellen Art, diesen Text vorzutragen, bei einem öffentlichen Publikum an?

Bitte hören Sie genau auf die Sprechweise und beurteilen Sie dann jede/n Sprecher/in bezüglich des Persönlichkeitsprofils, das hier ‘transportiert’ wurde, anhand der vorgegebenen Liste von Eigenschaftswörtern.

Bitte tun Sie dies so schnell und zügig wie möglich. Nach jeder Sprecherin/ jedem Sprecher ist dafür jeweils eine Pause.





Zur Art der Beurteilung:

Wichtig: Bitte markieren Sie nur 1 Kästchen pro Zeile/Begriff!

Insgesamt enthält die Liste 22 gegensätzliche Eigenschaftspaare, mit einer Skala.

Je näher Sie Ihre Markierung zu einem Pol/Ende der Skala setzen, umso mehr stimmen Sie zu, dass diese Eigenschaft/Beschreibung für einen Sprecher/eine Sprecherin zutrifft.

Beispiel:

	2	1	0	-1	-2	
sympathisch	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	unsympathisch

... bedeutet, dass Sie eine/n Sprecher/in **sehr sympathisch** finden,

	2	1	0	-1	-2	
sympathisch	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	unsympathisch

... bedeutet, dass Sie eine/n Sprecher/in **eher sympathisch** finden,

	2	1	0	-1	-2	
sympathisch	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	unsympathisch

... bedeutet, dass Sie eine/n Sprecher/in **eher durchschnittlich sympathisch** finden oder neutral

	2	1	0	-1	-2	
sympathisch	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	unsympathisch

... bedeutet, dass Sie eine/n Sprecher/in **eher unsympathisch** finden

	2	1	0	-1	-2	
sympathisch	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	unsympathisch

... bedeutet, dass Sie eine/n Sprecher/in sehr unsympathisch finden

UND SO WEITER!

Wie gesagt, bitte unbedingt **nur ein** Kästchen pro Zeile markieren! Bitte lesen Sie auch nicht im Fragebogen vor und blättern Sie auch nicht weiter, sondern warten Sie auf das Zeichen der Projektleiterin, bevor Sie umblättern/weiter ausfüllen! Nach dem Hörteil gibt es im Fragebogen noch ein paar allgemeine Fragen zu beantworten.

VIELEN HERZLICHEN DANK FÜR IHRE TEILNAHME!!!!





SPRECHER/IN Nr. ____:

(4:30 Min.)

2 1 0 -1 -2

sympathisch					unsympathisch
gebildet					ungebildet
vertrauenswürdig					nicht vertrauenswürdig
höflich					unhöflich
intelligent					unintelligent
freundlich					unfreundlich
ehrlich					unehrlich
selbstbewusst					nicht selbstbewusst
kompetent					nicht kompetent
fleißig					faul
natürlich					gekünstelt
viel Sinn für Humor					kein Sinn für Humor
schlau					nicht schlau
emotional					unemotional
locker					nicht locker
ernst					unernst
aggressiv					nicht aggressiv
streng					nicht streng
konservativ					aufgeschlossen
grob					sanftmütig
arrogant					unarrogant
derb					vornehm

Wie schlagkräftig wurde das Argument hier präsentiert?

2 1 0 -1 -2

sehr schlagkräftig					nicht schlagkräftig
--------------------	--	--	--	--	---------------------

Bei welchem Zielpublikum würde diese/r Sprecher/in am besten ankommen?

Warum? _____

Bei welchem Zielpublikum würde diese/r Sprecher/in am schlechtesten ankommen?

Warum? _____

Sonstige Kommentare: _____





Bitte hören Sie noch einmal je einen kurzen Ausschnitt der Sprecher/innen und schätzen Sie ein: Woher, glauben Sie, kommen die Sprecher/innen?

Sprecher/in Nr. 1: _____

Sprecher/in Nr. 2: _____

Sprecher/in Nr. 3: _____

Sprecher/in Nr. 4: _____

**ZWEITER ABSCHNITT – Bitte geben Sie im Folgenden Ihre Meinung an:
(8 min.)**

Sie haben wahrscheinlich bemerkt, dass die Sprecher/innen verschiedene **Sprachstile** einsetzen (**Hochsprache** und **Umgangssprache/Dialekt**).

(1) Wie wirkt **dialektaler** Sprachstil im Allgemeinen auf Sie?

