

*Oachkatzlschwoaf*: A Study of Language Choice in Ried im Innkreis, Austria

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## ABSTRACT

David Kleinberg: *Oachkatzlschwoaf: A Study of Language Choice in Ried im Innkreis, Austria*  
(Under the direction of Paul Roberge)

A statistical analysis of data collected via self-reporting questionnaires and participant observation in Ried im Innkreis, Austria, shows that the speakers in this community typically prefer to speak their local dialect rather than Standard German or colloquial varieties, at a significantly higher frequency in more domains than speakers in other communities of similar size in Austria. Data from Ried im Innkreis are compared with results from Steinegger (1998) and Wiesinger (1989b), in which similar surveys were distributed throughout Austria. Factors that typically correlate with the choice of dialect over colloquial or standard varieties of German in large cities in Austria, such as socioeconomic class, do not play a significant role in Ried im Innkreis due to the small size of the community. The same trends apparent in the rest of the Austria with regard to gender are apparent in Ried. Males report that they speak dialect slightly more often than females, and a decrease in dialect use by females is indicated which corresponds to typical child-raising years and retirement. The trends for age and dialect frequency are generally consistent with previous findings for Austria. School-aged speakers report that they use dialect more often than adults. Adult commuters speak dialect more often than non-commuters in intimate situations with family and friends. School-aged commuters report that they speak less dialect than non-commuters in school and when speaking with strangers. Social network strength is a significant factor, and correlates positively with frequency of dialect use, but only in situations where speaker is

in their own social network. Speakers' attitudes regarding dialect and Standard German, speakers of dialect, and their own choice of speech variety can provide psychological explanations for their choice of variety in a given domain. Positive attitudes regarding the dialect itself, speakers of the local dialect and local loyalty are positively correlated with frequency of dialect use. Predictions for the future vitality of the local dialect are also made, based on current and historical demographic trends and the respondents' attitudes regarding dialect and standard varieties of German.

For my family and the community of Ried im Innkreis

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ASG: Austrian Standard German

BG/BRG: Bundesgymnasium/Bundesrealgymnasium Ried im Innkreis

BORG: Bundesoberstufenrealgymnasium Ried im Innkreis

GSG: German Standard German

HBLa: Höhere Bundeslehranstalt für wirtschaftliche Berufe

HTL: Höhere Technische Lehranstalt für Maschineningenieurwesen

MHG: Middle High German, *Mittelhochdeutsch*

NHG: New (Modern) High German, *Neuhochdeutsch*

OHG: Old High German, *Althochdeutsch*

ÖWB: Österreichisches Wörterbuch

ORF: Österreichischer Rundfunk

PÄDAK: Pädagogische Akademie

SAO: Sprachatlas von Oberösterreich

SPSS: Statistical Program for the Social Sciences

SSG: Swiss Standard German

## Chapter 1: Introduction

*The Gileadites captured the fords of the Jordan leading to Ephraim, and whenever a survivor of Ephraim said, "Let me cross over," the men of Gilead asked him, "Are you an Ephraimite?" If he replied, "No," they said, "All right, say 'Shibboleth.'" He said, 'Sibboleth,' because he could not pronounce the word correctly, they seized him and killed him at the fords of the Jordan. Forty-two thousand Ephraimites were killed at that time. – Judges 12:5-6 (New International Bible)*

Language can express much about a speaker: his or her position in society, personal beliefs and values. Important determinations may be made not because of *what* is said, but *how* it is said. In the case of the Ephraimites, the choice of language variety was a matter of life and death.

Language does more than just communicate ideas. It is an important tool in building and maintaining relationships between people. The characteristics of individual speakers may be revealed by the manner in which they speak. Speakers from different geographical areas or socioeconomic backgrounds speak different varieties of a language. A speaker's choice of linguistic forms may reveal where they come from, or something about their socioeconomic background. All of this information helps the interlocutor to form an opinion about the speaker. These two important considerations, that language is used in establishing and sustaining relationships, and that speech conveys extra-linguistic information about a speaker, demonstrate the important inter-relatedness between language and the society. Language as a social phenomenon is closely associated with the structure and values of society. This is a fundamental precept of the field of sociolinguistics.

Various accents or varieties of speech are evaluated differently. The relative prestige of a variety is based on the values held by society, not due to any inherent property of the variety itself. Objectively, all of the varieties of German are completely capable of expressing a full range of ideas and emotions, but specific varieties are associated with subjective cognitive and affective values, some positive and some negative. It is normal for humans to seek acceptance from others and a sense of belonging. Through the use of a specific variety of language, a speaker can feel that they are a member of a specific group of speakers based on similarities or mutual interest within the group. Just as language can be used to build and maintain relationships among speakers, language can also be used to exclude others from the group, making them outsiders. In Ried im Innkreis the local dialect is an audible sign which its speakers use to indicate their loyalty to their home community and their uniqueness that separates them from other Austrians, as well as Germans.

The word *Oachkatzlschwoaf* ['ɔaxkatzlʃwɔaf] 'tail of a squirrel' is a shibboleth for the Central Bavarian dialect region, primarily due to dual realization of the vowel sound [ɔa], which in Standard German would be [ai]. Over the course of one and a half years in Ried im Innkreis, I was asked by various people if I could adequately pronounce this word on at least ten separate occasions. The particular pronunciation of this word can instantly mark one as an in- or outsider. I also noticed that as my pronunciation of *Oachkatzlschwoaf* improved over time, I felt simultaneously more and more welcome in the community. Obviously this co-occurrence was not solely due to my ability to pronounce this shibboleth properly, but to my continued presence and interest in the community of Ried im Innkreis.

In this dissertation, I examine the community of Ried im Innkreis, Austria with respect to the local dialect. Social factors, internal psychological motivations, and external situational

factors are examined in order to determine the motivations of speakers when choosing between various varieties of German in a given situation. The underlying claim of my work is that the speakers of Ried im Innkreis and the surrounding community speak dialect more often in various domains, and in more domains than speakers in other communities of similar size in Austria.<sup>1</sup> Some speakers use dialect more often than others who may prefer a colloquial variety or something much closer to Standard German.

This research assumes that there are relevant connections between language and language-external influences such as social class, age, gender, size of community, influence of mass media and speakers' attitudes about language and its speakers. Furthermore, there are situational factors that play a role in the choice of language variety. Another basic assumption is that the German language in Austria is characterized by polyglossia, a hierarchy of multiple parallel varieties of German, caused by the heterogeneous nature of the Austrian society. These assumptions also make predictions for the linguistic behavior of the speakers in Ried.

This work is a sociolinguistic inquiry into the relationship between individuals' backgrounds as well as internalized beliefs and attitudes and the manner in which the speakers choose to express themselves through spoken language. Speech is a social activity that is conscious and goal-oriented. Speakers assume specific social roles in every communication situation, and certain social behavior is expected in each situation. This work demonstrates the relationships between social factors and attitudes and the choice of language variety. It notes which factors have been shown to be relevant in other Austrian

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<sup>1</sup> Comparisons between Ried and other communities in Germany (with the exception of Bavaria) and Switzerland are not valid, because of differing status and preservation of the local dialects across the German-speaking countries of Europe (see chapter two).

communities but do not play a significant role in the speech community of Ried. It also makes a prognosis about the continued vitality of the local dialect of Ried.

The scope of this study has been restricted to respondents' own perceptions of their dialect and language variation within Austria. One of the questions to be answered is: in which social situations and settings (domains) do the speakers feel it is appropriate to use the local dialect as opposed to a colloquial or standard variety of German? There are some domains where the attitudes and social background of the speaker play a much less significant role in the choice of variety than the formal nature of the situation. Another question to be addressed is: what role do the speaker-specific factors play in predicting what variety will be spoken?

Chapter two presents the existing body of research on the dialectological, sociolinguistic and attitudinal research for Austria specifically. This dissertation contributes to and expands upon this existing body of knowledge. The status of various varieties of the German language — dialect, standard, and the varieties in between — are presented in their various distributions throughout Austria. Dialect is defined according to both geographical and social-class constellations. The role of educational institutions in variety choice is also discussed. Previous linguistic research specifically dealing with the local community of Ried im Innkreis and the Innviertel region is also outlined.

Chapter three discusses the community of Ried im Innkreis, the demographics of its people, and the city's economic importance within the region. Historical factors which play a role in the formation of the residents' attitudes are discussed. Of particular interest are the changing employment and commuting trends. Although the city is an educational and administrative center for the entire region, adults often must travel out of the community for

work. The characteristics — particularly phonological and lexical — which uniquely identify the local dialect and distinguish it from other regional dialects and Standard German are presented. The high salience and positive evaluation of the local dialect is discussed, as is the trend of increased dialect usage in and higher estimation of dialect in German-speaking countries since the 1970s. This raises the question: is Ried unusual in its preference for dialect, or merely following a broader trend?

Chapter four outlines the formal methodology employed in the field research, primarily through questionnaires and participant observation. The design of the survey and the motivating factors behind it, the sampling methods, the preparation and categorization of the data and statistical analysis of the data are discussed. Several different sets of criteria to categorize socioeconomic classes will be employed for comparison.

Chapter five presents the results of the statistical analysis. The frequency of dialect use in the various domains is determined and compared with similar existing research for Austria. The frequency of dialect use is also correlated with the socially-constructed categories of the respondents as well as with their attitudes as expressed in the survey. The attitudes expressed in the survey are also correlated with social factors age gender, social class, social network strength and mobility (commuter status). The tendencies are explained and compared with the expected trends for a community of this size in Austria.

Finally, chapter six discusses the significant trends for dialect use in Ried. Potential future research for this community is suggested, and predictions are made for the future vitality of the local dialect. The research methods used and the conclusions drawn from this study, particularly regarding social networks, can be extended to other communities both in German-language areas and elsewhere.

## **Chapter 2: The state of sociolinguistic and variationist research in German-speaking countries**

### **2.1 The German language, its dialects and standards**

#### **2.1.1 One German language, many dialects**

A single variety of German is determined by a common related structure and appearance within a speech community (Mattheier 1980: 14). All of the varieties of interest in my study fall under the designation “the German language.” As with all languages, there is variation within the German language, and the standard variety overlaps with (*überdacht*) the non-standard varieties. The relationship is asymmetrical. While it is true that the German language includes, for example, Bavarian, Saxon, and Low German dialects, it cannot be said that the specific dialect of the Innviertel region overlaps German and any other language. Although a language is often associated with a specific nation-state, there is no language unique to only Austria. While some linguists (cf. Muhr 1987) and laymen have called for the designation of Austrian German as a separate language, *Österreichisch* vis-à-vis *Deutsch*, this proposal has found little acceptance. Speakers of the two standards, Austrian Standard German (ASG) and German Standard German (GSG), do not consider them to be separate languages, as they have too much in common (phonology, lexicon, orthography, morphosyntax, and pragmatics) (Ammon 1995: 5). Wiesinger (1990: 218) argues against the notion of Austrian as a separate language from German on the grounds that there are approximately 4000 uniquely Austrian lexical items, or only 1.8% of the entire German lexicon. It is an ideological and a political issue to declare ASG as a language separate from



but equal to GSG (Scheuringer 1997: 340). ASG, as a national variety of German, serves as a symbol of national sentiment, identity and loyalty (Pollak 1994: 18, 28-31).

Reiffenstein (1977: 175-176) elaborates several reasons why Austrian German is worthy of consideration as a unique regional variety of German. Austrians identify strongly with their specific variety. This language loyalty is motivated by the relative homogeneity of the Austrian population. There are also many levels and sub-systems within Austrian German which lack clear divisions between the different levels. The situation is also undergoing constant change.

Moosmüller (1991) investigated which varieties are considered by Austrians to be standard varieties. She found that speech samples of regional varieties used by professional classes and academics from Salzburg and Vienna—both in Central Bavarian dialect areas—are recognized as standard, while samples from Graz or Innsbruck—both Southern Bavarian dialect areas—are not. The variety most recognized as acceptable as a nation-wide standard is the dialect of the upper class of Vienna (Moosmüller 1990:109). Many works of popular music, theater and literature are written and/or performed in Viennese dialect, because it is felt to be understood throughout Austria (Wiesinger 1990: 225).

Vienna, as the capital and far and away the largest city in Austria, with almost 20% of Austria's population, is in a class of its own (Steinegger 1998: 78). Vienna is often perceived by Austrians outside of the capital city as a separate entity from the rest of Austria. It is often referred to as “das Rote Wien” (‘Red Vienna’), a reference to the socialist government programs (Moosmüller 1991:21). Many perceive Vienna as the center, if not geographically then culturally and politically, with the rest of Austria in a peripheral position (Moosmüller 1990: 109).

### 2.1.2 The Dialect-Standard Continuum

The term *dialect* is defined by Reitmajer (1989: 143-144) as a variety of language that is generally older than the written language, is the primary language of everyday life within the family and in informal situations outside of the family, and is an expression of intimate community life; among speakers there is a feeling of trust and group solidarity. Most importantly, the dialect is only regionally appropriate, thus legitimizing the need for another variety – the standard variety – for supra-regional communication. The dialect is generally used in spoken communication, not in written communication. Geographically there is a gradual dialect continuum; there are only minor differences among adjacent dialects, but over a larger distance these differences may become very great, such that speakers of *Plattdeutsch* in the north of Germany may have difficulty understanding speakers of southern dialects such as Bavarian or Alemannic. Dialect is the variety in Austria used in trusted circles among well-acquainted speakers who consider each other to be equals, as well as in small businesses where the speaker is known and shops regularly (i.e. at a grocer), and with colleagues of an equal status (Wiesinger 1990: 222)

The standard variety of German, as codified in school grammar books and dictionaries, used in the print, radio and television media, in church services and in dealings with government and school officials, is perceived to be the most prestigious, and is different in each of the countries where German is spoken natively. The standard variety is also acceptable and understood in the entire nation or speech community (Ammon 1995: 73). The standard variety is an idealization, rarely achieved in actual practice. In Austria, the standard pronunciation (*Hochlautung*) prescribed by Siebs (1969) is spoken only in the Austrian theater, and is described by Moosmüller and Dressler (1989:82) as a “fictional ideal norm”

and by Wodak-Leodolter and Dressler (1978) as “the quasi-utopic, prescriptive German *Bühnensprache*.” Therefore, it is useful to speak of an *intended* standard (*intendierte Hochsprache*). The German variety actually produced in formal and public situations is thus sometimes referred to as *standardnah* (‘approaching standard’). Moosmüller (1991:33) refers to the variety actually produced which is closest to the intended standard as *gehobene Umgangssprache* (‘raised colloquial speech’). The standard is often determined by the oral and written texts, intended for public consumption, of “model speakers/writers”: professional authors, journalists and scientists, and professional speakers in the media or theater (Ammon 1995: 79). In some instances, however, the “model speakers” orient themselves very clearly to an established codified norm. The variety used in mass media is often seen as a standard variety and therefore carries prestige because of its supraregional character. At the same time, the media use a standard variety that is generally understood by the widest audience and conveys seriousness and objectivity (Moosmüller and Dressler 1989:85).

Native German-language speakers in most of Austria may alter their speech, along a dialect-standard continuum, depending on a number of factors (see below).<sup>2</sup> This social continuum consists of the base dialect (*Basisdialekt*) or basilect, the oldest form which is least similar to Standard German, at one end of the continuum, as well as the standard variety or acrolect, ASG, at the other end of the continuum, and the innumerable gradations of the dialect in between the standard variety and the base dialect. The varieties in between the base dialect and the standard variety may be referred to as mesolects or colloquial speech (see “dialect continuum” in Trudgill 2003: 35). Adopting the terminology used by Clyne (1995: 92) and Barbour and Stevenson (1990: 6, 139), in this work I prefer the term ‘colloquial

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<sup>2</sup> Excluding the Vorarlberg region, where an Alemannic dialect is spoken. In many ways the contrast between dialect/standard in Vorarlberg shares similarities with that of Swiss diglossia.

speech' as a translation of the German *Umgangssprache*. Colloquial speech may be a regionally legitimate standard, and may include borrowings from other languages and neologisms (Ammon 1995: 82). Patocka (1989) and Wiesinger (1990) use the term *polyglossia* to describe the continuum, because individual speakers have multiple varieties available to them in their repertoire, and the boundaries are fluid.

The continuum is defined along scales of formal/informal, public/private, situation-specific/situation-independent, and regionally broad/narrow (Reiffenstein 1977: 178). Linguists specify various numbers of divisions within the dialect-standard continuum of Austria. Reiffenstein (1977: 176) uses only three divisions: local dialects (*Mundarten*), colloquial speech (*Umgangssprache*), and Standard German (*Hochsprache*). Mattheier (1990: 60) uses three divisions: base dialect, spoken standard, and colloquial speech for anything in between. Ebner (1980: 213, 1989: 176) divides the continuum up into six classifications: relic dialect (*Reliktmundart*), base dialect (*Grundmundart* [*Basisdialekt*]), urban dialect (*Stadtmundart*), colloquial (*Umgangssprache*), lingua franca (*Vehrkehrssprache*), and standard (*Hochsprache*) varieties. Reitmajer (1989: 143) divides the continuum into “reiner Dialekt” (‘pure dialect’), “abgeschwächter überregionaler Dialekt” (‘understated supra-regional dialect’), “mundartlich gefärbte Umgangssprache” (‘colloquial speech colored by dialect’), “regionale Hochsprache/Einheitssprache/Standardsprache” (‘regional standard language’), and “reine, so genannte dialektfreies Hochdeutsch / Hochsprache / Einheitsprache / Standardsprache” (‘pure standard language free of dialectal variants’).

Wiesinger (1985:1940, 1989a: 82) and Ammon (1995: 199) use four categories: base dialect (*Basisdialekt*), regional dialect (*Verkehrsdialekt*), colloquial speech

(*Umgangssprache*), and standard (*Standardsprache*). Wiesinger (1985:1940) defines *Basisdialekt* as the local preserved speech forms spoken by farmers and craftsmen every day with each other and their families. In cities base dialects are spoken by the working and middle classes of laborers, office employees and owners of small businesses, used with colleagues of the same social standing, and others of higher social levels who had reached those levels from lower social levels but had not altered their speech very much.

*Verkehrsdialekt*, following Wiesinger, is built upon *Basisdialekt* by younger, more mobile generations of rural speakers: farmers, small business owners, or commuting laborers and office workers. *Umgangssprache* is the everyday variety of upper and middle classes: salespeople, business owners, businesspeople, office and bank employees, government officials, teachers, doctors and lawyers. *Standardsprache* is the regional realization of the written language. It is the language of public domains: school instruction, church sermons, songs and prayers, and television and radio broadcasts. Wiesinger (1988b: 18) provides the following examples of each of the four varieties in Austria:

Standardsprache: *Heut ab'nd kommt mein Bruder nach Haus*  
Umgangssprache: *Heit ab'nd kommt mei<sup>n</sup> Bruder z'Haus*  
Verkehrsdialekt: *Heit auf d'Nocht kummt mei<sup>n</sup> Bruader ham*  
Basisdialekt: *Heint af d'Nocht kimmt mei<sup>n</sup> Bruider hoam*  
(‘Tonight my brother is coming home’)

The divisions between varieties are not always clear-cut or easy to distinguish, especially between dialect and colloquial speech (Scheuringer 1997: 336). Weiss (1980:2) goes so far as to call the dialect-standard continuum a form of bilingualism (*Zweisprachigkeit*) for rural areas and small villages in Austria, where dialect is acquired first and the standard variety is learned as a foreign language.

For the purposes of my research, I make only three distinctions: dialect, colloquial speech and Standard German. Dialect is the variety acquired first, spoken in the most informal and most intimate situations, and acceptable within a limited geographical area. The Austrian standard variety is the codified language taught in schools and used in publications and broadcasting. It is used in more formal, less intimate situations or with strangers, and is suitable for all of Austria. A colloquial variety is any variety that falls between the standard and dialect varieties. There are numerous varieties that fall within the classification of colloquial speech.

Speakers may shift their own speech along this continuum based on the situation, on the competence and intention of the speaker, on their interlocutor, or on the image that the speaker wishes to project of him- or herself. The general tendency is for higher frequencies of standard forms in more formal domains, and higher frequencies of dialectal or colloquial forms in less formal domains. Speakers may shift to another variety (switching) within a single conversation. Because these gradations may be very minute, it may be difficult to distinguish individual varieties from one another. Unlike diglossic situations (for example as in Switzerland), it is not possible to designate a given domain as high (H, i.e. only standard variety is appropriate) or low (L, i.e. only the dialect is appropriate) because there are no situations where only one variety can be used or must be avoided in Austria (Reiffenstein 1977: 177).

Ammon (1995: 199) suggests that two factors are of primary importance for a speaker's choice of variety: the social membership of the speaker and the situation. Working classes tend use more dialect, while upper classes tend to use more Standard German, especially in public. Other factors, of secondary importance, are urban vs. rural settings, age, gender, and

solidarity or social belonging. Affective psychological factors, such as anger, exhaustion, or other strong emotions also play a role in the choice of variety (Steinegger 1998: 30). In certain situations, the standard variety may be employed as an *Abstandsprache* ('language of distance'), for example when the speaker demands a high degree of respect, or as is sometimes the case with physicians, in order to deliver unwelcome news (Steinegger 1998: 113).

Dialect/standard continuums are found in southern and central Germany, and most of Austria (Wiesinger 1990: 219). Bellmann (1997: 24) uses the term “**diaglossia**” for the type of continuum found in Ried and most of Austria and southern Germany, and Auer (2002: 18-23), using the same terminology, suggests that colloquial varieties allow a speaker to express an identity which can neither be expressed by dialectal varieties, due to their negative connotations of rural, backwards, or non-educated character, nor by the national standard variety, which lacks the ability to express regional attachment and may seem unnaturally formal. Beginning in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, increased literacy led to the development of multiple varieties stretching out towards the standard variety, particularly because many speakers could not achieve proficiency in the intended standard. This process was fostered by industrialization and accelerated after World War II due to an expansion in education and increased upward social mobility (Bellman 1997: 24).

A situation of diglossia is found in Switzerland, Luxemburg, and in Vorarlberg, Austria. In northern Germany there is a *Dialektchwund*, ('dialect atrophy'), that is, a shift towards more standard-like usage, which involves the disappearance of many of the local dialects (Ammon 1995: 198). Because of the significant differences in the sociolinguistic speech

patterns between these areas (with the exception of southern Germany) they can not be easily compared with Austria (Mattheier 1990: 59).

Wiesinger (1990: 229) claims that the use of dialect is shrinking to only intimate situations, while use of ASG is expanding into more domains. Wiesinger notes however that the local dialect is still the everyday variety of villages, market towns, and small cities such as Ried. Ebner (1989:173) claims that the standard variety is retreating from the spoken language of daily life in Upper Austria. A process of simplification is taking place where elements common to both standard and non-standard varieties are chosen and used. Ebner (1989: 175) also notes increasing dialect use in the schools, based on his observations in and around Linz, Upper Austria. In formal situations, such as in government offices, a standard or colloquial variety is expected. However, in villages and small cities, if the officials are already familiar to other speakers, then the situation is not as formal, and more dialectal varieties may be used (Steinegger 1998: 118).

The standard variety is typically expected in schools, beginning in the primary school. In order to prepare their children for school by exposing them to a more standard-like variety, mothers tend to speak significantly less dialect with pre-school aged children.(Mattheier 1980: 38, Steinegger 1998: 289). While many Austrian adults indicate that they try to prepare their children for school by speaking standard German at home with their children, very few parents actually manage to speak the standard variety exclusively with their children (Steinegger 1998: 213). Dialect use associated with speaking to young children is often evaluated negatively by Austrians (Steinegger 1998: 373). Often the parents themselves do not have full command of the standard variety. As the children grow older the perceived necessity of speaking the standard variety to them decreases, and a less formal colloquial or



dialect variety is used within the family (Steinegger 1998:297). It is reasonable to expect that even young children have a passive understanding of Standard German, due the influence of mass media, in particular television.

### **2.1.3 German as a Pluricentric Language**

The German language is described by Clyne (1992a, 1992b, 1995) as a pluricentric language. German Standard German, Austrian Standard German, Swiss Standard German (SSG), and Luxembourg's Standard German, while closely related to one another and sharing many of their features, are nonetheless separate standards.

The standard language is the variety taught in schools and has been codified through normative grammar books and dictionaries. The Austrian standard is the variety that developed in the imperial courts of Vienna, which influenced the varieties of the entire Austro-Hungarian Empire (Clyne 1995: 31). ASG is different from GSG, which in turn is different from SSG (*ibid.*: 23). GSG is based primarily on southwestern and central German dialects, in particular those of northern Saxony (Barbour and Stevenson 1990: 46-47). Swiss Standard German is based in large part on rural written varieties of German developed in the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries, characterized by uniquely Swiss lexical items and Alemannic monophthongs, and the adoption of modern German diphthongs in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, seen in the 1662-1667 revision of the Zurich Bible (Ammon 1995: 230). However in the 18<sup>th</sup> century the Saxony-based modern German standard was adopted by many authors in Switzerland (*ibid.*)

For a given language, the variety which constitutes the prestige norm may be disputed (Milroy and Gordon 2003:101), however in Austria the Austrian Standard German (ASG) variety very clearly fills the role of standard variety, and therefore ASG enjoys overt prestige.

Any prestige accorded to the dialect variety is covert prestige, associated with local loyalty and affiliation. Wodak-Leodolter and Dressler (1978: 30) indicate that the variety of Standard German used in Austria by high-ranking government officials, civil servants and academic professionals is distinctly Austrian, and clearly differentiated from German Standard German. Muhr (1987) states that although Austrians use their own Austrian variety of the language, they still tend to denigrate the national variety and to regard the German national variety as a more prestigious norm. Many Austrians hold a favorable view of their own standard variety, describing ASG as “soft and melodious” when compared to GSG (Moosmüller and Dressler 1989).

While some languages have official government bodies that determine standard usage (i.e. the Académie française for French), the standard for German has no official body. The most often-cited authority on Standard German is the Duden series of reference works for the German language, named for Konrad Duden, published by the Verlag Bibliographisches Institut. This is a private company based in Mannheim, Germany.<sup>3</sup> Duden is the accepted prescriptive work for GSG, and is also accepted for spelling in Austria, Switzerland, Luxembourg, and Liechtenstein, although Austria and Switzerland have their own standard varieties and localized grammar reference texts. The Austrian government supports the publication of the *Österreichisches Wörterbuch, ÖWB* (Back et al. 2001), published in Vienna since 1951 and used in state-run schools.

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<sup>3</sup> There was also a second Duden in Leipzig during the period of the German Democratic Republic. There were significant differences between the two versions of the Duden, East and West, primarily expressing ideological differences between capitalism and socialism/communism.

#### 2.1.4 Linguistic Insecurity/Inferiority Complex in Austria vis-à-vis Germany

In Germany, two of the most widely-accepted reference works for the German language are Duden's *Die deutsche Rechtschreibung* (Duden 2004) and Siebs' (1969) *Deutsche Aussprache*, a pronunciation guide for German. Both Duden and Siebs include Austrian and Swiss variants, but these are marked as such, and GSG equivalents are unmarked. Moosmüller and Dressler (1989: 82) do not consider Siebs to be applicable to Austria.

Similarly, Swiss Standard German, or *Schriftdeutsch* as it called in Switzerland, is codified in works such as *Unser Wortschatz* (Bigler et al., 1994), a dictionary of Swiss Standard German, and a Swiss *Schülerduden* for school-age pupils. For the most part the regular Duden is acceptable as a norm of the written language (Clyne 1995: 47).

There is a common perception by both linguists and non-linguists that GSG dominates both ASG and SSG, based in part on the wide acceptance of Duden as the authority on the German language, not only in Germany, but in Austria and Switzerland as well (Ammon 1995: 484-485). While the Duden dictionary is also acceptable in Austria, the *ÖWB* is not considered acceptable in Germany. The Bibliographisches Institut also produces a volume in the Duden series, *Wie sagt man in Österreich?* (Ebner 1980, 1998), which notes the particular unique features of the Austrian standard, but is intended for a German audience. Although the *Österreichisches Wörterbuch* is commissioned by the Austrian government and used in Austrian schools, Duden's *Die deutsche Rechtschreibung* usually outsells the *ÖWB* in Austrian bookstores.

The Austrian and Swiss German standard varieties are perceived within Germany as regional norms, whereas GSG is valid on a national level as well as abroad (Clyne 1995: 25-26). GSG is, at the very least, passively understood by most Austrians, due in part to German

tourism in Austria, and electronic and print media (Ammon 1995: 423-424). Language used to describe the standards often reflects the belief that the GSG is the most important, central norm. Jakob Ebner (1980: 10), writing for a non-Austrian (i.e. German) audience in his dictionary of Austrian-specific vocabulary, as well as Reiffenstein (1977:176), use the term *Binnendeutsch* to describe GSG, which connotes the sense that the Standard German spoken in Germany is a “true” or “central” standard, and the other standard varieties are peripheral and secondary to GSG, i.e. *Aussen-/Rand-/Peripheriedeutsch* (‘external/marginal/peripheral German’) (Ammon 1995: 486). GSG is often referred to by Austrians as *Bundesdeutsch* (from the *Bundesrepublik Deutschland* ‘Federal Republic of Germany’) when differentiating between ASG and GSG.

The respective press agencies of Germany, Austria and Switzerland edit the texts of the other agencies to bring them in line with their own national standards (Ammon 1995: 464). German publishers often change Austria-specific expressions to GSG (ibid.: 467).

Boesch (1968), Hoffman (1979) and Muhr (1987a) state that Austrian speakers of German often have feelings of inferiority with regard to the use of their language. Austrian authors often must submit manuscripts to publishing houses in Germany and must therefore abide by GSG norms (Clyne 1995: 133). The most popular daily newspaper in Austria, *Die Kronenzeitung*, is owned by a German firm (Ammon 1995: 219). The reunification of East and West Germany in 1990 has led to a nation that is even larger and has increased influence over its smaller neighbors Austria and Switzerland (Steinegger 1998: 305).

The current version of the *Österreichisches Wörterbuch* (Back et al. 2001) is advertised by its own publisher as a tool to lessen the latent sense of inferiority regarding Standard German (“latentes Minderwertigkeitsgefühl gegenüber dem Hochdeutschen”) (Ruth Wodak,

quoted in *Tiroler Zeitung*, October 30, 2001, and on the *ÖWB*'s own website.) This linguistic inferiority complex vis-à-vis Germany is also reported elsewhere (Ronald Barazon in *Salzburger Nachrichten*, December 31, 2003; Moosmüller and Vollmann, 1995). The social prestige of local dialect is lower in Austria than in the South Tyrol (Italy) or Switzerland, but still higher than in most of Germany (Saxalber-Tetter 1989).

Television programs produced in Germany greatly outnumber those produced in Austria. In particular, popular series and films which are dubbed from other languages into Standard German, tend to be synchronized in Hamburg or Berlin, much less often in Vienna. Most Austrians today can receive multiple German broadcasters through the use of a satellite receiver or cable television, and the number of German broadcasters greatly outnumbers the number of Austrian broadcast channels. Thus television viewers, even at a very early age, hear GSG on television, with ASG only for the smaller number of programs that are produced in Austria.

Prescriptivists may refer to non-standard varieties as “substandard.” Although this is a common perception among non-linguists, this expression carries with it the implication that the non-standard varieties are inferior to the standard variety (Lippi-Green 1997:59-60, Wolfram and Schilling-Estes 1998:14). Some linguists continue to use the term substandard (i.e. Bellman 1997: 23). Scheuringer (1997: 336), while acknowledging the controversy over terminology, uses the term *Substandardvarietäten* (‘substandard varieties’). Because all of these varieties are equally as capable of completely expressing all the same ideas and concepts as standard varieties, I prefer to use the term “non-standard.”

### 2.1.5 Geographical differences vs. societal differences

The various dialects of German each have a regionally limited distribution. The standard variety of German serves the purpose of making supra-regional communication possible. Within a given community or region, the dialect may be used at different frequencies by different segments of the population. Some speakers may not use the local dialect, opting instead for Standard German or colloquial varieties, and some speakers may use the dialect much more often than colloquial or standard varieties. In urban Austrian areas, dialect use is socially marked and associated much more with the working class than the middle or upper classes. In rural areas the dialect may be spoken by members of all social classes, where it serves as a marker of regional provenance (Malliga 1997: 27, Zehetner 1985: 197).

In German-speaking Europe, dialect is spoken most frequently by southern, rural farmers and craftsmen, in private, intimate situations (Mattheier 1997: 406). The least dialect is spoken by northern, urban, educated speakers in official situations, such as with government or school officials (*ibid.*). In a 1966 study by the Institut für Demoskopie Allensbach, only 43% of northern German respondents claim to be speakers of dialect, and 78% of Bavarians claim to be speakers of dialect (Ammon 1972: 101-102). The “Bayrischer Dialektzensus” study carried out in 1975 by the University of Munich also shows that 78% of Bavarians consider themselves to be dialect speakers, and Peter Wiesinger’s 1984/1985 study conducted at the University of Vienna reveals that 78% of all Austrians consider themselves to be speakers of dialect (Wiesinger 1989b: 73, Scheuringer 1997:336).<sup>4</sup> Up to 80% of rural Austrians speak a local dialect (Wiesinger 1989b: 80). In South Tyrol, Italy, a primarily German-speaking region that was once a part to the Austro-Hungarian Empire, 90% of

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<sup>4</sup> Population of Bavaria = 12.3 million (German national census 12/31/2001)  
Population of Austria = 8.2 million (Census, Statistik Austria 7/31/2004 <http://www.statistik.at>)

speakers consider themselves to be active users of dialect (Saxalber-Tetter 1989).<sup>5</sup> In Switzerland, 95% of the German-speaking population claims to speak Swiss dialect (Wiesinger 1997: 27).<sup>6</sup> The social acceptability of dialect is remarkably higher in Austria than in all parts of Germany (Malliga 1997: 27, Steinegger 1998: 94). Over 63% of Upper Austrians prefer dialect to colloquial speech (34%) or Standard German (3%) (Steinegger 1998: 202).

The terms *sociolect* or *social-class dialects* have been suggested to distinguish varieties used by different social classes, as opposed to *regional dialects*, which are varieties limited by the geographical distribution. In my work I use the term *dialect* to refer both to varieties distributed geographically and varieties that are associated with specific social classes. I define *base dialect* as the most conservative variety, furthest from the standard variety on the dialect-standard continuum. This study is primarily concerned with the base dialect (or what speakers perceive to be the base dialect) in Ried and the surrounding Innviertel region.

Much early research only catalogued the oldest, most conservative dialects and their geographic distribution, using farmers with little formal education as informants. The importance of dialect variation between social classes was ignored or excluded from research (Mattheier 1980:67). The Marburg School of dialect geography founded by Georg Wenker assumed a homogenous variety for a given area, soliciting data from only one informant in any given geographic area (Barbour and Stevenson 1990:61-65). One of the original goals of dialectologists was, if not to preserve the oldest rural dialects, to record them for posterity, as they were in danger of dying out. Traditional dialect atlases, such as the *Deutscher*

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<sup>5</sup> Population of South Tirol = 461,601 (Italian census 9/2000), 68% of the total population are German speakers (<http://www.provinz.bz.it/english/overview/ethnicgroup.htm>)

<sup>6</sup> Population of Switzerland: 7,415,100 (Swiss Federal Statistical Office 12/31/2004) (<http://www.bfs.admin.ch>). 74% of Swiss citizens and 65% of the total inhabitants speak German (Clyne 1995: 5).

*Sprachatlas*, *Deutscher Wortatlas*, and the *Schweizerdeutscher Sprachatlas* ignore the fact that a single speaker may use more than one variety along the dialect-standard continuum (Mattheier 1980: 70).

#### **2.1.6 Sociolinguistic research on Austrian dialects**

Numerous studies have been conducted in Austria on the use of local dialects and sociolects, the attitudes of speakers towards dialect (both the subjects' own dialect and other dialects), and the social factors that influence choice of language variety. The findings of each of the following studies with regard to significant social factors are discussed in greater detail under each social factor's sub-heading below (2.2.2.1 – 2.2.2.6).

Weiss (1980, 1982) used questionnaires in Ulrichsberg, a small community (circa 3000 inhabitants) in the Rohrbach district of the Mühlviertel, a region in Upper Austria north of the Danube River which borders the Innviertel. Subjects were asked to identify which of two varieties, dialect or standard-oriented, they would speak in various situations. The domains that Weiss inquired about were divided into four types: the private sphere, in public in the local community, with foreign contacts, and in the workplace. Weiss also investigated attitudes regarding the use of different varieties of German within the community. Audio recordings were also made of subjects through interviews and in various situations, such as public meetings or discussions and meetings at a *Stammtisch*. 33 subjects of various ages, both genders, and six social class distinctions based on employment (independent or dependent), education, and manual/mental labor.

Wodak-Leodolter and Dressler (1978) investigated the choice of variety in Vienna, using standardized interviews with 36 informants from various age groups and social classes, although only 21 of the interviews were usable for statistical analysis. The researchers



elicited three styles of speech from subjects: neutral, formal and (relaxed) everyday speech. The goal of the study was to show that phonological variation is not random but influenced by factors such as sex, age, and social class, as well as the topic of discussion, the speech situation, and the emotional state and attentiveness of the speaker.

Students of Peter Wiesinger, in a seminar at the University of Vienna in 1984/5, distributed surveys to 425 subjects throughout Austria (Wiesinger 1989b). The subjects were from across the spectrum of age groups, gender, social class, as well as community size. Subjects were asked to provide demographic information about themselves and to specify which variety of German they would speak in a variety of different situations: dialect, colloquial, or Standard German, or to indicate if the variety choice might vary depending on the unique situation. These data were analyzed statistically by Christa Patocka (1986) as part of her diploma thesis at the University of Vienna.

In 1991/2, another survey was distributed throughout Austria by Peter Wiesinger, his colleagues and students at the University of Vienna. This questionnaire was a slightly modified version of the same questionnaire which had been distributed in 1984/5. Guido Steinegger (1998) combined all of the survey data from both 1984/5 and 1991/2, a total of 1464 questionnaires, and analyzed the data with regard to factors such as age, gender, social class, size of community, and education level of the subjects. The Innviertel region is represented in this study through the inclusion of surveys from Braunau, a small city approximately the same size as Ried.

Sylvia Moosmüller (1991) investigated the perception of prestige of dialects from each of the nine state capitals in Austria, and the suitability of any given regional dialect to serve as supra-regional standard for all of Austria. Subjects from the cities Vienna, Salzburg,

Innsbruck and Graz were played recordings of speakers using their local dialects, and the subjects were asked to try to identify which city the dialect was typical of, and what the profession of each speaker might be. The study employed both matched-guise techniques and subjective reaction tests, using recordings of both spontaneous speech and read texts. Moosmüller also reports on typical attitudes that were expressed about dialect and Standard German and speakers of these varieties during the study.

Malliga (1997) investigated the effect of gender, as well as social class and age, on variety choice in Villach, Carinthia (*Kärnten*), a city of circa 58,000 inhabitants, using questionnaires similar to those in Wiesinger's study from 1991/92, and 34 interviews with acquaintances and relatives (Malliga 1997:82). Malliga also investigated attitudes of the respondents regarding dialect and Standard German use and speakers of these varieties. Subjects were divided by age, social class, occupation, children/no children, and emancipated/traditional roles. Because of the very small sample size and its non-random nature, it is difficult to accept Malliga's results as representative of Austria as a whole.

Gal (1978,1979) Gumperz (1982) and Lippi-Green (1989) investigated small rural communities in Austria, which are discussed in greater length below with regard to social networks.

## **2.2 Factors that affect an individual's choice of variety**

### **2.2.1 Overt / covert prestige**

The standard variety of a given language has overt prestige, because it is seen as the variety which indicates power, authority, education and advancement opportunities.

However, non-standard varieties hold a different sort of appeal for their speakers, a *covert prestige*, a term coined by Trudgill (1972: 183) and first characterized by Labov (1966: 499-

500) as “negative prestige,” because the non-standard variety is a covertly expressed indicator of in-group membership, solidarity, or heritage, and not an expression of traditional mainstream societal and institutional values. Part of a speaker’s pragmatic knowledge includes the understanding of when it is appropriate and inappropriate to choose to use one variety or another. The use of the standard, formal variety in an informal gathering of close friends might be perceived as unusual or awkward, and a speaker using the standard variety may be perceived by the other interlocutors in this situation as arrogant or bizarre.

Speakers of dialect generally tend to denigrate their own dialect, indicating dissatisfaction with their non-standard variety, and a desire to speak a variety that is more standard-like (Trudgill 1972: 184). However, these same speakers admit that they would not desire to speak the standard variety if they would be considered by others within their community (family members, friends, colleagues and other peers) as arrogant or disloyal. In rural Austria, the local dialect is an indicator of a speaker’s heritage, rather than a marker of social class or education, and is positively marked (Steinegger 1998: 30).

### **2.2.2 Socially constructed factors**

It has been shown that several factors play an important role in an individual’s choice of language variety. These factors, such as age, gender, and social class, are subjective, sometimes arbitrary values generally agreed upon by the members of a society or community. Although ethnicity/race and religion are also often central factors in the choice of language variety, they are not significant variables in the relatively homogenous population of Ried.