Warum? _____

(2) Wie wirkt **hochsprachlicher** Sprachstil im Allgemeinen auf Sie?

Warum? _____

(3) Gibt es für Sie Situationen, in denen der Gebrauch eines **dialektalen** Sprachstils sehr **unpassend** ist?

Ja

☐

Nein

☐

Keine Angabe

☐

Falls Ja, welche?





- (4) Gibt es für Sie Situationen, in denen der Gebrauch eines **hochsprachlichen** Sprachstils sehr **unpassend** ist?

Ja

☐

Nein

☐

Keine Angabe

☐

Falls Ja, welche?

Eventuelle abschließende Kommentare: _____

DRITTER ABSCHNITT – Biographische Angaben
(für die statistische Auswertung):

- (1) Weiblich ☐ Männlich ☐
- (2) Alter: _____
- (3) Studienrichtung/Studienfächer: _____
- (4) Aufgewachsen in (Bezirk): _____
- (5) Gegenwärtiger Lebensmittelpunkt (Bezirk): _____
- (6) Vater kommt aus (Bezirk/Region): _____
Mutter kommt aus (Bezirk/Region): _____
- (7) Muttersprache:
☐ Dialekt/Umgangssprache
☐ Hochsprache
☐ beides
☐ andere: _____

Bitte unterschreiben Sie unbedingt noch die Einverständniserklärung auf der nächsten Seite!

Vielen Dank für Ihre Teilnahme!





APPENDIX C – AD CHAPTER 5: SPEAKER DESIGN IN THE AUSTRIAN TV DISCUSSION SHOW *OFFEN GESAGT*

C1: Transcription conventions used

.	sentence-final falling intonation
,	clause-final intonation
?	final rise
–	breaking off
...	noticeable pause
[]	overlapping speech
@	laughter
(())	transcriber comment
[[]]	transcriber substitution

Tables C2–C7:

Dialect profiles of speakers AT, FFW, FM, FS, MG, SK from the *Offen gesagt* episode “Wer soll in die Hofburg”

Table C2: Dialect profile of speaker AT		N	% of the total of dialect features
Input-switch	[isd] ↔ [is] (‘is’)	61	12.7%
	[man] ↔ [ma] (‘one’); [fo:n] ↔ [fɔ:] (‘any-how’); [fɔn] ↔ [fɔ:] (‘of’)	55	11.5%
	[ɖas] ↔ [ɖe:s] (‘that’, ‘the’)	51	10.6%
	[a] ↔ [ɔ]	35	7.3%
	[niçɖ] ↔ [nɛ:ɖ] (‘not’)	32	6.7%
	[iç] ↔ [i:]	28	5.8%
	[aɛ] ↔ [a:]	23	4.8%
	[vi:ɐ], [mi:ɐ] ↔ [ma] (‘we’, ‘me’)	13	2.7%
	[u:] ↔ [ʊɐ]	5	1%
	[nɔx] ↔ [nu:] (‘still’)	5	1%
	[ɖa:f] ↔ [ɖeɐf] (‘may’)	3	0.6%
	[sind] ↔ [san] (‘are’)	3	0.6%
	[aɔx] ↔ [a:] (‘also’)	2	0.4%
	[ɔɛ] ↔ [aɛ]	1	0.2%
	[kɔmd] ↔ [kumɖ] (‘comes’)	1	0.2%





Table C2: Dialect profile of speaker AT		N	% of the total of dialect features
<i>l</i> -vocalization	e.g. [ˈb̥aɐ̯f̥b̥y] (vs. std [ˈb̥aɐ̯f̥bi:l] – ‘example’)	33	6.9%
<i>ge</i> -reduction	e.g. [kʃaɐ̯d̥] (vs. std [ɡeˈʃaɐ̯d̥] – ‘intelligent’)	18	3.8%
Consonant- cluster reduction	e.g. [niks] (vs. std [niçts] – ‘nothing’)	5	1%
Unstressed syl- lable reduction	e.g. [tsɐ̯əs̥d̥] (vs. std. [tsuˈɐ̯əs̥d̥] – ‘first’)	3	0.6%
Lexical	Morpho- syntactic <i>e</i> -apocope, e.g. <i>ich hab</i> (vs. std <i>ich habe</i> – ‘I have’)	58	12.7%
	Acc. <i>jemand</i> (vs. std. <i>jemanden</i> – ‘somebody’)	5	1%
	diminutive <i>–(er)l</i> in <i>a bissl</i> (‘a little’)	4	0.8%
	<i>tun</i> periphrasis	1	0.2%
	<i>eh</i> (discourse marker – ‘anyway’)	8	1.7%
	<i>halt</i> (discourse marker – ‘simply’)	2	0.4%
	<i>Megaflopp</i> (‘mega flop’)	2	0.4%
	<i>im FF hat</i> (‘knows it by heart’)	1	0.2%
	<i>Megafettnapf</i> (‘mega howler’)	1	0.2%
	<i>Mist gebaut</i> (‘messed up’)	1	0.2%
	<i>Lederhosenjogl</i> (‘lederhosen hicks’)	1	0.2%
	<i>Klampfe</i> (‘guitar’)	1	0.2%
	<i>Knutsch</i> (‘snog’, ‘cuddle’)	1	0.2%
Multiple features		17	3.5%
Total		480	100%
(out of 4,426 words total; = 10.8%)			