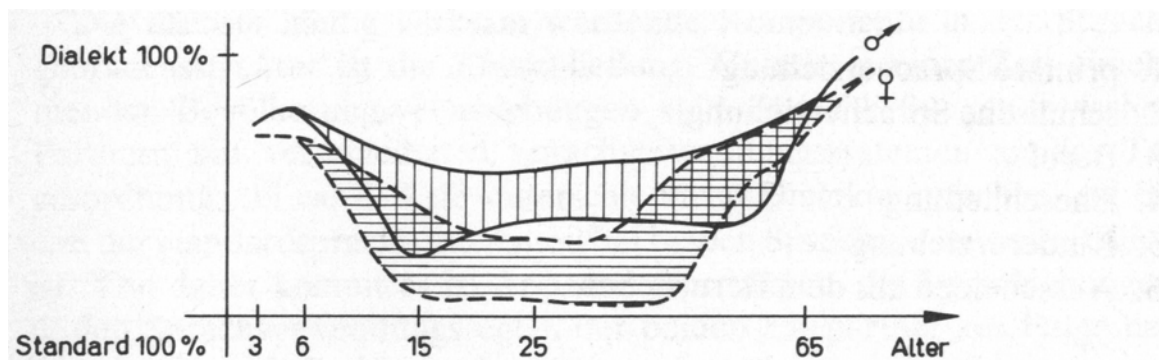
### 2.2.2.1 Age

Although age can be easily and objectively measured for each subject, interpreting age-related variation is more complex (Milroy and Gordon 2003: 38-39). As Eckert (1997: 155) states: “age has significance because the individual’s place in society, the community, and the family changes through time.” While biological age is an important factor in primary language acquisition, and the ability to successfully learn a second language diminishes after puberty, of primary importance for the study of variety choice are significant life stages that typically correspond with age and help to define an individual’s role in society; thus age can be considered a socially-constructed factor.

For German dialectology, older rural females are seen as ideal subjects because of their restricted social circles relative to men, in part due to their traditional role as wives or farmers (Mattheier 1980: 26). Young speakers are the “Träger der Zukunft (der Sprache)” ‘bearers of the future [of the language]’ (ibid.: 39). Much of the change that takes place in language is initiated by the youngest generation. The youngest generation incorporates new vocabulary to reflect technical innovation and lifestyle changes, and older lexical items are lost through obsolescence. Much of the lexicon of rural dialects involves agricultural tools and practices that are no longer used for reasons of economy or efficiency. Thus, these lexical items are in the greatest danger of disappearing.

The choice of variety may change for the individual speaker over their lifetime. Often there is a U-shaped distribution, in which the middle age-group uses the fewest dialectal variants, with the youngest and oldest age groups using the most dialectal variables. It is not reasonable to expect that an individual’s choice and frequency of dialect usage would change merely because that individual is aging biologically. Rather, the changes in dialect usage are

related to stages marking changes in lifestyle, changes in social surroundings and affiliations, and the relative increase/decrease in social pressure that accompany these changes. For the German language, Ammon (1973) details six periods which are critical for this process: before starting school, after starting school, starting a career, marriage, after children leave home, and retirement. The trend indicated increasing dialect use with advanced age. Mattheier (1980: 38-40, 54) illustrates a system where dialect usage decreases in a speaker's early teens, is relatively stable from age 15 well into middle-age, then increases as the speaker nears retirement age, albeit with changes that are not as drastic as those proposed by Ammon (see Illustration 2.1). Malliga (1997: 25) holds Mattheier's trends with regard to significant life stages to be applicable to Austria as well as Germany. The greatest increase in dialect use generally occurs after retirement, as the individual's social circle decreases in size and the societal norms of behavior for the workplace are relaxed (Steinegger 1998: 86).



*Abb. 2: Schematische Darstellung typischer Sprachverhaltensmodelle im Varietätenraum zwischen Dialekt und Standardsprache in deutschsprachigen Sprachgemeinschaften.*

Illustration 2.1 - 'Schematic representation of typical speech behavior model in the space between dialect and standard varieties in German-language speech communities' (from Mattheier 1980: 54).

In Weiss's (1980:7, 1982) analysis of dialect use in Ulrichsberg, Upper Austria, speech variety showed a significant correlation with age. The oldest generation, age 46-65, speaks

more dialect than the youngest group, age 18-30, who in turn speak dialect more often than the middle group, age 31-45. Wiesinger (1989b: 77) demonstrates that for Austria as a whole the group 61-82 years old speaks more dialect than the other age groups 19-30 and 31-60, resulting from the older speakers leaving the working world and entering a primarily intimate/personal sphere.

Malliga (1997:108) found that dialect use decreased for each successive age group. The older speakers are, the less dialect they claim to use. However, the reverse is true with regard to dialect competence. The oldest age group claims the greatest ability to speak and understand dialect, and the youngest group claims the least ability. However, Malliga used the dividing point 55/56 years old in order to create three age groups with similar number of subjects in each group (ibid.:77). A division around the normal retirement age would have been preferable but was not used due to the small sample size of her study. The small sample size and unusual age groupings in Malliga's study raise doubt as to the validity of her findings.

Steinegger's (1998: 82-83) analysis of data collected for Austria divided the participants up into four age groups: 0-25, those in school or having not yet left their parents' homes; 26-45, those employed for the first time or starting families; 46-60, a consolidation phase after child-raising is completed; and >60, retirement. Retirees would be expected to gravitate to either the standard or dialect varieties, but especially towards the dialect in Austria because of the speaker's withdrawal from professional fields where colloquial or Standard German are expected. There is a U-shaped trend for the whole of Austria, which Steinegger attributes to the conservative constraints placed on speakers in the workplace, and the pressure to raise children with the standard variety (Steinegger 1998: 289). The youngest and oldest age

groups speak more dialect than the two middle groups. The youngest group shows the least consistency between various domains; younger speakers are still learning which varieties are appropriate in which situations. The younger speakers are insecure in their language use, and tend towards accommodation or using Standard German with strangers and authority figures (Steinegger 1998: 299). The oldest generation uses dialect more often than every other group, are more self-confident about their own speech, and do not switch varieties as often as younger generations; however, the oldest and youngest generations also use Standard German more than the two middle generations (ibid.: 297).

#### **2.2.2.2 Gender**

Gender differences are not based on biological attributes, but rather on socialized factors. Gender differences in the choice and frequency of language varieties are based on the different roles of men and women in society and the different amounts of power that each gender holds. Reference is therefore made in this study to social gender, not sex.

Gender has often been shown to be an important correlate of variety choice and frequency (see Milroy and Gordon 2003: 100-108). Gender differentiation is one of the most consistent findings of the last thirty years of sociolinguistic research across many languages. Women seem to be much more conscious of the stigmatized values conveyed by non-standard varieties. Women are expected to conform to social norms for their gender more than males, to act “properly.” Another reason is that the non-standard variety is often associated with masculinity, lending the non-standard variety covert prestige, which leads men to favor the use of non-standard over standard varieties (Trudgill 2000: 72-73).

For traditional dialectology in German-speaking areas, older women involved with agriculture were often preferred as subjects because of their lesser mobility than male

informants and therefore higher likelihood of only speaking dialect (Steinegger 1998: 204-205). Older women in rural areas maintain the oldest, most conservative dialects, as they are less influenced than males by professional contact, military service, and contact with others outside the local community. In urban areas, females tend to speak less dialect and more of the urban colloquial variety, as females more likely to adopt new linguistic variants. At the same time, females tend to be more standard-oriented, and more likely to use a “prestigious and fashionable” standard variety (Mattheier 1980: 26).

A study for Vienna demonstrates that women are much more likely to use standard varieties in urban environments than men, because they are more conscious of the relative prestige associated with speech varieties (Wodak-Leodolter and Dressler 1978: 48). In particular, women in this study reported monitoring their speech more carefully than men when raising children (ibid.: 51). For all of Austria, Wiesinger (1989b:77) also found that females prefer Standard or colloquial German more than males. Males are more likely to speak dialect than females.

Malliga (1997:225) found that while males and females claim equal levels of dialect competence, the males find use of dialect to be more favorable (*günstiger*) in all situations than females. Females find dialect use in familial discussions to be favorable, while males found dialect use favorable in familial situations as well as with friends and colleagues. Females are more sensitive to the social prestige of the standard variety than males. Females have a lower estimation of dialect and a higher estimation of standard varieties than males.

The female speakers in Ammon’s (1979) study tended to speak dialect because it is the local norm in small towns in the areas of Franconia and Swabia that he examined. Studies in Bamberg (Bavaria) have demonstrated that boys tend to speak more dialect in school than



girls (Steiner 1957: 147). In urban German-language areas, females often are quicker to adopt the urban colloquial variety, and young boys tend to speak more dialect than young girls (Bister-Broosen 1998: 61). However in modern times the differences between males and females are diminishing (Mattheier 1980: 31).

In Austria specifically, females in the labor force use more standard forms than males in the same occupations, because the females strive for equality and wish to be seen as equally competent and capable as the males (Wiesinger 1989b: 77). Men speak more dialect than women at work and with friends (Mattheier 1980: 27-29). Men are more self-confident and can switch between dialect and colloquial varieties much more comfortably. Females indicate less acceptance of dialect across various situations, and they tend to switch less readily between varieties (Steinegger 1998: 230). However, the differences are far less between men and women in smaller communities than in larger communities. In small cities (10,000 to 20,000 inhabitants) 57.9% of males and 52.2% indicate that their preferred variety is dialect. 39.8% of males and 27.2% of females find dialect to be “good,” while 59.7% of males and 72.3% of females say it depends on the given situation (Steinegger 1998:220-221). Within the working class the gender differences are much less than in the middle and upper classes; women of the upper class are the least likely group to speak dialect (ibid.:286-287).

Women in German-speaking communities speak more dialect than men at home with the family, except between the ages of 25 and 40 (traditionally the child-bearing and child-raising years) because they wish to expose their young children to varieties closer to the standard variety in order to prepare them for school. The speech behavior of others towards children changes dramatically after children have moved beyond the elementary language acquisition stage, shifting from standard and standard-like varieties towards colloquial and

dialectal varieties (Steinegger 1998: 297). In Austria specifically, primarily in cities and to a lesser degree in rural areas, women tend to speak less dialect than men (Wiesinger 1997: 32). Steinegger (1998: 286) also points out that gender differences are smaller in smaller communities than in larger urban areas.

Wodak-Leodolter and Dressler (1978) found that Viennese women speak less dialect and more standard variety than men, are more conscious of language, and adhere to prestige norms more than men. This discrepancy with Mattheier's statement may be due to a difference between urban and rural areas (Clyne 1995: 102). In Weiss's (1980:7) study of Ulrichsberg, Upper Austria, there was no significant effect of gender on choice of variety. Ulrichsberg, a market town (*Marktgemeinde*) with a rural character, is a much smaller community than Vienna of course.<sup>7</sup> Males claimed to speak Standard German slightly more often than females.

### **2.2.2.3 Social Class**

The definitions and dividing lines for social class are often in dispute. The term social class is often used with regard to social inequality, but inequality can have many forms: power to influence others, functions, and degree of accommodation to societal norms and expectations (Mattheier 1980: 86-87). A social class is a heterogeneous group with respect to social factors such as dependence on others, share of power or control, rank in social estimation by others, type of work or income (Chambers 1995: 34).

In most industrialized nations, a division can be made between those who perform primarily physical labor (working class), and those whose jobs involve primarily mental labor (middle and upper classes). It is also possible for individuals to move up or down the social ladder, through increased education or change of employment, for example. Ammon

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<sup>7</sup> Ulrichsberg, population (1981): 3,101 (Source: <http://www2.land-oberoesterreich.gv.at/>)

(1995) uses an objective dimension (manual vs. mental labor) to divide classes, but there are some professions where the division between manual and non-manual labor is not distinct (for example a police or military officer, where the job requires high physical fitness, but also a high education level and large amounts of paperwork).

It has been apparent since the 19<sup>th</sup> century that dialects of German are more commonly spoken among the lower social classes than middle or upper classes. Early dialectological studies were able to note differences between social classes based on the variety of German spoken. Philipp Wegener (1976), originally writing at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, describes the speech varieties using a series of concentric circles, with the standard written variety (*Schriftsprache*) at the center, the ring closest to the center as *Dialect des Gebildeten* ('dialect of the literate'), the next ring as *Dialect des halbgebildeten Städters* ('dialect of the semi-literate city dweller') and outer ring to indicate *Bauernsprache* ('language of farmers' i.e. base dialects), with other colloquial varieties in between. The distance from the center of the ring did not indicate a geographic distance, but rather it indicated the degree of difference between *Schriftsprache* and the dialectal forms. However, Wegener saw the dialect/standard opposition as a dichotomy based on the differences of rural agricultural society and urban society. To Wegener, cultural advances take place in cities first, and are then transmitted to the rural areas. Hans Neumann (1925) emphasizes the role of education in variety choice/use. Friedrich Maurer (1933) mentions that the modern dialect is used both by the uneducated farmers in rural areas and the uneducated lower classes in urban areas. Maurer, dividing classes between those lacking education and those with formal education, rather than rural or urban inhabitants, also stresses the importance of social class for choice of variety, and points out that increased travel leads to a mixing of dialects and use of a supraregional variety.

Elsa Hofmann's (1963) study is the first to systematically examine the role of social structure in the use of different speech varieties within a single group, and demonstrates differences based on the rural/urban dichotomy as well as education level. The primary factors involved in the choice of variety are the orientation towards advancement in a career and the willingness to accommodate to other speakers. This study also hints at the effect of local loyalty on variety choice, but only as a secondary factor.

Heinz Wolfensberger (1967) demonstrated that for a small (diglossic) community near Zurich, Switzerland, social status does not play a role in choice of variety. Wolfensberger examined socially-structured factors such as occupation, social position, religious confession, gender and age, and determined that social class and occupation are irrelevant for the choice of language variety in that community. "Regionality," i.e. local loyalty, proved to be of particular importance in this study; there was no correlation between urban/rural speakers' education or social class and choice of variety.

It is clear that the importance of socially-structured factors is different depending on the region. Whereas a factor like social class may be the most important factor for choice of variety in a northern industrialized urban area, in the south of the German-speaking areas other factors play a much greater role.

Paul Kretschmer (1918, <sup>2</sup>1969) points out a north-south difference for the German language. In the north, there is a clearer distinction between dialect and Standard German, based on the level of education achieved and the degree of "rural character" (*Ländlichkeit*), whereas in the south, even the upper class uses dialect. Kretschmer specifically mentions Württemberg, the Alsace region, Switzerland and Luxemburg. Wiesinger (1985: 1941) points out that within the Bavarian (*Bairisch*) dialect region itself, the dialects are more

conservative in the Southern Bavarian than in the Central or Northern Bavarian dialect areas. The Central Bavarian area, including Upper Austria, is most likely to adopt newer variants in the dialect. Most of the innovations originate in Vienna.

Dieter Stellmacher (1977) developed a social-status index to use in his research, and used statistical methods to show a negative correlation between tendency towards dialect use and social status. The higher the social status of the speaker, the less likely that speaker is to use dialect. One of the most important factors indicated by Stellmacher is level of school completion of the speaker and his/her spouse, as well as the speaker's father. Other important factors include distinctions between *Angestellte* and *Facharbeiter* (salaried employees and skilled laborers), as well as vocational training and the living conditions of the speaker.

Stellmacher also points out that those born and socialized within a dialect-speaking community tend to speak more dialect than those speakers who move to a region after the socialization process has occurred. There is, however, no evidence in Stellmacher's data that suggests a significant difference between commuters and non-commuters, at least in Switzerland or northern Germany.

Of primary importance for Ammon (1972) is the distinction between manual- and mental-laborers, which is how he divides the society into lower and upper classes, respectively. Non-manual laborers are employed in planning and administration, and primarily use the written standard variety. Manual laborers have a more limited social contact circle and a less wide-ranging variety of jobs. Of secondary importance for Ammon are wealth, power, education, and urban/rural lifestyle. Although Ammon uses an objective dimension to divide the classes, there are some professions where the division is not as clear-cut as manual/non-manual labor.

Similar to Ammon's findings, Weiss (1980: 7) found that those groups with higher education and more communication-intensive careers speak more Standard German and less dialect.

Wodak-Leodolter and Dressler (1978: 44-45) specified five social class groups in their study of urban Vienna: working class, lower-middle class, middle class, upper-middle class, and upwardly mobile informants. They found that the working class uses more dialect than the middle and upper middle classes, and occasionally switches to more colloquial or standard-like varieties. The middle and upper middle classes of Vienna generally use ASG or a regional dialect rather than a local dialect, and do not switch varieties as often as the working class (ibid.: 49). The researchers found that “upwardly mobile informants”—children of working class parents who had received or were in the process of receiving an academic education—behaved less predictably than other social classes, code-switching significantly more often than others (ibid.: 50). They adapt their speech to the group that they have achieved or wish to achieve, and conform to their own status group (ibid.: 51). The older generation of lower middle class, especially women, produce the most hypercorrect forms. They report that the working class and lower middle class are adopting features from ASG in their everyday speech, a change from above (ibid.: 51). However, young informants from the middle class are using more casual speech in formal situations, a change from below (ibid.: 52).

Moosmüller (1991) demonstrates that the middle class has moved away from the tendency, reported in Wodak-Leodolter and Dressler (1978: 51), to adopt local dialect features.

Steinegger's data for all of Austria, albeit heavily overrepresented by speakers from large cities, indicate a strong dependence on social class membership for choice of language variety. The working class uses the most dialect, followed by the middle class then the upper class (Steinegger 1998: 153). The greatest difference is between the working class and middle class, which confirms Ammon's division of class based on manual and mental labor. The upper class uses colloquial speech when the formality of Standard German is not required or would be seen as intentionally distancing. The working class uses colloquial speech when a dialect variety would be inappropriate for reasons of formality. The middle class feels most "at home" when using a colloquial variety (Steinegger 1998: 163).

As part of this dissertation I have investigated the effect of social class membership on the frequency of dialect use. Ried is a small community where dialect competence by all social classes is assumed. Although all social classes use the local dialect, I wish to illuminate any subtle differences across the various situations. Because social classes may be defined by using many different sets of criteria, I will follow Steinegger's criteria (adopted from Wiesinger and Patocka) to allow comparison with Steinegger's results. I will perform another set of calculations based on Ammon's division into manual and mental labor, and a third set of criteria which is a slightly modified version of Steinegger's criteria (see 4.6).

#### **2.2.2.4 Community Size**

In Austria, the size of the community is often a more important factor than social class to predict the degree of dialect use, particularly in rural regions. In larger, urban communities social class plays a much greater role (Steinegger 1998: 27). In rural areas in Austria, such as the Innviertel, rural dialects or colloquial varieties are spoken by all social classes (Wiesinger

1989b: 78). In rural areas, the working class is much more prominent than the middle and upper classes; thus the base dialect is the dominant form of everyday communication (ibid.).

For Austria, the local dialect is not just the language of the lower class, nor is it a restricted code in the sense of Bernstein (1971, 1972); it is spoken by at least a third of the middle and upper classes, who feel that the dialect may be appropriate depending on the situation (Steinegger 1998: 154).

#### **2.2.2.5 Education**

Whereas the local dialect is usually acquired by children naturally as their primary language, the standard variety must be learned in school, as a second language, although admittedly the structural distance between the dialect and standard varieties is less than that between German and another language, such as French or English. The relative difference along the continuum between the local dialect and the standard variety is greater in northern Germany (Low German areas) than in southern Germany and Austria, and there is a greater jump between dialect and standard in the north than in the south, where there are minute gradations between different varieties (Mattheier 1990: 62). Learning Standard German as a superimposed variety presents difficulties for many dialect speakers (ibid.).

There are special concerns for dialect-speakers in the educational sphere, particularly in elementary school. In Bavaria, those who initially speak only dialect take up to four years more of primary education to achieve the same level of Standard German as bi-dialectals (those who speak both standard and dialect) (Reitmayer 1979). Dialect speakers have greater difficulty acquiring reading skills than bidialectals (Ammon 1975). Speakers of Bavarian dialects have greater interference problems with orthography than bidialectals or standard speakers (Ammon 1979:33). Research in the German states of Hessen, Baden-Württemberg



and Bavaria have indicated that the grades of those pupils who speak only dialect at home tend to be lower than those of pupils who speak only standard at home, for all subjects, not just German language grammar and composition courses (Zehetner 1985: 198). This may be partially because pupils are more hesitant to speak in class and in group discussions (Ammon 1975: 101). Teachers lead by example, and there may be sanctions for pupils who use dialect in class (Clyne 1995:115). However, teachers may themselves not always hold to the codified standard (Ammon 1995: 78)

The grade that pupils receive in German class is dependent upon the pupil's skill with standard orthography, reading ability, and command of grammar. Reitmajer (1989: 148) says that dialect speakers have a dual task in school: not only reading and writing, but doing it in a "foreign language." The grade in German plays a part in a pupil's overall grade, which determines which educational path a pupil will be able to take (vocational, *Abitur/Matura*, tertiary level, etc.) and may limit the pupil's chances for career and social advancement (Reitmajer 1989: 149).

Specifically in Bavarian dialect areas, dialect-speaking students encounter difficulties with Standard German orthography and grammar, due to interference from the dialect, as in dialect there is no distinction between voiced/voiceless consonants<sup>8</sup> (see 3.5), and there is no distinction in dialect between accusative and dative case (as in dialect *ihm*, Standard German 3<sup>rd</sup> person masculine singular *ihn* and *ihm* 'him') (Ebner 1989: 167-168). Ammon (1995: 199) claims that native speakers of Austrian dialects have fewer problems in school due to dialect than native speakers of dialect in Bavaria.

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<sup>8</sup> One of my acquaintances, 11 years old, the child of elementary school teachers, had considerable difficulties distinguishing the spelling of words such as *tot* 'dead,' *Tod* 'death,' *tödlich* 'deadly,' *Totenkopf* 'skull,' although speaking and understanding Standard German was not difficult for him.

Bernstein's (1971) idea of restricted and elaborated codes has also been used in the debate over what is appropriate in the schools in Austria (Barbour and Stevenson 1990: 184-185). Some who believe that non-standard varieties are deficient use the term "restricted code" to refer to any non-standard variety of German. Reitmajer (1989: 145) suggests that children who speak primarily dialect before entering school have greater difficulty learning the standard language than children who are raised to speak primarily Standard German or those with a command of both standard and dialect ("bilingual") and are therefore disadvantaged. For Mattheier (1990: 65), competence in dialectal varieties is not what constitutes the sociolectal character of the speaker, but rather it is the inability to switch to a more prestigious variety, because in Austria even the upper and middle classes use the dialectal varieties.

For the most part, Bernstein's "deficit theory" has been abandoned in educational standards research in favor of Labov's "difference hypothesis," which states that different groups have varying ways of expressing themselves, but that no variety may be labeled as deficient or inferior (Lanthaler 2004: 8). Zehetner (1985: 197-198) rejects the notion that Bavarian (and Austrian) dialects form a restricted code on the grounds that some speakers speak only the dialect variety natively, and for these speakers the standard variety is a superimposed variety that must be learned like a foreign language.

Several teachers told me that even the graduating *Gymnasium* students were sometimes incapable of producing Standard German for the entire duration of their school-leaving exams, *die Matura*. For a one-hour oral defense in German class they would sometimes slip into dialect or a colloquial variety closer to the dialect. Bister-Broosen (1998: 40), following Mattheier (1980), states that school-age children are "confronted" with the standard variety,

whereas adults have more experience with this issue and have already determined when it is appropriate to use one variety or another in a given situation or domain.

#### **2.2.2.6 Social Networks**

In smaller settings macro-level concepts such as gender, ethnicity and social class are not necessarily useful constructs in determining behavior at the individual level (Lippi-Green 1989: 213, Milroy and Gordon 2003: 116). Mattheier (1997: 406) claims that the factors which are typically explored by Anglo-American sociolinguists are of peripheral importance in German-speaking countries.

In smaller communities there may not be great distinctions of class, and small-sample size or heterogeneity within the community makes macro-level analysis impossible. The local dialect is spoken by members of all social classes in small communities, thus it cannot be said that the dialect is the language of the working class. In Bavaria, 85.3% of the upper class speaks dialect (Mattheier 1990: 68). In Austria, including urban areas, 66.9% of the upper class can speak dialect (Steinegger 1998: 263). Another issue is that social classes do not always correspond to speakers' own self-concept of identity. One method used to overcome these complications is social network analysis. A social network is defined as "the aggregate of relationships contracted with others, a boundless web of ties which reaches out through social and geographical space linking many individuals, sometimes remotely" (Milroy and Gordon 2003:117). Social network analysis may be used to measure an informant's integration into the community and its power structures. Strong network ties promote conformity within a group, while weak network ties may lead to change in language usage.

The social network analysis method was pioneered by Leslie Milroy in studies of English speakers in Belfast (Milroy 1987, Milroy and Gordon 2003). Milroy (1987) constructed a *network strength scale*, which measures kinship ties with more than one household, workplace connections, participation in local activities, and voluntary association with colleagues outside of work. Higher social network strength translates to tighter integration within the community; thus an individual is likely to feel more pressure to conform to the behavioral norms of the given community.

Several studies using a network approach have been performed in Austria in smaller, non-urban communities. Lippi-Green (Lippi 1987, Lippi-Green 1989) studied the community of Grossdorf in the state of Vorarlberg, whose dialect is Alemannic. The small size and relative isolation of this village made macro-level measurements such as socioeconomic class irrelevant. Lippi-Green utilized a network strength scale with 16 criteria. In this study, the women's age, education, and integration into the social network were strong predictors of whether a speaker uses conservative or innovative variants (Lippi-Green 1989: 225). Men's speech correlated strongly with their voluntary associations, in particular strong workplace networks enforced use of conservative variants of the language (ibid.: 224-225).

Gal (1978, 1979) was able to show how changes in the social networks in the town of Oberwart, a bilingual German/Hungarian town in Burgenland in the southeast of Austria, caused by changes in economic status, led to a language shift. The Hungarian language came to be associated only with peasant status within the community after the Second World War, and German became associated with higher income and status (Gal 1979: 160-162).

Gumperz (1982) showed that the traditionally strong and multiplex networks in Austria's Gail Valley were weakened by a shift from agriculture to service industries, as well as

improvements in the local road system which led to increased contact and trade with outsiders. This weakening of the local social network also resulted in a language shift.

Social network strength often correlates with the other factors such as gender, age, and social class (Chambers 1995: 81-82). Certain social networks are (sometimes stereotypically) associated with one gender or the other, such as sporting events and poker games for males, and baby/wedding showers and aerobics classes for females. Certain age groups tend to have much stronger social networks than others. The most obvious example is adolescents, who (in industrial societies) are in constant peer contact and adhere to strict norms in order to be accepted within a group. Upper and working classes tend to have much stronger social networks, albeit consisting of different natures, than the middle class, which is the most socially mobile, thus least well-rooted in a community. The social networks of the middle class are the most difficult to generalize, as speakers in the middle class may have contact with members of both working and upper classes.

This research investigates the effect of social network strength on frequency of dialect use and the attitudes of speakers in the Innviertel. The sample size is significantly larger (350 subjects for whom network strength could be calculated) than other research projects which employed a social network component. This research is also unique for Austrian communities of this size.

### **2.2.3 Commuters/Non-Commuters**

A speaker's status as either a commuter or non-commuter can play a significant role in that speaker's choice of speech variety. Those who commute out of their local area in order to find work may find that their own local hometown dialect is not understood or not acceptable where they work. Commuters, lacking one possible connection to the local labor

or professional community, may have a weaker social network (cf. Gal 1979: 141).

Commuters into larger cities may be exposed to linguistic innovations that they can carry back to their hometowns. Vienna is a major source of innovations, which then are transmitted throughout Austria along common commuting and trade routes (Hornung et al. 2000: 12).

Linz, the state capital of Upper Austria, is seen as a primary node for this trend from Vienna, but it plays relatively little role in transmitting innovations to the rest of the state (Scheuringer 1997). Linz has a progressively decreasing influence on Upper Austria moving from east to west, least of all on the Innviertel in the extreme west of Upper Austria (Wiesinger 1990: 230). Those who do not commute may have less exposure to other regional dialectal varieties and may have significantly more connections with the local social network, thus enforcing more conservative norms. Due to changes in the economic situation of Upper Austria, more people than ever before are commuting to urban centers in Upper Austria, such as Linz, Wels, to other major cities such as Salzburg and Vienna, and to cities across the border in Bavaria, such as Passau and Munich (see 3.3).

Steinegger (1998: 300) reports that for all of Austria there is a strong correlation between mobility and choice of speech variety. Commuters use less dialect and also have a lower estimation of dialect varieties than non-commuters. This is because the local dialect is not understood or acceptable in other regions. Those who travel regularly for business reasons are often in more formal professional situations which demand a more standard-like variety. In situations where the travel involves visiting relatives in other regions, the situations are much less formal, thus more colloquial or dialect variety would be spoken than the standard variety (Steinegger 1998: 302).

#### **2.2.4 Accommodation Theory**

According to Grice (1975), the defining essence of all communication is cooperation. If the goal is to effectively communicate knowledge, then it is in the best interest of the interlocutors to cooperate with one another and to be flexible enough to modify the means of communication in order to facilitate the effective transmission of information. The addressee in a conversation is a full participant and can even be considered to be the cause of the message; without the addressee, the message would not exist (Krauss 1987: 86).

Accommodation theory is an alternative or supplemental explanation for why speakers alter their own speech, including code-switching and moving back and forth along the dialect-standard continuum. Speakers may attempt to achieve solidarity with a conversation partner, or may attempt to disassociate themselves from said partner (Giles et al. 1991: 2).

Communication accommodation theory, in part a critique of Labov's theoretical framework, states that interpersonal influence may cause the interviewee to converge with the interviewer in a sociolinguistic interview (Giles et al. 1991:4). Included in the theory is the study of both verbal and non-verbal elements of social interaction.

The motive for convergence is a speaker's or group's need for social integration or identification with another individual or group. Increased behavioral similarity (speech is a very salient behavior) is likely to enhance the perceived attractiveness of one party, as well as the perceived supportiveness, predictability, intelligibility and interpersonal involvement (Giles et al. 1991:18). The convergence tends to be in the direction from the less powerful to the more powerful (in terms of occupational or economic power) variety, thus upwards towards superiors (Giles et al 1991: 19). Also possible is divergence, where one speaker

accentuates the differences between oneself and others, in order to exclude others or to indicate antipathy.

Giles et al. (1991: 21-25) list several factors that may prevent accommodation: 1) although standard language varieties are associated with competence and high status, they are also associated with low trustworthiness and friendliness; 2) situational norms may override accommodative tendencies; 3) speakers evaluate behavior in light of the motives that they perceive to cause the behavior; and 4) converging too much at once may be seen as patronizing or condescending. It is also possible that an individual speaker lacks the competence in one or more of the varieties necessary to accommodate to the interlocutor.

In Austrian schools, every teacher makes unique demands on the pupils. Dialect from the pupils may be more acceptable to some teachers than to others. Particularly in secondary schools, where students may have several different teachers during the course of a single school day, the students may accommodate to a different extent to each individual teacher in turn (Wiesinger 1989b:79).

My personal interactions with speakers in Ried im Innkreis indicated to me that many speakers, although they are aware that I was a non-native speaker and did not speak their dialect (and initially had difficulty understanding it), were either unwilling or incapable of converging upwards towards Standard German, even if that meant that I would not understand the message they were attempting to convey.

One goal of this study is to determine to what extent the speaker in Ried accommodate or distance interlocutors, and whether or not they include or exclude others through the choice of speech variety.



### 2.2.5 Attitudinal Studies

Language has more than the single role of imparting facts. It carries with it affective values such as group identity and solidarity. A speaker may associate specific varieties of speech with positive or negative emotional values. The emotions can be triggered by the stimulus of speech. These emotional associations may influence the individual speaker's choice of variety, and the emotional and cognitive values can also become associated with individuals who speak a given variety of language. Because a particular variety may be strongly associated with a specific community, such as urban dialects with the working class, or regional dialects with specific ethnic groups/nationalities, the use of dialect may draw up stereotypes about these communities and their speakers. Dialect may be evaluated differently by individuals, groups, or institutions, and the evaluation is closely related to the (overt or covert) prestige of the variety.

Among German speakers, dialects are evaluated and consistently ranked in terms of popularity, prestige, and stigmatization (Clyne 1995: 117). A study conducted by the Institut für Werbepsychologie in the 1960s found that German speakers ranked the Viennese dialect most favorably, followed by those of Hamburg, Cologne, Munich, and Frankfurt am Main, with the dialect of Leipzig (*Sächsisch* dialect) as least popular dialect (Jakob 1992:167). In Moosmüller's (1991) study, Austrians consistently rated the local Viennese dialect the lowest of Austrian dialects, which Moosmüller attributes to the dirty, industrialized image of Vienna. Negative evaluations of Viennese dialect are associated with use of Viennese dialect by the working class, and positive evaluations are associated with the dialect used by the upper class (Moosmüller 1991:22). Speakers of Bavarian dialect, which has much in common with the dialect spoken in the Innviertel, are commonly evaluated by other Germans

as “primitive,” yet tied closely to their home and sociable (Hundt 1992). Speakers of GSG are often seen as arrogant, unfriendly tourists within Austria.

The questionnaires typically used to measure attitudes regarding dialect and standard varieties of German focus on the subject’s estimation of their own behavior. These estimations may not necessarily overlap with objective measures of language use, but as Weiss (1980: 10) states “Spracheinstellungen bzw. den Sprachgebrauch betreffende Selbsteinschätzungen mit dem sozialem Verhalten insgesamt vielleicht mehr übereinstimmen als mit dem tatsächlichen Sprachgebrauch” (‘language attitudes or the self-estimations of language use may correspond more with social behavior as a whole than with the actual language use.’) In Austria, subjects claim to speak dialect, rather than colloquial or standard varieties, more often than they believe is appropriate for other speakers (Steinegger 1998: 372-373). Steinegger’s results demonstrate that dialect is much more widely accepted in Austria than in Germany and plays a greater role in the Austrians’ lifestyle. Around two-thirds of Austrians claim to use dialect in the everyday course of events.

My study does not directly measure the actual language use of the speakers by means of an objective instrument; rather it asks the subjects about their own language use, using subjective measurements in the form of a questionnaire. As such, it directly measures the attitudes of the subjects.

### **2.3 Previous dialectological and sociolinguistic research on the Innviertel**

Until recently there has been a general dearth of research on the dialects of the Innviertel. The study of dialect in Upper Austria has been disadvantaged by the lack of a linguistics faculty at the single state-sponsored university, the Johannes Kepler Universität in Linz. Much of the earliest work, published in the last decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, consisted of

etymologies of place names in Upper Austria. However this was often based on folk etymologies and subject to erroneous assumptions (Wiesinger 1989a: 89). The earliest dialectological research was carried out by investigators from the University of Vienna. In 1962 the University of Salzburg was founded, and new research was carried out by this university's investigators.

Dialectological dissertations, primarily descriptive, focusing on the Innviertel were published by Herbert Grau (1939) and Gottfried Glechner<sup>9</sup> (1949). Georg Weitzenböck (1942) published his monograph on the dialect of his hometown, Mühlheim, near Braunau, while in his eighties. While Wiesinger (1989a) considers Weitzenböck's work the first modern dialectological work within Upper Austria, Weitzenböck's work was based on his recollections from his own childhood 70 years earlier, and he falsely claimed his publication was representative of the entire Innviertel. Helga Hiermanseder's (1968) dissertation was based on a lexical study in Schärding. Erich Burgstaller (1972) discussed a division of MHG *a/â*. Peter Wiesinger (1980) discusses the Innviertel dialect briefly, dealing only with long vowels. Most of this research was focused on the most conservative rural dialects (*älteste Mundarten*). Hermann Scheuringer (1985) detailed the local dialect and evaluated the changes in progress in the northern portion of the Innviertel. His research indicated that a relatively recent and rapid change in the dialect was taking place amongst the youngest group of speakers (15-35 years old) in his study, of decreasing conservatism (MHG vowels shifting to NHG vowels) from East to West; the oldest base dialects, which are strongly West Central Bavarian (*Westmittelbairisch*), are giving way to younger base dialects which are

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<sup>9</sup> Oberstudienrat Prof. Dr. Gottfried Glechner (1915-2004) Gymnasium teacher of German and Latin in Braunau am Inn, after retirement was also an author and storyteller who wrote and performed in dialect. He passed away while I was in Ried im Innkreis for my research. His death, October 10, 2004, was noted by the local newspaper, *Rieder Rundschau*, with a front-page headline, indicating his local renown and the popularity of his dialect stories.

Austrian/East Central Bavarian (*Österreichisch-Ostmittelbairisch*) (Scheuringer 1985:1-2).

In 1998 the first volume of an ambitious dialectological study, the *Sprachatlas von Oberösterreich*, (*SAO*), was published, containing numerous detailed language maps (Gaisbauer et al. 1998). The *Sprachatlas* traces the development of vowel sounds from Middle High German to Modern German in Upper Austria. The second volume of the *SAO* was published in 2003 (Gaisbauer et al. 2003), and a third volume appeared in 2005 (Ebner 2005).

Although the characteristics of the local dialect of Ried have been well documented, the factors that influence a speaker's choice of variety for a particular situation have not been as thoroughly investigated. This is one of the goals of this study. The attitudes regarding the local dialect are particularly salient, and will be investigated alongside social and situational factors. Attitudinal research is a new contribution to the understanding of the language situation in Austria.

### Chapter 3: The community of Ried im Innkreis, Austria

Ried im Innkreis is a small city (*Kleinstadt*) in the state of Upper Austria (*Oberösterreich*) with a population of 11,402.<sup>10</sup> It is the central city of the Innviertel region and the county seat (*Bezirkshauptmannschaft*) of the Ried district. The Innviertel comprises three districts: Ried im Innkreis, Schärding, and Braunau. The state of Upper Austria is composed of eighteen districts. The district of Ried contains thirty-six separate municipalities.

The Innviertel region is in the western portion of Upper Austria, bordering Bavaria to its west. The region is named for the Inn River, which flows from the Swiss Alps, through Switzerland and Germany, then into the Danube River just north of the Innviertel. The Inn forms a section of the border between Upper Austria and Germany. The landscape is mostly foothills leading to the Alps in the south. The name Ried comes from MHG *riet* (OHG *(h)riot*, cognate with English *reed*) and means “swamp” or “cattail.”

Although located roughly halfway between Passau to the north and Salzburg to the south, Ried im Innkreis is a peripheral location. There are no direct train connections to major cities, nor is Ried directly on the *Autobahn* connecting to major cities. The A8 *Autobahn*, constructed in the 1980s, runs from Passau to Linz, bypassing Ried 10 kilometers to the north.

Ried is referred to as a *Verkehrsknoten* (traffic node) for the railway system, as two rail lines meet in Ried (Attnang-Puchheim ↔ St. Martin im Innkreis, and Neumarkt-Kallham ↔

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<sup>10</sup> 2001 Austrian national census (Statistik Austria <http://www.statistik.at/blickgem/vz1/g41225.pdf>)

Braunau/Simbach am Inn). However, anyone wishing to travel to a larger city such as Linz, Salzburg, Passau, Vienna, or Munich must transfer to another train at one of those endpoints. While a trip by automobile to Salzburg or Linz takes approximately forty-five minutes, by train the journey takes around one and a half hours, with at least one connection transfer in between.

Ried is a central location in the Innviertel region which draws in other inhabitants from within the Innviertel region for work, shopping and athletic events, and tourists for conventions or fairs, but does not benefit from other commercial through-traffic.



Illustration 3.1 - Transportation network (rail and road) around Ried  
(Source: <http://www.riedermette.at/?section=Anfahrtspläne>)

### 3.1 Einzugsgebiet and Bezirkshauptmannschaft

The city of Ried is the administrative center (*Bezirkshauptmannschaft*) of the Innviertel and the Ried district specifically. In addition to the city's administration (including local police, emergency and fire departments), the regional *Gendarmerie*, state and district courts and prison, regional school administration, tax offices, as well as the district's retirement and nursing home are located in Ried. There is also a military base, the *Zehner-Kaserne*, for the *Bundesheer*, the national armed forces.

The city of Ried is the educational center for the entire region. The city includes five *Kindergärten*, two *Gymnasien* (preparatory schools), three *Volksschulen* (elementary schools), three *Hauptschulen* (secondary schools), a *Sporthauptschule* (to train athletes), two *Berufsschulen* (vocational schools), a *Kindergartenschule* (to train kindergarten teachers and day-care workers), a music school, and a *Bundeshandelsakademie* (business academy). Typically, elementary school pupils attend primary school (*Volksschule*) in their local community. Students travel by train or bus daily from the surrounding region to attend secondary school in Ried, and there are also dormitories (*Internat*) for some of the schools, which allow them to function as boarding schools during the week. Students who attend university after their comprehensive secondary-school exams (*die Matura*) must travel to larger cities, typically Linz, Salzburg, Innsbruck or Vienna, as Ried has no college or university. As more families move out of small communities into larger towns or cities, enrollment at some *Hauptschulen* in rural areas has dropped, so that some schools have been closed by the state's educational authority, the *Landesschulrat* ("Schulen: Kinderschwund und Lehrersorgen." *Die Presse*, 9/16/2004). This trend means that in some cases even younger pupils must commute to larger communities for school.

School is still a domain for the standard variety; however, use of dialect or dialect-colored colloquial speech is increasing in schools in Austria (Wiesinger 1997: 32). Teachers are expected to speak and demand Standard German, but many of the teachers do not speak Standard German themselves (Wiesinger 1989b: 77). Because of Ried's status as an educational and administrative center, one should expect to encounter a colloquial variety of German closer to ASG than the base dialect (Roland Willemyns, personal communication).

### **3.2 Economic issues**

The economy of the Innviertel region has been historically primarily rural and agricultural, including significant dairy production, with little industry. As of 1985, 95% of the population was involved in agricultural or forestry industries, and of that 95 percent, most worked for small businesses of less than 20 employees (Scheuringer 1985: 6). By 2001, in the district Ried im Innkreis, 9.1% of the employed population of 24,980 were involved in agriculture or forestry. In the Braunau district, only 10.8% of the employed population of 33,185 was involved in agriculture or forestry. In the Schärding district, 12.7% of 17,942 were involved in agriculture or forestry (Amt der Oberösterreichischen Landesregierung, Abteilung Statistik. <http://www2.land-oberoesterreich.gv.at>). As of 2004 in Austria overall only 5.0% of the working population was employed in agricultural industries and forestry, 67.2% in service industries, and 27.8% in manufacturing, mining, construction and energy production (Statistik Austria 2006: 550).