Table C3: Dialect profile of speaker FFW		N	% of the total of dialect features
Input-switch	[is̥d̥] ↔ [is] (‘is’)	16	50%
	[ɖas] ↔ [d̥e:s] (‘that’, ‘the’)	2	6.3%
	[iç] ↔ [i:] ‘I’	2	6.3%
<i>l</i> -vocalization	e.g. [ˈb̥aɐ̯f̥b̥y] (vs. std [ˈb̥aɐ̯f̥bi:l] – ‘example’)	4	12.5%
Morpho- syntactic	<i>e</i> -apocope, e.g. <i>ich hab</i> (vs. std <i>ich habe</i> – ‘I have’)	6	18.8%
Multiple features		2	6.3%
Total		32	100%
(out of 900 words total; = 3.6%)			





Table C4: Dialect profile of speaker FM		N	% of the total of dialect features
Input-switch	[a] ↔ [ɔ]	51	22.1%
	[isɔ] ↔ [is] ('is')	29	12.6%
	[aɛ] ↔ [a:]	25	10.8%
	[niçɔ] ↔ [nɛ:ɔ] ('not')	18	7.8%
	[ɔas] ↔ [ɔe:s] ('that', 'the')	17	7.4%
	[man] ↔ [ma] ('one'); [ʃo:n] ↔ [ʃɔ:] ('anyhow'); [fɔn] ↔ [fɔ:] ('of')	11	4.8%
	[ma] ↔ [vi:e] ('we')	5	2.2%
	[iç] ↔ [i:] ('I')	4	1.7%
	[u:] ↔ [ʊɐ]	2	0.9%
	[ɔa:f] ↔ [ɔɛf] ('may')	2	0.9%
	[œ] ↔ [ɛ]	2	0.9%
	[ɔe] ↔ [aɛ]	1	0.4%
	[y] ↔ [i]	1	0.4%
	[sind] ↔ [san] ('are')	1	0.4%
	[aɔx] ↔ [a:] ('also')	1	0.4%
<i>l</i> -vocalization	e.g. ['bʰaɛʃby] (vs. std ['bʰaɛʃbi:l] – 'example')	14	6.1%
<i>ge</i> -reduction	e.g. [kfikɔ] (vs. std [ge'fikɔ] – 'sent')	4	1.7%
Consonant- cluster reduction	e.g. [niks] (vs. std [niçts] – 'nothing')	2	0.9%
Morpho- syntactic	<i>e</i> -apocope, e.g. <i>ich hab</i> (vs. std <i>ich habe</i> – 'I have')	11	4.8%
	3 rd p. sg. <i>ret</i> (vs. std. <i>redet</i> – 'talks')	2	0.9%
	Acc. <i>niemand</i> (vs. std. <i>niemanden</i> – 'nobody')	2	0.9%
	diminutive <i>-(er)l in a bissl</i> ('a little')	1	0.4%
	<i>wann</i> (vs. std. <i>wenn</i> – 'when')	1	0.4%
	2 nd p. sg. <i>kannst</i> (vs. std. <i>kannst du</i> – 'can you')	1	0.4%
	Dat. <i>wem</i> (vs. std. use of Acc. <i>wen</i> – 'whom')	1	0.4%
	subjunctive <i>wa</i> (vs. std. <i>wäre</i> – 'would be')	1	0.4%
Lexical	<i>klass</i> ('great')	2	0.9%
	<i>halt</i> (discourse marker – 'simply')	1	0.4%
	<i>eh</i> (discourse marker – 'anyway')	1	0.4%
	<i>gnä</i> (vs. standard 'gnädige' – 'dear')	1	0.4%
Multiple features		16	6.9%
Total		231	100%
(out of 1,298 words total; = 17.8%)			





Table C5: Dialect profile of speaker FS		N	% of the total of dialect features
Input-switch	[isd] ↔ [is] ('is')	25	27.5%
	[a] ↔ [ɔ]	12	13.2%
	[i:ç] ↔ [i] ('I')	5	5.5%
	[aɐ] ↔ [a:]	4	4.4%
	[man] ↔ [ma] ('one')	3	3.3%
	[ɖas] ↔ [ɖe:s] ('that', 'the')	3	3.3%
	[niçɖ] ↔ [ne:ɖ] ('not')	2	2.2%
	[u:] ↔ [ʊɐ]	1	1.1%
<i>l</i> -vocalization	e.g. [sœ] (vs. std [sɔl] – 'should')	7	7.7%
<i>ge</i> -reduction	e.g. [grɑɖ] (vs. std [ge'radɐ] – 'just')	5	5.5%
Unstressed syllable reduction	<i>Tschuldigung</i> (vs. std. <i>Entschuldigung</i> – 'excuse me')	2	2.2%
Morpho- syntactic	<i>e</i> -apocope, e.g. <i>ich hab</i> (vs. std <i>ich habe</i> – 'I have')	14	15.4%
	diminutive <i>-(er)l</i> in <i>a bissl</i> ('a little')	5	5.5%
	2 nd person pl. imperative ending <i>-s</i> : <i>hörts auf</i> (vs. std <i>hört auf</i> – 'stop it')	2	2.2%
Lexical	<i>halt</i> (discourse marker – 'simply')	1	1.1%
Total		91	100%
(out of 1,255 words total; = 7.3%)			

Table C6: Dialect profile of speaker MG		N	% of the total of dialect features
Input-switch	[isd] ↔ [is] ('is')	61	61%
	[aɐ] ↔ [a:]	7	7%
	[ɖas] ↔ [ɖe:s] ('that', 'the')	6	6%
	[a] ↔ [ɔ]	6	6%
	[man] ↔ [ma] ('one'); [ʃo:n] ↔ [ʃɔ:] (‘anyhow’); [fɔn] ↔ [fɔ:] ('of')	2	2%
	[ma] ↔ [vi:ɐ] ('we')	2	2%
	[niçɖ] ↔ [ne:ɖ] ('not')	1	1%
	[iç] ↔ [i:] ('I')	1	1%
<i>l</i> -vocalization	e.g. [fy:] (vs. std [fi:l] – 'a lot')	1	1%
<i>ge</i> -reduction	e.g. [kfikɖ] (vs. std [ge'fikɖ] – 'sent')	2	2%
Consonant- cluster reduction	e.g. [niks] (vs. std [niçts] – 'nothing')	2	2%





Table C6: Dialect profile of speaker MG		N	% of the total of dialect features
Unstressed syllable reduction	<i>Tschuldigung</i> (vs. std. <i>Entschuldigung</i> – ‘excuse me’)	2	2%
Morpho- syntactic	<i>e</i> -apocope, e.g. <i>ich hab</i> (vs. std <i>ich habe</i> – ‘I have’) <i>wie wenn</i> (vs. std. <i>als ob</i> – ‘as if’)	6 1	6% 1%
Total		100	100%
(out of 1,307 words total; = 7.7%)			