One significant exception is Fischer GmbH., which produces sporting goods such as skis and tennis rackets, and a subsidiary, Fischer Advanced Composite Components AG, which builds airplane parts for as a subcontractor for companies such as BMW, Airbus, McDonnell Douglas, Boeing, British Aerospace, Saab, Bombardier de Havilland and Fokker. Fischer AG



has over 800 employees, primarily in Ried, and revenues in 2004 of 147 million euros.<sup>11</sup>

FACC employs 922, primarily at its headquarters in Ried and another manufacturing plant in nearby Ort im Innkreis, and had revenues of 132 million euros in 2004.<sup>12</sup> Another important employer in Ried is the local hospital, Krankenhaus der barmherzigen Schwestern Ried (Hospital of the Sisters of Mercy of Ried), which employs over 800.<sup>13</sup> It is the largest single employer in the Ried district, and is a central medical facility for the Innviertel region.

One major industry in Upper Austria and indeed all of Austria is tourism. Workers in the tourism industry normally are expected to use a variety of German which is much closer to Standard German in order to accommodate the tourists, mostly from Germany, who would not understand the local dialect. Ried im Innkreis is home to the Rieder Messe, a convention center and fairgrounds, which hosts conventions, concerts and other events year-round. An annual fair takes place every spring on the fairgrounds. The fairgrounds is also home to the Fill-Metallbau soccer stadium, home field of the local professional soccer team, SV Ried. SV Ried currently belongs to the highest division of the Austrian Bundesliga, and plays against teams from much larger cities such as Vienna, Graz and Salzburg. The local Rieders take tremendous pride in their soccer team for this reason. Fans of opposing teams also travel to Ried in order to watch their local favorite teams play against SV Ried.

Although the Innviertel does not offer alpine skiing attractions, saunas and spas built around thermal springs are another important attraction in the area (Chiari 2003).

Communities in the Innviertel with spas and hot springs include Geinberg (Therme Geinberg), Reichersberg, Bad Griesbach, Bad Füssing and Altheim.

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<sup>11</sup> <http://www.fischer-ski.com/de/>

<sup>12</sup> [http://www.facc.at/e\\_home.htm?company/e\\_facts.htm](http://www.facc.at/e_home.htm?company/e_facts.htm)

<sup>13</sup> <http://www.bhs-ried.at/main.asp?Seite=485>

The state of Upper Austria has one of the strongest economies in all of Austria, with low unemployment, although this is due in large part to employees who commute out of their local communities in order to work (Marschall 2005).

When it officially joined the European Union in 1995, Austria joined an open market that put economic pressures on much of the agricultural industry. Forced to compete with lower wages and production costs in countries such as Spain or Greece, many farmers were forced into bankruptcy or had to change careers. This economic pressure was felt particularly strongly in the Innviertel, where the primary occupation had been agriculture. The addition in 2004 of the newest members of the EU, Cyprus, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Slovakia, and Slovenia have made competition even fiercer due to the low wages prevalent in the eastern European nations among that group.

Strong trading ties with Germany have made the Austrian economy mirror the German one in many ways, and the costs of German reunification since 1990 and economic slowdown have been reflected in the Austrian economy as well.

### **3.3 Commuters**

Scheuringer (1985) found that commuter/non-commuter status was a significant predictor of language variety choice and change in the Innviertel. A 2004 report by the Abteilung Statistik des Landes Oberösterreich (Statistical Office of the State of Upper Austria) demonstrates the increasing trend toward commuting (Hofer 2004). Increasing numbers of workers are now commuting to larger cities, and even into Germany in order to find employment. As the numbers are based on comparisons of 1981, 1991, and 2001 census data, and show an increasing tendency, it is reasonable to infer that the current numbers are even higher today than they were in 2001. The number of employed in the entire state of Upper

Austria who commute has roughly doubled in the last 30 years. In many communities the individuals who commute out of their own community outnumber those individuals who stay within their own community to work. As of 2001, 370,000 (59.7 %) of Upper Austria's 620,000 employed commute outside of their home community (Steinbock 2004).

In the Innviertel, the Braunau district (Bezirk Braunau) has the lowest percentage of commuters. Of 44, 253 employed, 27,709 (62.6%) commute out of their own communities. 14,005 commute to another community within the same district, 2,276 commute to other districts in Upper Austria. 4,455 employees commute across the border to Germany (the city of Braunau lies directly on the border with Bavaria). 18,164 commuters travel into the Braunau district from other districts or regions, or from Germany.

The commuters in the Ried district (Bezirk Ried) comprise 63% of the employed, 16,658 out of 26,270 non-independent employees. Of these commuters, 4,175 commute into other districts in Upper Austria, and 984 commute out of the country, mostly into Germany but also into other bordering countries such as the Czech Republic. 16,298 employees commute into the district from other districts, regions, or countries.

The Schärding district has the highest percentage of commuters out of the three districts of the Innviertel. 17,607 out of 25,452 employees (69.2%) commute out their local communities. 8,524 commute to another community within the Schärding district, 5,975 employees commute outside of the state of Upper Austria, and 2,549 commute to another country for work. 10,733 employees commute into the district from outside districts, regions or countries.

The general trend of increased commuting is not unique to the Innviertel region but is in evidence in other regions of Upper Austria as well. In the Mühlviertel region, 77.4% of the

population in the Urfahr-Umgebung (UU) district directly north of the state capital Linz commutes to another community for work, and 64.3% out of the district (“gU Uter Bezirk mit Rekord-Auspendlern” *Oberösterreichische Nachrichten* 11/24/2004). For the district Perg, to the east of Linz, those who commute constitute 80% of the employed population, with 71.4% commuting out of the district. In the Rohrbach district, 69.7% of the population commutes outside of the local community, and 34.1% out of the district. In the Freistadt district, northeast of Linz, 68.4% of the population commutes outside of the local community, and 46.3% commutes outside of the district.



Illustration 3.2 - The political districts of Upper Austria  
(Source: <http://www.lsr-ooe.gv.at/bsr/bezirke.gif>)

The trend in the Salzkammergut region, to the south of the Innviertel, is similar: 55% of the population in the Gmunden district commutes outside of the local community, and 13% commutes outside of the district. In the Vöcklabruck district, 67% of the employed commute outside of their home community, 12.2 % commute to another district within Upper Austria, 10.4% commute to another state (Salzburg is nearby), and 1.1% commutes to another country (Brandner 2004).

The numbers of commuters are increasing over time for all of Upper Austria, which may play a significant role in the use of dialect. Commuters find that their local dialect is not always understood outside of their home community, and therefore must speak colloquial or standard varieties when while commuting. The trend of increased commuting may coincide with a change in the choice of language variety.

### **3.4 Historical Factors**

#### **3.4.1 The development of the Austrian state and an Austrian standard for the German language**

In the ninth century of the Common Era, Austria was established as a *mark*, a border territory for the defense of the Holy Roman Empire under Charlemagne, but was lost to Magyar invasions. In the tenth century this mark was re-established and awarded to the Babenbergs as the *Marchia Orientalis* (eastern mark) in 976. The first mention of the name Austria (*regione vulgari vocabulo ostarriichi* or ‘region commonly known as the eastern realm’) is found in documents of Otto III from 996 CE (Brook-Shepherd 1997: 4). The city of Vienna had been a Celtic settlement as early as the fifth century BCE. Around 15 BCE a Roman military camp, Vindobona (‘good wine’), was established to guard the eastern frontier of the Roman Empire. Although the city was never completely abandoned, Roman occupation declined sharply in the fifth century, as the barbarian invasions

(*Völkerwanderungen*) became more frequent. Due to Vienna's achieving the status of city and rights as a staple port, the name of the city Vienna made its way into French and Italian in the twelfth century, in its then-current pronunciation, an indication of the importance of the city for commerce and culture.

In the late Middle Ages the Babenberg family died out, and the king of Bohemia, Přemysl Ottokar, ruled for two decades (1251-1278), during which time a lack of central political order led to a resurgence of local dialectal expression (Ebner 1980: 208).

In the late thirteenth century the Hapsburgs came to power, bringing Alemannic influences into the courtly language of Vienna, both in pronunciation and in the lexicon. During this period Austria gained the states of Carinthia (*Kärnten*), Styria (*die Steiermark*), Tyrolia (*Tirol*), as well as Bohemian and Hungarian lands. At the same time Austria began to differentiate itself and distance itself from Bavaria. Because the Hapsburgs were also emperors of the Holy Roman Empire, the influence and importance of Vienna over the rest of Europe grew considerably in this period.

The period of the Reformation led to a stark division between the Protestant northern German states and the Roman Catholic states of Bavaria and Austria. One of the emerging standards, *gemeines Deutsch* ('common German'), was based on the chancery language of Vienna and served as the regional standard for Austria and Bavaria. When the Hapsburgs' imperial chancery moved to Vienna in 1438 the Viennese chancery gained in importance. The Protestant religion relied on Martin Luther's translation of the Bible (first published in its entirety in 1534), which was based on Eastern Central and Upper German regional varieties. The Catholics states of Bavaria and Austria rejected this version as a distortion of the Bible, and *gemeines Deutsch* served as the written standard in these Catholic states. The

Austrian imperial court favored Common German, although the differences between the two competing standards were not very great (Barbour and Stevenson 1990: 48). Over time the Saxon chancery language and Common German influenced each other, until the Saxon standard won out (von Polenz 1978:78).

Thus, Luther's translation served as the basis for Modern German (*Neuhochdeutsch*). In Upper German-speaking areas, the local dialects of the people were preferred to the emerging standard, which to some extent adds to the popular misperception that only German Standard German is a correct form of German. Another result of the Reformation was that Roman Catholic priests began to preach in the dialect of the local people (Ebner 1980:209). Today the differences between the Upper German dialects and the standard are not as great as the differences between the Low German dialects and Standard German (Mattheier 1990: 62) .

In order to keep pace culturally and scientifically with German states during the eighteenth century, Maria Theresa (1717-1780) and her son Joseph II (1741-1790) promoted the use of Standard German, albeit an Austrian standard based on *gemeines Deutsch*, in official functions, documents, and church ceremonies. However, even the royal family spoke dialect in private settings.

In the nineteenth century Austria was an autonomous empire including many nations in one state: Austrian-Germans, Czechs, Slovaks, Croats, Italians, Hungarians, Galicians, Transylvanians, Slovenians, etc. This situation created further distinctions between the Austrian and the German culture and language. Whereas in Germany foreign words were converted into a German equivalent, in Austria the words were borrowed and retained their original forms: for example ASG *Palatschinke* 'pancake' (from Romanian *plăcintă* via Hungarian *palacsinta*, originally Latin *placenta* 'flat cake'), GSG *Pfannkuchen*; and ASG

*Powidl* ‘plum jam’ (from Czech *povidla*), GSG *Pflaumenmus* (Spáčilová 1995: 341). Some of the forms of address uniquely associated with Austria trace back to the monarchy of this period: *Küss die Hand* ‘Kiss the hand,’ *Habe die Ehre* ‘[I] have the honor [of greeting you],’ and *Servus* (greeting and parting word, ‘at your service’ from Latin *servus* ‘servant/slave’) (Zehetner 1998).

After the dissolution of the Hapsburg empire following World War I, use of specific Austrian vocabulary (*Austrizismen*) accelerated and was a unifying tool in the rebuilding of Austria after both World Wars (Wiesinger 1990: 224).

Following the annexation of Austria into the *Ostmark* of Nazi Germany (1938-1945) many efforts were made to distance Austrian language from German Standard German (Ebner 1980:210). This includes renaming German grammar courses *Unterrichtssprache* ‘language of instruction’ in place of *Deutsch*.

The dialect and standard variety are less clearly divided in southern German-language (*Oberdeutsch*) areas than in northern Germany, where the base dialects are disappearing over time. The urban dialects, especially those of Vienna, served to level out dialects among social classes in surrounding commuter areas and along trade routes (Ebner 1980: 213).

Wiesinger (1997: 19) lists the following important influences on the dialects of Austria and Bavaria since the Second World War: the restructuring of economic and social relationships, resettlement of many people in many regions, the growth of cities and population shift from the countryside, increased mobility and increased urban/rural relationships through commuting, the availability of education to all social classes and the resulting ability to advance into a higher social class, and the mass media, especially television and radio.



### 3.4.2 Historical factors in Ried and the Innviertel

The population of the Innviertel has strong historical connections to Bavaria going back hundreds of years, which are even today in some sense stronger than the connections to the national capital Vienna and the rest of Austria. Historical events in the 20<sup>th</sup> century have led the Innviertel's inhabitants to disassociate themselves from the Germans and assert their independent identity.

The first documented mention of Ried was in 1140, as the seat of a dynasty of local family “de Riede” (Mader 1999: 14). Of course the town had been in existence for some time previous to that point. In the 13<sup>th</sup> century, after the last of that lineage died out, the possession of Ried passed over to Bavarian dukes, where it would remain for around six centuries. Control of the Innviertel has passed back and forth several times between Bavaria (before a unified Germany existed) and Austria. In 1779, following the Congress of Teschen at the end of the Bavarian War of Succession (*Bayerischer Erbfolgekrieg*, 1778-1779), the region was passed from the state of Bavaria over to Austria, and renamed from *Innbaiern* to *Innviertel*. In 1810 the Innviertel passed back to Bavaria. In 1813 Bavaria joined a coalition of states to fight against Napoleon. Following the invasions and occupation by France, the region was passed again from Bavaria over to Austria in the Munich Agreement (*Münchner Vertrag*) in 1816. In 1857 Kaiser Franz Joseph I officially declared Ried, at the time Austria's largest market town (*Marktgemeinde*) to be a city (*Stadt*). The shield (*Stadtwappen*) of the city of Ried im Innkreis still displays the Bavarian blue and white checkerboard pattern in the lower quadrant, in addition to an Austrian double-headed eagle in the upper quadrant (see Illustration 3.2).



Illustration 3.2 - *Stadtwappen* of the city of Ried im Innkreis

The top quadrant features the double-headed eagle of the Austrian monarchy, the lower quadrant is the blue-white checkerboard pattern representing Bavaria. The left side features a boot that comes from the legend of the city's founding, and the right side features a vine indicating Ried's status as a brewery city.

(Source: [http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ried\\_im\\_Innkreis](http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ried_im_Innkreis))

With new political domination, the Innviertel re-oriented itself towards the East. The Bavarian city of Passau had always exerted a strong regional influence, because it has been the seat of a bishop. In 1785, however, the Roman Catholic Diocese of Linz was established, drawing influence away from Passau. In the nineteenth century the Austrian government began a process of “spiritual and cultural reorientation to the East” (Scheuringer 1985: 6). The Austrian government after 1816 followed a program of Austrification (*Austrifizierung*) in the Innviertel. Bavarian influences were suppressed. Government officials and schoolteachers were brought in from Lower Austria, and schoolchildren who used stereotypical Bavarian dialect features (Scheuringer provides the example *dunkles â<sup>14</sup>*) in school were subjected to corporal punishment (Scheuringer 1989b: 76).

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<sup>14</sup>Scheuringer (1985: 11) uses the Vienna school of dialectology's symbol *â*, which corresponds to IPA rounded open back vowel /ɔ/.

With the borders set after 1816, the influence of Bavaria waned and the influence of Vienna over the Innviertel grew. The Innviertel was being pulled by two poles of influence, one with a historical legacy (Bavaria) and one with political clout (Linz as the state capital and Vienna as the imperial city) (Scheuringer 1985: 1).

The breakup of the Austro-Hungarian Empire after the First World War, as well as resettlement of German speakers into Upper Austria after both world wars led to a language shift away from dialect towards Austrian Standard German for a large portion of the Austrian population. Military service led to exposure to more standard-like varieties of German (Hornung et al. 2000). The annexation of Austria into the Ostmark by the Third Reich was another change of sovereignty, as was the ten-year occupation of Austria by victorious Allied powers. In the Second Republic after World War II, a “consciousness of Austrian-ness” (*Österreichbewusstsein*) began to grow, in which language was to play a significant role (Wiesinger 1985: 1047).

Also of note historically is the proximity of Braunau am Inn to Ried, approximately 40 kilometers away. Braunau was the birthplace of Adolf Hitler and in the past few decades has been an annual meeting place for neo-Nazis, skin-heads and other right-wing radicals on the anniversary of Hitler’s birth, April 20, 1889. Although the annexation of Austria into the *Ostmark* was popularly hailed by Austrians at the time, most Austrians today of course wish to disassociate themselves from the National Socialists and Adolf Hitler.

### **3.5 The Dialect of the Innviertel**

#### **3.5.1 The development of Central Bavarian from Middle High German**

The dialectal variety of German spoken in the Innviertel is classified as *Mittelbairisch* (Central Bavarian), and the area where it is spoken, originally settled by Bavarian tribes (*die*

*Bajuwaren*), is bordered to the south by the Alps, and to the north by the Bohemian Forest. These are geographical boundaries which hindered the further spread of this variety. The *Mittelbairisch* language territory encompasses Vienna, Lower Austria, Upper Austria, most of the state of Salzburg, part of Styria, and of course a large portion of Bavaria, Germany, including Munich. The Danube River does not serve as a dialect boundary, and political barriers have been too fluid over the last several centuries to create major isoglosses.

Scheuringer (1985) argues for a bipartite division of *Mittelbairisch* into East and West Central Bavarian due to significant differences between the varieties spoken in Bavaria and the varieties spoken in Austria. Specifically, the Austrian dialects are more conservative and show a greater range and variety in the dialect-standard continuum, especially in the vocabulary. The Innviertel lies directly in a transition zone between east and west. One particularly salient feature that has more in common with Bavaria than with Austria is the pronunciation of /a/, referred to as *dunkles â*, a rounded open back vowel [ɒ] in the Innviertel and Bavaria in words such as *Wasser* ‘water’ and *Stadt* ‘city.’ The ASG prestige pronunciation in the east is [a], heard in Viennese streetcar announcements as a nasalized variant [ã:].

The dialect spoken today in the Innviertel can be most easily traced back to Bavarian varieties of Middle High German, and is evident particularly in the phonology. The modern Bavarian dialects are phonologically conservative in comparison to ASG. The language of the poets and written Middle High German standards (*Dichter-* and *Hofsprache*) developed from the Alemannic varieties of Middle High German. The modern ASG variety developed in the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries out of the court and chancellery languages (*Hof- und Kanzleisprachen*) of Prague and Vienna.

### **3.5.2 Innviertler dialect**

The local dialect of the Innviertel has been primarily a language of rural, agricultural speakers. Although groups such as the *Stelzhamerbund* (see 3.5.6) have worked to preserve the local dialect, several historical factors have led to changes that have threatened the continuity of the dialect (see 3.4.2). Relatively recent economic changes due to membership in the European Union have caused many to leave agricultural professions where the local dialect was most common. Mass media, particularly West German (*Bundesdeutsch*) television, have influenced many speakers to shift towards increased use of colloquial or standard varieties. However, in some places the local dialect has been better preserved than traditional local customs, folk art, games, or clothing (Hornung et al. 2000: 11). Local dialects are much more salient in the south of Germany and in Austria than in central and northern Germany. The western portion of Upper Austria has only been a part of Austria for 200 years, and the linguistic effect of this is that many features of the dialect more closely resemble the West Central Bavarian dialect as spoken in Bavaria than the East Central Bavarian dialect as spoken in the rest of Upper and Lower Austria. (Ebner 1980: 215). Linguistic innovations radiating from Vienna only reach as far as the Innviertel, if that far, but not further into Bavaria (Wiesinger 1985: 1947).

### **3.5.3 Characteristics of Central Bavarian**

The Central Bavarian dialect is marked by several deviations from ASG. There is no distinction for native Central Bavarian dialect speakers between voiced and voiceless consonants, but rather the distinction is between lenis and fortis consonants. ASG voiced consonants are unvoiced in dialect (Hornung et al. 2000: 13).

Moosmüller (1991: 41-54) lists several highly salient alternations between ASG and dialect that are typical for Vienna, and are also characteristic of the rest of Austria. ASG /u:/ alternates with dialect diphthong /uə/, for example *muss* ‘must’ [mus] and [mues] respectively. ASG /i:/ alternates with dialect /iə/, in words like *lieb* ‘dear,’ [li:b] and [liəb]. ASG *wir* ‘we’ [vɪr] and *mir* ‘me’ [mɪr] alternate with dialect [ma]. ASG *nicht* ‘not’ [nɪft] alternates with dialect [ne:d]. ASG *das* ‘the/that’ [dɔs] alternates with dialect *des* [deɪs]. As already mentioned above, ASG [a] alternates with dialect [ɒ] in words like *Wasser* ‘water.’ The use of [ɒ] is distinctly non-Viennese, as in Vienna it is usually realized as [a]. ASG *sind* ‘are’ [sɪnd] alternates with dialect [sa:n]. ASG *ist* ‘is’ [ɪst] alternates with dialect [i:z]. ASG *ich* ‘I’ [ɪʃ] alternates with dialect [i:]. This dialectal realization is also very common for other pronouns *mich* ‘me’ and *dich* ‘you,’ realized as [mi:] and [di:].<sup>15</sup>

Upper Austria, due to its location, is a region where competing influences may lead to the alternation of East-Austrian, West-Austrian, or Bavarian features and expressions. There is not a single Upper Austrian dialect, but rather several varieties. In a primarily agricultural region many of the rural dialects (*Bauernmundarten*) are still well-maintained. There are a few specific features of *Innviertlerisch* that distinguish it from the rest of Upper Austria and the *Mittelbairisch* region. ASG /o/ (from MHG *ô*), which is realized several different ways depending on which section of Upper Austria one is in, is [ɔu] in the Innviertel (Gaisbauer et

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<sup>15</sup>This is also seen in humorous written form on Austrian/Bavarian bumper stickers “*I moag di*” (‘I like you’) and “*Du mi A*” (‘Same to you’).

al., 1998). Also typical of the Innviertel dialect is the deletion of /l/ between vowels in initial syllables, as in *Schui-a* [ʃui-ə], ASG *Schüler* ('student/pupil'). /l/ is deleted before consonants and word-finally: *oed* [ɔəd], ASG *alt* ('old'). ASG *-el* is *-l* in dialect after palatals, and *-e* elsewhere. ASG *-eln* is *-en* in dialect (Hornung et al. 2000: 70).

The Bavarian dialect features more diphthongs (24) than standard German (only /ai/, /ɔi/, and /au/) (Ebner 1980: 217). Vowels are combined with and without nasalization to create diphthongs that do not exist in Standard German: i.e. /iɐ/, /yɐ/, /uɐ/, /eɐ/, /ɛɐ/, /Øɐ/, /oɐ/, /ãu/, /ea/, /ẽa/, /ẽi/, /ia/, /oa/, /õa/, /õi/, /ou/, and /ua/. Central Bavarian is reputed to be among the natural languages with the most diphthongs on the planet (Peter Ladefoged, personal communication).

The subjunctive forms of most verbs have been lost from the dialect. The subjunctive forms of *tun* (*täte*) or *werden* (*würde*) are used in combination with the infinitive form of another verb instead. In place of genitive, prepositional phrases with *von*, or dative case noun + possessive pronoun (i.e. *dem Kind sein Haus*, ASG *das Haus des Kind(e)s* 'the child's house') are employed. Dialectal directional adverbs which are highly salient include *aba* (ASG *herunter* 'down [towards the speaker]'), *abi* (ASG *hinunter* 'down [away from the speaker]'), *auffa* (ASG *herauf* 'up [towards the speaker]'), *auffi* (ASG *hinauf* 'up [away from the speaker]'), *aussa* (ASG *heraus* 'out [towards the speaker]'), *aussi* (ASG *hinaus* 'out [away from the speaker]'), *eina* (ASG *herein* 'into [towards the speaker]'), *eini* (ASG *hinein* 'into [away from the speaker]'), *füra* (ASG *nach vorne* 'forwards [towards the speaker]'), *füri* (ASG *nach vorne* 'forwards [away from the speaker]'), *umma* (ASG *herüber* 'across/over [towards the speaker]'), *ummi* (ASG *hinüber* 'across/over [away from the speaker]'), *zuwa*

(ASG *auf jemanden/etwas zu* ‘towards [the speaker]’), and *zuwi* (ASG *auf etwas zu* ‘towards something [away from the speaker]’) (Zehetner 1998). Simple past tense is not used in dialect, with the exception of *war* (‘was’). Past perfect tense in dialect also differs from ASG: ASG *Er hatte gesagt* (‘he had said’) is *er hat gesagt gehabt* (Ebner 1980: 220).

There are of course numerous lexical items that are only used locally in the Innviertel and which are not known anywhere else. Many older lexical items refer to farm implements which may no longer be used, and are thus being lost from the active vocabulary of the local speakers. There are several locally produced dictionaries of dialect words from the Innviertel specifically and Upper Austria more generally, including dictionaries of Upper Austrian dialect terms: *Wörterbuch zur oberösterreichischen Volksmundart* (Jungmair and Etz 1999), *Sprechen Sie Oberösterreichisch?* (Lichtenauer 2003), and the *Glossar für Heimat-, Haus-, und Familienforschung* (Fichtinger 2003).

#### **3.5.4 Awareness of and status of dialect in the Innviertel**

A 1985 study conducted by Peter Wiesinger at the University of Vienna found that 78% of Austrians claim to be dialect speakers, approximately the same as the percentage of Bavarians who claimed to be dialect speakers ten years earlier (Scheuringer 1997: 336). These numbers are much higher than in the values found in 1966 for speakers of *Plattdeutsch* dialects in Northern Germany (Wiesinger 1989b: 73).

The dialect is a very salient issue for the local inhabitants of the Innviertel. When told that I was interested in their local dialect, many of the locals were eager to share their knowledge of the dialect with me. With very little prodding, many people were able to tell me salient features of the local dialect. The subjects I spoke with were very proud of the fact that an outsider was interested in their dialect. The local newspaper has published an ongoing



series of articles about the dialect of the Innviertel (Lehner 2004: 18-19). The diagnostic features of the local dialect which are most salient for speakers in Ried are the variation in the vowel quality, in particular the pronunciation of /a/ and diphthongs, allowing locals to distinguish what is spoken in Ried from other varieties from neighboring areas, and lexical items unique to the Innviertel (see Gaisbauer et al. 1998 and Gaisbauer et al. 2003 for detailed maps of linguistic variables for all of Upper Austria).

Local dialect poets, such as Gottfried Glechner, are personalities well known even to young school children. The main square of the city of Ried is named for and features a statue of poet Franz Stelzhamer (see 3.5.6), and a statue of another dialect-poet Hans Schatzdorfer (1897-1960) can be seen in the nearby Wohlmayrgasse.

### **3.5.5 *Dialektrenaissance*?**

There has been some debate in German-speaking countries regarding the concept of *Dialektrenaissance*, an increase in the popularity and interest in local dialects. Beginning in the 1970s, there was a surge in the use of local dialects throughout the German-speaking countries. Clyne (1995:111) attributes the increase in dialect usage to a resurgence of ethnic and regional awareness, which has led generally to more positive attitudes regarding regional varieties. Often associated (in Germany at least) with grass-roots social protest movements against nuclear power and weapons and increased urban expansion into the countryside via road-building projects, university students (re-)learned dialect in order to join in the protest movements with their provincial compatriots. Another goal, particularly in Austria, was to break up the sense of anonymity and alienation that comes from living in large urban areas (Lanthaler 2004). This new popularity of dialect has manifested itself in popular entertainment and in everyday life.

Mattheier (1980: 171-173) attributes the increase of dialect use in popular music, television, radio and advertising since the beginning of the 1970s to two factors: the media playing up a general sense of nostalgia and a common reaction by society against egalitarianism, centralization and a sense of isolation. The increase in dialect usage (Mattheier uses the term *Dialektwelle* ‘dialect wave’) is characterized by dialect and dialect-like colloquial speech appearing in domains where previously only standard varieties had been appropriate. This is a reversal of the trend of standard varieties spreading and replacing the ancestral dialects, which by the 1950s had been completed for the majority of Germans (but not Austrians).

The resurgence of dialect was noticeably greater in the north of Germany, where local dialects have been threatened with extinction. Reiffenstein (1997: 392) argues that the term *Dialektrenaissance* is not applicable in Austria for this trend, as the local dialects were still strongly ingrained in Austria and never in danger of dying out; thus a “rebirth” is out of the question. Reiffenstein (ibid.: 394) thus also uses the term *Dialektwelle* to describe the noticeable increase of dialect use in Austria. He attributes this increase of popularity and prestige of the local dialects to discussions about obstacles to communication between social classes (i.e. Bernstein’s idea of restricted and elaborated codes), the 1968 student movements in Germany, and rediscovery of the local region. Reiffenstein (ibid.) mentions that specifically in Austria, a loosening of the expected behavioral norms (for example, only Standard German in formal situations) has been taking place since 1945. The Austrians have developed a new linguistic self-confidence, no longer afraid of not speaking “beautiful” German, and use of both dialect and colloquial varieties expresses intimacy and group-membership. Wiesinger (1997: 33) also mentions that use of dialect-colored colloquial

speech is increasing as an expression of new and increased regional consciousness. Although the base dialects are disappearing in much of Germany, in Austria the dialects are still robust. As such, Ried is part of the general trend for Austria.

While the dialect may have gained prestige over the last half-century, the deepest base dialects still have not, as the majority of speakers do not understand them (Mattheier 1997: 409).

### **3.5.6 Franz Stelzhamer and the Stelzhamerbund**

One of the most celebrated regional literary figures in the Innviertel is the dialect-poet Franz Stelzhamer (1802-1874). Best known for his *Hoamatgsang* ('Song of Home'), the state anthem of Upper Austria—also the only state anthem to be written in and still sung in dialect—Stelzhamer was born in Großpiesenham, a short distance from Ried im Innkreis. A statue of Stelzhamer graces the main shopping square of Ried, the Stelzhamerplatz. There is even a statue of Stelzhamer in the state capital, Linz, along the main shopping avenue stretching from the city center to the main train station. The 200-year anniversary of his birth was celebrated in 2002 as the *Stelzhamerjahr* ('Stelzhamer Year') in Upper Austria, including poetry readings, lectures about Stelzhamer, meetings of local poets, performances of Stelzhamer's theater pieces, and the production of *Stelzhamerbier* by the Riederbräu brewery in Ried.

Members of the Stelzhamerbund ([www.stelzhamerbund.at](http://www.stelzhamerbund.at)), a group formed in 1882 with currently circa 1700 members—primarily authors and aficionados of Stelzhamer—actively promote and preserve the local dialect, performing and writing works of prose and poetry in both dialect and standard, as well as publishing books about Stelzhamer and the dialects of Upper Austria. During the period of my field research, I attended several meetings and

performances of the Stelzhamerbund, and the members were enthusiastic in their aid to my research project.



Illustration 3.4 - (Left) Statue of Franz Stelzhamer on the Stelzhamerplatz in Ried  
(Source: [http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bild:Franz\\_Stelzhamer\\_Denkmal\\_Ried\\_im\\_Innkreis.jpg](http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bild:Franz_Stelzhamer_Denkmal_Ried_im_Innkreis.jpg))

Illustration 3.5: (Right) Statue of Franz Stelzhamer in Linz.  
(Source: <http://www.linz.at/aktuell/presse/2002/images/020610c.jpg>)

### 3.5.7 Evidence of dialect in media

The local dialect is found, in written form, in advertising, for example *G'stanzl* (a four-line poem in dialect) used on coasters from the local brewery, and on billboards for local products. The local newspaper, the *Rieder Rundschau*, publishes interviews with local personalities which are transcribed in dialect and colloquial speech, rather than written Standard German. In 2004 the *Rieder Rundschau* published a series of articles about the local dialect of the Innviertel, titled *Des is a Red'*. Part of the *Des is a Red'* series comprised lists of dialect expressions submitted by the newspaper's readers, along with the readers'

explanations of each phrase, including many folk etymologies. The newspaper also sponsored a project *Aktion Wortpatenschaft*, in which local residents pledge to actively use a particular dialectal expression and to promote its use.

### **3.5.8 Dialect used online – email, SMS, chat rooms**

Just as one would not switch to Standard German when speaking to friends on the telephone, younger informants profess their use of dialect in online communications: on Internet discussion forums, in chat rooms, and with telephone text-messaging (SMS, simple message service). Dialect is not typically used in electronic mail, except among informal, more intimate friends, acquaintances and family. There is no standard for the written form of the local dialect, which means that there may be wide variation in the orthography. There is also liberal use of acronyms and abbreviations, partly to save time, but also in the case of SMS, to save money, as each text message can contain only 30 characters and may cost several cents. In this format the local dialect and colloquial varieties are being used and adapted particularly by the younger generations who feel more comfortable with modern technological innovations.

## **3.6 Summary**

Ried is a small city in a rural region of Upper Austria. The city serves as an administrative and educational center for the entire Innviertel region. Significant demographic changes such as loss of agricultural jobs and increased commuting have led to major societal changes. Although unemployment numbers are low relative to the rest of Austria, a large percent of the population commutes outside of their local community for work or to attend school. The local Innviertel region has much in common with Bavaria, both culturally and linguistically, due to historical, political und societal connections with Bavaria.

The region's dialect shares many features with the West Central Bavarian dialect, making it more like the dialects spoken in Bavaria than those dialects spoken in the rest of Austria. The local dialect in Ried is extremely popular and a very salient part of the local culture. It extends throughout all social classes in the community. Because of the Innviertel's location on the border between Austria and Germany and in the transition zone between East Central and West Central Bavarian dialect areas, as well as the competing historical influences of Vienna and Munich and religious influences of Passau and Linz, the Innviertel is in a transition zone subject to shifts in both the language and the society.

## **Chapter 4: Methodology**

The goal of this research is to determine how often the speakers of Ried and the Innviertel use their own local dialect (according to their own perception) rather than a colloquial variety or the standard variety of the German language. These data can then be analyzed alongside existing data for dialect speakers in other communities of a comparable size, to determine whether my initial hypothesis is correct, that speakers in Ried use dialect more often than is typical of such communities in Austria. Furthermore, the reported frequency of dialect use may correlate with social factors, such as age, gender, socioeconomic class, mobility (commuter/non-commuter status), and network strength within the local community. These values are recorded and/or calculated for each subject as well. The means to obtain all of the desired information is a questionnaire.

### **4.1 The surveys**

Two separate yet very similar surveys were designed for this study. One survey was designed for subjects still in school, primarily secondary school. The other survey was designed for adults who had finished school, were working, seeking work, or retired. Some questions on the first survey were tailored for teenage subjects, such as how often the subject would speak dialect in a discotheque or with their teacher or school principal. Some questions were designed only for adult subjects, such as questions about marital status, or how often the subject would speak dialect at work, with colleagues or customers, or when dealing with government officials at the local, state or national level.

The survey itself had been approved by the Academic Affairs Institutional Review Board (AA-IRB) of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.<sup>16</sup> All participants were informed that the survey was voluntary, that they could decline to participate entirely, and that they could decline to answer any question within the survey for any reason. Subjects were required to sign a consent form stating that they were participating voluntarily and were aware of their rights as explained in the cover letter of the survey.<sup>17</sup> Some subjects expressed concerns about their privacy, and some subjects were not able to answer some questions, such as where their grandparents were born or lived, for example. Thus, some surveys are incomplete, and this has been accounted for in the statistical analysis. All surveys, informational sheets, and consent forms were written in German. Copies of the two versions of the survey, one for adults and one for pupils, are available in Appendices A and B, respectively, along with English-language translations.

The survey begins with questions about the background of the subject. Subjects were asked to provide their names and telephone numbers, in the event that I might have follow-up questions or wish to clarify their answers. Many subjects chose to remain anonymous, but most made themselves available for follow-up questions. None of the names were carried over from data entry to the data analysis, so that no single person would be identifiable afterwards, in order to preserve the subjects' anonymity.

The subjects were then asked to provide their gender (male/female) the name of the town/city they live in, their date and place of birth, and community in which they had grown up.

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<sup>16</sup> The approved AA-IRB proposal for the research project. GERM 04-001, "A Study of Language Attitudes in an Austrian Town" is included in Appendix D.

<sup>17</sup> The cover letter / consent form is included in Appendix E.



Adults were asked if they were married, and if so, where their partner was from and where they worked now. Several respondents indicated that they were not married but living with their partner (*Lebensgefährte/Lebensgefährtin*), and these were counted as being married for purposes of the study, as it indicates a more stable connection within the community than living as a single. Adults were also asked to give their occupation, where they work, whether they commute to work or not, and how long they have worked at that employment. They were also asked to list up to 5 of their colleagues, where the colleagues are from, and whether or not the colleagues are related to the subject. Very few informants filled in information regarding their colleagues, thus this information was not included in the calculation of social network strength.

All subjects were asked about their educational background. They were asked to indicate whether they had attended the following schools, and if so, where: *Volksschule* (primary school), *Hauptschule/Gymnasium* (secondary school/preparatory secondary school), and *Universität/Hochschule* (university or college). The second group proved to be problematic, as in some case pupils can first attend a *Hauptschule* then transfer to a *Gymnasium*, or some individuals may have transferred between different types of schools. When this became an issue, I instructed the subjects to list any and all school they had attended in as much detail as possible. Some pupils listed the HBLA (*Höhere Bundeslehranstalt für wirtschaftliche Berufe*) as a tertiary institution (*Hochschule*) although because of the age of the pupils attending and the end-result of the *Matura*, it is more equivalent to the *Gymnasium*.

Subjects were asked to indicate whether they were members of a church, if so, which confession it was, and whether they attended regularly or not. In Austria official church membership is an issue because the government collects taxes on behalf of the churches from

all of their members. Those who don't wish to pay this tax must formally withdraw from the church in a court of law. While the overwhelming majority of the participants indicated membership in the Roman Catholic Church, it was also important to determine whether they were merely nominal members or if they were regular attendees, as the latter case would contribute more to the individual's network strength index than the former case. Subjects were asked to list any clubs, organizations or other recreational activities in which they participate. More social activities indicate a stronger integration within the subject's community. These data were also used as a component in determining the relative network strength of each subject.

The next set of questions focused on each subject's family: their parents and grandparents, both maternal and paternal. Subjects were asked about the place of birth, current residence and occupation for each of these relatives. They were also asked whether their parents commuted to work, and if they know/had known their grandparents. Often these answer fields were left empty, either out of privacy concerns or because the subject did not know the answer, for example, the town in which a grandparent was born.

Subjects then were asked to indicate whether they had siblings, and if so, how many. They were then asked if they had spent an extended period of time outside of the region. The question was intended to solicit whether they had lived anywhere else while growing up, for school or college, or work. Many subjects used this space to list longer vacations lasting several weeks, which I did not include in the statistical analysis.

The second half of the survey required discrete answers, either yes/no, or answers on a scale from 1 to 5. The first questions involved how much television or radio the subjects watched or heard, and whether the broadcasters were Austrian, German, or from a third

country. German radio and over-the-air (i.e. not cable or satellite) television broadcasts were easy to receive due to the Innviertel's location on the border with Bavaria, and satellite television enables many to receive broadcasts from all over Europe as well as English-language broadcasters such as CNN or SkyNews. All answers regarding frequency are on a scale from 1 to 5: 1 is "never," 2 is "occasionally," 3 is "regularly," 4 is "often," and 5 is "(almost) always."

The values 1 to 5 were chosen, for several reasons. A larger scale, 1 to 7 for example, leads the subjects to hesitate more when filling out the survey. It is preferable to have the subjects fill out the survey quickly, but by no means carelessly. An odd number of choices (in this case 5) is preferable to an even number of choices (such as 4 or 6) so that if the subject is truly undecided, neutral, or their choice falls in the middle of the range, they are not forced to decide on one end of the spectrum or the other. Several subjects circled 2 adjacent values, thus for the purpose of statistical calculations the two values were averaged together, i.e. if a subject circled 2 and 3 a value of 2.5 was entered.

Subjects were then asked to indicate how often they traveled to the state capital Linz, large city Salzburg, national capital Vienna, or to Germany. The next set of questions asked whether the subject has friends and/or relatives in other cities in Austria or in Germany.

The following group of questions asked how often the subject would speak their own dialect in a number of different situations, with different people, ranging from the least formal, most intimate situations to the most formal, least intimate situations. While subjects in Steinegger's (1998) study were asked to specify which variety (dialect, colloquial or Standard German) they would speak in a given situation, this proved to be problematic for several reasons. Weiss (1980: 5) notes that respondents, as laypeople, are often unable to

distinguish between a dialect variety and a colloquial variety, or a colloquial variety and the standard variety. Even for linguists exact delineation between dialect and colloquial varieties may not be possible in Austria (Scheuringer 1997: 336). I followed the format used by Bister-Broosen (1998) and asked only about the dialect and its frequency relative to the other varieties. I specified during the instructions that I was interested in the dialect spoken by each subject as their first language in their most relaxed settings, not necessarily the basal dialect.

The last set of questions asked the subject to indicate agreement or disagreement with a series of questions regarding attitudes about dialects and speakers of dialect, both Innviertler dialect and other varieties. Subjects could answer on a scale of 1 to 5. 1 is “completely disagree,” 2 is “tend to disagree,” 3 is “neither agree nor disagree,” 4 is “tend to agree,” and 5 is “completely agree.”<sup>18</sup>

Christa Patocka’s (1986, cited in Steinegger 1998: 46) study regarding variety choice throughout Austria first posed questions about the dialect, then asked for personal information, on the assumption that the number of questions about personal information would be too intimidating at the beginning (Steinegger 1998: 46). In contrast, I found that by asking the objective personal background questions initially and then the series of dialect and attitude questions, the subjects were able to speed up towards the end, taking less and less time to “over-think” the questions and giving more natural and honest answers regarding their subjective attitudes and frequency of dialect usage.

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<sup>18</sup> It was important to point out to the subjects, and particularly to the pupils, that the numbers 1-5 do not correspond to the normal Austrian grading system, where 1 is the best grade and 5 is the lowest, failing grade. If this had not been made explicit to the pupils, they might have answered 1 when they intended to answer 5 to indicate complete agreement with a statement or a frequency of “almost always.”