Table C7: Dialect profile of speaker SK		N	% of total dial. features
Input-switch	[isd] ↔ [is] (‘is’)	174	49.2%
	[a] ↔ [ɔ]	25	7.1%
	[ɖas] ↔ [ɖe:s] (‘that’, ‘the’)	21	5.9%
	[man] ↔ [ma] (‘one’); [ʃo:n] ↔ [ʃɔ:] (‘anyhow’); [fɔn] ↔ [fɔ:] (‘of’)	17	4.8%
	[aɛ] ↔ [a:]	14	4%
	[ma] ↔ [vi:e] (‘we’)	13	3.7%
	[iç] ↔ [i:] (‘I’)	9	2.5%
	[niçd] ↔ [nɛ:d] (‘not’)	7	2%
	[u:] ↔ [ʊɐ]	3	0.9%
	[sind] ↔ [san] (‘are’)	2	0.6%
	[ɔɐ] ↔ [aɛ]	1	0.3%
	[aɔx] ↔ [a:] (‘also’)	1	0.3%
	<i>l</i> -vocalization e.g. [ˈbʰaɐ̯ʰy] (vs. std [ˈbʰaɐ̯ʰi:l] – ‘example’)	11	3.1%
<i>ge</i> -reduction	e.g. [grɑɖ] (vs. std [geˈraɖɐ] – ‘just’)	7	2 %
Consonant- cluster reduction	e.g. [niks] (vs. std [niçts] – ‘nothing’)	2	0.6%
Morphosyntactic	<i>e</i> -apocope	32	9%
	diminutive –(er)l in a <i>bissl</i> (‘a little’)	2	0.6%
	2 nd p. sg. <i>weiß</i> t (vs. std. <i>weiß</i> t <i>du</i> – ‘know you’)	1	0.3%
	2 nd person pl. imperative ending –s <i>tuts</i> (vs. std <i>tut</i> – ‘do’)	1	0.3%
	<i>wo</i> ma <i>ihn</i> versteht (vs. std. <i>den</i> man versteht – ‘who one understands’)	1	0.3%
	Lexical <i>weg</i> tun (‘do away’)	1	0.3%
Lexical	<i>nimmer</i> (‘no more’)	1	0.3%
	<i>durch den Kakao ziehen</i> (‘joke about’)	1	0.3%
	(<i>das</i>) spielt es [...] nicht (‘that’s not possible’)	2	0.6%
	<i>eh</i> (discourse marker – ‘anyway’)	1	0.3%
Multiple features		4	1.1%
Total		354	100%
(out of 2,879 words total; = 12.3%)			





Table C8:

List of dialect stretches of three or more words identified in the transcript of the *Offen gesagt* episode “Wer soll in die Hofburg”, together with a classification of their discourse context.

N.B.: Highlighting indicates the dialect stretch; English gloss provided in italics.

1 AT	I man, des is ja sehr schön und is auch ein sehr schönes Ziel [...] aber ...	personal opinion, tendentally ironic, evaluation, 1 st person perspective
	<i>I mean, that is yet very nice and is also a very nice goal [...] but...</i>	
2 MG	... diese Sehnsucht die hab ich auch, endlich wieder geliebt zu werden als Österreicher im Ausland, [...] und das schafft sie und des hot nix mit Eitelkeit zu tun, das ich als Österreicher beliebt bin-	personal opinion, evaluation, countering (anticipating) criticism
	<i>... and this desire that have I also, finally again popular to be as Austrian abroad, [...] and she achieves that and that has nothing with vanity to do, that I as Austrian popular am-</i>	
3 FM	... das is ihr gutes Recht und ich find des gor net so schlecht, ich möcht nur ...	personal opinion, 1 st person perspective, evaluation
	<i>... that is her good right and I find that at all not so bad, I want only ...</i>	
4 FM	... und muss herumgehen, aber was des ollawichigste is, das Staatsoberhaupt hat ausgleichend zu sein ...	attention-getter, sets up focus on next utterance → contrast; topicalization; personal opinion, evaluation
	<i>... and must walk about, but what the most important thing is, the head of state ...</i>	
5 FM	Sog net immer ois Historiker, des wissma schon, des wissma scho!	short-turn side-comment, exclamation, criticism, put- down, irritated, evaluation, reproach
	<i>Say not always as historian, that know we already, that know we already!</i>	
6 SK	Jedenfalls 1929 hat ma gsagt des is net guat, machma einen Gegenspieler zum Parlament und damit zum Bundeskanzler.	summary of a position, the gist, constructed dialogue
	<i>Anyway 1929 has one said that is not good, let's have an opponent to parliament and therefore to the chancellor.</i>	
7 FM	Na bitte lenk net ob vo dem Problem	reproach, attack, directly 2 nd person addressed; short-turn side-comment
	<i>No please distract not from this problem</i>	
8 MG	Sie können doch nicht, wie kommen Sie dazu hier zu behaupten sie hot ka Ohnung von ana Verfassung,	constructed dialogue, reproach
	<i>You can really not, how come you to it here to say she has no idea of a constitution,</i>	





9 FM	Des hot a net gsogt.	short-turn side-comment, criticism/opposition, irritated, defensive
	<i>That has he not said.</i>	
10 FM	Na des hot a net gsogt.	short-turn side-comment, criticism/opposition, irritated – repetition
	<i>No that has he not said.</i>	
11 AT	... ich halt sie wie gsagt für eine sympathische kluge Frau, deswegen, derf i ma trotzdem ein Urteil erlauben.	criticism, defensive, putdown, 1 st person perspective
	<i>... i hold her like mentioned for a nice smart woman, for that may I for myself nevertheless a judgment permit.</i>	
12 & 13 AT	... des is sozusagen ein echter Megafettnapf, der bis jetzt auch [...] ich hab ihn auch, bis jetzt nicht in ordentli- oiso i hob den Vorwurf a nu net ordentlich dargestellt gehört. Da geht's nämlich um ...	repetition, criticism, reproaching, impatient, looking for the right words, 1 st person perspective, setting up a story
	<i>... that is so to say a real mega howler, that until now also, I have it not, until now not in appropriately I have the reproach also not yet appropriately present heard. This is namely about ...</i>	
14 AT	... der Text steht fest, najo, des san kane Guatn, gegen die liegen eh sozusagen Anzeigen vor, ...	constructed dialogue, summing up opposing position, ridiculing/contemptuous
	<i>...the text stands fixed, well, those are no good people, against them are anyway so to say charges recorded,...</i>	
15 AT	Der Megaflopp – wenn i des nu sogen darf, oiso sozusagen ohne dass Sie mir dazwischenreden, wenn ein österreichischer Außenminister...	turn-continuation, 1 st person
	<i>The mega flop – if I that still say may, also so to say without that you me interrupt, if an Austrian Foreign Minister</i>	
16–19 FM	Och um Gottes Wün, wann i Aussenminister bin und Mitglied bin hob i oba ollerhand zu reden, oiso, nein, tuansis net, tuansis net owispün gnä Frau, tuanses net owispün. Na. San net immer nur die an bes und die ondan guat.	exclamation, criticism, irritated/ironic, put-down, ridiculing, hypothetical scenario, (subsequently directly 2 nd person addressed)
	<i>But for God's sake, when I Foreign Minister am and a member am have I however a lot to say, so, no, do it not, do it not play down dear lady, do it not play down. No. Are not always the ones bad and the others good.</i>	





20 AT	<p>... aber der Bundespräsident wird verhindern vielleicht, dass die Bank und die Versicherung nu die Transparente auf der Hofburg aufhängen. Das is das mindeste was ich von ihnen erwarte, und wenn die Frau Ferrero so ökonomisierungsfroh an die Sache herangeht, hob i do scho meine Zweifel, ...</p> <p><i>...but the president will prevent maybe that the bank and the insurance also the advertisements on the presidential palace hang. That is the least that I from them expect, and when the Ms. Ferrero so economy-happy the thing approaches, have I there indeed my doubts, ...</i></p>	personal opinion, 1 st person, critical, expressing doubt, ironic/satirical
21 FM	<p>Bitte is jo ka Gefühl mehr is jo scho a Wut, die Sie da unentwegt ausstoßen...</p> <p><i>Please is even no emotion any more is even already a rage that you here incessantly let out ...</i></p>	comment, criticism, ironic/contemptuous, ridiculing, directly 2 nd person addressed
22 FM	<p>... der Botschafter S. hat auf eine Frage gesagt, warum gibts in Österreich so viel Orden, hot a Deitscher gsogt ((mit deutschem Akzent)) 'so viele Orden und warum so viele Titel,' hat gsagt weils schön is.</p> <p><i>... the ambassador S. has to a question said, why are there in Austria so many medals, has a German said ((in a German accent)) 'so many medals and why so many titles,' has said because it's nice.</i></p>	intro/reported speech, anecdote/joke-like, creates contrast
23 & 24 AT	<p>Die Leit woin des überhaupt net und die Leit woin goa nix, ja? ausser ihrer Ruhe, und ich will dort zum Beispiel einen Politiker haben ...</p> <p><i>The people want that absolutely not and the people want totally nothing, yes? except their peace, and I want there for example a politician to have ...</i></p>	Speaking for the people, what the people want
25 FM	<p>Und auf gewisse Fragen hats gsogt do sog i nix.</p> <p><i>And to particular questions has she said there say I nothing.</i></p>	reported speech / constructed dialogue, ironic/negative, criticism
26 AT	<p>Da sog i gor nix, aber ich meine nur, Politiker sind ja ...</p> <p><i>There say I at all nothing, but I mean only, politicians are anyway ...</i></p>	constructed dialogue, repetition of FM, criticism