## 4.2 Distribution of the surveys

The surveys were distributed to the subjects in a variety of ways. For the school-aged subjects, it was possible to visit classes in four different schools, to distribute the surveys to an entire class at once. I was always accompanied by the regular teacher, usually a German or English teacher. In this manner it was possible to distribute the surveys to many subjects at once, as each class normally had 20 to 30 pupils in it. Although they were informed that participation in the survey was voluntary, no one hesitated to fill one out. I collected 315 surveys from the pupils through the schools and a few from school-age subjects outside the school setting.

It took much longer and required various methods to distribute the survey to adult subjects, in order to receive back sufficient numbers of completed questionnaires. I approached almost anyone I thought might be willing to fill out the survey for me. I did not, however, randomly ask people in public settings. One of the first opportunities came when an article was written about me and my research in the local newspaper, the *Rieder Rundschau*, which attracted the attention of several subjects (Kloibhofer 2004). The local newspaper had run a series of articles on the local dialect over the previous year and felt my work was of interest. Several potential informants contacted the newspaper about the project and were in turn directed to me.

I was also able to hand out surveys at several Roman Catholic Mass services, with the cooperation of the order of priests, the Oblates of St. Francis de Sales, who have a community in Ried. At the schools, I was able to attend one meeting of the parents' association (*Elternverein*) of the Bundesoberstufenrealgymnasium (BORG), as well as parent-teacher conferences (*Elternsprechtage*) in the BORG, and two informational evenings

(*Elternabend*) at the Bundesgymnasium/Bundesrealgymnasium (BG/BRG), which were attended by hundreds of parents, of various socioeconomic backgrounds and ages. Many of the teachers at the BG/BRG and the HBLA took surveys home with them to give to their friends, neighbors and parents. In particular the faculty and staff in the schools were exceedingly helpful and cooperative, due in large part to my previous association in the schools, and my willingness to return their favors by attending their English classes. None of the schools in Ried had English-language teaching assistants (the work I had performed 5 years earlier in Ried) during this school year, and were pleased to have a native English speaker for their pupils to converse with.

I was also able to distribute surveys at the local library and in a fitness center where I exercised regularly. I was concerned that I would not have a wide enough distribution of adult surveys among social classes, professions (particularly because so many of my acquaintances in Ried were teachers from the schools I had worked at previously), and ages, but ultimately I was able to get subjects in a wide range across all of those categories.

Although for the most part the local population was exceedingly cooperative and went out of its way to help me or made suggestions to find more subjects, some attempts to recruit subjects had results that were less than hoped for. In order to get older subjects, particularly ones who were conversant base dialects, I tried to distribute my survey in assisted-living and retirement homes. Although the staff was willing to help, the potential subjects were often unwilling to fill out the survey or incapable of doing so due to reduced faculties. I had much better luck with the parents and neighbors of acquaintances who were still living independently. Generally the “friend of a friend” method of network sampling worked very well for me, for potential subjects are much less likely to decline to participate (cf. Milroy

and Gordon 2003: 32-33). I had the advantage that I was not a complete outsider to the community because I had lived and worked there before and had chosen to come back to carry out my research.

While the return rate for surveys distributed in the schools to pupils was 100% (every survey that was handed out was returned to me filled out), the return rate was much lower among the adult population. In situations where I introduced myself and my project to a larger group of people, as in the Catholic Mass or parent-teacher conferences, almost everyone took a survey. But only around 15 percent returned the surveys to me. I had much better success when I was able to speak to potential subjects one-on-one and answer any specific questions they had.

#### **4.3 The schools**

Permission to survey the school-age subjects was obtained from the state education council for Upper Austria, the Landesschulrat für Oberösterreich. It allowed me access to all of the secondary schools in the area. Further permission was obtained from the principals of each of the schools. My previous experience and contacts with the schools from a year as an English-language teaching assistant proved to be very valuable, as I was not seen as a complete outsider in the community.

The school-age subjects were asked to fill out the survey during their regular school instruction, usually during their German class. The pupils, teachers and school principals were very cooperative and enthusiastic about the study. Many found the topic of dialect usage to be very interesting, especially when they realized how much they already knew about the topic from practical experience, even if it was not something they often consciously considered. I introduced myself and my study in person, and distributed the surveys to the

pupils. I was also in the room while they filled out the surveys in case any questions arose. The time needed to fill out the surveys was usually between 20 and 30 minutes. Some of the younger pupils (10-12 years old) needed more time, sometimes up to the full 50 minutes of a normal class period. After all the surveys were completed and returned to me, I led a discussion about my study, including topics such as the local dialect, some of the stereotypes associated with dialects and dialect-speakers, and the pupils' experiences as speakers of dialect. Many of the pupils' comments during the conversations added insight into their knowledge of the dialect and particularly their attitudes regarding the dialect and speakers of dialect.

I distributed the survey to 5 classes in the BG/BRG (the largest of the schools, with 8 grades), 4 classes in the BORG (a smaller school with only 4 grades), 4 classes in the Höhere Bundeslehranstalt für wirtschaftliche Berufe (HBLA), and 3 classes in the Höhere Technische Lehranstalt für Maschineningenieurwesen (HTL). All of these educational tracks lead to a comprehensive school-leaving examination, *die Matura*, which allows the pupil to continue studies at the university level. However, whereas the *Gymnasien* are geared exclusively towards preparation for tertiary education, and include additional foreign languages and other academic courses, the HTL is a technical vocational school, with a heavy emphasis on mechanical engineering, and includes practical work and internships at local companies. The HBLA also includes much more vocational training, including office computer applications and practical/internship work, and a functioning restaurant/kitchen where pupils can gain practical experience. While the *Gymnasien* tend to draw pupils primarily from the single district of Ried im Innkreis, the HBLA and HTL draw more pupils from the other districts of the Innviertel, Braunau and Schärding, and from the Grieskirchen



district in the neighboring Hausruckviertel region. Thus the surveys were distributed to a good mix of pupils with regard to social class and career goals, but several other secondary schools were not surveyed, where pupils tend to finish school at an earlier age and start work or apprenticeships without achieving the *Matura* or continuing on into tertiary education.

The youngest subjects in the schools were 10 years old (first class of the BG/BRG) and the oldest were 19 years old (*Matura* class of the BORG, BG/BRG, and HBLA). Because Ried im Innkreis is an educational center (*Einzugsgebiet*) that draws pupils from many neighboring communities, and all of these secondary-schools draw pupils from the neighboring districts of Braunau am Inn, Schärding am Inn, and Grieskirchen, I have included these four districts in my study, both for school-age subjects and adult subjects.

#### **4.4 The data**

Many respondents chose not to include personally identifiable information, and some chose not to give any information about their families, parents or grandparents, although I had tried to reassure them in the survey's letter of introduction, that their information would held strictly confidential by me, and that their answers would only be used for statistical analysis in aggregate with all other surveys.

All surveys, once collected, were entered into a Microsoft Excel spreadsheet. This spreadsheet allowed for easy editing and basic mathematical operations, such as calculating the network strength values for each subject. In addition, the spreadsheet format was easily imported into the statistical analysis program SPSS (Statistical Program for the Social Sciences) to allow for more complicated calculations and statistical analysis. During the course of statistical analysis versions 12 and 14 of SPSS were used.

In order to allow for the statistical analysis with SPSS, the data had to be converted to numerical values. If a question was answered with “yes” or “no,” all answers had to be converted to integers. I chose 1 and 0, respectively, for yes or no.

Other data, such as religious affiliation/membership, had to be converted to integers as well. Thus, Roman Catholic was set to 1, Protestant to 2, Muslim to 3, and “other” to 4 (there was one respondent of the Bahá’i faith.) For gender, male was set to 1 and female to 2. Educational levels were also set, depending on the level completed or in the case of the pupils, the level currently attended. 1 is *Volksschule*, 2 is *Hauptschule* or *Berufsschule* (those that do not end with the comprehensive school-leaving exam, the *Matura*), 3 is Gymnasium, technical or professional school (all ending with the *Matura* and the possibility of attending university or college), and 4 for universities, colleges, and *Pädagogische Akademien* (PÄDAK, teachers colleges), including professional universities such as medicine and law and advanced degrees such as doctoral programs.

#### **4.5 Classification of the data**

Data values had to be classified according to the nature of the data (cf. George and Mallery 2003: 36). Some values are scalar and thus have intrinsic numerical meaning, which allows for mathematical manipulation. The subjects’ ages are one example of such data. The responses provided on the last two pages of the survey (frequency of dialect use, agreement/disagreement) were treated as scalar data, as some subjects answered by choosing two of the provided possible answers. The chosen values were then averaged. Thus, if a subject circled both 4 and 5 on his or her survey, the answer was averaged to 4.5.

Values where there were three or four possible categories (i.e. the level of education achieved or social class) were entered into SPSS as ordinal values. These measures have

intrinsic order, but mathematical manipulations of these data are without meaning. For example, the level of education achieved has four possible values, *Volksschule*, *Hauptschule/Berufsschule*, *Gymnasium/HBLA/HTL*, or *Universität/Hochschule/PÄDAK*. Each value is higher than the preceding one, but there it is not possible to say that a *Gymnasium* education is three times as advanced as a *Volksschule* education. Measures that have binary values, such as yes/no and male/female are treated as ordinal values as well to allow for correlation calculations (George and Mallery 2003: 124).

Some values are nominal, in that they are used for classification or identification, but express distinct categories with no inherent order, and also cannot be manipulated mathematically. One example of such measures is religion (4 categories in my study). These values indicate categories which are not necessarily linear in nature. The values given for the questions on the last two pages of the survey, all ranging from 1 to 5, are scalar and can thus be statistically averaged. Any missing values in the surveys were set to 99, so as to not conflict with other values. If a value was not answered on the questionnaire for any category used for any calculation, then that case is not included in the calculation in SPSS. Thus, most of the statistical correlations were computed with subsets of the total number of surveys.

#### **4.6 Determining social class**

Distinctions between social classes may be set using a limitless number of criteria. For this research, three different sets of criteria were used: one set following Steinegger (1998), one modified version of Steinegger's criteria which moved teachers from the upper class to the middle class, and one set based on Ammon's (1995) distinction between manual and mental labor.

For this study, respondents were initially divided into three social classes, according to the same criteria used by Steinegger (1998: 74-75) in order to facilitate a comparison of the Ried data with his data for all of Austria. The working class (*untere Schicht*) comprises farmers and retired farmers, unskilled laborers, skilled laborers, and craftsmen. The middle class (*mittlere Schicht*) comprises the service industries (*Dienstleistungssektor*), lower and middle salaried employees, medical technicians (*medizinisch-technische Angestellte*), police, military officers (because of their specialized training and more advanced education than enlisted soldiers) and similar mental-work-oriented employees. College/university students, independent business owners, school teachers, kindergarten teachers, physicians, engineers, artists, and clergy comprise the upper class (*obere Schicht*). The school-age pupils were assigned to one of the three social classes based on the occupation of their parents. If the parents' occupations placed them into two different social classes, the higher of the two classes was used for the pupil. The use of occupation and education as the basis for social class allows the possibility that an individual could potentially move up or down on the social ladder through change of career or continued education. Although children may be born into a social class based on their parents' classification, they do not necessarily have to remain in that same social class, depending on the career or the educational path they choose. For respondents who listed their occupation only as "retired" no determination of social class could be made, unless they specifically what profession they had held before retirement. It is important to note that the determination of social class for the purposes of this research may not conform to the individual respondents' own self-image of which social class they belong to.

Steinegger's criteria regarding teachers are problematic, especially considering the education, relative social status and salary of kindergarten and primary school teachers. In Austria the secondary school teachers in *Gymnasien* are awarded the title of *Professor(in)* and are required to have advanced university degrees (*Magister/Magistra*). In order to counteract the disproportionate number of teachers comprising the upper class, the subjects were also divided into three social classes using criteria similar to Steinegger's; however kindergarten, primary and secondary school teachers were placed into the middle class rather than the upper class. The inclusion of kindergarten teachers also seems more appropriate in the middle class, given the level of education required to work in an Austrian kindergarten.

The third set of criteria follows Ammon's (1995) division of manual-based and mental-based labor. For the most part, the manual labor group corresponds to the working class designation in the first two sets of criteria, and the mental labor group corresponds to the middle and upper classes.

Using occupation and education as the basis for social class allows that an individual can potentially move up or down on the social ladder through change of career or continued education. It is important to note that my determination of social class for the purposes of this research may not conform to the individual respondents' own self-image of which social class they belong to. More information about the demographic breakdown of each of the classes is provided in Chapter 5.

#### **4.7 Calculating social network strength**

In order to carry out social network analysis and correlate social network strength with social factors and attitudes, it was necessary to inquire into each respondent's background. This background information allows for the determination of each respondent's relative

integration into the local community. Questions asked of each individual involved place of birth, date of birth, education, occupation, whether the informant commutes into/out of Ried, free-time activities/voluntary associations (sport teams, societies, clubs), church membership (and consistent attendance or not), longer periods of time spent away from Ried or the Innviertel, as well as the place of birth, occupation, and education of each informant's parents, grandparents and spouse. For pupils in the schools, the type of school attended (preparatory or vocational) and future career plans should be important criteria. Milroy (1987) constructed a *network strength scale* to facilitate analysis of an individual's social networks and linguistic behavior. Each relevant answer in the questionnaire is assigned points, with higher point totals indicating greater relative network strength. To determine each subject's relative network strength, I adapted and modified the criteria used by Lippi (1987: 218-220) in her network analysis of Grossdorf, Austria. These numerical values allow for more objective statistical analysis of the data than would be possible from subjective answers. Thus it is possible to correlate these network strength values to the variety of speech used in various domains and the various attitudes expressed in the survey. Unfortunately, a hastily-answered or incomplete survey leads to a misleadingly low network score; thus it was not possible to calculate network strength values for subjects with missing data regarding the network.

All of the points were assigned on the basis of whether a condition represented membership within or integration into the community of Innviertlers. For the school pupils, one point for the network strength score was added for each true statement with regard to the following criteria: one point if the subject grew up in the Innviertel (the districts of Ried im Innkreis, Braunau am Inn, and Schärding am Inn in the Innviertel or Grieskirchen district in

the Hausruckviertel), one point if the subject's current town or village is the same one where the subject grew up, one point for each school level that was attended in the Innviertel (3 possible points, one each for elementary, middle and secondary schools), one point if the subject was a member of a church, one point if the subject regularly attends church, one point for each of the activities or clubs listed under "free time" (multiple points were possible), one point each if the subject's father was born or raised in the Innviertel (2 possible points), one point each if the subject's mother was born or raised in the Innviertel (2 possible points), one point each if at least one person from each pair of the subject's paternal and maternal grandparents were born and/or raised in the Innviertel (4 possible points), one point each if the subject knows or knew either one of the grandparents on either side of the family (2 possible points), one point if they have siblings (number of siblings was not taken into account), and one point if they had never lived outside of the Innviertel for an extended period of time.

For the adult subjects, all of the above criteria were used, and additional criteria not applicable to younger informants were also used: one point if the subject does not commute to work (works in the same community where they live), one point if they are married or in a domestic partnership, one point if their spouse or partner also grew up in the Innviertel, one point if they received post-secondary education in the Innviertel, and a point for each of their colleagues who is also a familial relation. Thus, adults can potentially have higher network strength scores, because there are more criteria where they can be awarded points. It is reasonable to expect that adults would have a higher degree of integration into a community because they would have lived within a community a longer time and had more diverse opportunities to build connections within the community than juveniles. In any case, if these

same questions had also been posed to the school-age respondents, almost none of the younger respondents would have received points on the network strength scale for these factors. One additional criterion which was unfortunately omitted from the survey was whether the adult subjects had children or not. Parents would potentially have additional connections within the community through their children's schools, friends and extracurricular activities.

In order to determine whether a subject, the subject's parents or grandparents lived in or grew up in one of the four districts included in the study, it was necessary to confirm the location of each listed city, town, village, and sometimes neighborhood. Complicating this process was the fact that some older subjects, their parents or their grandparents may have been born in areas that were part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire at the time but are now part of Hungary, the Czech Republic or some other state. Several subjects and/or their parents had been born in the former Yugoslavian states (typically Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina) and had fled to Austria during the recent hostilities there in 1992-1995.

This identification process for place names was aided greatly by an online list of all communities in Austria (<http://www.oesterreich-auf-einen-blick.de/alleorte.php>) and a searchable mapping site (<http://www.multimap.com/>) that includes even small neighborhoods within a larger town. In the end I was able to successfully identify all named places, with the exception of a few illegible survey answers, which were listed as missing data.

Where data were incomplete, particularly regarding the subject's grandparents, the network strength could not be computed. Many younger subjects were not able to list their family history in any detail. Thus the number of subjects where network strength could be calculated and correlated with other variables is a subset of the total number of surveys



collected (350 out of 499 respondents). The distribution of network strength scores is listed in Table 4.1.

**Table 4.1 - Network Strength Distribution**

Network Strength Score	Frequency	Percent of Total
5	2	.6
6	3	.9
7	5	1.4
8	8	2.3
9	3	.9
10	5	1.4
11	15	4.3
12	25	7.1
13	42	12.0
14	40	11.4
15	50	14.3
16	48	13.7
17	44	12.6
18	23	6.6
19	24	6.9
20	8	2.3
21	1	.3
22	4	1.1
Total Valid	350	100.0
Missing	149	
Total	499	

#### **4.8 Mean Dialect Frequency**

Respondents indicated how often they believed that they speak dialect in each of 28 different situations. 7 of the situations were specifically for adults and 7 of the situations were specifically for school-age pupils. Thus, information was collected regarding the frequency of dialect use in a total of 35 situations, although each respondent only answered for 28 situations. To facilitate comparison of different speakers without necessarily having to compare all 35 situations, an average (mean) score of the relative frequency of dialect use was calculated for each subject, by adding all 28 values for each speaker and dividing by 28. A higher score indicates that the speaker uses dialect more often, and a lower score indicates

that the speaker uses dialect less often. The maximum possible score is 5 (almost always), and the minimum possible score is 1 (never). The mean dialect frequency was used for most of the calculations and correlations in this study.

#### **4.9 The respondents' demographics<sup>19</sup>**

A total of 499 valid surveys were collected during my research in Ried. 180 adult respondents returned completed surveys, and 319 school-aged pupils filled out surveys. A very small number were unusable due to being incorrectly filled out or missing a majority of the responses. This low number was possible because of careful survey design and pretesting. I gave very detailed, straightforward directions on how to fill out the questionnaire, and I was usually present when the respondents were filling out the surveys in case any questions arose. In the cases where a few answers were omitted on the surveys, the data were entered as “missing” and thus these cases were omitted from the statistical calculations. Missing data are not included in the percentages below, but is indicated in the totals in the charts in Chapter 5.

188 of the respondents are males (37.8%), and 309 are females (62.2%). Among the adults only, there are 63 males (35.4%), and 115 (64.6%) females. Among the pupils, 125 (39.2%) are male, and 194 (60.8%) are female. The overrepresentation of females in the study is due in large part to the nature of the schools in Ried. In the HBLA the pupils are almost exclusively female, while in the HTL the pupils are almost exclusively male. I visited both schools in an attempt to balance out the numbers of each gender, however several of the classes I visited in the BORG and BG/BRG were also comprised almost entirely of females.

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<sup>19</sup> Great care was taken to refer to the residents of the Innviertel as subjects or respondents (*Gewährsleute* or *Befragten*), not as informants (*Informanten*). For some speakers of German the term *Informanten* has negative connotations of the Gestapo during the National Socialist era, or the East German *Stasi* during the division of East and West Germany. This connotation runs counter to the desired openness of the study.

The ages of the respondents range from 10 to 85 years old. 323 respondents (65.9%) are under the age of 25 years old, 40 (8.2%) are between the ages of 26 and 40 years old, 97 (19.8%) are between the ages of 41 and 65, and 30 (12.4%) are 66 years old or above. 9 respondents did not indicate their date of birth, thus their ages could not be determined. The ages were determined as of the end of December 2004.

18 respondents (3.6%) indicated that primary school (*Volksschule*) was the highest education level they had attended (not necessarily completed); 51 (10.2%) indicated *Berufsschule / Hauptschule*; 356 (71.5%) indicated *Gymnasium / HBLA / HTL* (the 319 pupils surveyed in their respective schools all fell within this group, 37 of 197 adults fell within this group); 73 (14.6%) indicated that they had attended *Universität / Hochschule / Pädagogische Akademie*.

463 (93.9%) indicated that they are officially members of their respective confession, and 30 (6.1%) are not members of any church. Among the adults only, 166 (93.3%) are church members, and 12 (6.7%) are not. Among the pupils only, 277 (94.3%) are members of a church, and 18 (5.7%) are not members of a church.

199 (42.3%) claim that they regularly attend church, and 269 (57.2%) report that they do not attend religious services regularly. Among the adults only, 91 (54.5%) attend church regularly, while 76 (45.5%) do not. Among the pupils, 108 (35.6%) regularly attend church, and 193 (63.7%) do not regularly attend church. The religious confessions reported for the entire group of respondents are: 441 (98%) Roman Catholic, 3 (0.7%) Protestant, 4 (0.9%) Muslim, and 2 (0.4%) listed as “other.” All of the respondents identified as Muslim belong to the group of school-age pupils in this study. These four pupils were all born in the Innviertel

or moved to the Innviertel at an early age, and speak Standard German as well as the local dialect.

The demographics for the different social class divisions based on three different sets of criteria are presented in detail in Chapter 5.

308 respondents (63.2%) are classified as commuters, either into Ried for school or out of their home community for work, and 179 (36.8%) do not commute. The 264 pupils who commute into Ried for school, out of 319 pupils, (83.3%) are overrepresented in this group. Of the adults, 44 (25.9%) are classified as commuters.

Sample size in sociolinguistic research tends to be smaller than other types of surveys. Milroy and Gordon (2003: 29) suggest that 4 subjects are sufficient for each of the categories. Sankoff (1980: 51-52) states that “even for quite complex communities samples of more than about 150 individuals tend to be redundant, bringing increasing data-handling problems with diminishing analytical returns.” Although there was an uneven distribution of surveys favoring pupils over the adults, enough surveys were collected, and there is large enough representation for all of the social divisions (age, gender, education, network strength, etc.) to allow for statistically valid analysis of the respondents’ language use and attitudes. When using finer divisions, such as age groupings by 10-year periods, some groups are unrepresented or underrepresented (see Chapter 5).

#### **4.10 Statistical methodology**

Of particular importance in statistical analysis of the data is the significance level. This is the probability that a calculated result is the result of random chance, reported as a decimal. A result that is statistically significant at the .05 level (less than 5% probability that the result is due to random chance) is considered acceptable by most statisticians. Many of the results

are statistically significant at the .01 level (less than 1 in 100 probability that a result is due to random chance).

Independent samples t-tests are used to determine whether there are significant differences between the means of two groups. This test is used to disprove a null-hypothesis, which states that there are no differences between two groups. This test is useful when the entire sample is already divided into two categories, such as gender, or when the sample can be divided into two groups, such as all respondents under a certain age and all at or over that same age. The t-test does not indicate what the differences between groups are, only that there are significant differences.

One-Way Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) test is an extension of the two sample t-test, and is used to test the hypothesis that several means are equal. This procedure compares a single dependent variable with a single independent variable. It is ideal for samples that can be divided up into discrete groups, such as male/female, working/middle/upper class, or educational level. A Scheffé or Tukey's test can then be used to show what the significant differences are between groups.

Bivariate correlations, such as Pearson's correlation, are used to determine whether there is a relationship between two variables, such as age and frequency of dialect use. They do not indicate which variable is the dependent and which is independent, but in many instances the independent variable can be logically inferred. Pearson correlations are reported as values between 0.0 and 1.0, where 0.0 is no correlation and 1.0 is a one-to-one correlation, and the value may be positive or negative (i.e. network strength shows a positive correlation with frequency of dialect usage, but age indicates a negative correlation with frequency of dialect use). A positive correlation indicates that as a value of the independent variable increase, the

value of the dependent variable also increases, and vice versa. A negative correlation indicates that as the value of the independent variable increases, the corresponding value of the dependant variable decreases.

Cronbach's Alpha ( $\alpha$ ) test is a method used to indicate reliability in a psychometric instrument, or how related two items in the questionnaire are to each other. For example, similar attitudes in the survey should show a statistically significant relationship to one another when the subjects' degree of agreement/disagreement with each attitude are compared, as in the attitudes *Bayern finde ich sympatisch* ('I find Bavarians to be nice') and *Bayern sind zuverlässig* ('Bavarians are dependable'). The Cronbach's Alpha test may range from negative infinity to 1.0, and generally values higher than 0.5 indicate that the items in the questionnaire are measuring the same attitude.

Several texts were helpful in the analysis of the data, and more complete information on each of the statistical procedures can be gained from Paolillo (2002), and George and Mallery (2003, 2006).

#### **4.11 Tests of reliability**

Control questions were devised for the survey to measure the same attitudes several different ways. These questions are used to determine that respondents are paying attention and not answering the surveys randomly. For example, rather than simply asking the respondents to agree or disagree with the attitude "I find northern Germans to be nice," they were additionally asked to respond to the attitudes "I have more in common with Bavarians than northern Germans" and "northern Germans are arrogant."

All control questions used in the survey regarding attitudes were compared with their corresponding questions for reliability. The means of each attitude were correlated with their

related attitudes, and tests of reliability were also processed. Refer to Appendix C for a list of the attitudes that were grouped together for reliability tests. Correlations significant at the .01 level were found for all groupings of related attitudes. Cronbach's Alpha tests for reliability indicated acceptable values (above 0.5) for all proposed groupings as well. Although the grouped attitudes showed an acceptable level of reliability, there was not always a corresponding relationship between the frequencies of dialect used in given situations for each of the grouped attitudes. For example, the situations that showed a significant correlation with the attitude "I find Bavarians to be nice" are not necessarily the same situations that show a significant correlation with the attitude "Bavarians are arrogant."

## **Chapter 5: Results of statistical analysis**

### **5.1 Presentation of the results**

For all of the tables and graphs, the questions from the survey are presented in their English translations. For the phrasing of the survey questions as they were presented to Austrian respondents in the original German language, refer to appendices A and B. In the tables and graphs provided, only statistically significant values ( $<.05$ ) for correlations, ANOVAs, independent samples t-tests, etc. are provided. Non-significant values are not presented, in order to conserve space.

### **5.2 Frequency of dialect use in the various domains**

The first premise of my research is that the speakers in Ried use dialect more often, in more situations, than is typical of Austrian villages or towns of the same size. Subjects were asked to respond to the question “How often do you speak dialect in the following situations?” A list of 28 possible situations/domains was presented, and informants could choose a value between 1 (“never”) and 5 (“almost always”). 7 of the domains were specific to either adults or pupils. Each respondent was asked about 28 different situations/domains, however the total number of domains in the study is 35.

Table 5.1 and Graph 5.1 display the responses of all subjects in the study. At the top of the table are the situations in which dialect is spoken least frequently, with increasing dialect use from top to bottom.



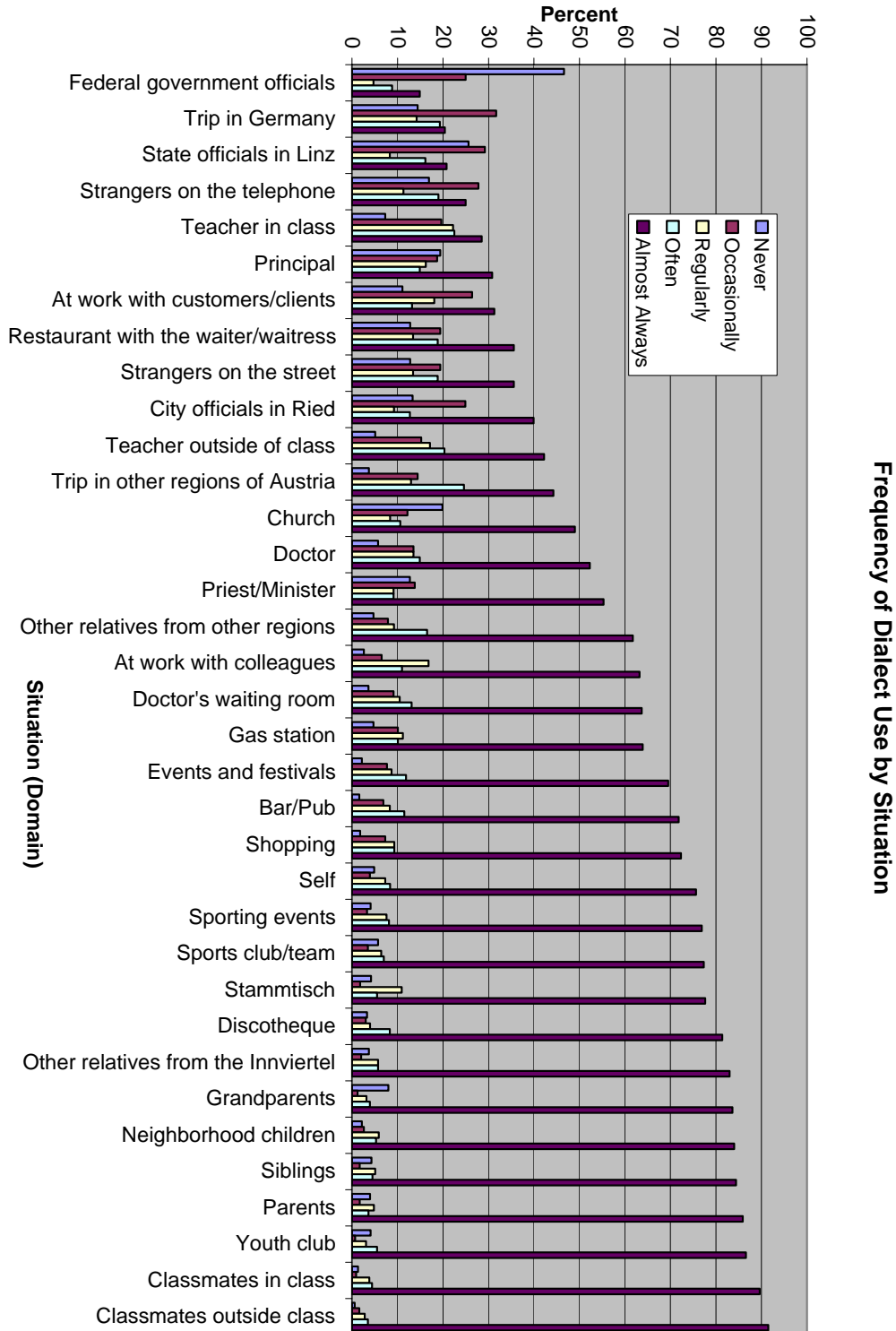
**Table 5.1 – Frequency of dialect use by situation**

<i>SITUATION</i>	<i>Never (in %)</i>	<i>Occasionally (in %)</i>	<i>Regularly (in %)</i>	<i>Often (in %)</i>	<i>Almost Always (in %)</i>
Federal government officials	46.6	25	4.7	8.8	14.9
Trip in Germany	14.4	31.7	14.2	19.3	20.4
State officials in Linz	25.6	29.2	8.3	16.1	20.8
Strangers on the telephone	16.9	27.8	11.3	19	25
Teacher in class	7.3	19.6	22.2	22.5	28.5
Principal	19.4	18.7	16.2	14.9	30.8
At work with customers/clients	11.1	26.4	18.1	13.2	31.3
Restaurant with the waiter/waitress	12.8	19.4	13.4	18.8	35.6
Strangers on the street	12.8	19.4	13.4	18.8	35.6
City officials in Ried	13.3	24.9	9.2	12.7	39.9
Teacher outside of class	5.1	15.2	17.1	20.3	42.2
Trip in other regions of Austria	3.7	14.4	13	24.6	44.3
Church	19.9	12.2	8.4	10.6	49
Doctor	5.7	13.5	13.5	14.9	52.3
Priest/Minister	12.7	13.8	9.1	9.1	55.3
Other relatives from other regions	4.7	7.9	9.2	16.5	61.7
At work with colleagues	2.6	6.5	16.8	11	63.2
Doctor's waiting room	3.6	9.1	10.5	13.1	63.7
Gas station	4.7	10.1	11.2	10.1	63.9
Events and festivals	2.2	7.7	8.7	11.9	69.5
Bar/Pub	1.6	6.9	8.3	11.5	71.8
Shopping	1.8	7.3	9.3	9.3	72.3
Self	4.9	3.9	7.3	8.4	75.6
Sporting events	4.1	3.3	7.6	8.1	76.9
Sports club/team	5.7	3.5	6.4	7	77.3
Stammtisch	4.2	1.8	10.9	5.5	77.6
Discotheque	3.3	3	4	8.3	81.4
Other relatives from the Innviertel	3.7	2	5.7	5.7	83
Grandparents	8	1.2	3.2	3.9	83.6
Neighborhood children	2.2	2.6	5.9	5.3	84
Siblings	4.3	1.7	5.1	4.5	84.4
Parents	4	1.7	4.8	3.6	85.9
Youth club	4.1	0.7	3.1	5.5	86.6
Classmates in class	1.3	0.9	3.8	4.4	89.6
Classmates outside class	0.6	1.6	2.8	3.5	91.5

Graph 5.2 indicates that the situations at the far left (top) are the most formal, least intimate situations, where the least dialect is spoken. The situations at the right (bottom) end of the graph are the least formal, most familiar situations, in which dialect (or colloquial

varieties closer to the dialect than Standard German) is spoken most often. As dialect usage increases, use of complementary varieties (colloquial or standard) must necessarily decrease.

**Graph 5.2 – Dialect Frequency by Situation (All Situations)**



It has been established that dialect is used much more frequently and in more situations in South German and Austrian communities than in North or Central German communities (Ammon 1995). Within Austria, the percentage of the population who consider themselves to be active speakers of dialect is higher in the west of Austria than in the east (Malliga 1997: 28).

The size of the community is assumed to be an important influencing factor in the frequency of dialect use (Steinegger 1998: 15, Mattheier 1990: 65, Wiesinger 1989b: 78). Certain varieties are associated with specific socioeconomic classes in large urban communities, i.e. dialect with the working class; however, in smaller, rural communities the local dialect is used by the entire community from the working class up through the highest rungs of the social ladder.

It is possible to compare the data from Ried with similar data from other Austrian towns of the same size. Steinegger's (1998) analysis of data collected via self-reporting questionnaire in the early 1990s, a study of variety choice throughout Austria, serves as a point of comparison. I compare my data with Steinegger's data only for small cities (*Kleinstädte*) with 5,000 to 20,000 inhabitants. The city of Braunau am Inn, also from the Innviertel region, was included in Christa Patocka's (1986) study of language attitudes throughout Austria, which served in part as the basis for Steinegger's (1998: 41) statistical analysis. The questions in Steinegger's survey were worded slightly differently than mine: subjects in Steinegger's study were asked which variety (*Dialekt/Mundart, Umgangssprache, or Hochdeutsch*) they would prefer to speak in a given situation, and could select only one of the three varieties. Not all of the domains are equivalent in the two studies, but there is enough in common that direct comparisons are possible. The number of informants in my

study is for a single region, whereas Steinegger has a smaller number of informants in each Austrian town of similar size to Ried. (Ried was not included in the survey used by Steinegger.) For every one of the commensurable domains, the percentage of informants in Ried who claim to speak dialect “almost always” is greater than the percentage of informants in Steinegger’s survey who prefer dialect to colloquial or standard varieties for the same or similar situations (Table 5.3).

**Table 5.3 – Comparison of Dialect Frequency in Ried and other Austrian cities**

<b>Situation</b>	<b>Prefer to speak dialect – all Austrian small cities (Steinegger 1998: 102)</b>	<b>(Almost) always speak dialect – Ried im Innkreis</b>
Grandparents	71.1%	83.6%
Siblings	69.9%	84.4%
Parents	70.0%	85.9%
Shopkeeper/while shopping	54.5%	71.9%
Children	47.1%	83.8%
Colleagues	48.3%	63.2% (Adults)
Doctor	31.4%	52.1%
Vacation	16.4% (with private renter in vacation region of Austria)	44.1% (on vacation in Austria)
Teacher	13.0%	28.2/42.2% (In class/outside class)
Office in city	18.3%	39.3%
Strangers	14.4%	35.4/24.8% (on the street/on the phone)

The respondents from Ried indicate a higher frequency of dialect use across all comparable situations than was indicated for other Austrian cities of this size by Steinegger’s data. The speakers of Ried do indeed, on average, claim to speak dialect far more frequently than speakers of other similar-sized Austrian communities, confirming my initial hypothesis.

### **5.3 Age and dialect frequency**

Age has been shown to be an important factor in the individual speaker’s choice of variety for a given situation. This value of mean dialect frequency was compared with each age and several age group divisions. The participants were divided into age groups using two different methods: pupils/adults and major life stages.

### 5.3.1 Pupils / adults

The means of dialect frequency for the adult and school-age groups are available in table 5.4. From these values it is apparent that on average pupils claim to speak dialect noticeably more often than adults. An independent-samples t-test indicates that the difference in mean dialect frequency for adults and pupils is significant at the .01 level. This trend is not unusual, as speakers often speak less dialect after leaving school or university and beginning full time work.

**Table 5.4 – Mean Dialect Frequencies for Adults and Pupils**

	Adult or School-age Pupil	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Mean of Dialect Frequency	Pupil	319	4.2158	.72962	.04085
	Adult	180	3.8370	.96007	.07156

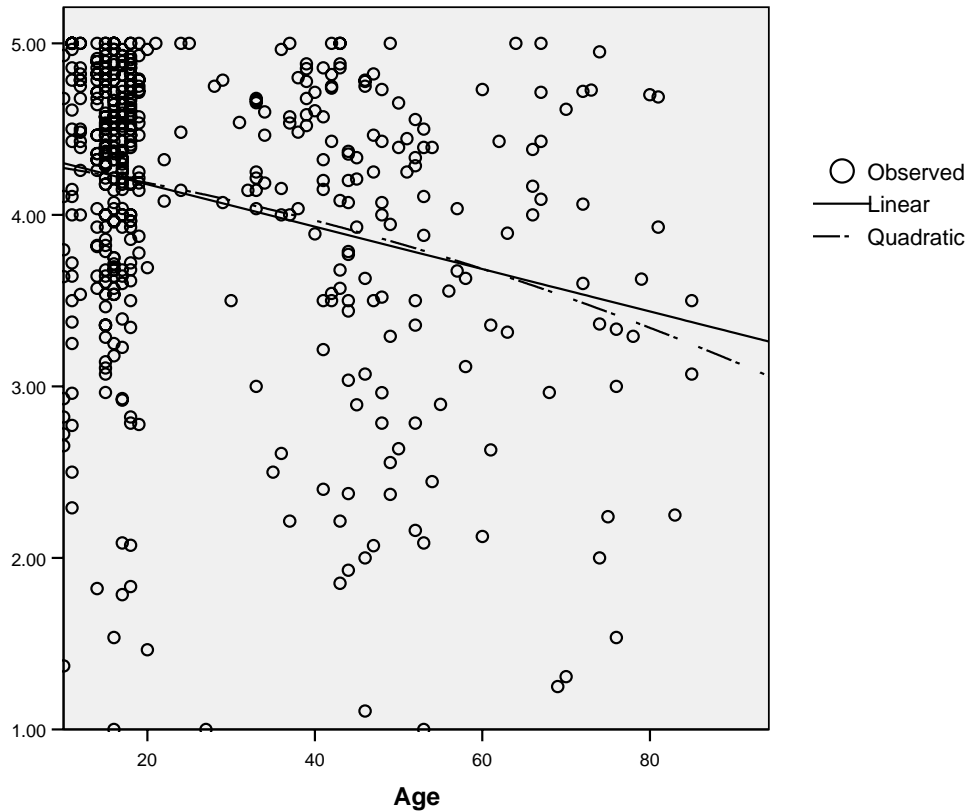
An independent-samples t-test comparing adults and school-age pupils for the 21 situations common to both groups shows that there is a significant difference (at the .05 level) between the two groups for 15 of the 21 situations. Male pupils claim to speak dialect slightly more often than female pupils, but female adults claim to speak dialect more often than male adults. The difference in mean dialect frequency between males and females within the school-age and adult groups is very small, as seen in Table 5.5. Independent-samples t-tests indicate that the differences between males and females within each age group (pupil or adult) are not significant.

**Table 5.5 - Mean of Dialect Frequency by Gender for Pupils and Adults**

Adult or School-age Pupil	Gender	Mean	N	Std. Deviation
Pupil	Male	4.2707	125	.62096
	Female	4.1805	194	.79131
	Total	4.2158	319	.72962
Adult	Male	3.8150	63	.95271
	Female	3.8463	115	.97168
	Total	3.8352	178	.96243
Total	Male	4.1180	188	.77662
	Female	4.0561	309	.87636
	Total	4.0795	497	.83977

The fact that the two groups, adults and pupils, claim to have significantly different usage patterns for the majority of situations, can be further illuminated by correlating respondents' ages with dialect frequencies. Age and the mean frequency of dialect use show a correlation of  $-.267$ , significant at the .01 level. The older a subject, the less dialect they report using. A linear regression plot (Graph 5.5) of the Ried data shows a decrease in dialect usage as age increases. There are significant correlations between age and dialect frequency in 32 of the 35 situations. The significant correlations are between  $-.122$  and  $-.268$ . For the 7 situations unique to the pupils, the age range is very small (10-18 years old).