27 & 28 SK	... wir hatten auch immer wieder sog i jetz langweilige Bundespräsidenten, wenn ich an den Heinisch denke, der war bis Achtundzwanzig Bundespräsident, dLeit hom gsogt um Gottes Willen, so einen faden Onkel wollen wir nimmer, und dann hams ungefähr an gleichen nocheinmal bekommen ...	1 st person interjection, attention getter, introduction to personal opinion;
	... and we had also time and again say I now boring presidents, when I of Heinisch think, he was until twenty-eight president, the people have said for God's sake, such a boring uncle want we no more, and then have they about a same one once again had ...	introducing constructed dialogue, what the people said
29 SK	... wie der Schärf nur versucht war, die alten Sozialdemokraten wieder nicht nach Österreich kommen zu lassen nach dem Krieg, er schreibt dem Julius Braunthal, die jüdischen zum Beispiel, nicht, schreibt er, Julius, lieber Julius [...] Bitte komm doch ni- du kannst kommen aber weisst Plotz homma keinen mehr für dich ...	constructed dialogue, ridiculing/absurd, presented as negative/object of contempt
	... how Schärf only was attempting, the old Social Democrats again not to Austria to let come after the war, and he writes to Julius Braunthal, the Jewish ones for example, right, writes he, Julius, dear Julius [...] Please come really no- you can come but you know a place we have no more for you ...	
30 FM	Hamma scho a poa ghobt.	interjection, short-turn side-comment, rephrasing previous speaker's turn, correction?
	Have we already a few had.	
31 FM	... sogn die, wie konnst den Klestil unterstützen is jo a firchterlicher Kerl, also bei uns ändern sich die Meinungen alle drei vier Jahr.	constructed dialogue, ironic/absurd, ridiculing
	... say they, how can you Klestil support is yet a horrible guy, so with us change the opinions every three four years.	
32 FM	Jo, ober des is a Privatscho, soll a Privatscho sein.	short-turn side-comment, criticism
	Yes but that is a private matter, shall a private matter be.	
33 FM	Ober er derfs do sogn.	short-turn side-comment, criticism, opposing, defending AT
	But he may it still say.	
34 AT	I derfs sogn, jo.	short-turn side-comment, repetition of FM, justification/defense/criticism, 1 st person perspective
	I may it say, yes.	





35 FM	Er derfs jo sogn.	short-turn side-comment, repetition of above, criticism
	<i>He may it still say.</i>	
36 & 37 AT	... Und da möcht i halt net jemand der dann immer rückfragen muss bevor die klaren Meinungen kommen, sondern jemand von dem ich des Gefühl hob der agiert souverän ...	personal opinion; presenting a personal feeling, 1 st person perspective
	<i>... And there want I then not somebody that then always has to check back before the clear opinions come, but somebody of whom I the impression have he acts independently ...</i>	
38 AT	Ja aber wenn ma schon amoi an hom, dann sollt ma sollt ma uns doch freuen, oder	off-hand, almost proverbial, speaking for 'we the people', 1 st person perspective
	<i>Yes but when we already once one have, then should we should we ourselves but be happy, right</i>	
39 FM	Goa ka schlechte Idee, des wa goa ka schlechte Idee.	short-turn side-comment; ironic because contrary in intent to previously expressed opinion by SK, evaluation
	<i>Not even a bad idea, that would be not even a bad idea.</i>	
40 SK	Das is aber Sache des Konvents, des österreichischen Konvents, do komma nochdenken drüber, alles mögliche, nur jetzt spielt sichs im Moment nicht, ...	concession, evaluation of a perspective
	<i>That is however an issue for the convention, the Austrian convention, there can one think about it, everything possible, but now plays this at the moment not, ...</i>	
41 SK	... die Österreicher wollen auch einen Bundespräsidenten, eine Bundespräsidentin, zum Angreifen. Eine, die quasi angreifbar is, nicht abgehoben irgendwo da oben nebulos herumschwimmt, vielleicht in irgendwöchen Gesetzesmaterien, exzellent si ausken- die woin a wos zum, Beispiel Jonas. Der war a Mensch zum Angreifen, ...	speaking for the people, expressing what the people want, down-to-earth
	<i>... the Austrians want also a president ((male + female)) to touch. One who quasi touchable is, not disconnected somewhere up there nebulously swims around, maybe in some law issues, excellently is knowlegea – they want also something to, for example Jonas. He was a person to touch, ...</i>	
42 FM	I wass net wem i ongreifn mecht.	short-turn side-comment, ironic/ridiculing/satirical, deliberate re-casting of previous utterance by SK
	<i>I don't know whom I to touch want.</i>	





43 AT	Nein, ich möcht an Politiker, i möcht ka Maskottchen, des i knutsch, i möcht kan Teddybär den ich mit ins Bett nehme sondern ... <i>No, I want a politician, I want no mascot that I cuddle, I want no teddybear that I with me to bed take but rather ...</i>	personal opinion, ironic/satirical/absurd, ridiculing of an opposing position
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Table C9:

List displaying only those multi-word dialect stretches identified in the transcript of the *Offen gesagt* episode “Wer soll in die Hofburg” which occur in the discourse context of **constructed dialogue**

6 SK	Jedenfalls 1929 hat ma gsagt des is net guat, machma einen Gegenspieler zum Parlament und damit zum Bundeskanzler. <i>Anyway 1929 has one said that is not good, let's have an opponent to parliament and therefore to the chancellor.</i>
8 MG	Sie können doch nicht, wie kommen Sie dazu hier zu behaupten sie hot ka Ohnung von ana Verfassung, <i>You can really not, how come you to it here to say she has no idea of a constitution,</i>
14 AT	... der Text steht fest, najo, des san kane Guatn, gegen die liegen eh sozusagen Anzeigen vor, ... <i>... the text stands fixed, well, those are no good people, against them are anyway so to say charges recorded, ...</i>
25 FM	Und auf gewisse Fragen hats gsogt do sog i nix. <i>And to particular questions has she said there say I nothing.</i>
26 AT	Da sog i gor nix, aber ich meine nur, Politiker sind ja ... <i>There say I at all nothing, but I mean only, politicians are anyway ...</i>
29 SK	... wie der Schärf nur versucht war, die alten Sozialdemokraten wieder nicht nach Österreich kommen zu lassen nach dem Krieg, er schreibt dem Julius Braunthal, die jüdischen zum Beispiel, nicht, schreibt er, Julius, lieber Julius [...] Bitte komm doch ni- du kannst kommen aber weisst Plotz homma keinen mehr für dich ... <i>... how Schärf only was attempting, the old Social Democrats again not to Austria to let come after the war, and he writes to Julius Braunthal, the Jewish ones for example, right, writes he, Julius, dear Julius [...] Please come really no- you can come but you know a place we have no more for you ...</i>
31 FM	... sogn die, wie konnst den Klestil unterstützen is jo a firchterlicher Kerl, also bei uns ändern sich die Meinungen alle drei vier Jahr. <i>... say they, how can you Klestil support is yet a horrible guy, so with us change the opinions every three four years.</i>





Table C10:

List displaying only those multi-word dialect stretches identified in the transcript of the *Offen gesagt* episode “Wer soll in die Hofburg” which occur in the discourse context of ‘one-liners’

5 FM	Sog net immer ois Historiker, des wissma schon, des wissma scho! <i>Say not always as historian, that know we already, that know we already!</i>
7 FM	Na bitte lenk net ob vo dem Problem <i>No please distract not from this problem</i>
9 FM	Des hot a net gsogt. <i>That has he not said.</i>
10 FM	Na des hot a net gsogt. <i>No that has he not said.</i>
30 FM	Hamma scho a poa ghobt. <i>Have we already a few had.</i>
32 FM	Jo, ober des is a Privatsoche, soll a Privatsoche sein. <i>Yes, but that is a private matter, shall a private matter be.</i>
33 FM	Ober er derfs do sogn. <i>But he may it still say.</i>
34 AT	I derfs sogn, jo. <i>I may it say, yes.</i>
35 FM	Er derfs jo sogn. <i>He may it still say.</i>
39 FM	Goa ka schlechte Idee, des wa goa ka schlechte Idee. <i>Not even a bad idea, that would be not even a bad idea.</i>
42 FM	I wass net wem i ongreifn mecht. <i>I don't know whom I to touch want.</i>







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