**Graph 5.5 – Mean of Dialect Frequency**



### **5.3.2 Four age groups – major life stages**

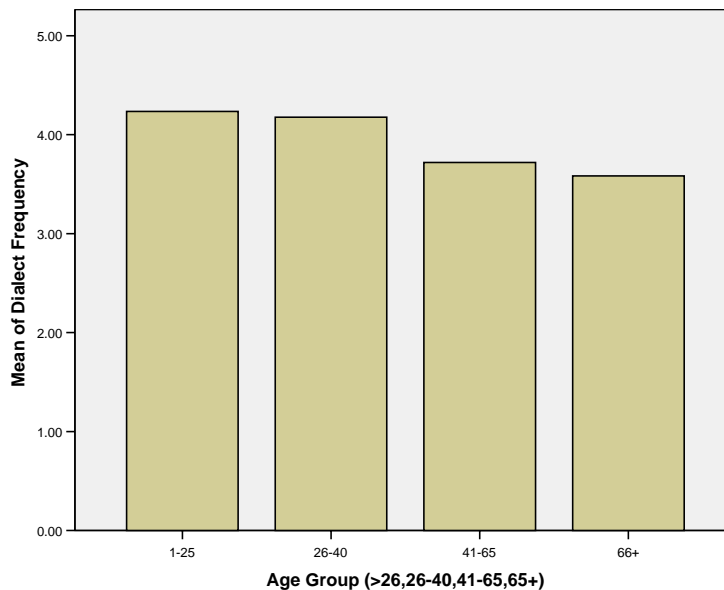
A linear model has been demonstrated to be inappropriate in previous research in Austria as well as Germany, however. Previous studies suggest that the use of dialect will decrease beginning in the teens as speakers enter the workforce, and begin to increase again as the speaker retires out of the workplace (Steinegger 1998: 289). Therefore the subjects are also sorted into groups which roughly approximate major life stages (see chapter 2): 0-25 years old – education stage; 25-40 years old: entering working world and establishing families; 40-65 years old: “middle age” and consolidation phase; 66+ years old: retirement. The distribution of subjects into these four age groups is illustrated in Table 5.6. The mean dialect frequencies of the four age groups are given in table 5.7, and illustrated in graph 5.8.

**Table 5.6 - Age Group (<26,26-40,41-65,65+)**

		Frequency	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1-25	323	65.9	65.9
	26-40	40	8.2	74.1
	41-65	97	19.8	93.9
	66+	30	6.1	100.0
	Total	490	100.0	
Missing		9		
Total		499		

**Table 5.7 – Mean of Dialect Frequency by Age Group**

Age Group (>26,26-40,41-65,65+)	Mean	N	Std. Deviation
1-25	4.2349	323	.71693
26-40	4.1762	40	.83908
41-65	3.7191	97	.95147
66+	3.5835	30	1.11188
Total	4.0881	490	.83855

**Graph 5.8 – Mean of Dialect Frequency by Age Group**

Graph 5.8 indicates that frequency of dialect use is lower for each successive age group than for the previous one. However, independent-sample t-tests and post-hoc Tukey's tests suggest that the differences between the two youngest groups, (<26) and (26-40), and between the oldest groups, (46-65) and (66+), are not significant. The difference in mean dialect frequency for the youngest age group (4.2349) and the next youngest group (4.1762)



is not very great, nor is the difference between the second oldest group (3.7191) and the oldest group (3.5835). The decrease in dialect use between the age groups 41-65 and 65+ is counter to the expected trend for retirement, as there is another drop in dialect frequency rather than an increase for retirement-aged subjects. The sample size of the age group 65+ is probably too small (30 subjects, 6.0% of the total sample), and this is a possible source of error, thus no valid conclusions can be drawn about the oldest age group.

### 5.3.3 Age groups – 10-year intervals

In order to clarify the situation, I also grouped the subjects by age using 10 year intervals: 0-15, 16-25, 26-35, 36-45, 46-55, 56-65, 66-75, and 76-85 years old.<sup>20</sup> This grouping splits at the traditional retirement age, between 65 and 66 years old. The distribution of subjects among the eight different age groups is indicated in Table 5.9. The number of subjects in some of these groups is very small, however, and these small numbers may lead to statistical error. There are at least 11 subjects in each group. The mean dialect frequency for each of these age groups is indicated in Table 5.10 and displayed in Graph 5.11.

**Table 5.9 – Age Group (10 Year Intervals)**

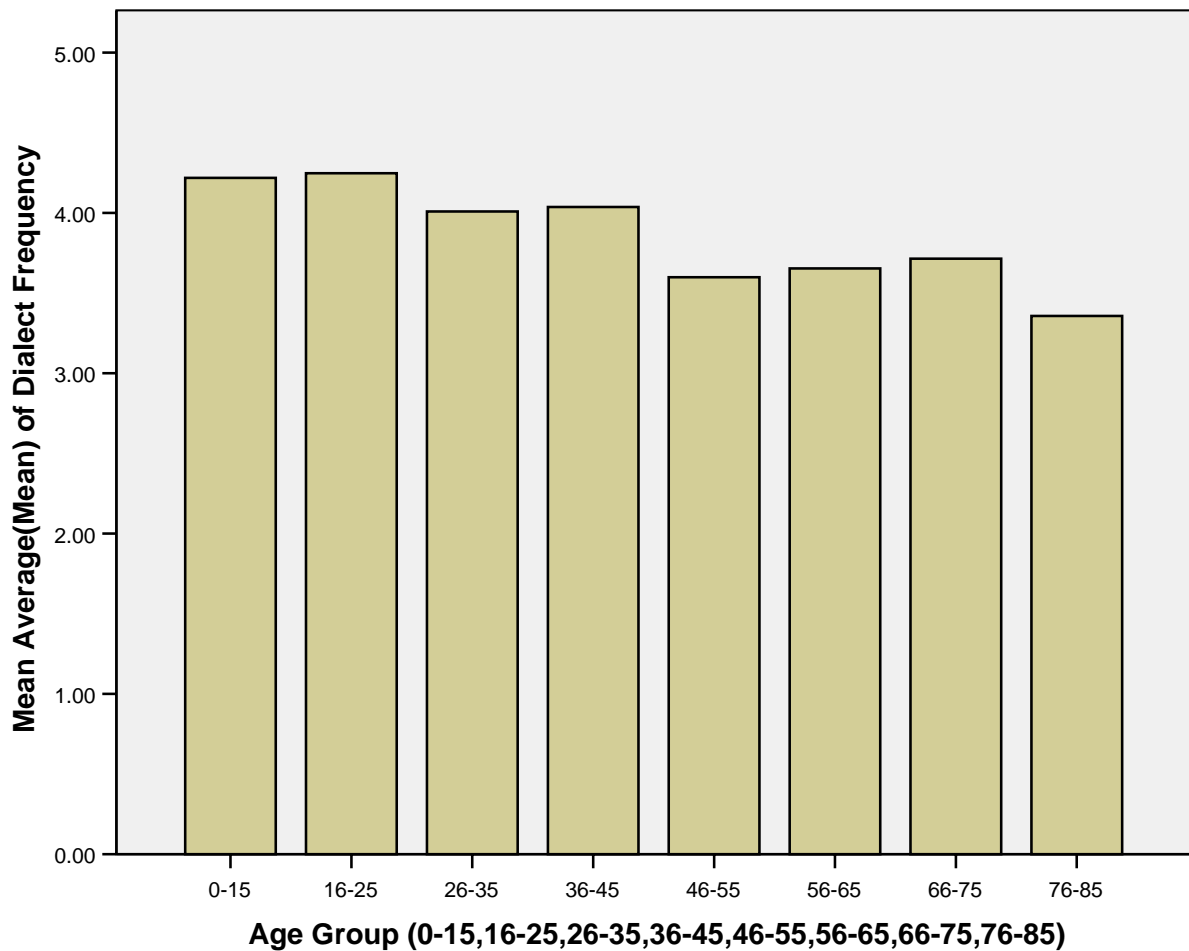
	Frequency	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid 0-15	141	28.8	28.8
16-25	182	37.1	65.9
26-35	19	3.9	69.8
36-45	60	12.2	82.0
46-55	45	9.2	91.2
56-65	13	2.7	93.9
66-75	19	3.9	97.8
76-85	11	2.2	100.0
Total	490	100.0	
Missing	9		
Total	499		

<sup>20</sup> There were no subjects younger than 10 years old, thus the group 0-15 years old is actually comprised of pupils 10-15 years old.

**Table 5.10 – Mean of Dialect Frequency by Age Groups (10 Year Intervals)**

Age Group	Mean	N	Std. Deviation
0-15	4.2188	141	.71401
16-25	4.2475	182	.72091
26-35	4.0095	19	.94475
36-45	4.0365	60	.84825
46-55	3.5987	45	1.04652
56-65	3.6530	13	.79918
66-75	3.7149	19	1.20667
76-85	3.3567	11	.93537
Total	4.0881	490	.83855

**Graph 5.11 - Mean of Dialect Frequency by Age Groups (10 Year Intervals)**



The frequency of dialect use generally declines from younger groups to older groups.

There is a noticeable decrease in the age group 26-35 where one would expect it due to speakers entering the workforce and raising children, and an increase in dialect use for the

age group 66-75, due to speakers leaving the workforce. However there is a decrease in the oldest group. The two groups that display an anomalous trend, 55-65 and 76-85, have only 13 and 11 subjects respectively and the small sample size is a probable source of error, thus no conclusions can be drawn about these two age groups.

For most of German-speaking Europe, a speaker's use of dialect decreases as the speaker leaves school and enters the workforce (see Ch. 2.2.2.1). Afterwards there is increased dialect use as age increases, particularly after retirement and withdrawal from the world of work. The trends found in the data from Ried confirm the decrease in dialect use beginning in the late teenage years, and an increase in dialect use after retirement. The youngest respondents speak the most dialect, in more situations and more often than older respondents.

There are some significant correlations between age and/or age groups and the attitudes mentioned in the questionnaire. Older speakers tend to agree more strongly than younger speakers with the attitudes "There are advantages to speaking Standard German," and "It is important to be able to speak Standard German." Because these attitudes tend to cause speakers to use dialect less often, and older respondents tend to agree more than younger respondents with these attitudes, the older speakers tend to speak dialect less often in favor colloquial or standard-like varieties of German.

The significant decrease of dialect usage between the school-age children and adults in Ried for most situations probably stems from the fact that the pupils have not yet had to enter the workforce; thus, have they have not been discriminated against in the hiring process or in the workplace on the basis of their speech. They have not realized that the dialect may be considered by others (i.e. a potential employer) to be unacceptable in some situations. Once a speaker enters the working world, he or she modifies his or her speech to conform to the

expectations of the professional workplace. This trend in Ried is in agreement with the findings of Ammon (1973) Mattheier (1980) and Steinegger (1998).

There is, however, no significant correlation between age and the attitude “I find my own dialect to be beautiful,” thus it cannot be said from this data that older respondents have a more favorable opinion of the local dialect than younger respondents do.

Another possible explanation is that the acceptability of dialect has increased over time, and the adolescents have grown up in a society that finds the local dialect much more acceptable than previous generations. The dialect is now less stigmatized than it was in the period when previous generations were growing up and learning about the pragmatics of variety choice (Lanthaler 2004). This conclusion supports the possibility of a *Dialektwelle*, a resurgence in the popularity of local dialects and attempts to preserve and promote older dialects since the 1970s.

#### **5.4 Gender and dialect frequency**

Males and females certainly may speak slightly different varieties of dialect, but this study does not address the specific differences between the dialect or colloquial varieties spoken by males or females. Subjects were only asked how often they speak dialect in a given situation, not what variety they speak or what they consider the features of their own dialect to be. The mean dialect frequencies for males and females for each of the 35 situations are shown in Table 5.12. Males speak slightly more dialect in 26 of the 35 situations. This agrees with Wiesinger’s (1989b) assertion that females are more aware of the overt prestige of Standard German and therefore speak less dialect than males. That the differences between the genders are very small concurs with Steinegger’s (1998) findings that gender differences are not very great in small Austrian cities, towns and villages.

**Table 5.12 - Dialect Frequency by Gender**

<i>How often do you speak dialect...</i>	Male			Female		
	Mean	N	Std. Deviation	Mean	N	Std. Deviation
With your parents?	4.694	183	0.892	4.635	293	0.986
With your siblings?	4.654	182	0.926	4.613	284	1.011
With your grandparents?	4.564	164	1.122	4.523	263	1.187
With other relatives from the Innviertel?	4.594	187	0.976	4.637	304	0.946
With other relatives from other regions?	4.283	187	1.112	4.187	302	1.228
With children in the neighborhood?	4.714	187	0.790	4.626	305	0.927
In a bar?	4.575	187	0.860	4.366	307	1.086
On a trip in other regions of Austria?	4.011	186	1.144	3.855	304	1.251
On a trip in Germany?	3.043	185	1.363	2.963	299	1.393
In a sports club?	4.579	178	1.051	4.391	274	1.179
At sporting events?	4.579	178	0.978	4.454	280	1.090
In church?	3.602	171	1.675	3.550	271	1.609
While shopping?	4.521	187	0.937	4.373	306	1.100
In a restaurant With the waiter/waitress?	3.963	187	1.305	3.767	305	1.323
With strangers on the street?	3.471	187	1.500	3.436	305	1.430
With strangers on the telephone?	3.130	188	1.515	3.041	306	1.433
With the priest or minister?	3.680	175	1.535	3.874	286	1.512
At events and festivals?	4.463	188	1.015	4.348	305	1.093
When you talk to yourself in your mind?	4.513	186	1.011	4.421	304	1.161
In the doctor's waiting room?	4.209	187	1.216	4.265	307	1.144
With the doctor him/herself?	4.029	188	1.273	3.893	305	1.330
With classmates during school?	4.887	124	0.387	4.746	193	0.792
With classmates outside of school?	4.903	124	0.449	4.790	193	0.684
With the teacher in class?	3.315	124	1.352	3.534	192	1.237
With the teacher outside of class?	3.685	124	1.296	3.864	191	1.258
In a discotheque?	4.661	118	0.879	4.585	183	0.990
In a youth club?	4.728	114	0.855	4.680	178	0.929
With the school's principal?	2.919	124	1.501	3.366	191	1.512
At work with colleagues?	4.283	60	1.059	4.245	94	1.152
At work with customers/clients?	3.259	54	1.403	3.272	90	1.440
At a Stammtisch?	4.467	60	1.049	4.515	103	1.056
At a gas station?	4.032	63	1.367	4.262	105	1.173
With officials of the city of Ried?	3.532	62	1.512	3.344	109	1.550
With officials of the state of Upper Austria?	2.992	62	1.554	2.630	104	1.468
With officials of the national government?	2.311	53	1.494	2.144	94	1.464

Typically, an increase in dialect use around age 65 is attributed to the subject leaving the world of work and entering the world of retirement. At this stage the individual's social circle may decrease and the expectation of using a more standard-like variety in the workplace no longer applies. However, many females, and in particular the females 65 years and older,

may have been housewives or stay-at-home mothers. Thus at age 65 there is not as drastic a change as with males who are leaving the workplace. Mattheier (1980) also notes that many females speak less dialect in favor of standard varieties when raising children, in order to prepare their children for entering school. Thus it is important to examine the males and females separately for each age group.

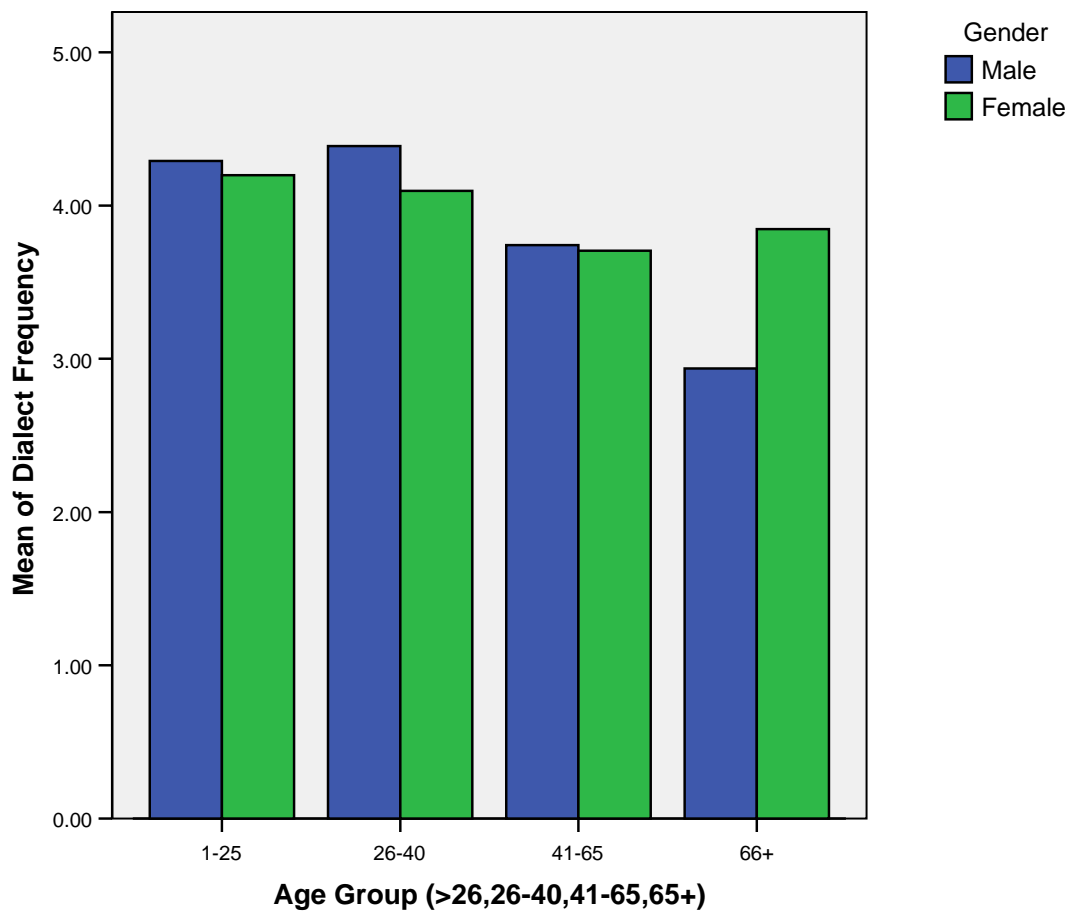
Table 5.13 displays the mean dialect frequency for males and females separately for each of the four age groups (0-25, 26-40, 41-65, 66+). Graph 5.14 illustrates the differences between the genders and the general trends (increase or decrease of dialect use) between age groups. Females follow the expected trend for Austria, with decreased dialect use between 26 and 40, the typical child-raising years, and increased dialect use after 66, the retirement/pension years. The small sample size for the group of males ages 26-40 and 66+ also makes it impossible to draw valid conclusions about these groups.

All of the mean values are relatively high, with none below 2.9, and most of the mean values around 4.0. The value 3.0 corresponds to speaking dialect “regularly,” and 4.0 corresponds to speaking dialect “often.”

**Table 5.13 - Mean of Dialect Frequency by Gender and Age Group**

Age Group (<26,26-40,41-65,65+)	Gender	Mean	N	Std. Deviation
1-25	Male	4.2906	128	.59326
	Female	4.1984	195	.78698
	Total	4.2349	323	.71693
26-40	Male	4.3884	11	.28788
	Female	4.0957	29	.96263
	Total	4.1762	40	.83908
41-65	Male	3.7417	36	.90792
	Female	3.7057	61	.98344
	Total	3.7191	97	.95147
66+	Male	2.9365	9	1.23762
	Female	3.8466	19	.97709
	Total	3.5541	28	1.13032
Total	Male	4.1228	184	.77143
	Female	4.0677	304	.87801
	Total	4.0885	488	.83904

**Graph 5.14 - Mean of Dialect Frequency by Gender and Age Group**



There are some significant differences between the genders with regard to the attitudes included in the survey. Females tend to agree more than males with the attitudes “There are advantages to being able to speak Standard German,” “It is important to be able to speak Standard German,” and “One should learn only Standard German in school.” Males tend to agree more than females with the attitudes “People who speak my dialect are dependable,” and “I find my own dialect to be beautiful.” Thus, females are more conscious of the relative social status of dialect, colloquial and standard varieties, while males have a higher opinion of the local dialect and its speakers.

This study did not explicitly examine the different salient features in the dialect between males and females in their individual speech. There is no reason to suspect that the specific features of the variety spoken by males and females are not different in measurable and salient ways. This study indicates that males generally find the dialect variety more acceptable in each of the possible situations than females.

In the same way, there may be great differences in what constitutes the local dialect for each generation. Older generations may speak a dialect variety that is no longer spoken and may only be partially understood by the youngest generation. Several teachers of German in the *Gymnasien* where I distributed the questionnaire indicated to me that the students don’t truly speak the base dialects that the oldest generations do, but rather a colloquial variety of German closer to Standard German, as the most relaxed and comfortable variety which requires the least effort.

However, what the youngest generations consider to be their local dialect, the least formal, most intimate and natural variety, is becoming more acceptable over time as an expression of community membership and a sign of heritage.

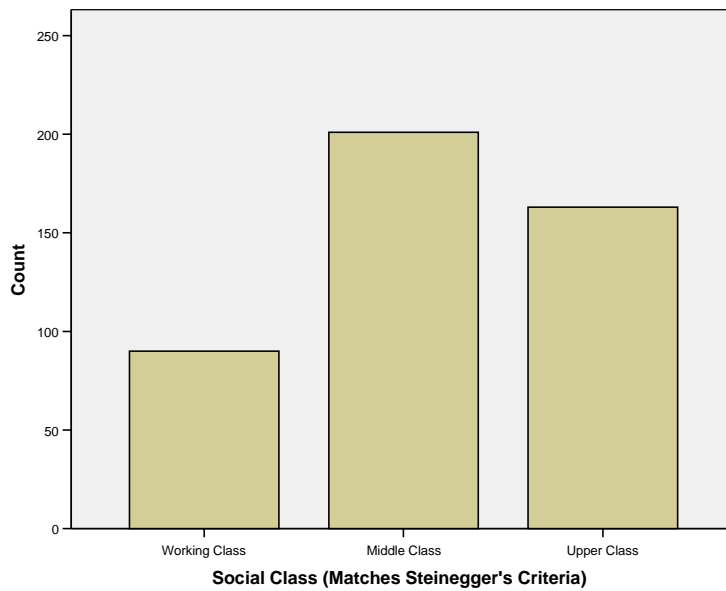


## 5.5 Social class and dialect frequency

### 5.5.1 Guido Steinegger's criteria

The number of subjects in each social class based on Steinegger's criteria is shown in Graph 5.15. The upper class is very large, due primarily to the classification of all school teachers as upper class. Given Ried's position as an education center for the region, a very large number of the subjects are employed as teachers and school administrators.

**Graph 5.15 – Distribution of Subjects by Social Class**



**Table 5.16 - Mean of Dialect Frequency (Steinegger's Criteria)**

Social Class (Matches Steinegger)	Mean	N	Std. Deviation
Working Class	4.1724	90	.60438
Middle Class	4.0516	201	.87786
Upper Class	4.1829	163	.79503
Total	4.1227	454	.80130

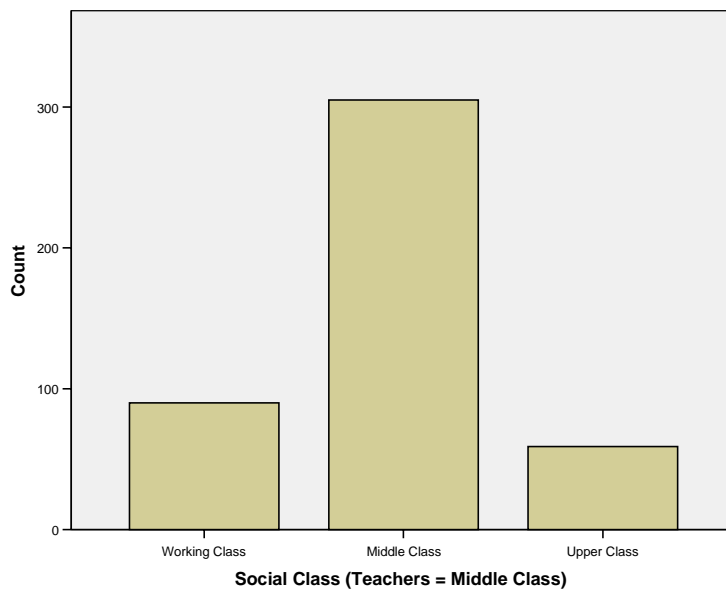
When Steinegger's criteria are used to determine social class, the upper class uses dialect the most, with the working class using almost as much dialect and the middle class using slightly less than the other two groups. This may be due to the overrepresentation of teachers in the upper class. The differences in mean dialect frequency across the different social

classes are very small (see Table 5.16), and a one-way ANOVA of the mean dialect frequency indicates that the differences between the means are not significant. A one-way ANOVA test of social class vs. frequency of dialect usage in the various situations showed a correlation significant at the .05 level in only two of 35 situations. For almost all situations there is no correlation between social class and the frequency of dialect spoken. This is in agreement with Steinegger's findings that for small cities, towns and villages in Austria social class plays a very small role, much less so than in middle- or large-sized cities (Steinegger 1998: 153).

### 5.5.2 Teachers in the middle class

The distribution of the three social classes using these criteria is shown in Graph 5.17. The large number of school administrators and teachers now cause the middle class to bulge.

**Graph 5.17 - Distribution of Subjects by Social Class**



**Table 5.18 - Mean of Dialect Frequency (Teachers = Middle Class)**

Social Class	Mean	N	Std. Deviation
Working Class	4.1724	90	.60438
Middle Class	4.1295	305	.81380
Upper Class	4.0116	59	.98310
Total	4.1227	454	.80130

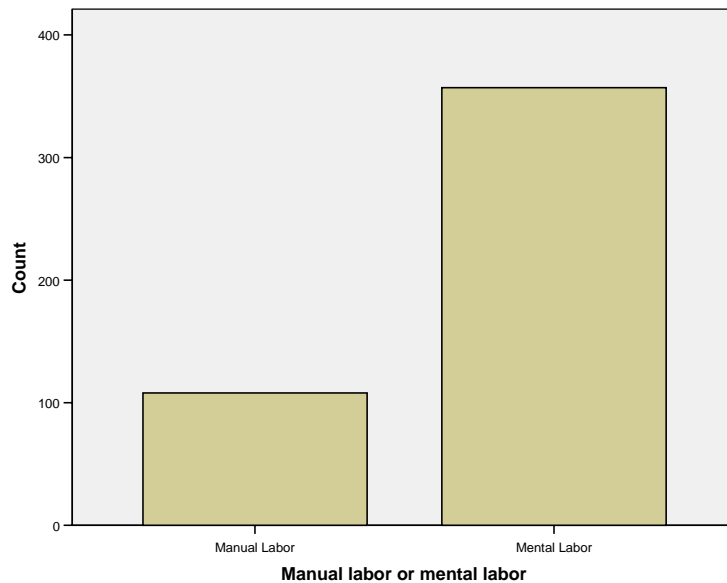
The mean dialect frequencies for all three groups are very similar (see Table 5.18); however with the population divided thusly the trends are more closely aligned with the normal expectations. The upper class speaks dialect least often, the working class speaks dialect most often, and the middle class falls in between the working and upper classes; therefore using these modified criteria to divide up the social classes is vindicated. All following references to three social classes will therefore use these criteria, unless specifically comparing with Steinegger's results. Again, the differences in mean dialect frequency are not very large, and one-way ANOVA indicates that the differences are not significant.

These findings are also in agreement with Steinegger's findings for communities of this size in Austria, in which social class has very little effect on choice of language variety.

### **5.5.3 Ammon's Criteria**

As a further comparison, the subjects were divided into 2 groups, using Ammon's (1995) division of manual-oriented labor and mental-oriented labor. For the most part, the middle and upper classes are combined into the mental-labor oriented group, and the working class becomes the manual-labor oriented group. The distribution of all subjects into mental and manual labor groups is shown in Graph 5.19. The relatively small size of the manual-labor group is probably due again to the large number of teachers, administrators and bureaucrats in Ried, and the shift away from traditional agricultural industries in the Innviertel.

**Graph 5.19 – Distribution of Subjects by Manual and Mental Labor**



**Table 5.20 - Mean of Dialect Frequency (Ammon's Criteria)**

Manual labor or mental labor	Mean	N	Std. Deviation
Manual Labor	4.0729	108	.78409
Mental Labor	4.1158	357	.83152
Total	4.1058	465	.82012

The mean dialect frequency for the mental-labor oriented class is slightly higher than that of the manual-labor oriented group, which is unexpected. However, just as with the other possible social class divisions, the differences between the groups are not very great and one-way ANOVA indicates that the differences are not significant. The relaxed variety spoken by manual laborers may actually be closer to the base dialect (*Basisdialekt*) than the variety spoken by those who are primarily involved with mental labor (Wiesinger's *Verkehrsdialekt*), which the latter group nevertheless considers to be dialect.

Regardless of the criteria used to determine social class, the differences in mean dialect frequency between all of the groups are very small, and all groups have a mean dialect frequency over 4.0, which corresponds to using dialect “often.”

When Ammon's criteria are used, those subjects who are classified as primarily manual-oriented laborers indicate significantly higher agreement with the attitudes "Innviertler dialect is an important part of my culture," "I am an Austrian first, and a European second," and "I am an Innviertler first, and an Austrian second" than mental-oriented workers. The manual-oriented class expresses a greater sense of local connection and association of the local dialect with its identity. When split up into three socioeconomic classes — working, middle, and upper classes — significant differences are apparent for only one of the attitudes: "I enjoy dialect poetry," and the upper classes indicate greater agreement with this attitude than the middle class, who in turn indicate greater agreement than the working class.

The likeliest explanation for the irrelevance of social class in Ried is the small size and homogeneity of the community. Research on smaller communities in Austria and elsewhere has shown that for small populations socioeconomic status does not serve as a reliable construct to predict individual dialect usage (Lippi-Green 1989: 213, Milroy and Gordon 2003: 116). In small communities class distinctions may not be very great, and individuals' own self-concept may not correspond with a social class designation made by others. Indeed, in small rural communities the dialect variety is found throughout all levels of the social class structure, and is not necessarily associated only with working classes. Situational factors play a much greater role than social class differences in rural communities (Malliga 1997: 24). The speakers in Ried behave much more like the speakers of a small rural town or village than like the speakers of a medium or large city such as Salzburg, Linz, or Vienna.

## **5.6 Network strength and dialect frequency**

Because analysis of macro-level factors such as age, gender and socioeconomic status may not always be relevant in smaller communities, the survey was also designed to measure

the social network strength of each respondent, to determine how well integrated into the community each respondent is, and then to correlate these network strength values with the frequency of dialect usage. The criteria used to calculate network strength for each subject are listed in chapter 4.7. It was possible to calculate the network strength for 350 of the 499 respondents, and valid strength scores ranged from 5 to 22.

A Pearson correlation of social network strength and mean dialect frequency indicates a positive correlation of 0.155 between the two factors, significant at the .01 level. The stronger a subject's social network, the more likely a subject is to speak dialect. If a speaker is more closely connected to the community, the community can exercise a stronger normative influence over the speaker's behavior, including speech.

Analysis of network strength versus frequency of dialect use for each of the 35 possible domains shows positive correlations in 18 of 35 situations. In the situations which show significant correlations at the .01 level, the speaker is communicating in comparatively intimate situations, such as with parents, friends, siblings, and classmates. The significant correlations range from 0.170 to 0.317. In situations where the social connections may be somewhat looser but still intact, such as with neighborhood children, with teammates or fellow club members, or at a *Stammtisch*, there are correlations which are still significant but only at the .05 level, and the correlations are not as strong, ranging from 0.111 to 0.242.

The rest of the situations show no significant correlations with social network strength. The situations "on a trip in Germany," "while shopping," "in a restaurant with the waiter/waitress," "with strangers on the street," "with strangers on the telephone," "at a gas station," "with government officials in Ried," "with state officials of Upper Austria," and "with officials of the national government" are distinguished by the absence of the social

network, and thus the social network has no influence over the speaker. In other words, if you are not among your peers, there is no peer pressure. If the social network is not present, the individual's social network strength may or may not play a role in determining which variety to use, but the likelihood of this cannot be determined statistically. Thus, where the social network of the individual speaker is not in effect, its influence on the situation is not predictable, and other social, situational, or individual factors may play a more important role when a speaker decides which variety to use. Other situations which show no correlation between frequency and network strength depend greatly on the individual interlocutor, as in the situations "with the teacher in class," "with the teacher outside of class," and "with the school principal." The appropriateness of dialect in these situations depends in large part on what the teacher or principal finds acceptable, and this may vary from one person to another.

Subjects with higher social network strength scores indicate significantly higher agreement with the following attitudes: "I find speakers of my dialect to be nice," "The Innviertler dialect is an important part of my culture," "Dialect speakers are dependable," "I am an Austrian first, and a European second," "I am an Innviertler first, and an Austrian second," "One should learn about the Innviertler dialect in school," "I find my own dialect to be beautiful," and "I enjoy dialect-poetry." Thus those subjects who have the most and strongest connections to the local community indicate the highest local loyalty and have the highest opinion of the local dialect and its speakers. Those subjects with lower social network scores may have not been raised or socialized in the community for as long, and therefore do not have the same ingrained appreciation for the local dialect, or may not be able to speak the local dialect as effortlessly and comfortably.

### 5.7 Commuter vs. non-commuter and dialect frequency

Adult respondents were asked to indicate whether they commuted to work or not. Pupils were not specifically asked, but because they all attend school in Ried, if they indicated a residence other than Ried then they were classified as commuters. This also includes students who live in one of the boarding houses (*Internat*) during the school-week but travel to their home communities on weekends and live in their home communities during the summer and holidays.

The mean dialect frequency for all commuters and non-commuters is listed in Table 5.21, the distributions of only pupils are given in Table 5.22, and the distributions of only adults are given in Table 5.23. An independent-samples t-test for all commuters and non-commuters indicates that there are statistically significant differences in mean dialect frequency between the two groups. An independent-samples t-test for adults only indicates that the differences between commuters and non-commuters are marginally significant (between .05 and .10), and for pupils only the differences are marginally significant as well.

**Table 5.21 - Group Statistics for All Commuters and Non-Commuters**

	Commutes to Work/School	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Mean of Dialect Frequency	No	179	3.9541	.97891	.07317
	Yes	308	4.1620	.74063	.04220

**Table 5.22 - Group Statistics for Adult Commuters and Non-Commuters**

	Commutes to Work	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Mean of Dialect Frequency	No	126	3.7704	1.01862	.09075
	Yes	44	4.0652	.80281	.12103

**Table 5.23 - Group Statistics for Pupil Commuters and Non-Commuters**

	Commutes to School	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Mean of Dialect Frequency	No	53	4.3908	.71411	.09809
	Yes	264	4.1781	.73014	.04494



Independent-samples t-tests for commuters and non-commuters show differences in the means of the two groups across several situations which are significant at the .05 level: “with parents,” “with grandparents,” “with other relatives from the Innviertel”, “with children in the neighborhood,” “in a sports club,” “at sporting events,” “while shopping,” and “at events and festivals.” In all of the situations common to both adults and pupils the commuters indicated a higher average frequency of dialect use than the non-commuters. Of the situations unique to the pupils, for the situations in a school-setting, “with the teacher in class,” “with the teacher outside of class,” and “with the school principal,” non-commuters spoke dialect significantly more often than non-commuters. Only one of the situations unique to adults showed a significant difference: “at a *Stammtisch*.”

**Table 5.24 - Group Statistics for Commuters/Non-Commuters**

	Commutes to Work/School	N	Mean	Std. Deviation
How often do you speak dialect with your parents?	No	161	4.491	1.1353
	Yes	308	4.744	0.8324
How often do you speak dialect with your grandparents?	No	132	4.212	1.4517
	Yes	291	4.68	0.9787
How often do you speak dialect with other relatives from the Innviertel?	No	178	4.489	1.1211
	Yes	304	4.699	0.8457
How often do you speak dialect with children in the neighborhood?	No	177	4.534	1.0219
	Yes	306	4.745	0.7727
How often do you speak dialect in a sports club?	No	158	4.316	1.2972
	Yes	291	4.55	1.0273
How often do you speak dialect at sporting events?	No	159	4.327	1.2195
	Yes	296	4.601	0.9333
How often do you speak dialect while shopping?	No	178	4.284	1.1739
	Yes	305	4.518	0.947
How often do you speak dialect at events and festivals?	No	178	4.124	1.274
	Yes	306	4.529	0.9094
How often do you speak dialect with the teacher in class?	No	52	3.962	1.084
	Yes	262	3.345	1.2976
How often do you speak dialect with the teacher outside of class?	No	51	4.353	0.9965
	Yes	262	3.687	1.293
How often do you speak dialect with the school's principal?	No	51	3.922	1.3978
	Yes	262	3.05	1.509
How often do you speak dialect at a Stammtisch?	No	119	4.412	1.123
	Yes	40	4.8	0.7232

When the calculations are limited to only adult commuters versus adult non-commuters or only pupil commuters vs. non-commuters, a slightly different picture emerges. For adults, t-tests show differences in 5 of the 28 possible situations: with parents, siblings, grandparents, while shopping, and at a *Stammtisch*. In these five situations the commuters spoke dialect significantly more often than non-commuters. For pupils, there were significant differences at the .05 level for the following situations: in a restaurant with the waiter/waitress, with strangers on the street and with strangers on the telephone, with the teacher in class and outside of class, and with the school principal. In all of these cases the non-commuters speak dialect more often than commuters.

**Table 5.25 - Group Statistics for Commuters/Non-Commuters (Adults Only)**

	<b>Commutes to Work/School</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>Mean</b>	<b>Std. Deviation</b>
<b>How often do you speak dialect with your parents?</b>	<b>No</b>	108	4.417	1.1929
	<b>Yes</b>	44	4.841	0.4795
<b>How often do you speak dialect with your siblings?</b>	<b>No</b>	117	4.393	1.1814
	<b>Yes</b>	41	4.854	0.4775
<b>How often do you speak dialect with your grandparents?</b>	<b>No</b>	79	4.127	1.5473
	<b>Yes</b>	30	4.9	0.4026
<b>How often do you speak dialect while shopping?</b>	<b>No</b>	125	4.116	1.2591
	<b>Yes</b>	44	4.534	0.8853
<b>How often do you speak dialect at a Stammtisch?</b>	<b>No</b>	119	4.412	1.123
	<b>Yes</b>	40	4.8	0.7232

**Table 5.26 - Group Statistics for Commuters/Non-Commuters (Pupils Only)**

	<b>Commutes to Work/School</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>Mean</b>	<b>Std. Deviation</b>
<b>How often do you speak dialect in a restaurant with the waiter/waitress?</b>	<b>No</b>	53	4.358	1.111
	<b>Yes</b>	261	3.835	1.3067
<b>How often do you speak dialect with strangers on the street?</b>	<b>No</b>	52	4.096	1.3469
	<b>Yes</b>	263	3.496	1.4376
<b>How often do you speak dialect with strangers on the telephone?</b>	<b>No</b>	53	3.736	1.4432
	<b>Yes</b>	264	3.152	1.4643
<b>How often do you speak dialect with the teacher in class?</b>	<b>No</b>	52	3.962	1.084
	<b>Yes</b>	262	3.345	1.2976
<b>How often do you speak dialect with the teacher outside of class?</b>	<b>No</b>	51	4.353	0.9965
	<b>Yes</b>	262	3.687	1.293
<b>How often do you speak dialect with the school's principal?</b>	<b>No</b>	51	3.922	1.3978
	<b>Yes</b>	262	3.05	1.509

Adult commuters indicate greater agreement than non-commuters with the attitude “The Innviertler dialect is slowly disappearing,” but less agreement with the attitude “It is bad to speak with a strong accent.” School-age commuters indicate greater agreement than non-commuters with the attitudes “The Innviertler dialect is slowly disappearing,” “There are situations in which one should not speak dialect,” and “I am an Austrian first, and a European second.” School-age commuters indicate less agreement than non-commuters with the attitude “it is bad to speak with a strong accent.”

It is important to consider that pupil commuters travel into the city for school, whereas the adults are traveling out of their home community for work. This helps to explain the opposite trends between pupils and adults. As Gal (1979:141) states, “the commuter necessarily has a somewhat different relationship with his household than the non-commuter and the frequency of interaction is part of the difference.”

Of the adults, commuters tend to speak more dialect in very intimate, personal situations involving close friends and family. Of the pupils, commuters (i.e. those who travel into Ried) speak less dialect in the situations involving the school (the only situations where the commuters are in Ried and not in their home communities), and this may be due to the fact

that the dialect of their home community is different from the local dialect of Ried. In order to be understood by the inhabitants of Ried, they must speak a colloquial variety closer to Standard German. This would also be a valuable ability when speaking to strangers, as a form of accommodation when it is unclear what the stranger's background might be. Pupils who commute into the community for school are more likely to encounter strangers in Ried than those who attend school in their own home community.

Based on these results and considering the increasing trend toward commuting, I predict that speakers who commute out of their home community will show increasing frequency of dialect use in the situations within the home community, with family, friends, and neighbors, and less dialect use while outside of the community for purposes of work. When in the home community, speakers wish to indicate their local loyalty and connection to the community — that they have not “forgotten where they come from” — and use of the local dialect is one way to do this. However, in a workplace in another community, as an outsider, the commuter will use less dialect in favor of a more colloquial variety or standard variety.

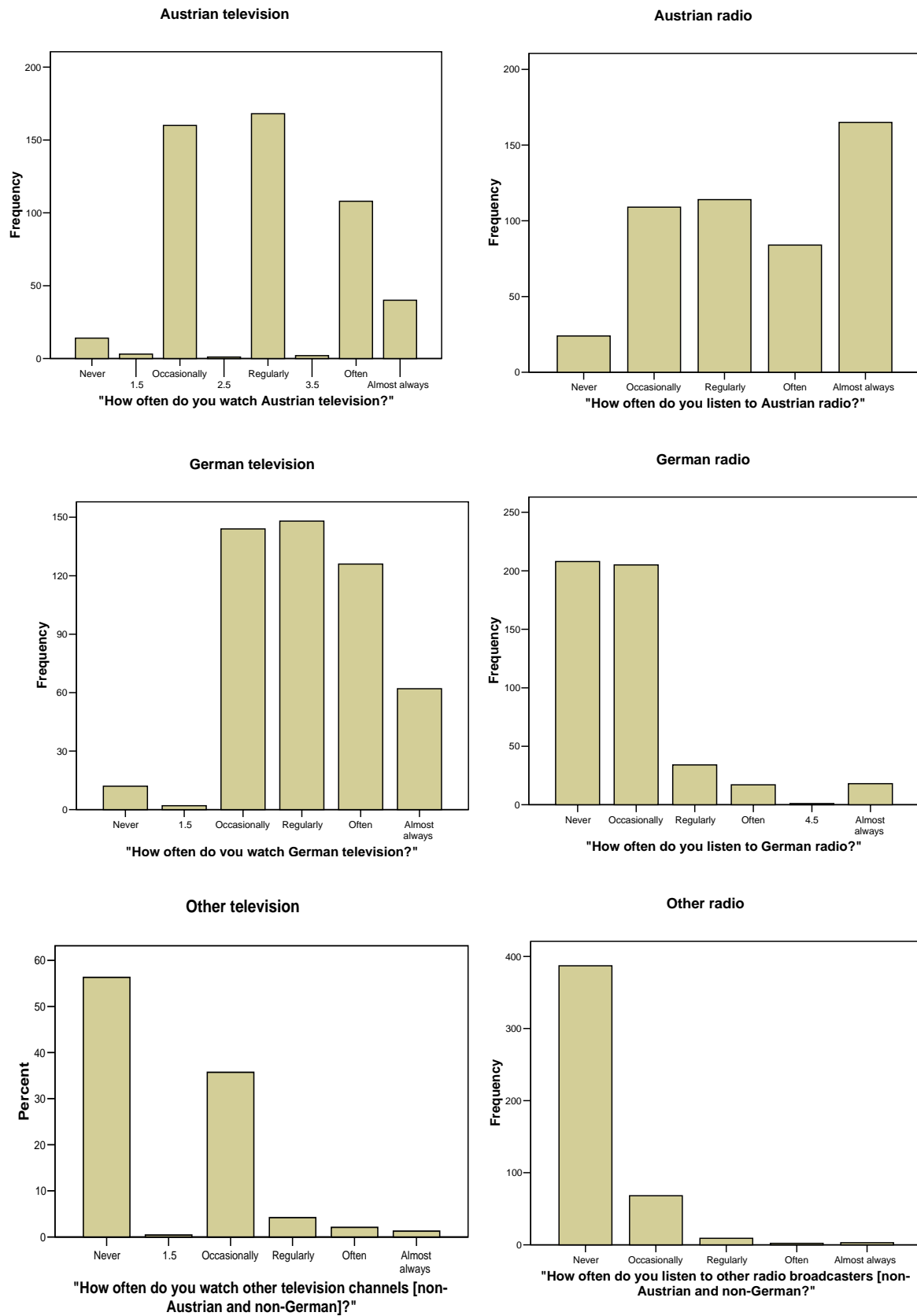
### **5.8 Mass media and dialect frequency**

Because of its location on the border with Bavaria, the Innviertel receives both radio and over-the-air television broadcasts, as well as local/regional and national Austrian broadcasts (typically *Österreichischer Rundfunk*, ORF and ORF2). Satellite receivers and cable television allow the reception of many more German language broadcasts from Austria, Germany and Switzerland, as well as broadcasts in other languages.

Six different categories of mass media are included in the study: Austrian television, German television, other (neither Austrian nor German) television, Austrian radio, or other radio broadcasts. Respondents were asked to indicate how often they watch/listen to the six

different forms of media, on a scale of 1 (never) to 5 (almost always). Graph 5.27 indicates which answers were indicated by all subjects. Table 5.28 lists the mean amount of mass media consumed for all subjects. These numerical values (1 to 5) are correlated with the frequency of dialect, both the mean dialect frequency, and with the dialect frequency for each individual situation. There are positive correlations of mean dialect frequency with Austrian television, German television, and Austrian radio. That is, the more Austrian or German television watched, or the more Austrian radio heard, the more likely a subject is to speak dialect. The more a subject hears German radio, however, the less likely a subject is to speak dialect. The other (non-Austrian and non-German) forms of media do not indicate significant correlations with dialect frequency, probably due to very low number of respondents who claim watch or listen to “other” media (See Graph 5.27).

**Graph 5.27 – Self-Reported Frequencies of Media Exposure**



**Table 5.28 – Mean Amount of Mass Media Watched/Heard**

		Austrian television	German television	Other television	Austrian radio	German radio	Other radio
N	Valid	496	494	476	496	483	469
	Missing	3	5	23	3	16	30
Mean		2.992	3.160	1.557	3.518	1.827	1.222

**Table 5.29 – Correlations of Mean Dialect Frequency with Mass Media**

		Austrian television	German television	Other television	Austrian radio	German radio	Other radio
Mean of Dialect Frequency	Pearson Correlation	.092(*)	.162(**)	.022	.144(**)	-.135(**)	-.045
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.041	.000	.628	.001	.003	.331
	N	496	494	476	496	483	469

\* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

\*\* Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

There are positive correlations between the frequency of watching Austrian television and frequency of dialect usage in only 10 of the 35 situations. There is no significant correlation in 25 of the 35 possible situations, including all of the situations specific to adults. Thus the amount of Austrian television watched has little influence on the speaker's choice of variety in the majority of situations.

The frequency of watching German television programs (a wider assortment of possible channels than in Austria, including public state-run broadcasters and private for-profit broadcasters, also available to Austrian viewers via satellite or cable) shows positive correlations with the frequency of dialect use in 18 of 35 situations. There are no significant correlations for 17 of the 35 possible situations.

The frequency of listening to Austrian radio broadcasts and the frequency of dialect shows positive correlations in 14 of 35. There are no significant correlations for 21 of the 35 possible situations.

The frequency of listening to radio broadcasts from Germany and the frequency of dialect use shows negative correlations for 12 of 35. There are no significant correlations for 23 of the 35 possible situations.

While there are positive correlations of dialect frequency and all television broadcasts and Austrian radio broadcasts, there are negative correlations between German radio and dialect frequency. The situations where there is a significant correlation between mass media and dialect use are outnumbered by the number of situations where there is no significant correlation.

With regard to radio listenership, the majority of the situations show no significant correlation between dialect frequency and the frequency of listening to the radio. There are significant positive correlations between the frequency of listening to Austrian radio and frequency of dialect use in only fourteen of thirty-five situations, ranging from 0.096 to 0.195. The relationship between dialect frequency and German radio is reversed. There are significant negative correlations between frequency of listening to German radio and dialect frequency, for twelve of the thirty-five possible situations, ranging from  $-0.095$  to  $-0.158$ .

## **5.9 Correlation of attitudes with frequency of dialect**

### **5.9.1 Local loyalty**

For the attitude “I am an Innviertler first, and an Austrian second” the majority of respondents (30.4%) chose to neither agree nor disagree, but more respondents completely agree or tend to agree (44.6%) than completely disagree or tend to disagree (25%). The distribution is shown in Table 5.30 and Graph 5.31. For the attitude “I am an Austrian first, and a European second” the distribution is much more skewed towards agreement with this attitude. 68.7% either completely agree or tend to agree with this attitude, while 7.6% tend to

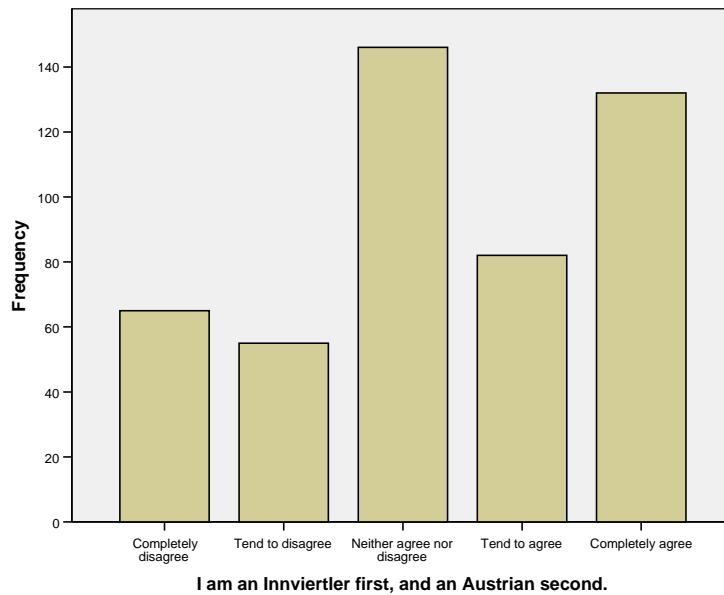


disagree or completely agree. The distribution is shown in Table 5.32 and Graph 5.33. The respondents are more ambivalent about their loyalty to the local community than to the nation of Austria, but clearly associate themselves with Austria rather than Europe as a whole.

**Table 5.30 – “I am an Innviertler first, and an Austrian second.”**

		Frequency	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Completely disagree	65	13.5	13.5
	Tend to disagree	55	11.5	25.0
	Neither agree nor disagree	146	30.4	55.4
	Tend to agree	82	17.1	72.5
	Completely agree	132	27.5	100.0
	Total	480	100.0	
Missing	System	19		
Total		499		

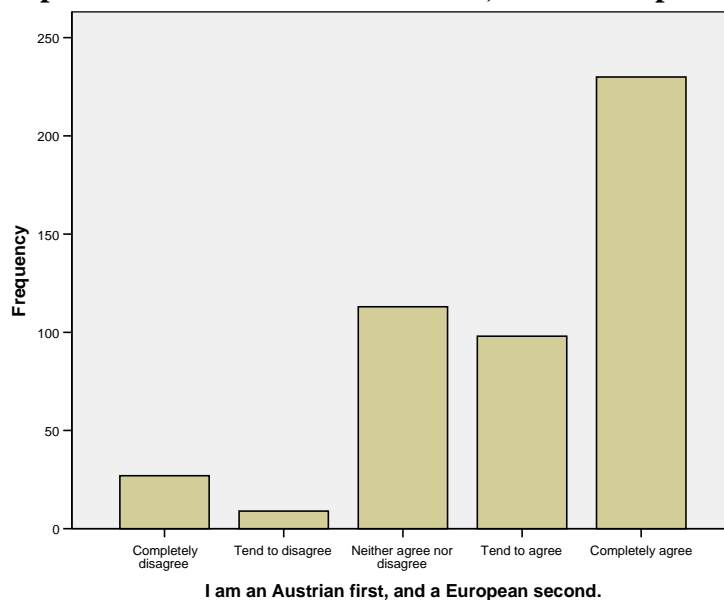
**Graph 5.31 – “I am an Innviertler first, and an Austrian second.”**



**Table 5.32 – “I am an Austrian first, and a European second.”**

		Frequency	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Completely disagree	27	5.7	5.7
	Tend to disagree	9	1.9	7.5
	Neither agree nor disagree	113	23.7	31.2
	Tend to agree	98	20.5	51.8
	Completely agree	230	48.2	100.0
	Total	477	100.0	
Missing	System	22		
Total		499		

**Graph 5.33 – “I am an Austrian first, and a European second.”**



The attitude “I am an Innviertler first, and an Austrian second” is positively correlated with the mean dialect frequency of speakers, significant at the .01 level, however the attitude “I am an Austrian first, and a European second” does not have a significant correlation with mean dialect frequency. The first attitude is much more indicative of local loyalty to the Innviertel and its dialect than the second attitude, which is not relevant to the use of the specific dialect associated with the Innviertel.

The statement “I am an Innviertler first, and an Austrian second” shows positive correlations with dialect frequency in 18 of 35. The significant correlations range between 0.096 and 0.227.

Correlations between attitudes expressing loyalty to or membership within the local community, and the frequency of use of the local dialect are consistent and relatively strong. The use of the local Innviertler dialect is a public sign that the individual speaker feels a connection to and affinity with the other members of the community. If a speaker does not feel that local loyalty is an important self-characteristic, then the speaker is less likely to use the local dialect, instead opting for a colloquial or standard variety of German which would be acceptable or understood across a region larger than the Innviertel.

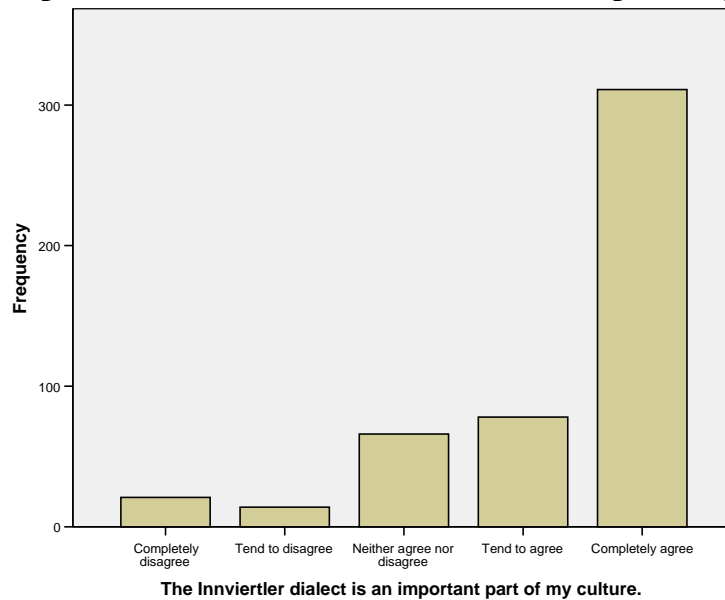
### **5.9.2 The Innviertler dialect**

The vast majority of respondents (79.4%) indicate agreement with the attitude “The Innviertler dialect is an important part of my culture,” as shown in Table 5.34 and Graph 5.35. Similarly, the majority (79.5%) indicates agreement with the attitude “I find my own dialect to be beautiful,” as indicated in Table 5.36 and Graph 5.37. The overwhelming majority of respondents (93.8%) indicates disagreement with the attitude “The Innviertel dialect should disappear,” as indicated in Table 5.38 and Graph 5.39. 78.2% of respondent indicate some degree of agreement with the attitude “My dialect is understood outside of the Innviertel,” while only 8.3% indicate some degree of disagreement with that attitude, as indicated in Table 5.40 and Graph 5.41.

**Table 5.34 - “The Innviertler dialect is an important part of my culture.”**

		Frequency	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Completely disagree	21	4.3	4.3
	Tend to disagree	14	2.9	7.1
	Neither agree nor disagree	66	13.5	20.6
	Tend to agree	78	15.9	36.5
	Completely agree	311	63.5	100.0
	Total	490	100.0	
Missing	System	9		
Total		499		

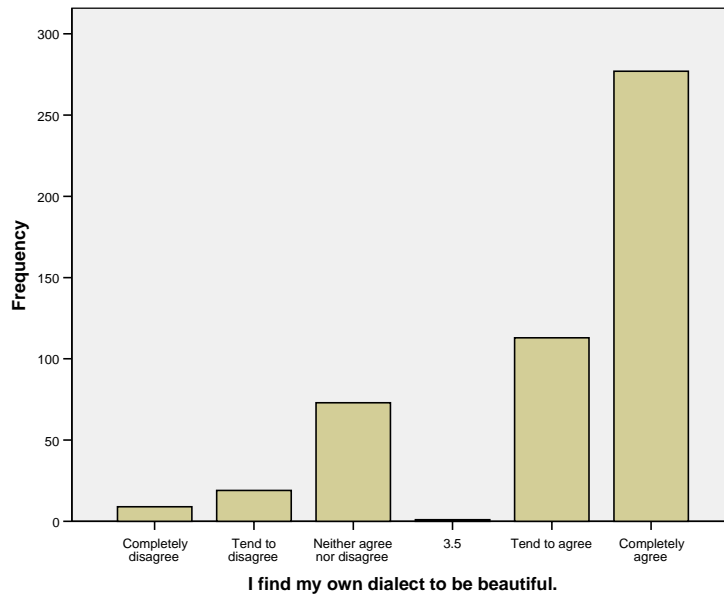
**Graph 5.35 – “The Innviertler dialect is an important part of my culture.”**



**Table 5.36 - “I find my own dialect to be beautiful.”**

		Frequency	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Completely disagree	9	1.8	1.8
	Tend to disagree	19	3.9	5.7
	Neither agree nor disagree	73	14.8	20.5
	3.5	1	.2	20.7
	Tend to agree	113	23.0	43.7
	Completely agree	277	56.3	100.0
	Total	492	100.0	
Missing	System	7		
Total		499		

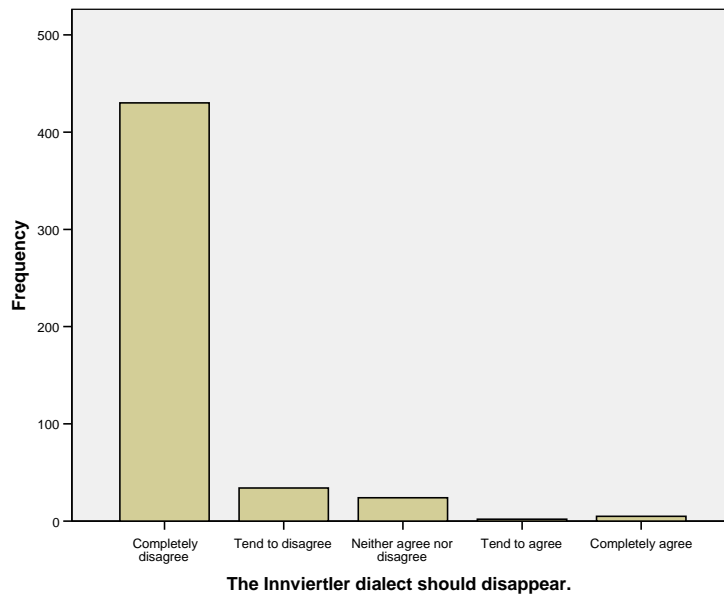
**Graph 5.37 – “I find my own dialect to be beautiful.”**



**Table 5.38 – “The Innviertler dialect should disappear.”**

		Frequency	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Completely disagree	430	86.9	86.9
	Tend to disagree	34	6.9	93.7
	Neither agree nor disagree	24	4.8	98.6
	Tend to agree	2	.4	99.0
	Completely agree	5	1.0	100.0
	Total	495	100.0	
Missing	System	4		
Total		499		

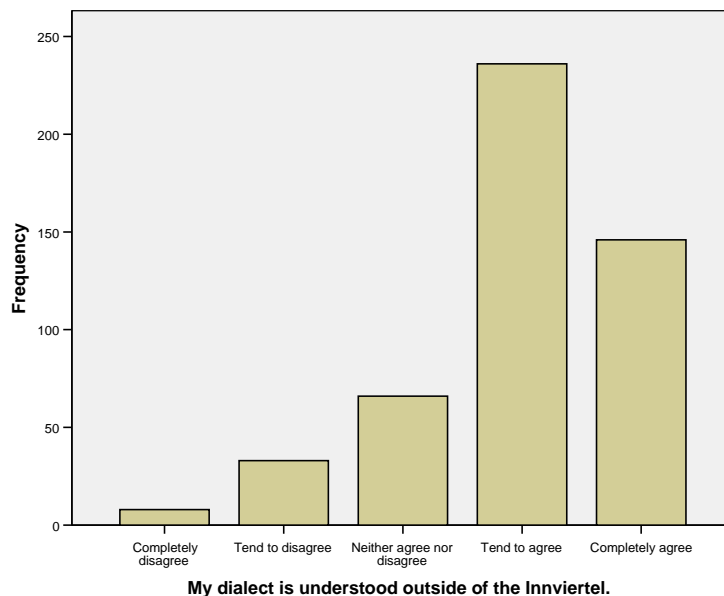
**Graph 5.39 – “The Innviertler dialect should disappear.”**



**Table 5.40 - “My dialect is understood outside of the Innviertel.”**

		Frequency	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Completely disagree	8	1.6	1.6
	Tend to disagree	33	6.7	8.4
	Neither agree nor disagree	66	13.5	21.9
	Tend to agree	236	48.3	70.1
	Completely agree	146	29.9	100.0
	Total	489	100.0	
Missing	System	10		
Total		499		

**Graph 5.41 – “My dialect is understood outside of the Innviertel.”**



The attitudes “The Innviertler dialect is an important part of my culture,” “I find my own dialect to be beautiful,” and “My dialect is understood outside of the Innviertel” indicate positive correlations with mean dialect frequency. Respondents who agree with these attitudes, thus indicating a positive regard for the local dialect and its acceptability tend to speak dialect more often than those who disagree with the attitudes. The attitude “the Innviertel dialect should disappear” correlates negatively with the mean dialect frequency.

Those who feel that the Innviertler dialect should disappear, thus indicating disapproval of its use, tend to speak the dialect less than those who disagree with this attitude.

The attitude “The Innviertler dialect is an important part of my culture” shows positive correlations with the frequency of dialect use in 33 of 35 situations. The significant correlations range from 0.100 to 0.347. The attitude “I find my own dialect to be beautiful” shows positive correlations with the frequency of dialect use in 27 of 35 situations. The significant correlations range from 0.112 to 0.346. The attitude “The Innviertler dialect should disappear” shows negative correlations with the frequency of dialect use in 24 of 35 situations. The significant correlations range from  $-0.097$  to  $-0.265$ . The attitude “my dialect is understood outside of the Innviertel” shows positive correlations for 22 of 35 situations. The significant correlations range from 0.101 to 0.241.

The respondents’ attitudes regarding the dialect itself are a very reliable predictor of how often an individual speaker will choose to speak the local dialect rather than a colloquial or standard variety of German. One would intuitively predict that a speaker who has positive thoughts or affect about their own dialect will be more likely to use the local dialect than someone who associates negative characteristics with the local dialectal variety, and this research bears out this intuition.

### **5.9.3 Speakers of Innviertel dialect**

A large group of respondents, 40.1%, chose to neither agree nor disagree with the attitude “I find people who speak my dialect to be nice,” however the majority (55%) agrees to some extent with this attitude, and only 4.9% disagree with the attitude. The distributions for this attitude are illustrated in Table 5.42 and Graph 5.43.

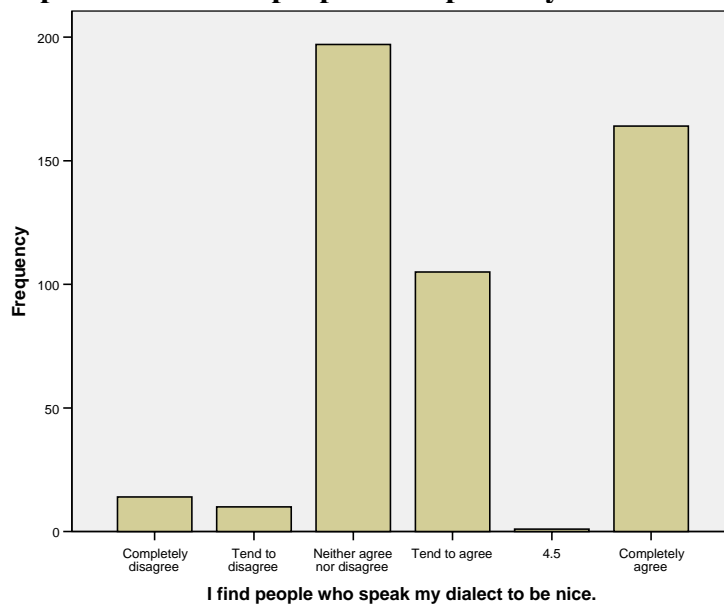


For the attitude “people who speak my dialect are dependable,” the majority (59.9%) chose to neither agree nor disagree. Only 16.1% agree to some extent with the attitude, and 26.3% disagree. The distribution for this attitude is indicated in Table 5.44 and Graph 5.45.

**Table 5.42 - “I find people who speak my dialect to be nice.”**

		Frequency	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Completely disagree	14	2.9	2.9
	Tend to disagree	10	2.0	4.9
	Neither agree nor disagree	197	40.1	45.0
	Tend to agree	105	21.4	66.4
	4.5 <sup>21</sup>	1	.2	66.6
	Completely agree	164	33.4	100.0
	Total	491	100.0	
Missing	System	8		
Total		499		

**Graph 5.43 – “I find people who speak my dialect to be nice.”**

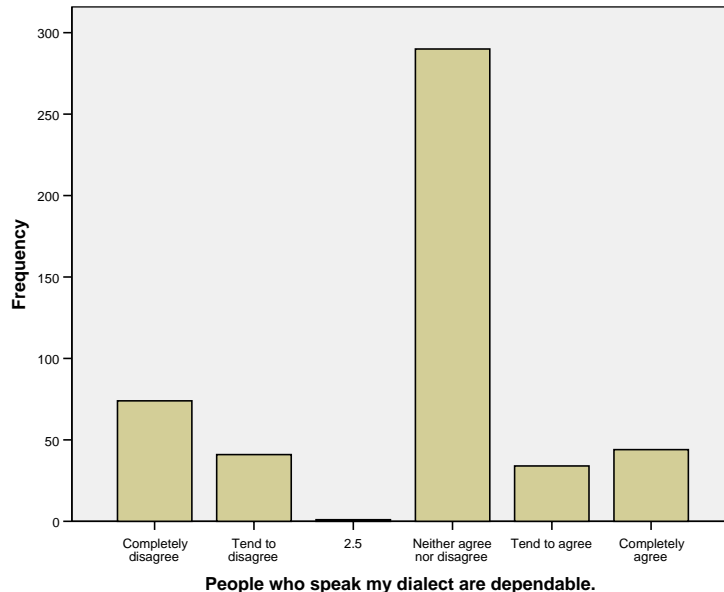


<sup>21</sup> Subject circled two values, 4 and 5, on the survey, indicating a value between “tend to agree” and “completely agree.”

**Table 5.44 - “People who speak my dialect are dependable.”**

		Frequency	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Completely disagree	74	15.3	15.3
	Tend to disagree	41	8.5	23.8
	2.5 <sup>22</sup>	1	.2	24.0
	Neither agree nor disagree	290	59.9	83.9
	Tend to agree	34	7.0	90.9
	Completely agree	44	9.1	100.0
	Total	484	100.0	
Missing	System	15		
Total		499		

**Graph 5.45 – “People who speak my dialect are dependable”**



Clearly, for most of the respondents, the use of local dialect does not automatically imply that a speaker is either nice or dependable. This conclusion is supported by the lack of correlation of these two attitudes with the mean dialect frequency. No significant correlation is indicated for either attitude with mean dialect frequency.

<sup>22</sup>Subject circled two values, 2 and 3, on the survey between “tend to disagree” and “neither agree nor disagree.”

#### **5.9.4 Appropriateness of dialect vis-à-vis Standard German**

82.2% of the respondents agree to some degree with the attitude “There are advantages to being able to speak Standard German,” while only 7.1% disagree with this attitude. The distribution of the respondents is illustrated in Table 5.46 and Graph 5.47.

Similarly, 83.1% of the respondents agree with the attitude “It is very important to be able to speak Standard German,” and only 7.1% disagree with this attitude. The distribution is illustrated in Table 5.48 and Graph 5.49.

76.3% of the respondents indicate agreement with the attitude “There are situations in which Standard German is inappropriate,” while only 9.2% indicate disagreement with this attitude. The distribution of responses to this attitude are displayed in Table 5.50 and Graph 5.51.

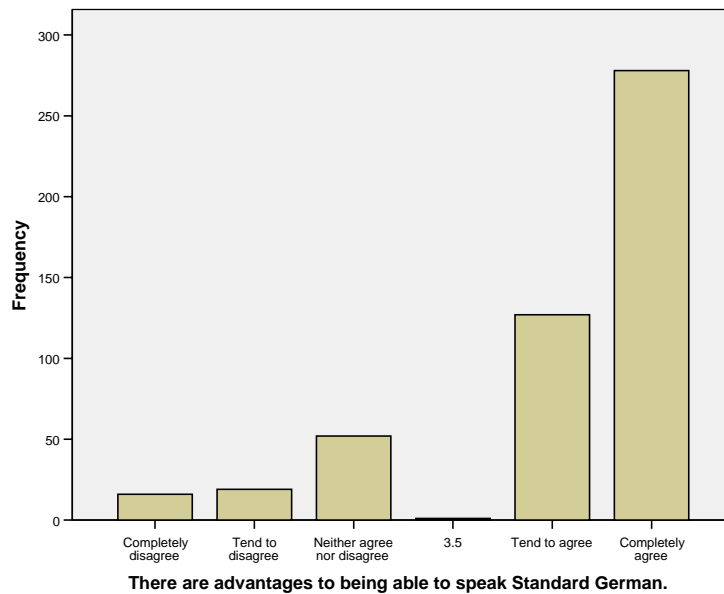
82.9% of respondents indicate agreement with the attitude “There are situations in which one should not speak dialect,” and 9.8% indicate disagreement. The distribution of responses to this attitude are listed in Table 5.52 and Graph 5.53.

For the wide majority of the respondents there are situations where it is better to speak Standard German than the local dialect. At the same time, the majority also agree with the idea that speaking Standard German is not always appropriate.

**Table 5.46 - “There are advantages to being able to speak Standard German.”**

		Frequency	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Completely disagree	16	3.2	3.2
	Tend to disagree	19	3.9	7.1
	Neither agree nor disagree	52	10.5	17.6
	3.5 <sup>23</sup>	1	.2	17.8
	Tend to agree	127	25.8	43.6
	Completely agree	278	56.4	100.0
	Total	493	100.0	
Missing	System	6		
Total		499		

**Graph 5.47 – “There are advantages to being able to speak Standard German.”**

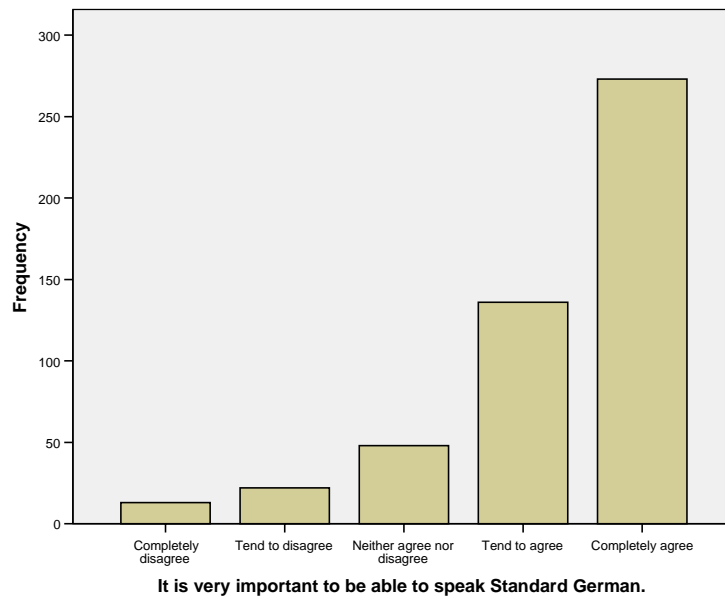


<sup>23</sup> Subject circled two values, 3 and 4, on the survey, indicating a value between “neither agree nor disagree” and “tend to agree.”

**Table 5.48 - “It is very important to be able to speak Standard German.”**

		Frequency	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Completely disagree	13	2.6	2.6
	Tend to disagree	22	4.5	7.1
	Neither agree nor disagree	48	9.8	16.9
	Tend to agree	136	27.6	44.5
	Completely agree	273	55.5	100.0
	Total	492	100.0	
Missing	System	7		
Total		499		

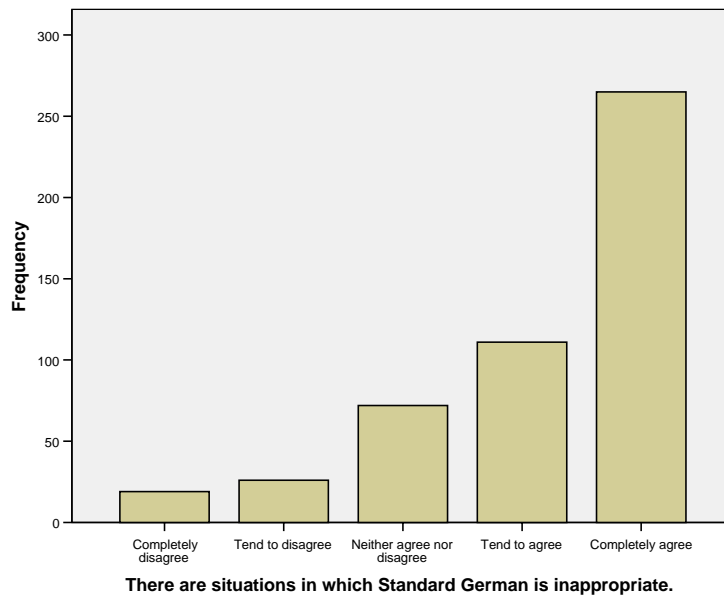
**Graph 5.49 - “It is very important to be able to speak Standard German.”**



**Table 5.50 - “There are situations in which Standard German is inappropriate.”**

		Frequency	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Completely disagree	19	3.9	3.9
	Tend to disagree	26	5.3	9.1
	Neither agree nor disagree	72	14.6	23.7
	Tend to agree	111	22.5	46.2
	Completely agree	265	53.8	100.0
	Total	493	100.0	
Missing	System	6		
Total		499		

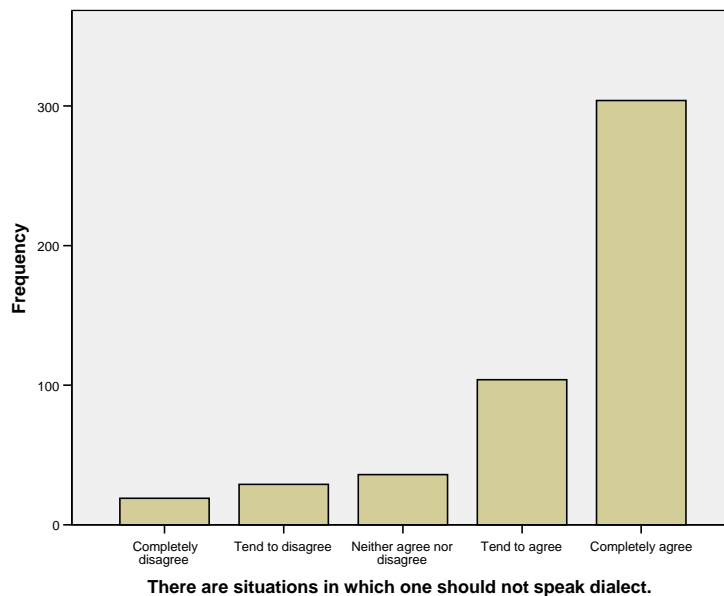
**Graph 5.51 – “There are situations in which Standard German is inappropriate.”**



**Table 5.52 - “There are situations in which one should not speak dialect.”**

		Frequency	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Completely disagree	19	3.9	3.9
	Tend to disagree	29	5.9	9.8
	Neither agree nor disagree	36	7.3	17.1
	Tend to agree	104	21.1	38.2
	Completely agree	304	61.8	100.0
	Total	492	100.0	
Missing	System	7		
Total		499		

**Graph 5.53 - “There are situations in which one should not speak dialect.”**



When these attitudes are correlated with mean dialect frequency, there are significant negative correlations for the attitudes “There are advantages to being able to speak Standard German” ( $-0.174$ ), “It is very important to be able to speak Standard German” ( $-0.151$ ), and “There are situations in which one should not speak dialect” ( $-0.105$ ). Those who agree with these attitudes tend to speak dialect less often. There is a significant positive correlation between mean dialect frequency and the attitude “There are situations in which Standard

German is inappropriate” (0.103). Those who agree with this attitude tend to speak dialect more often.

The statement “There are advantages to being able to speak Standard German” shows negative correlations with the frequency of dialect for 23 of 35 situations. The correlations range from  $-0.096$  to  $-0.201$ . For a majority of the situations, those who agree with this attitude tend to speak dialect less often.

The statement “It is very important to be able to speak Standard German” shows negative correlations with dialect frequency for 13 of 35 situations. The significant correlations range from  $-0.090$  to  $-0.154$ . For a majority of the situations there is no significant correlation, however in those thirteen situations where there is a significant correlation, those speakers who agree with this attitude tend to speak dialect less often.

The statement “There are situations in which Standard German is inappropriate” shows positive correlations for 18 of 35 situations. The significant correlations range from  $0.090$  to  $0.253$ . For a majority of the situations, those who agree with this attitude tend to speak dialect more often.

The statement “There are situations, in which one should not speak dialect” shows negative correlations in only 10 of 35 situations. There is also a positive correlation significant at the .05 level for “at a *Stammtisch*” for the adults. The significant correlations range from  $-0.251$  to  $-0.117$ , and  $+.201$  for the adults “at the *Stammtisch*.” For a majority of the situations there is no significant correlation with dialect frequency, but for the ten situations where the correlation is negative, speakers who agree with this attitude tend to speak less dialect. For the situation “at a *Stammtisch*,” those speakers who agree with the attitude tend to speak dialect more often.



From these figures it is clear that respondents believe there are still situations where the standard variety of German is more appropriate than a dialect variety, even with increasing acceptability of dialect in higher domains. The correlations between the frequency of dialect use and the two attitudes “There are advantages to being able to speak Standard German” and “It is very important to be able to speak Standard German” are negative, i.e. speakers who value the standard variety higher, tend to speak dialect less often.

The situations for which there are positive correlations between the statement “There are situations in which Standard German is inappropriate” and the frequency of dialect use are the situations where dialect is the default variety, and in which Standard German would be marked as unusual, inappropriate, or awkward. These situations are the least formal, most intimate situations, such as with close family members, with friends, and classmates and colleagues. The situation “at a *Stammtisch*” also stands out as a situation where dialect is expected and appropriate, and where Standard German would be seen as arrogant or unusual.

On the other hand, the domains in which there are significant negative correlations between the attitude “There are situations in which one should not speak dialect” and the frequency of dialect use are formal, non-intimate situations where dialect is still not considered appropriate — in a restaurant with the wait staff, with the doctor, and with the school principal — or where the dialect might not be understood by an interlocutor: in Austria outside of the Innviertel, in Germany, with strangers, and with government officials at the state and national levels.

#### **5.9.5 Attitudes regarding Bavarians**

There is a wide range in the answers of respondents with regard to their Bavarian neighbors across the border. For all of the attitudes regarding Bavarians, there is a relatively

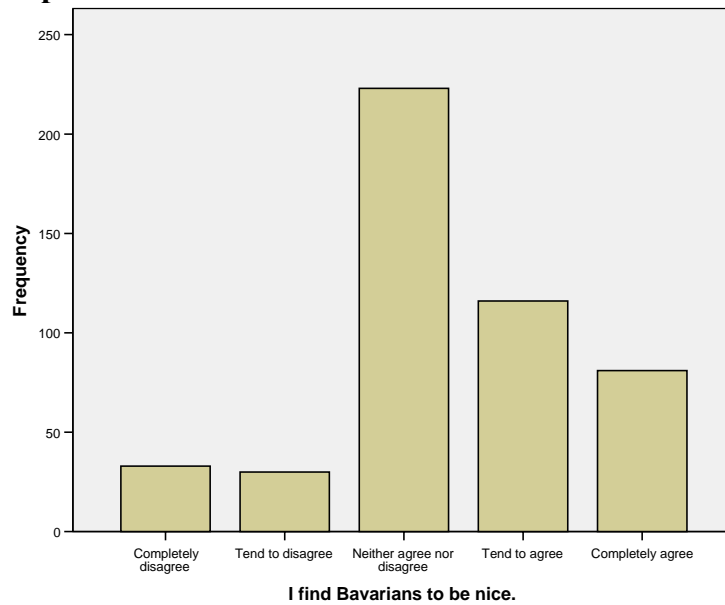
high percentage of subjects who selected “neither agree nor disagree” on the survey. For the attitude “I find Bavarians to be nice,” 40.8% agree to some extent, 13.0% disagree, and 46.2% neither agree nor disagree. A majority of respondents (48.5%) disagree to some extent with the attitude “Bavarians are arrogant,” while 41.9% chose to neither agree nor disagree with this attitude, and only 9.6% agree with this attitude. For the attitude “Bavarians are dependable,” there was an almost even split between those who agree with the attitude (12.6%) and those who disagree with this attitude (15.3%), but 71.9% chose “neither agree nor disagree.” The responses to these attitudes indicate both a confirmation of positive qualities and to some extent an ambivalence to confirm stereotypes, both negative and positive, about Bavarians.

39.7% of respondents agree with the attitude “I have a lot in common with Bavarians,” 32.3% disagree, and 27.9% chose “neither agree nor disagree.” The only attitude for which there is substantial consensus agreement is “I have more in common with Bavarians than with northern Germans.” 43.1% of the respondents indicated that they completely agree with this statement, and 65.9% of respondents fall in the range including “tend to agree” and “completely agree,” demonstrating that the majority of the citizens of this region, bordering the Bavarian border and sharing a common history and culture with Bavaria, certainly draw a distinction between Bavarians (southern Germans) and northern Germans.

**Table 5.54 - “I find Bavarians to be nice.”**

		Frequency	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Completely disagree	33	6.8	6.8
	Tend to disagree	30	6.2	13.0
	Neither agree nor disagree	223	46.2	59.2
	Tend to agree	116	24.0	83.2
	Completely agree	81	16.8	100.0
	Total	483	100.0	
Missing	System	16		
Total		499		

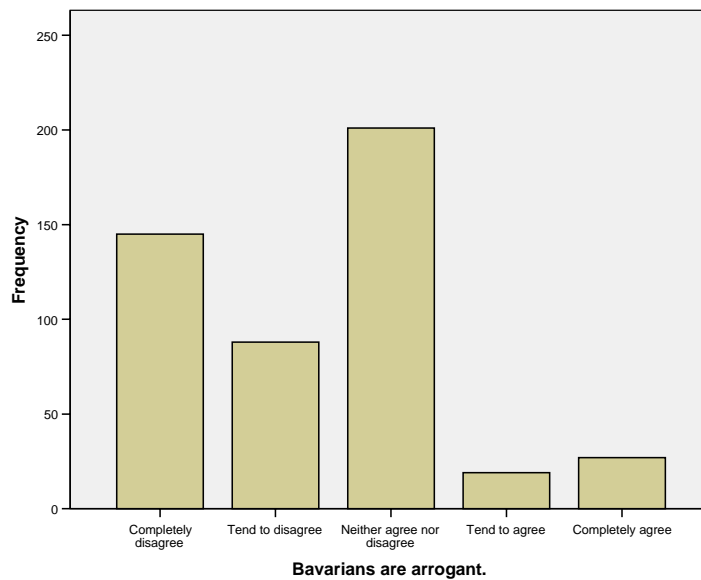
**Graph 5.55 - “I find Bavarians to be nice.”**



**Table 5.56 - “Bavarians are arrogant.”**

		Frequency	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Completely disagree	145	30.2	30.2
	Tend to disagree	88	18.3	48.5
	Neither agree nor disagree	201	41.9	90.4
	Tend to agree	19	4.0	94.4
	Completely agree	27	5.6	100.0
	Total	480	100.0	
Missing	System	19		
Total		499		

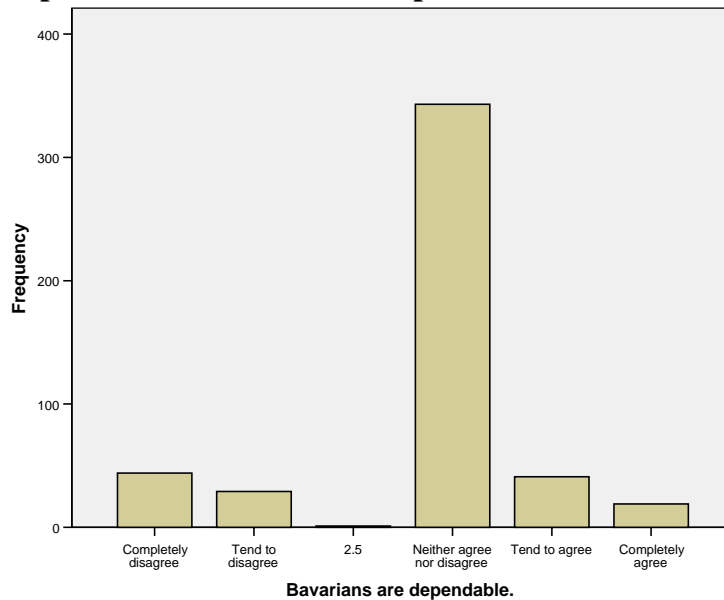
**Graph 5.57 - “Bavarians are arrogant.”**



**Table 5.58 - “Bavarians are dependable.”**

		Frequency	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Completely disagree	44	9.2	9.2
	Tend to disagree	29	6.1	15.3
	2.5	1	.2	15.5
	Neither agree nor disagree	343	71.9	87.4
	Tend to agree	41	8.6	96.0
	Completely agree	19	4.0	100.0
	Total	477	100.0	
Missing	System	22		
Total		499		

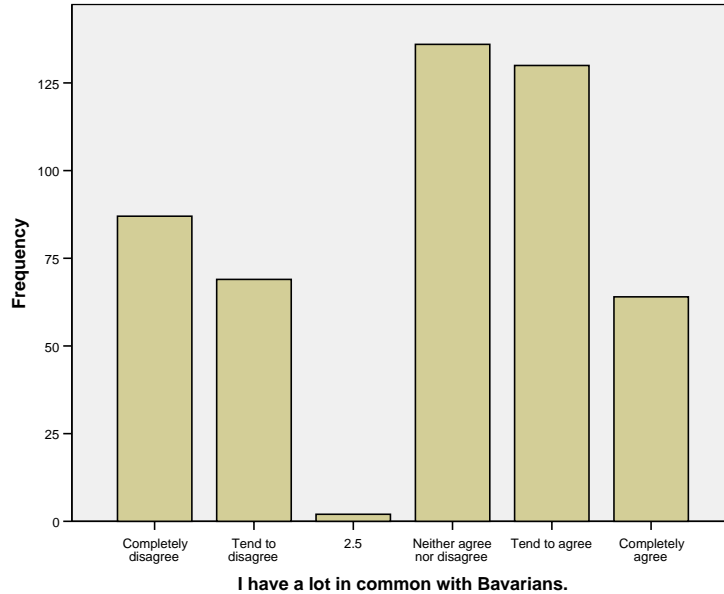
**Graph 5.59 - “Bavarians are dependable.”**



**Table 5.60 - “I have a lot in common with Bavarians.”**

		Frequency	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Completely disagree	87	17.8	17.8
	Tend to disagree	69	14.1	32.0
	2.5	2	.4	32.4
	Neither agree nor disagree	136	27.9	60.2
	Tend to agree	130	26.6	86.9
	Completely agree	64	13.1	100.0
	Total	488	100.0	
Missing	System	11		
Total		499		

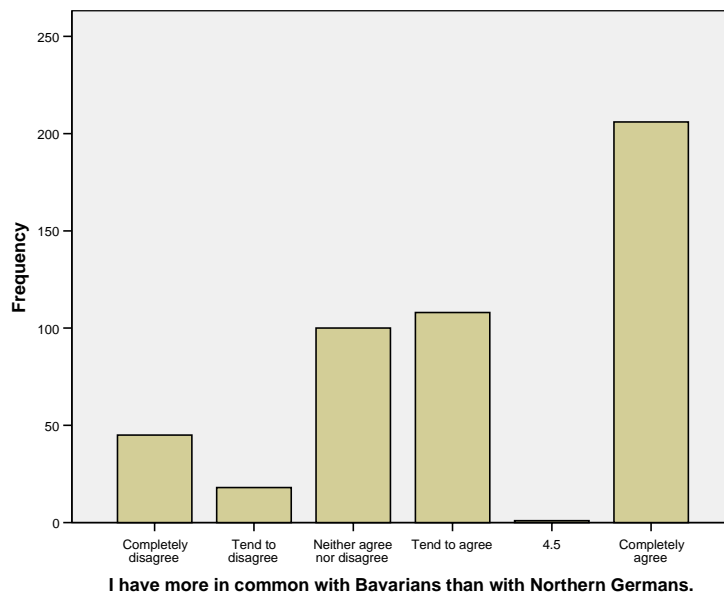
**Graph 5.61 - “I have a lot in common with Bavarians.”**



**Table 5.62 - “I have more in common with Bavarians than with northern Germans.”**

		Frequency	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Completely disagree	45	9.4	9.4
	Tend to disagree	18	3.8	13.2
	Neither agree nor disagree	100	20.9	34.1
	Tend to agree	108	22.6	56.7
	4.5	1	.2	56.9
	Completely agree	206	43.1	100.0
	Total	478	100.0	
Missing	System	21		
Total		499		

**Graph 5.63 - “I have more in common with Bavarians than with northern Germans.”**



Mean dialect frequency has a significant positive correlation with the attitude “Bavarians are arrogant” and a negative correlation with the attitude “I find Bavarians to be nice.” If respondents believe that Bavarians are arrogant, they tend to speak more Innviertler dialect. This can emphasize the differences between Bavarians and natives of the Innviertel. However, if respondents equate Bavarians with positive qualities such as “nice,” then there is no need to disassociate themselves from the neighboring Bavarians, thus they speak less dialect in favor of more colloquial or standard-like varieties. There is no correlation between

mean dialect frequency and the attitudes “I have a lot in common with Bavarians,” “I have more in common with Bavarians than with northern Germans,” and “Bavarians are dependable.”

The statement “Bavarians are arrogant” shows a positive correlation with dialect frequency in 12 of 35 situations. The correlations range from 0.095 to 0.148. For a majority of the situations there is no significant correlation with dialect frequency. However in the twelve situations where there is a significant correlation, those respondents who agree with the attitude tend to speak dialect more often.

The attitude “I have more in common with Bavarians than northern Germans” displays positive correlations for 14 of 35 situations. The significant correlations range from 0.095 to 0.221.

Most of the respondents hesitate to confirm stereotypes of Bavarians, whether negative or positive. However, those who profess to agree with a negative stereotype, “Bavarians are arrogant” tend to speak more dialect than those who disagree with the attitude. For a positive attitude, “I find Bavarians to be nice,” those who agree with this attitude tend to speak less local dialect. While a majority of respondents indicate agreement with the attitude “I have more in common with Bavarians than with Northern Germans,” this attitude does not affect how often the respondents choose to speak dialect rather than colloquial or standard varieties.

#### **5.9.6 Attitudes regarding northern Germans**

Several statements were made regarding northern Germans (i.e. not southern Germans, specifically Bavarians, but also Swabians) and respondents were asked to agree or disagree with the statements. The respondents I spoke with strongly differentiate between Bavarians and northern Germans. While many respondents could think of no derogatory names for

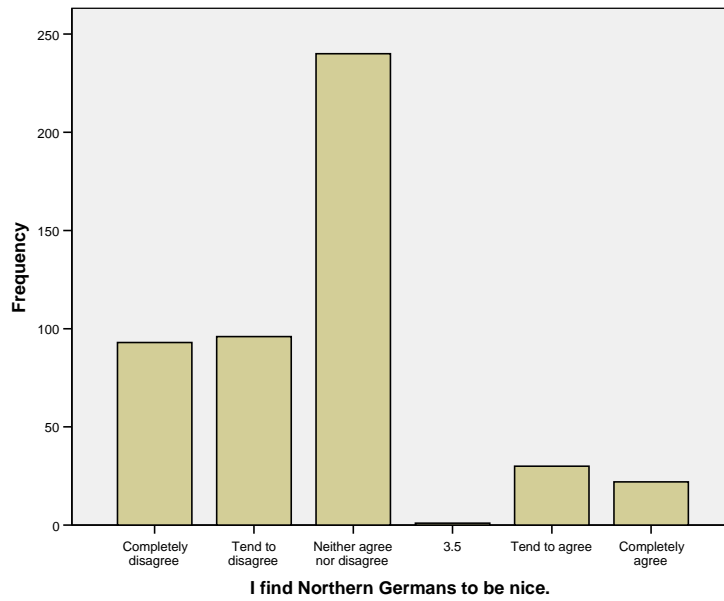


Bavarians, northern Germans are typically referred to with derogatory names such as *Piefkes* or *(Sau-) Preußen* ('(sow) Prussians'). However the mere fact that they are aware of such terms does not necessarily mean that these stereotypes are salient or even believed. When asked to agree or disagree with attitudes about northern Germans, the largest segment indicated "neither agree nor disagree," refusing to acknowledge the stereotypes." The animosity and prejudice towards northern Germans is not widespread, however more respondents (25.4%) indicate agreement with the negative attitude "I find northern Germans to be arrogant" than indicate disagreement with this attitude (17.6%). A larger portion of respondents (39.2%) indicate disagreement with the positive attitude "I find northern Germans to be nice" than indicated agreement with this attitude (10.8%)

**Table 5.64 - "I find northern Germans to be nice."**

		Frequency	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Completely disagree	93	19.3	19.3
	Tend to disagree	96	19.9	39.2
	Neither agree nor disagree	240	49.8	89.0
	3.5	1	.2	89.2
	Tend to agree	30	6.2	95.4
	Completely agree	22	4.6	100.0
	Total	482	100.0	
Missing	System	17		
Total		499		

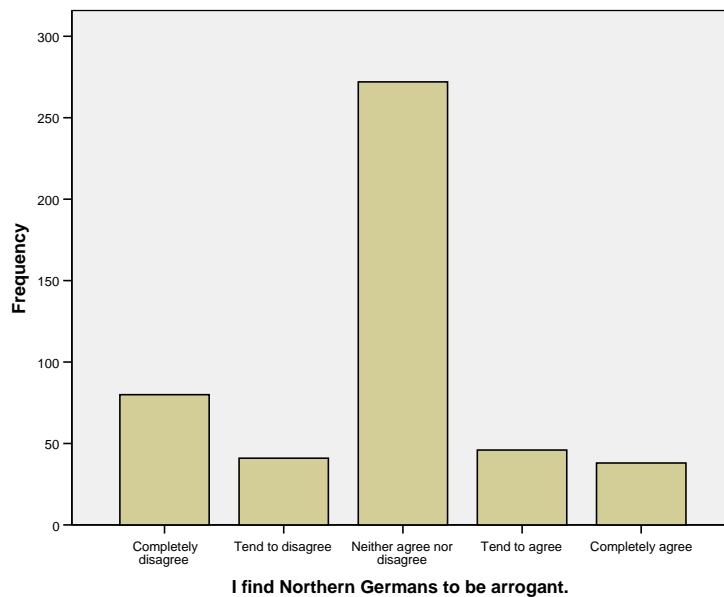
**Graph 5.65 - “I find northern Germans to be nice.”**



**Table 5.66 - “I find northern Germans to be arrogant.”**

		Frequency	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Completely disagree	80	16.8	16.8
	Tend to disagree	41	8.6	25.4
	Neither agree nor disagree	272	57.0	82.4
	Tend to agree	46	9.6	92.0
	Completely agree	38	8.0	100.0
	Total	477	100.0	
Missing	System	22		
Total		499		

**Graph 5.67 - “I find northern Germans to be arrogant.”**



There is a significant positive correlation between the attitude “I find northern Germans to be arrogant” and the mean dialect frequency. The statement “I find northern Germans to be arrogant” shows positive correlations with dialect frequency in 12 of 35 situations. If respondents believe that northern Germans are arrogant, they are more likely to speak local Innviertler dialect. Use of Innviertler dialect differentiates them from the northern Germans. There is no significant correlation between the positive attitude “I find northern Germans to be nice” and the mean dialect frequency, however, possibly due to the very small number of respondents who agree with the attitude and the large percentage who neither agree nor disagree.

### **5.9.7 Dialect or Standard German in school**

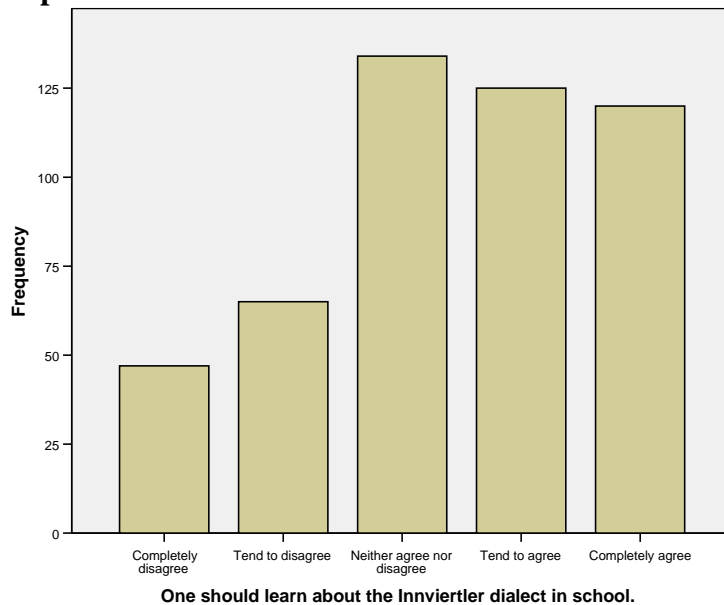
49.9% of respondents agree to some extent with the attitude “one should learn about the Innviertler dialect in school,” while only 22.8% disagree, and 27.3% neither agree nor disagree. 58.6% of respondents indicated partial or complete disagreement with the statement

“One should learn only Standard German in school,” while 23% indicated partial or complete agreement with the statement.

**Table 5.68 - “One should learn about the Innviertler dialect in school.”**

		Frequency	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Completely disagree	47	9.6	9.6
	Tend to disagree	65	13.2	22.8
	Neither agree nor disagree	134	27.3	50.1
	Tend to agree	125	25.5	75.6
	Completely agree	120	24.4	100.0
	Total	491	100.0	
Missing	System	8		
Total		499		

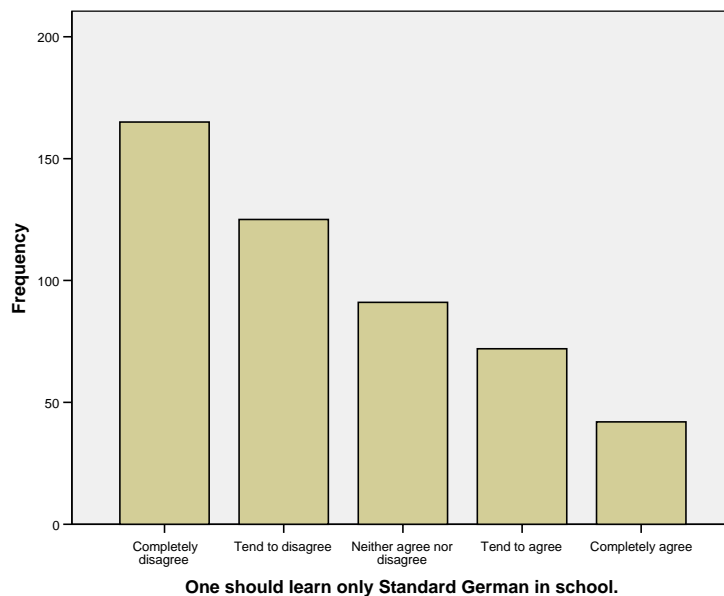
**Graph 5.69 – “One should learn about the Innviertler dialect in school.”**



**Table 5.70 - “One should learn only Standard German in school.”**

		Frequency	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Completely disagree	165	33.3	33.3
	Tend to disagree	125	25.3	58.6
	Neither agree nor disagree	91	18.4	77.0
	Tend to agree	72	14.5	91.5
	Completely agree	42	8.5	100.0
	Total	495	100.0	
Missing	System	4		
Total		499		

**Graph 5.71 – Attitudes “One should learn only Standard German in school.”**



There is no significant correlation between the attitude “One should learn about the Innviertler dialect in school” and mean dialect frequency. The attitude “One should learn only Standard German in school” has a significant correlation of  $-0.275$  with mean dialect frequency. The shows negative correlations with the frequency of dialect in 27 of 35 situations. The significant correlations range from  $-0.114$  to  $-0.316$ . Those who believe that Standard German is the only appropriate variety in an educational setting tend to speak dialect less often than those who disagree with this attitude.

Although the attitude references only one domain, education, agreement with this attitude is indicative that a speaker feels Standard German or a colloquial variety is more appropriate than dialect across a wide range of domains. Alternatively, if a speaker feels that school is an appropriate domain for dialect, then the speaker is more likely to also feel that the dialect is appropriate across the other 27 domains, including domains that are considered the most formal or least intimate, such as when dealing with officials of the national government or the doctor.

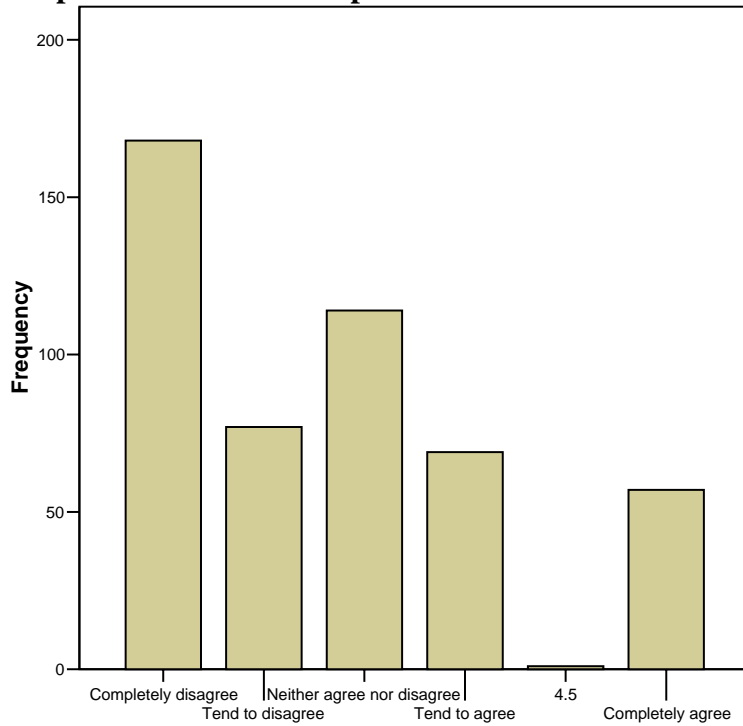
### 5.9.8 Linguistic insecurity

It has been shown in numerous publications that Austrians tend to be insecure about their own German with regard to German Standard German. However, there is little evidence from the Ried data that this has an effect on the frequency of dialect usage. 26.1% of the respondents agree to some extent with the statement “Germans speak better German than Austrians,” while 50.4 % of the respondents disagree to some extent with the statement, and 23.5% neither agree nor disagree. Similarly, 60.2% of respondents disagree with the attitude “Proper German is only spoken in Germany,” only 16.4% agree, and 23.4% neither agree nor disagree.

**Table 5.72 - “Germans speak better German than Austrians.”**

		Frequency	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Completely disagree	168	34.6	34.6
	Tend to disagree	77	15.8	50.4
	Neither agree nor disagree	114	23.5	73.9
	Tend to agree	69	14.2	88.1
	4.5	1	.2	88.3
	Completely agree	57	11.7	100.0
	Total	486	100.0	
Missing	System	13		
Total		499		

**Graph 5.73 – “Germans speak better German than Austrians.”**

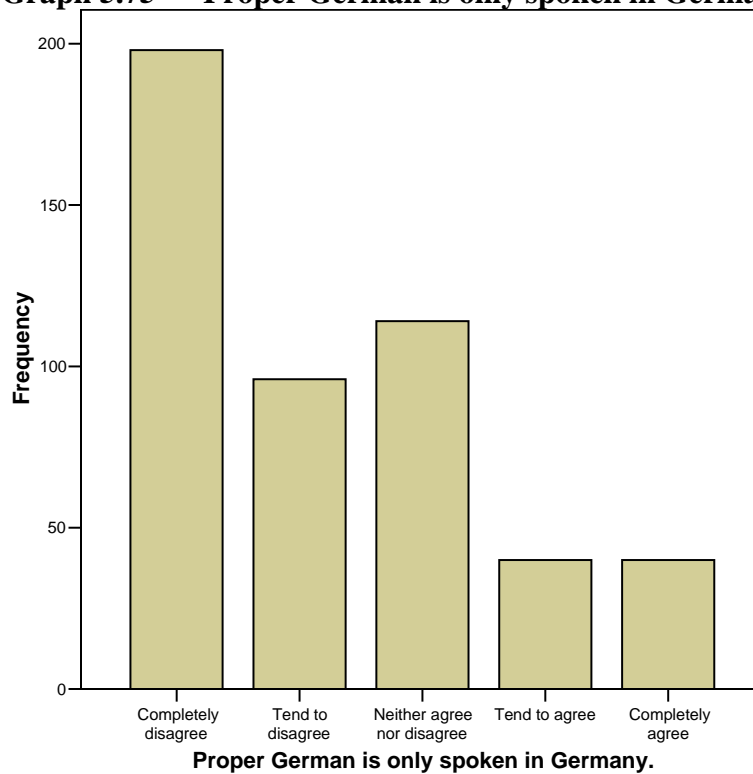


**Germans speak better German than Austrians.**

**Table 5.74 - “Proper German is only spoken in Germany.”**

		Frequency	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Completely disagree	198	40.6	40.6
	Tend to disagree	96	19.7	60.2
	Neither agree nor disagree	114	23.4	83.6
	Tend to agree	40	8.2	91.8
	Completely agree	40	8.2	100.0
	Total	488	100.0	
Missing	System	11		
Total		499		

**Graph 5.75 – “Proper German is only spoken in Germany.”**



There is no significant correlation between either of these two attitudes and mean dialect frequency. Although some speakers do acknowledge feelings of linguistic inferiority vis-à-vis Germans with regard to Standard German, these are a minority of the respondents, and these attitudes have very little effect on the amount of dialect spoken. The high number of respondents who disagree with these attitudes also reflects the respondent's sense that Austrian Standard German is a legitimate standard variety and not secondary or inferior to German Standard German.

### **5.9.9 Other ungrouped attitudes**

Four attitudes were included in the survey which do not have corresponding control questions, and are not grouped thematically with any of the other statements. These include the statements “The Innviertel dialect is slowly disappearing,” “It is bad to speak with a



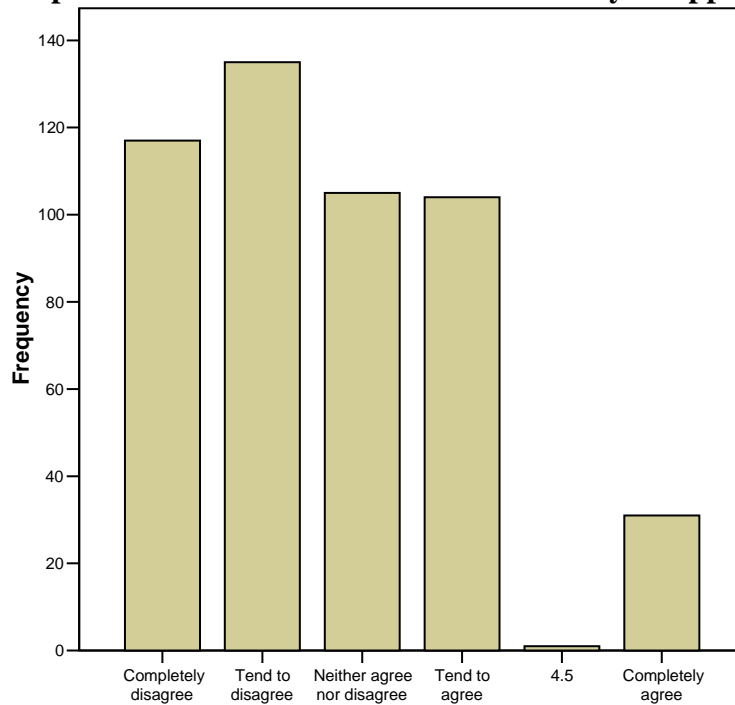
strong accent,” “I enjoy dialect-poetry (for example from Franz Stelzhamer),” and “I can express myself better in Standard German than in dialect.”

The majority of the respondents (51.1%) indicated that they either tend to disagree or completely disagree with the statement “the Innviertler dialect is slowly disappearing.” Only 27.6% tend to agree or completely agree with the statement. In group discussions and individual interviews with respondents, most subjects indicated the belief that while the local dialect is changing, primarily in the lexicon, it is not dying out, nor is it in danger of dying out in the foreseeable future. The statement “The Innviertler dialect is slowly disappearing” does not correlate significantly with mean dialect frequency.

**Table 5.76 - “The Innviertler dialect is slowly disappearing.”**

		Frequency	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Completely disagree	117	23.7	23.7
	Tend to disagree	135	27.4	51.1
	Neither agree nor disagree	105	21.3	72.4
	Tend to agree	104	21.1	93.5
	4.5	1	.2	93.7
	Completely agree	31	6.3	100.0
	Total	493	100.0	
Missing	System	6		
Total		499		

**Graph 5.77 - “The Innviertler dialect is slowly disappearing”**



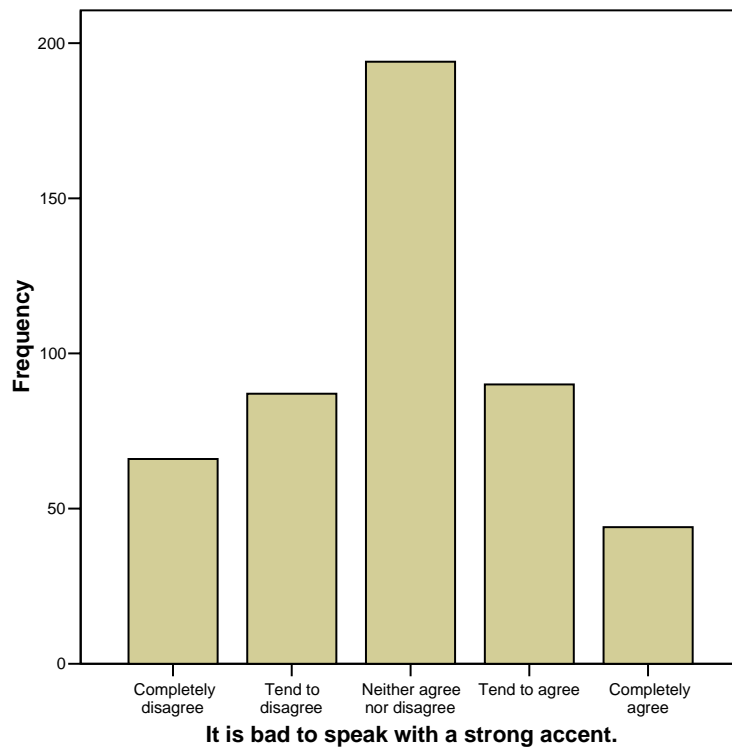
**The Innviertler dialect is slowly disappearing.**

For the attitude “it is bad to speak with a strong accent,” 40.3% of the respondents indicate that they neither agree nor disagree, 27.8% indicate that they agree with the attitude, and 31.8% indicate that they disagree to some extent with the attitude.

**Table 5.78 - “It is bad to speak with a strong accent.”**

		Frequency	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Completely disagree	66	13.7	13.7
	Tend to disagree	87	18.1	31.8
	Neither agree nor disagree	194	40.3	72.1
	Tend to agree	90	18.7	90.9
	Completely agree	44	9.1	100.0
	Total	481	100.0	
Missing	System	18		
Total		499		

**Graph 5.79 – “It is bad to speak with a strong accent.”**



Analysis of the attitude “it is bad to speak with a strong accent” indicates a correlation of  $-.105$ , significant at the .05 level, with mean dialect frequency. Those who agree with this attitude tend to speak dialect less often. This dialect also correlates negatively for 10 of 35 situations. For the respondents who indicate that they agree with this attitude, these situations are more formal, less intimate situations where it is most vital to communicate clearly, to be understood and to understand what others are saying. Failure to communicate clearly could result in serious consequences such as in financial loss, health-related problems, or embarrassment.

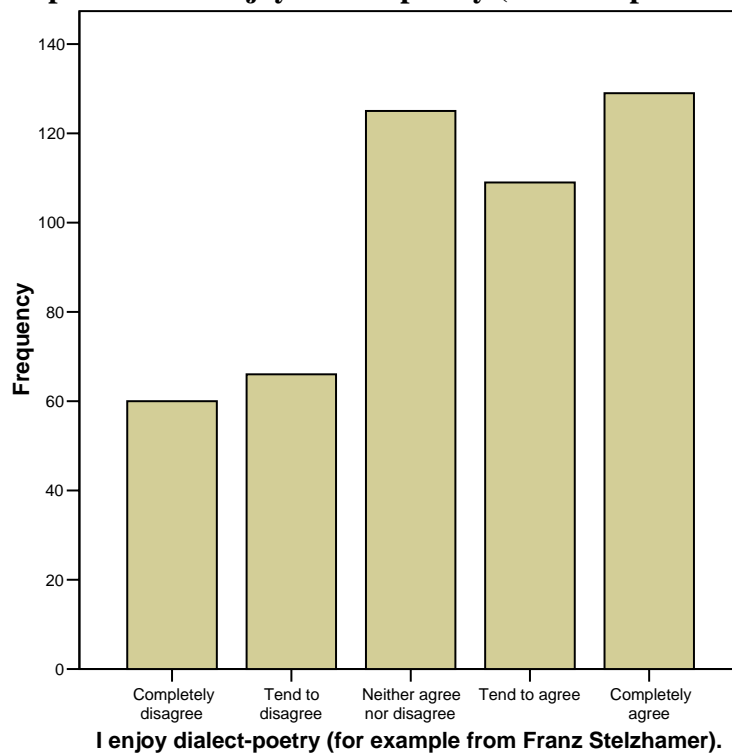
Although 48.7% of respondents indicated that they either completely agree or tend to agree with the statement “I enjoy dialect-poetry” (only 25.8% indicated they completely disagree or tend to disagree) there were no significant correlations with either mean dialect frequency or with any of the 35 specific situations listed in the survey. There is no apparent connection between an affinity for poetry written in dialect and how often a subject speaks

dialect. However, this data does verify that the local dialect is held in high regard and dialect poetry is a salient and important part of the culture in Ried (see 3.5.6).

**Table 5.80 – “I enjoy dialect-poetry (for example from Franz Stelzhamer).”**

		Frequency	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Completely disagree	60	12.3	12.3
	Tend to disagree	66	13.5	25.8
	Neither agree nor disagree	125	25.6	51.3
	Tend to agree	109	22.3	73.6
	Completely agree	129	26.4	100.0
	Total	489	100.0	
Missing	System	10		
Total		499		

**Graph 5.81 – “I enjoy dialect-poetry (for example from Franz Stelzhamer)”**



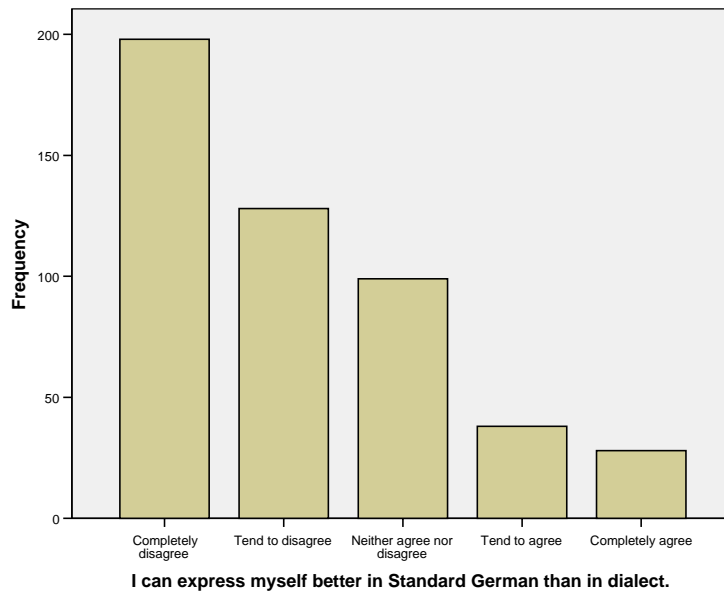
66% of respondents indicate that they disagree with the attitude “I can express myself better in Standard German than in dialect,” only 13.4% agree with this attitude, and 20.2%

neither agree nor disagree. Most respondents feel that dialect is just as effective or more effective than Standard German for expressing thoughts and emotions.

**Table 5.82 - “I can express myself better in Standard German than in dialect.”**

		Frequency	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Completely disagree	198	40.3	40.3
	Tend to disagree	128	26.1	66.4
	Neither agree nor disagree	99	20.2	86.6
	Tend to agree	38	7.7	94.3
	Completely agree	28	5.7	100.0
	Total	491	100.0	
Missing	System	8		
Total		499		

**Graph 5.83 – “I can express myself better in Standard German than in dialect.”**



There is a strong correlation of  $-.350$ , significant at the .01 level, between the attitude “I can express myself better in Standard German than in dialect” and mean dialect frequency. Negative correlations are indicated between this attitude and dialect frequency for 32 of 35 situations. The significant correlations range from  $-0.139$  to  $-0.381$ .

It is clear from these values that those speakers who feel they can communicate best using the standard variety will use significantly less dialect than speakers who feel best able to communicate using the colloquial or dialect varieties. The converse is also true. Respondents who indicated that they disagree with this attitude, thus indicating that they are as able or better able to communicate using the dialect variety than with Standard German, tend to use dialect significantly more often than those who agree with the attitude.

### **5.10 Social network strength and attitudes**

Analysis of the calculated network strength for each subject and the attitudes expressed in the survey shows positive correlations for the attitudes “I find people who speak my dialect to be nice,” “People who speak my dialect are dependable,” “The Innviertler dialect is an important part of my culture,” “I have a lot in common with Bavarians,” “I have more in common with Bavarians than with northern Germans,” “I am an Austrian first, a European second,” “One should learn something about Innviertler dialect in school,” “I am an Innviertler first, then an Austrian,” “I find my own dialect to be nice,” and “I enjoy dialect-poetry (for example from Franz Stelzhamer).” There are negative correlations between social network strength and the attitudes “I can express myself better in Standard German than in dialect,” and “The Innviertler dialect should disappear.”

In all of the cases where a positive correlation is indicated, the attitudes relate to the respondents’ own dialect, speakers of the local Innviertler dialect, local loyalty, and affinity with Bavarians. While it is implausible to believe that the attitudes affect an objective value like network strength, it is reasonable to suggest that an individual’s network strength score can influence the attitudes held by the same individual. Tighter integration within the social network will lead to the individual adopting positive attitudes towards his or her own

community and dialect. These attitudes then influence what variety of German the speaker chooses in a given situation.

### 5.11 Summary

The analysis of the survey data from Ried shows several interesting results. Regardless of gender, age, social class, social network, commuter status, or influence of the media, the speakers of Ried and the surrounding Innviertel speak dialect very often, preferring its use to colloquial or standard varieties in most situations. They speak dialect more often and in more situations than speakers from other Austrian communities of similar size profess to do. Not all situations are the same, however. Dialect is spoken more often in intimate, familiar, relaxed settings, such as with family, friends and coworkers, than in public or formal settings, such as with government officials, with strangers, or in church.

Males tend to speak slightly more dialect in a majority of situations than females do, however the difference between genders is almost negligible. Members of different social classes use dialect at almost the same frequencies, with the upper class using dialect slightly less often than the middle class, and the middle class using dialect only slightly less often than the working class. When divided in two groups using Ammon's criteria of mental and manual labor, those classified as performing primarily mental labor claim to speak slightly more dialect than those who perform primarily manual labor; however, the former may speak a *Vehrkehrsdialekt* or colloquial variety while the former speak a *Basisdialekt*.

These findings are consistent with earlier studies which suggest that in Austria, choice of speech variety in small cities is much more like that of small towns and villages. The regional or local dialect variety is used by members of all social classes, and differences between the social classes or genders are not very great.

With regard to age, the youngest speakers in the study—those still in secondary school—claim to speak dialect more often than any other age group. There is a noticeable decrease in dialect use as speakers leave school or university and enter into regular employment. Norms of acceptable behavior in the workplace constrain the speakers' use of dialect. Females in the age range 26-40 also indicate a drop-off in use of dialect. This is typically attributed to the desire to raise children who are competent in Standard German so that they will not be disadvantaged in school. Unfortunately the small sample size of some groups in this study makes it impossible to determine what the trend is among the oldest male subjects, although an increase in dialect frequency is indicated for female subjects age 65 and older. This corresponds with entering retirement, which both releases the individual from the behavioral expectations of the workplace, and constricts the social circle of the retiree.

The social network strength of a speaker corresponds strongly with dialect use. Those who are more integrated within the community speak more dialect than those whose connections to the rest of the community are not as strong. The community exerts a pressure on the speaker to assimilate to the community. At the same time, speakers with the most connections to the community use dialect as a way to fit in and express their membership and loyalty to the community. It is very interesting that the influence of the social network only extends so far. When a speaker—even one with a very strong social network—is in a situation where the network is not present, such as when traveling outside the community or speaking with strangers, there is no correlation between social network strength and the frequency of dialect use. Subjects with high social network strength scores also tend to have stronger feelings of local loyalty and a higher regard for the local dialect and its speakers.



Adult commuters speak dialect more often in intimate and relaxed settings within the local community than non-commuting adults. These commuters overcompensate for their absence from the home community by using dialect even more often when they are back in the community. Children who commute to school speak dialect less often than non-commuting children in situations with strangers and in school. These children accommodate to strangers and in school more than local children, who are more likely to understand and be understood by their interlocutors in Ried.

Exposure to radio and television, often cited as a significant factor, shows several correlations with dialect frequency; however in the majority of the situations, media exposure has no effect on dialect frequency. Positive correlations are found between dialect frequency and the amount of German and Austrian television and Austrian radio, but a negative correlation is found between dialect frequency and German radio. This will be discussed further in Chapter 6.8.

Several attitudes correlate significantly with the frequency of dialect use. Those speakers who expressed high local loyalty, as in the attitude “I am an Innviertler first, and an Austrian second,” speak the local dialect more often. Those speakers who have positive affect for the local dialect, expressed in attitudes such as “I find my own dialect to be beautiful,” or “The Innviertler dialect is an important part of my culture,” speak dialect more often.

The specific situations for which there are correlations between dialect frequency and attitudes such as “There are situations where one should not speak dialect,” are the situations where speakers consider Standard German (or a colloquial variety close to standard) to be appropriate, and therefore where the local dialect is inappropriate. These are more formal

situations with people of respect such as government and school officials, or situations where the dialect would not be understood, such as in other parts of Austria or Germany.

The situations for which there is a correlation between dialect frequency and the attitude “There are situations in which Standard German is inappropriate” are the situations where dialect is the expected and usual variety. These are informal situations with family, friends, colleagues, and other locals.

Attitudes that involve stereotypes of dialect speakers, Bavarians, and Northern Germans were not as useful for predicting whether a speaker would use dialect more or less often. Subjects who indicated agreement with the attitude “I find Bavarians to be nice” and disagreement with the attitude “Bavarians are arrogant” tend to speak dialect less often. Subjects who indicate agreement with the attitude “I find Northern Germans to be arrogant” tend to speak more dialect. Subjects who feel that Standard German is the only appropriate medium of communication in schools prefer to use colloquial or Standard German rather than dialect in many situations, not just in educational settings.

One thing that this research cannot determine is whether speakers are truly speaking the oldest base dialect or a colloquial variety closer to Standard German. Some speakers may believe that their most natural variety is a true base dialect, although in reality it is probably a colloquial variety closer to the standard variety. This makes comparisons difficult between younger and older speakers, as well as between social classes and genders.

## **Chapter 6: Conclusions**

The results of statistical analysis draw out several important trends with regard to dialect use in the community of Ried im Innkreis and the surrounding Innviertel region. It has been demonstrated that there are significant correlations between social as well as psychological factors and the speaker's choice of language variety. These trends are for the most part in agreement with earlier findings for Austria, and in particular for small cities such as Ried. However, the speakers in this study indicate a stronger preference for dialect over colloquial or Standard German than other speakers in similarly-sized communities within Austria.

Despite Ried's size as a small city and its role as educational and administrative center for the district, the speakers themselves behave much more like speakers in much smaller villages and towns. Gender and socioeconomic class have only a very slight influence over the frequency of dialect use.

In some cases, where there are correlations between a social factor or attitude and only some of the domains, it is enlightening to compare the domains in which there are significant correlations with domains where there are no significant correlations. For example, when agreement with an attitude such as "there are situations where one should not speak dialect" correlates negatively with dialect frequency for a specific subset of all the possible domains, the domains in which there is a negative correlation are the domains where dialect use is considered by most respondents to be inappropriate.

Of particular interest is the finding that social network strength is a significant factor in predicting how often a speaker speaks dialect, but only in domains where the social network

is in place. If a speaker is in a domain which is outside their local social network, i.e. with strangers or in a different community, then the social network strength does not influence the choice of language variety in a predictable way. This tendency is previously unreported in the literature.

### **6.1 Frequency of dialect use compared to similar communities**

It has been established that dialect is used much more frequently and in more situations in Southern German and Austrian communities than in Northern or Central German communities (Ammon 1995). Within Austria, the percentage of the population who consider themselves to be active speakers of dialect is higher in the west of Austria than in the east (Malliga 1997: 28).

A higher percentage of the subjects in Ried report using dialect “always” or “almost always” than the population of Austria as a whole, using the figures from Steinegger (1998). This high frequency of dialect use is a reflection of the high local loyalty of the population and the rural character of the region. The dialect is assumed to be understood by all speakers in the study, as they are all natives of the region, born and raised in the Innviertel or nearby Hausruckviertel. The region is also geographically distant from the national capital, Vienna, Austria’s largest city and perceived source of Austrian Standard German as well as newer innovations to regional and supra-regional dialects.

Although technically considered a small city, the behavior of the inhabitants of Ried has more in common with small towns and market communities than with medium and large cities. Dialect is spoken by members of all social classes and is a marker of local identity rather than status. This is consistent with Steinegger’s (1998) findings for small cities in Austria. Ried im Innkreis appears to be ahead of the trend of increased acceptability of

dialect (or colloquial varieties closer to dialect than Standard German) even in more formal domains such as school and when speaking with government officials.

The respondents' attitudes regarding the dialect itself are a very reliable predictor of how often an individual speaker will choose to speak the local dialect rather than a colloquial or standard variety of German. It seems intuitive that a speaker who has positive thoughts or affect about their own dialect will be more likely to use the local dialect than someone who associates negative characteristics with the local dialectal variety. My research bears out this intuition. The majority of the respondents, 79.5%, either completely agree or tend to agree that the Innviertler dialect is "nice" (*schön*), and 93.8% completely disagree or tend to disagree that the Innviertler dialect should disappear. These attitudes correlate strongly with the frequency of dialect use.

Because the overwhelming majority of the respondents associate positive attributes to the Innviertler dialect, and these positive attributions influence speakers to use dialect more often rather than less, this explains in part why the overall frequency of dialect use in Ried is markedly higher than the expected values for a city of this size.

## **6.2 Limitations of the study**

Because this study only measures how often speakers themselves claim to speak dialect, and not what they are actually speaking in various situations, some imprecision arises. What speakers consider to be their own dialect, the variety that they speak when they are in relaxed settings and among familiar people, or the variety that they grew up speaking initially, may not actually be a base dialect, but a colloquial variety. For example, when an older farmer makes claims about his or her own dialect use, he or she may be referring to a base dialect, which a younger speaker might not understand or be able to speak. A younger speaker may

speaking a variety which they consider to be dialect, but which is in fact a colloquial variety closer to the standard variety than to the base dialect. This study did not measure the speech actually produced by subjects in order to determine what variety was actually spoken. Therefore, when older speakers claim to speak dialect less often than younger speakers, the older subjects may be referring to a base dialect, while younger informants are referring to a colloquial variety. The same possibility exists for differences between genders and social classes.

### 6.3 Age

Age is one of the most significant factors in a speaker's choice of dialect or standard-oriented varieties of German in Ried. The general correlation with age is negative, indicating that younger speakers use dialect more often and older speakers use dialect less often. The results for the oldest speakers and for some other age groups are inconclusive due to small sample size.

Several societal changes have occurred over the previous century which have gradually promoted the acceptability of local and non-standard varieties of German in Austria. After the end of World War II, language played a significant role in the growth of Austria's "*Österreichbewusstsein*" and in efforts to distinguish Austria from Germany, including the first publication of the ÖWB in 1951 and the spread of Austria-specific vocabulary (Wiesinger 1985: 1947). Younger generations were born after the liberalizing changes of 1968; thus they were socialized in a period when use of dialect had become more popular (*Dialektwelle*) and in the long term more acceptable (cf. Lanthaler 2004). Wodak-Leodolter and Dressler (1978: 50), following Wolfram and Fasold (1974: 89), state that in Austria formal style has become restricted to rare occasions, and is no longer used almost anywhere.

One situation which serves as an example of societal change towards increasing informality is the Viennese theater, which once required a very formal dress-code; however in recent years almost any attire has become acceptable. This trend has spread to Ried as well, where casual dress and speech have become increasingly more acceptable. The youngest generation in the study, age 10-25, continue in this trend of increased dialect use, but they also indicate the expected high frequency of dialect use indicated by Ammon (1995) and Mattheier (1980) because they have not yet left school/university and entered into careers. The older generations therefore indicate higher agreement with the attitudes such as “It is important to be able to speak Standard German” and “There are advantages to being able to speak Standard German.” However, there is no significant correlation between age and positive regard for the dialect variety; thus it cannot be determined from this study whether the younger generations truly have a greater appreciation or affinity for the local dialect than older subjects.

#### **6.4 Gender**

There is almost no difference in dialect frequency between genders; however males claim to speak dialect slightly more often than females in the majority of situations. There is evidence that females between the ages of 25 and 40 speak dialect less often than females of other age groups, probably due to raising children and attempting to prepare them to use Standard German in school. Females in the age group 66+ years also show a gentle increase in dialect use over younger groups of females, which corresponds to entering retirement, losing the social connections of the workplace but also the conventional restrictions on behavior. Whereas women were traditionally found to speak more dialect than males due to their roles as housewives or farmers, as more women have entered the workplace over the

last forty years, the difference in dialect use between males and females appears to have diminished, especially in the youngest generation, confirming Ammon (1973: 22) and Malliga (1997: 70).

Females indicate higher awareness of the (overt) prestige of Standard German and its appropriateness and necessity in school and other situations, as well as a lower affinity for the local dialect than males.

The possibility exists that what females consider to be dialect and what they are speaking is much closer to Standard German than what males consider to be dialect and actually speak, or vice versa. There may be noticeable differences between the dialect varieties of males and females. This research was not designed to measure the language variables actually produced by speakers, thus I can offer no insight into this possibility.

## **6.5 Social class**

Whether using criteria to determine social class membership established by Steinegger, Ammon, or a slight modification of Steinegger's criteria, social class membership has only a minor effect on dialect frequency. While the traditional divisions of working, middle and upper class demonstrate the expected trend of decreasing dialect use with ascending social class status, the differences are very minor. Ammon's division of manual labor and mental labor, based on the communication-intensive requirements of various professions, is curiously the reverse of the expected trend: those involved in primarily manual labor claim to speak less dialect than those whose jobs require primarily mental labor and increased use of written communication, even though the differences are miniscule. As with age and gender differences, it is possible that what each group considers to be dialect is not the same variety. Those involved in primarily manual labor indicate significantly higher levels of local loyalty



and a stronger agreement that the local dialect is an important part of the local culture than those subjects whose work involves primarily mental labor.

Dialect is not the language of the working class or manual laborer exclusively; it is spoken by all social classes in many different domains and indicates local loyalty and membership within the community, rather than one's social status. The dialect is simply the most natural, easiest variety for the vast majority of Innviertler. Because the local dialect is understood by almost everyone within the community, a supra-regional variety is not necessary, thus even the middle and upper (i.e. mental-labor oriented) classes can use dialect regularly at rates comparable to the working (or manual-labor oriented) class.

## **6.6 Network strength**

There is a positive correlation between social network strength and dialect frequency. Those who have more connections to the local community speak dialect more often than speakers with fewer or looser ties to the community. The community itself exerts pressure on speakers to conform to the local customs, and this includes use of the local dialect. This “peer pressure” appears to only be effective when a speaker is within the network. When a speaker is outside of the local network, due to commuting, travel to other cities, regions or countries, or when speaking with strangers, the network strength of the speaker plays no role. In those cases outside of the network other factors such as the need to communicate effectively or accommodation to the interlocutor play a much more important role.

High social network strength also correlates with increased estimation of the local dialect and its speakers, local loyalty, as well as a sense of commonality with Bavarian neighbors.

## **6.7 Commuters / non-commuters**

It is important to consider that pupil commuters travel into the city for school, whereas the adults are traveling out of their home community for work. This helps to explain the opposite trends between pupils and adults. As Gal (1979:141) states, “the commuter necessarily has a somewhat different relationship with his household than the non-commuter, and the frequency of interaction is part of the difference.”

Adults who commute speak dialect more often in intimate situations than adult non-commuters. When these adults commute out for work, they may be unable to use their local dialect in the workplace, if it would lead to a lack of communication. Thus adult commuters indicate that they agree more strongly with the attitudes “there are situations where one should not speak dialect” and “it is bad to speak with a strong accent.”

When these commuters return home they speak dialect even more than non-commuters, perhaps in order to demonstrate more emphatically that they are still a part of the local community, that their heart is in the Innviertel, so to speak.

The opposite trend is apparent for pupils who commute. Children commuting into Ried might have trouble communicating effectively if they spoke their local (non-Ried) dialects, even though the objective differences must be fairly miniscule within the Innviertel and Hausruckviertel. Commuting pupils also indicate higher agreement with the attitude “there are situations where one should not speak dialect” as they are more aware of the local limitations of dialect.

The increasing trend of commuting may lead to dialect leveling or further language shift, but there are different effects in the local home community and in the communities where speakers work or attend school. Given the increasing trends toward commuting throughout

Upper Austria, of pupils as well as adults, I predict increasing use of dialect in the personal domains of family and friends, but increasing use of colloquial and standard varieties in the workplace, particularly when commuters must travel to larger industrial and business centers such as Linz, Wels, Salzburg or even Germany.

### **6.8 Mass media (television and radio)**

Mass media is frequently cited as a standardizing influence, leveling out dialects in the direction of the standard and driving speakers away from dialectal speech and towards colloquial and standard varieties (Clyne 1995: 42). Most radio broadcasts include dialect only between songs, during disc jockeys' interviews or telephone conversations, and in some commercials. Although news is typically broadcast using Standard German, be it ASG or GSG, it is not difficult, even for a non-native speaker, to distinguish between news broadcasts from Berlin, Munich, or Vienna based on regional differences in pronunciation. A relatively recent trend is for disc jockeys of popular music stations to use colloquial speech much more often, including the use of the familiar *du* ('you') when addressing callers to the station, rather than the formal *Sie* ('you').

Mass media has a limited effect on the amount of dialect spoken. The dialect itself is seldom heard on television or radio, except for locally produced programs or commercial advertising. The negative correlation of German radio and speaking Inviertler dialect may stem from commuters who travel to Germany more often than non-commuters and can benefit from German news, traffic and weather reports while underway in Germany. These same commuters would speak less dialect while outside of the Innviertel, because the dialect of the Innviertel is either not understood or looked down upon in other regions. There is no

indication from the survey data that commuters listen to German radio more often than non-commuters however.

The evidence from my survey suggests that exposure to mass media has a very small effect and in only a limited number of domains. Curzan (2005) suggests that standard-language media may encourage speakers of non-standard varieties to use dialectal varieties more often as a form of resistance against standardizing institutions perceived to be overbearing. My findings support this, as frequency of dialect use is positively correlated with watching Austrian and German television, or listening to Austrian radio. Increased exposure to other regional varieties through the mass media may serve to accentuate the differences between the regional varieties as well as cultures, and to encourage speakers to use their own dialect more often as a sign of local solidarity.

Radio and television broadcasts which use the Austrian or German standard variety have without a doubt increased most speakers' passive understanding of the standard variety. This includes the majority of popular television shows, which are produced or synchronized ("dubbed") in Germany from the original language into German and carried via satellite or cable connections to all of Germany, Austria and Switzerland. Exposure to other regional language varieties and cultures through television or radio broadcasts may also serve to reinforce stereotypes about other cultures.

## **6.9 Anomalous situations**

Several of the situations display anomalous trends when compared to the other situations for dialect frequency. For social or attitudinal factors which show correlations with many of the various situations, often a few of the situations defied the trend. In these situations,

situational factors or the interlocutor appear to be more important in influencing a speaker's choice of language variety than a speaker's internal social factors.

Respondents consistently indicated several situations where dialect would “never” be used: in offices of the federal government (46.6% indicate they never speak dialect), with state officials in Linz (25.6%), in church (19.9%), with the school principal (19.4%), with strangers on a telephone (16.9%), and on a trip in Germany (14.4%). These are primarily situations where the Innviertler dialect might not be understood, and where it cannot be assumed by the speaker that the interlocutor understands the Innviertler dialect.

In the situation “with a minister or priest,” there are often no significant correlations with either social factors or attitudes for frequency of dialect use. In speaking with the Roman Catholic priests in the community, I found that almost none of the priests had grown up in the local community, or even in Upper Austria. Several priests had grown up in Vienna and one priest I spoke with was originally from Munich, Germany. The Catholic priests are assigned to their parishes by their religious order based on the needs of the Church, not the personal preferences of the clergy. As such, the priests are not native speakers of the local dialect. If an individual were to use dialect with one of the priests, it is possible that the priest would not understand the dialect and thus there would be a failure to communicate effectively. I did not interview any religious leaders from other religions (Protestant, Muslim, etc.); however over ninety-eight percent of my informants were Roman Catholic, so I feel that the priests with whom I spoke are representative of the clergy in Ried.

The situation “in church” also showed anomalous trends, either showing correlations where other domains showed none, or indicating no correlations where many other situations

did indicate significant correlations. I propose that this is for the same reasons as with the situation “with the priest or minister.”

The situation “with the doctor” was anomalous also, but for different reasons. Physicians are members of the highest socioeconomic class, based on their academic achievement, relatively high income and prestigious occupation. They often must use highly technical medical jargon, and are often the bearers of bad news for patients. Some respondents may have a long-standing doctor-patient relationship over many years; others may not. For these reasons, the setting itself and the interlocutor (the physician) are more important factors for predicting which variety of language to use than a patient’s attributes such as socioeconomic status, age, or network strength.

The domain “in a restaurant with the waiter/waitress” appears to be treated as relatively formal situation in Austria. Respondents report speaking dialect relatively infrequently in restaurants, based on the percentage, 35.6%, of respondents who claim to speak dialect “almost always.” The value situates the formal nature of this domain between “at work with customers/clients” and “with strangers on the street.” A waiter or waitress is addressed much like a stranger. Waiters/Waitresses typically earn higher wages than in the United States, and are therefore not very dependent on gratuities from their patrons; therefore service may not seem as customer-oriented or personable as in the United States. Waiting tables at a restaurant is more likely to be considered a full-time job or career. Patrons in Ried consider dining in restaurants to be a more formal experience than other service-oriented domains such as shopping, or in a bar/pub.

On the other end of the spectrum, the traditional *Stammtisch* is very consistently regarded as a situation where dialect is the expected variety, and where Standard German would be

inappropriate. Normally the *Stammtisch* is comprised of people who are very familiar with one another due to the nature of the gathering, and thus they use the most relaxed variety.

### 6.10 Inconclusive results

For some of the attitudes there are very few significant correlations between the attitude and the frequency of dialect use. While the responses of many of the subjects fell across the spectrum from complete disagreement to total agreement, the correlations were not statistically significant. Although tests for reliability show strong correlations between the related attitudes, there are not significant correlations between the attitudes and the frequency of dialect use in the vast majority of situations.

Questions asking the respondents to express agreement or disagreement with attitudes regarding stereotypes of Bavarians and Northern Germans, such as *arrogant* ('arrogant'), *zuverlässig* ('dependable') or *sympathisch* ('nice'), show very few significant correlations between these attitudes and the frequency of dialect use. A very large number of respondents chose 'neither agree nor disagree' for these attitudes. Respondents appear to be hesitant to express what are obvious stereotypes, even if the stereotypes are positive ones. It is clear to me from my time in Ried and conversations with its citizens that some of these stereotypes are strongly held by some portion of the population. Pupils could easily name several monikers for Viennese (*Wiener-Batzis*<sup>24</sup> 'Vienna-rascals') and Northern Germans (*Piefkes* 'Northern Germans', *Preußen* 'Prussians') and were also aware of the derogatory terms used by outside groups to identify the Innviertel's citizens (for example *Mostschädel* 'fruit-wine skull'). However, they were harder pressed to come up with derogatory names for the Bavarians, referring to them simply as *die Born* (ASG *die Bayern* 'the Bavarians'). Matched-

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<sup>24</sup> *Batzi* (also *Bazi*), a regional Bavarian term, refers to a rascal, deadbeat or scallywag (Zehetner 1998: 58). Whereas the inhabitants of the Innviertel refer to Viennese as (*Wiener-*)*Batzis*, in Northern and Central Germany the term may be used to refer pejoratively to Bavarians.

guise tests of standard and dialect speech samples could potentially help to clarify how strongly held the stereotypes are of Bavarians, Northern Germans, Viennese, or even other Innviertler.

### **6.11 Directions for future research**

The research project was designed as a pilot study of a limited nature, and is not sufficient to address every factor of linguistic interest in Ried and the Innviertel. The survey is a self-reporting measure, and subjects indicate how often they believe that they speak dialect rather than some other colloquial or standard variety. Because of the observable high levels of pride regarding the local dialect and the local community, respondents may indicate a higher frequency of dialect use than is actually the case. I propose for future field research that audio and/or video recording of the subjects in a variety of situations may be a fruitful undertaking. While the very act of being recorded may cause subjects to behave less relaxed, Cukor-Avila (1995, 1997) has suggested some field methods that have been successful for recording natural speech during participant observation, particularly in non-formal settings. By discussing highly emotional content, subjects eventually become so involved in the discussion that they are not actively aware of the presence of a camera or audio recorder, even if they are explicitly told at the beginning of a session that they will be recorded. I feel this data collection method could be applied in many different domain settings in Ried, in order to determine more precisely which variety of a language the subjects speak in a given domain. Due to technical difficulties I was unable to record during my own participant observation in Ried, but the participants in my study did not object in any way to being recorded, as long as they were assured it was only to allow me to review our conversations and would not be publicly available.



This study was primarily of the spoken dialect, as the dialect is neither standardized nor codified. One potential area for future research is the use of dialect in written form, such as electronic mail, internet discussion forums, simple message service (SMS) text-messaging, and print media such as newspaper interviews and advertising. My impression is that due to the high esteem for the local dialect, and the ease of its production relative to Standard German, the use of dialect in these formats is increasing.

As my research and statistical analysis progressed, several procedural issues were raised, which should be accounted for and accommodated in future research. In setting criteria for social network strength, and in the design of the questionnaires, no provision was made to record whether an adult respondent has children. Children would be another strong tie to the community and source of connections to other members in the community, particularly while the children are still in school, with all of the intra- and extra-curricular activities which parents are obligated to attend. Grown children who still live in the same community would also contribute to the individual's social network strength.

Another useful addition would have been additional space on the survey to allow for comments, which might help to clarify some of the answers. While some respondents supplied written comments spontaneously, further insights could be gained by actively encouraging comments from the subjects.

Respondents were not asked to indicate degree of agreement or disagreement with attitudes regarding Viennese. Vienna overshadows the rest of Austria as the center of government and policy, trade, transportation, tourism, education and media. The city of Vienna is significantly larger than any other Austrian city, and in many ways is in a class of its own (Steinegger 1998). Future research could potentially compare the speakers' attitudes

regarding the Viennese with attitudes regarding Bavarians, Northern Germans, Innviertler, and other Upper Austrians, in order to correlate these data with the frequency of dialect use.

Although pupils from four different types of schools were included in the study, all of the pupils in the study were in schools which culminate with comprehensive exams, the *Matura*. A wider sample of young people in different types of schools or who have already left school to work may yield different results for the youngest age group. It is important to solicit enough subjects for each of the subdivisions based on age, social class, etc. to allow for meaningful conclusions.

It may also be possible to perform real-time comparisons of speakers to determine whether individual speakers' patterns of variety choice change as they age. This would involve continuous contact with respondents over a period of multiple decades, and consistently measuring the same parameters at specific time intervals. This is not in the scope of the current research, given limitations on time and resources.

If at a future date a similar questionnaire were distributed in Ried and the surrounding region, changes in the demographics, as well as choice and frequency of language varieties could be determined by comparing those results with the current results.

### **6.12 Implications for future of the dialect**

The Middle Bavarian dialect as spoken in the Innviertel region, in stark contrast to Northern German *Platt* dialects, is by no means in danger of dying out, or being replaced entirely through language shift by Standard German. Most of the speakers native to this region learn the Innviertler dialect as their first language, speak it often and in many different situations with a wide variety of interlocutors. Dialect appears to be more popular in Ried than in most of Austria and Bavaria. Residents of the Innviertel speak their dialect more often

than most other Austrians. While the term *Dialektrenaissance* may not be appropriate, there are signs that use of the dialect is increasing, with each younger generation speaking more dialect than the previous generation. I predict that this upward trend will continue in the future. The strong disagreement by 87% of the respondents with the attitude “The Innviertler dialect should disappear” also indicates the bright future of the dialect.

This does not mean that the most conservative base dialects will not fade away over time. Obsolete terms may drop out of the lexicon, or be replaced by other terms. Language shift towards more colloquial varieties may occur, and innovations, especially in the phonology, may transform the local dialect in measurable ways. The current efforts by groups such as the Stelzhamerbund to preserve the local dialect as a natural means of expression and cultural heritage are admirable and should be supported. It is conceivable that a shift in popular political, social or cultural opinions could drive language shift or a change in the dialect itself. Because the Innviertel is a dialectal transition zone between Austria and Germany, between East Central Bavarian and West Central Bavarian, certain salient features could be adopted to reflect either an affinity with or an aloofness from either Bavarians or other Austrians.

The Austrian Standard German variety is in no danger of being replaced by the dialect or colloquial varieties. It will continue to be required in schools and in the workplace, used in television and radio broadcasts, and passively understood by almost everyone. Speakers who have difficulty using the standard variety in settings where it is mandatory and expected, such as the *Abitur*, will continue to be disadvantaged compared to those who have competency in the full spectrum of varieties of German spoken in Austria. Due to the importance of tourism and international trade and Austria’s position as a gateway to Eastern

Europe, those who are unable to communicate with others using the standard variety will be disadvantaged. This is an issue for the educational system to address, from the earliest years of school up until graduation. The importance of a full command of the standard language needs to be stressed as a life-skill.

### **6.13 Implications for sociolinguistic research in other regions**

Given the traditional dialectological desire to preserve and record older dialects, this sort of research may help to identify where language shift is likely to occur, and where resources should be allocated to prevent language shift, or where language policy or educational policy may need to be implemented. Similar research would be useful for any language contact situation or in any political border area.

In areas where languages are endangered, attitudinal research can help to identify the causes of language death or shift. Efforts could then be made to change negative attitudes regarding the language in question, by promoting positive attitudes and associating the language with positive aspects of speakers' cultural heritage.

Given the changing demographic situation—increasing trends towards commuting to larger industrial centers and the decrease of agricultural industry—which is taking place throughout Austria, Europe and the rest of the world, this research could be extended to any number of communities where the local social networks are also changing.

In my case, I found the very act of investigating the local dialect and its speakers caused many respondents to consider the dialect in a more conscious manner than if no one would have ever raised the topic of local dialect. This active consideration of the language may also help preserve it.

#### **6.14 Summary of project and findings**

The local dialect variety of German as spoken in Ried im Innkreis and the surrounding Innviertel region is a vibrant and vital part of the local culture. The high esteem that local speakers have for the dialect results in the unusually high frequency of dialect use as compared to other regions. Analysis of the speakers' self-reported data indicates that the city of Ried is linguistically much more like a small town or village than a medium or large city, or even other small cities of similar size in Austria. For the individual speaker, societal factors such as age and social network strength, and psychological factors, such as loyalty to the local community and affection for the local dialect can affect a speaker's choice of dialect, colloquial or Standard German. Some social factors, such as gender and socioeconomic class, do not serve as significant predictors of an individual's variety choice. Adults who commute out of the local community for work claim to speak their own dialect more often when at home in familiar settings, even though the dialect may not be appropriate in the community to which the person commutes. Children who commute into Ried speak less dialect than non-commuters in situations in the school and with strangers.

The dialect helps speakers to differentiate themselves from outsiders, and when spoken the dialect is an audible sign that the speaker feels comfortable, that he or she is proud of where they come from, and one feels a sense of belonging to the community. The formal or serious nature of some situations, or the need to communicate with outsiders who are not acquainted with the dialect, can override the social and psychological influences and drive a speaker to use a more colloquial variety or Standard German. The effects of social network strength appear to only play a role in situations where an individual is within their own social network: with family, friends, colleagues and other familiar interlocutors. Once the

individual leaves their social network, even temporarily, social network strength has no predictable effect on the choice of language variety. The results of this study indicate that the speakers of Ried are not behaving differently in the choice of dialect than other communities in Austria of similar size, but that there is an extremely high regard for the local dialect which drives its use at a higher frequency than in other small Austrian cities.

In this study, an individual's social network strength influences the speaker's use of dialect. The stronger a speaker's social network strength, the more likely the speaker is to speak dialect rather than colloquial or Standard German. That the network strength only has a predictable local effect while the speaker is within the social network, and no effect when the speaker is outside of the social network, is a finding that is unique to this research and a new contribution to the knowledge of social networks.

The same techniques and theories for eliciting data from subjects in my research could be expanded to other regions and languages, and to track and clarify future trends in the same community.

## APPENDIX A: Questionnaire for Adult Respondents

*Umkreisen Sie die zutreffende Antwort.*

Name: \_\_\_\_\_ Telefonnummer: \_\_\_\_\_  
Geschlecht: Männlich / Weiblich  
Wohnort: \_\_\_\_\_  
Geboren (Datum): \_\_\_\_\_ in (Ort): \_\_\_\_\_  
Aufgewachsen in: \_\_\_\_\_

Verheiratet?: Ja / Nein  
Ehemann/Ehefrau kommt aus: \_\_\_\_\_  
Wo arbeitet er/sie?: \_\_\_\_\_

### ARBEIT

Beruf: \_\_\_\_\_  
Pendeln Sie?: Ja / Nein  
Wo: \_\_\_\_\_  
Seit: \_\_\_\_\_  
Mitarbeiter: (Name) \_\_\_\_\_ aus: \_\_\_\_\_ verwandt?: Ja / Nein  
Mitarbeiter: (Name) \_\_\_\_\_ aus: \_\_\_\_\_ verwandt?: Ja / Nein  
Mitarbeiter: (Name) \_\_\_\_\_ aus: \_\_\_\_\_ verwandt?: Ja / Nein  
Mitarbeiter: (Name) \_\_\_\_\_ aus: \_\_\_\_\_ verwandt?: Ja / Nein  
Mitarbeiter: (Name) \_\_\_\_\_ aus: \_\_\_\_\_ verwandt?: Ja / Nein

--

### AUSBILDUNG

Volksschule: \_\_\_\_\_ Ort: \_\_\_\_\_  
Hauptschule/Gymnasium: \_\_\_\_\_ Ort: \_\_\_\_\_  
Universität/Hochschule: \_\_\_\_\_ Ort: \_\_\_\_\_

--

### RELIGION/KIRCHE

Mitglied: Ja / Nein  
Welche Konfession? \_\_\_\_\_  
Regelmäßig besucht: Ja / Nein

--

### FREIZEIT

Vereine/Clubs: \_\_\_\_\_

--

### FAMILIE

Vater: \_\_\_\_\_ Mutter: \_\_\_\_\_  
Geburtsort: \_\_\_\_\_ Geburtsort: \_\_\_\_\_  
Wohnort: \_\_\_\_\_ Wohnort: \_\_\_\_\_  
Beruf: \_\_\_\_\_ Beruf: \_\_\_\_\_  
Pendelt: Ja / Nein Pendelt: Ja / Nein

Großeltern:

Väterlicherseits – Wohnort:

Geburtsort:

Beruf:

Haben Sie sie gekannt?:

--

Haben Sie Geschwister? Ja / Nein

Wie viele?

--

Längerer Aufenthalt außerhalb des Innviertels? Ja / Nein

Wo?

Wie Lange?

--

**1=Nie**

**2=Gelegentlich**

**3=Regelmässig**

**4=Oft**

**5=Fast immer**

Wie oft sehen Sie fern?

1. Österreichische Sender:

1 2 3 4 5

2. Deutsche Sender:

1 2 3 4 5

3. Sender aus anderen Ländern:

1 2 3 4 5

Wie oft hören Sie Radio?

4. Österreichische Sender:

1 2 3 4 5

5. Deutsche Sender:

1 2 3 4 5

6. Sender aus anderen Ländern:

1 2 3 4 5

7. Wie oft reisen Sie nach Linz?

1 2 3 4 5

8. Wie oft Reisen Sie nach Salzburg?

1 2 3 4 5

9. Wie oft reisen Sie nach Wien?

1 2 3 4 5

10. Wie oft reisen Sie nach Deutschland?

1 2 3 4 5

--

Haben Sie Verwandte in anderen Städten Österreichs?

Ja / Nein

Haben Sie Freunde in anderen Städten Österreichs?

Ja / Nein

Haben Sie Verwandte in Deutschland?

Ja / Nein

Haben Sie Freunde in Deutschland?

Ja / Nein



Wie oft sprechen Sie Dialekt/Mundart in den folgenden Situationen:

**1=Nie                  2=Gelegentlich                  3=Regelmässig                  4=Oft                  5=Fast immer**

11. Mit Ihren Eltern?	1	2	3	4	5
12. Mit Ihren Geschwistern?	1	2	3	4	5
13. Mit Ihren Großeltern?	1	2	3	4	5
14. Mit anderen Verwandten aus dem Innviertel?	1	2	3	4	5
15. Mit anderen Verwandten aus einem anderen Gebiet?	1	2	3	4	5
16. Mit Nachbarkindern?	1	2	3	4	5
17. In einem Gasthaus?	1	2	3	4	5
18. Auf einer Reise in anderen Regionen Österreichs?	1	2	3	4	5
19. Auf einer Reise in Deutschland?	1	2	3	4	5
20. In einem Sportklub?	1	2	3	4	5
21. Bei Sportveranstaltungen?	1	2	3	4	5
22. In der Kirche?	1	2	3	4	5
23. Beim Einkaufen?	1	2	3	4	5
24. In einem Restaurant mit dem Kellner/der Kellnerin?	1	2	3	4	5
25. Mit Unbekannten auf der Straße?	1	2	3	4	5
26. Mit Unbekannten am Telefon?	1	2	3	4	5
27. Mit dem Pfarrer?	1	2	3	4	5
28. Bei Veranstaltungen und Festen?	1	2	3	4	5
29. Wenn Sie mit sich selbst im Gedanken reden?	1	2	3	4	5
30. Beim Arzt im Wartezimmer?	1	2	3	4	5
31. Mit dem Arzt selber?	1	2	3	4	5
32. Bei der Arbeit mit Kollegen?	1	2	3	4	5
33. Bei der Arbeit mit Kunden?	1	2	3	4	5
34. An einem Stammtisch?	1	2	3	4	5
35. An einer Tankstelle?	1	2	3	4	5
36. Mit Behörden der Stadt Ried?	1	2	3	4	5
37. Mit Behörden des Bundeslandes?	1	2	3	4	5
38. Mit Behörden der Nationalregierung?	1	2	3	4	5

---

Bewerten Sie die folgenden Aussagen in folgender Weise:

- 1. Gar nicht einverstanden**
- 2. Eher nicht einverstanden**
- 3. Weder einverstanden noch nicht einverstanden**
- 4. Meistens einverstanden**
- 5. Völlig einverstanden**

39. Leute, die meinen Dialekt sprechen, finde ich sympathisch.	1	2	3	4	5
40. Es hat Vorteile, Hochdeutsch sprechen zu können.	1	2	3	4	5
41. Die Innviertler Mundart ist ein wichtiger Teil meiner Kultur.	1	2	3	4	5
42. Ich habe vieles mit den Bayern gemeinsam.	1	2	3	4	5
43. Deutsche sprechen besseres Deutsch als Österreicher.	1	2	3	4	5
44. Norddeutsche finde ich sympathisch.	1	2	3	4	5
45. Der Innviertler Dialekt verschwindet langsam.	1	2	3	4	5
46. Es gibt Situationen, in denen Hochdeutsch unpassend ist.	1	2	3	4	5
47. Ich habe mehr mit den Bayern gemeinsam als mit Norddeutschen.	1	2	3	4	5
48. Es gibt Situationen, in denen man nicht Dialekt sprechen sollte.	1	2	3	4	5
49. Mein Dialekt wird außerhalb des Innviertels verstanden.	1	2	3	4	5
50. Leute, die meinen Dialekt sprechen, sind zuverlässig.	1	2	3	4	5
51. Bayern sind arrogant.	1	2	3	4	5
52. Ich bin zuerst ÖsterreicherIn, dann Europäer.	1	2	3	4	5
53. Richtiges Deutsch wird nur in Deutschland gesprochen.	1	2	3	4	5
54. In der Schule sollte man etwas über den Innviertler Dialekt lernen.	1	2	3	4	5
55. Bayern finde ich sympathisch.	1	2	3	4	5
56. Ich bin zuerst InnviertlerIn, dann Österreicher.	1	2	3	4	5
57. Es ist sehr wichtig, Hochdeutsch sprechen zu können.	1	2	3	4	5
58. Ich finde meinen Dialekt schön.	1	2	3	4	5
59. Bayern sind zuverlässig.	1	2	3	4	5
60. Es ist schlecht, mit einem starken Akzent zu sprechen.	1	2	3	4	5
61. Mir gefällt Mundartdichtung (z.B. von Franz Stelzhamer).	1	2	3	4	5
62. Ich kann mich besser in Hochdeutsch als im Dialekt ausdrücken.	1	2	3	4	5
63. Man sollte nur Hochdeutsch in der Schule lernen.	1	2	3	4	5
64. Norddeutsche finde ich arrogant.	1	2	3	4	5
65. Der Innviertler Dialekt sollte verschwinden.	1	2	3	4	5

## Translation of Questionnaire for Adult Respondents

*Circle the appropriate answer.*

Name: Telephone Number:  
Gender: Male / Female  
Residence (town/city):  
Birthdate: in: (Town/City)  
Raised in (City/Town):

Married? Yes/No  
Spouse is from: (Town/City)  
Where does he/she work?

--

### WORK

Profession:  
Do you commute? Yes/No  
Where:  
Since:

Colleague: (Name)	From: (Town/City)	Related?: Yes/No
Colleague: (Name)	From: (Town/City)	Related?: Yes/No
Colleague: (Name)	From: (Town/City)	Related?: Yes/No
Colleague: (Name)	From: (Town/City)	Related?: Yes/No
Colleague: (Name)	From: (Town/City)	Related?: Yes/No

--

### EDUCATION

Elementary School: Town/City:  
Secondary School: Town/City:  
University/College: Town/City:

--

### RELIGION

Member: Yes / No  
Which confession?  
Regular attendance: Yes / No

--

### FREE TIME:

Clubs/Organizations:

--

### FAMILIE

Father:	Mother:
Birthplace:	Birthplace:
Residence:	Residence:
Profession:	Profession:
Commutes to work: Yes / No	Commutes to work: Yes / No

--

Grandparents:

Paternal – Residence:

Birthplace:

Profession:

Did you know them? Yes / No

--

Do you have siblings? Yes / No

How many?

--

Longer stay outside of the Innviertel? Yes / No

Where?

How long?

--

**1=Never      2=Occasionally      3=Regularly      4=Often      5=Almost always**

How often do you watch television?

1. Austrian broadcasters:	1	2	3	4	5
2. German broadcasters:	1	2	3	4	5
3. Broadcasters from other countries?	1	2	3	4	5

How often do you listen to the radio?

4. Austrian broadcasters:	1	2	3	4	5
5. German broadcasters:	1	2	3	4	5
6. Broadcasters from other countries?	1	2	3	4	5

7. How often do you travel to Linz?	1	2	3	4	5
8. How often do you travel to Salzburg?	1	2	3	4	5
9. How often do you travel to Vienna?	1	2	3	4	5
10. How often do you travel to Germany?	1	2	3	4	5

--

Do you have relatives in other cities in Austria?      Yes / No

Do you have friends in other cities in Austria?      Yes / No

Do you have relatives in Germany?      Yes / No

Do you have friends in Germany?      Yes / No

How often do you speak dialect in the following situations?

**1=Never      2=Occasionally      3=Regularly      4=Often      5=Almost always**

11. With your parents?	1	2	3	4	5
12. With your siblings?	1	2	3	4	5
13. With your grandparents?	1	2	3	4	5
14. With other relatives from the Innviertel?	1	2	3	4	5
15. With other relatives from other regions?	1	2	3	4	5
16. With neighborhood children?	1	2	3	4	5
17. In a pub/bar?	1	2	3	4	5
18. On a trip in other regions of Austria?	1	2	3	4	5
19. On a trip in Germany?	1	2	3	4	5
20. In a sports club?	1	2	3	4	5
21. At sporting events?	1	2	3	4	5
22. In church?	1	2	3	4	5
23. While shopping?	1	2	3	4	5
24. In a restaurant with the waiter/waitress?	1	2	3	4	5
25. With strangers on the street?	1	2	3	4	5
26. With strangers on the telephone?	1	2	3	4	5
27. With a priest or minister?	1	2	3	4	5
28. At exhibitions and festivals?	1	2	3	4	5
29. When you talk to yourself in your mind?	1	2	3	4	5
30. In the doctor's waiting room?	1	2	3	4	5
31. With the doctor himself/herself?	1	2	3	4	5
32. At work with colleagues?	1	2	3	4	5
33. At work with customers?	1	2	3	4	5
34. At a <i>Stammtisch</i> (regulars' table)?	1	2	3	4	5
35. At the gas station?	1	2	3	4	5
36. With officials of the city of Ried?	1	2	3	4	5
37. With officials of the state of Upper Austria?	1	2	3	4	5
38. With officials of the national government?	1	2	3	4	5

Evaluate the following statements in the following manner:

- 1. Disagree completely**
- 2. Disagree somewhat**
- 3. Neither agree nor disagree**
- 4. Agree somewhat**
- 5. Agree completely**

- |  |   |   |   |   |   |
|--|---|---|---|---|---|
| 39. I find people who speak my dialect to be nice.                         | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 40. There are advantages to speaking Standard German.                      | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 41. The Innviertler dialect is an important part of my culture.            | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 42. I have a lot in common with Bavarians.                                 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 43. Germans speak better German than Austrians do.                         | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 44. I find northern Germans to be nice.                                    | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 45. The Innviertler dialect is slowly disappearing.                        | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 46. There are situations, where speaking Standard German is inappropriate. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 47. I have more in common with the Bavarians than with northern Germans.   | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 48. There are situations where one should not speak dialect.               | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 49. My dialect is understood outside of the Innviertel.                    | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 50. People who speak my dialect are dependable.                            | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 51. Bavarians are arrogant.  | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 52. I consider myself an Austrian first, and a European second.            | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 53. Proper German is only spoken in Germany.                               | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 54. One should learn something about the Innviertler dialect in school.    | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 55. I find Bavarians to be nice.   | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 56. I consider myself an Innviertler first, and an Austrian second.        | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 57. It is important to be able to speak Standard German.                   | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 58. I find my dialect to be beautiful.                                     | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 59. Bavarians are dependable.  | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 60. It is bad to speak with a strong accent.                               | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 61. I enjoy dialect-poetry (for example from Franz Stelzhamer).            | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 62. I can express myself better in Standard German than in dialect.        | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 63. One should only learn Standard German in school.                       | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 64. I find northern Germans to be arrogant.                                | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 65. The Innviertler dialect should disappear.                              | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

## APPENDIX B: Questionnaire for School-Age Respondents

*Umkreisen Sie die zutreffende Antwort.*

Name: \_\_\_\_\_ Telefonnummer: \_\_\_\_\_  
Geschlecht: Männlich / Weiblich  
Wohnort: \_\_\_\_\_  
Geboren (Datum): \_\_\_\_\_ in (Ort): \_\_\_\_\_  
Aufgewachsen in: \_\_\_\_\_

--

### AUSBILDUNG

Volksschule: \_\_\_\_\_ Ort: \_\_\_\_\_  
Hauptschule/Gymnasium: \_\_\_\_\_ Ort: \_\_\_\_\_  
Universität/Hochschule: \_\_\_\_\_ Ort: \_\_\_\_\_

--

### RELIGION/KIRCHE

Mitglied: Ja / Nein  
Welche Konfession?  
Regelmäßig besucht: Ja / Nein

--

### FREIZEIT

Vereine/Clubs: \_\_\_\_\_

--

### FAMILIE

Vater: _____	Mutter: _____
Geburtsort: _____	Geburtsort: _____
Wohnort: _____	Wohnort: _____
Beruf: _____	Beruf: _____
Pendelt: Ja / Nein	Pendelt: Ja / Nein

--

### Großeltern:

Väterlicherseits – Wohnort: _____	Mütterlicherseits – Wohnort: _____
Geburtsort: _____	Geburtsort: _____
Beruf: _____	Beruf: _____
Haben Sie sie gekannt?: _____	Haben Sie sie gekannt?: _____

--

Haben Sie Geschwister? Ja / Nein  
Wie viele?

--

Längerer Aufenthalt außerhalb des Innviertels? Ja / Nein  
Wo?  
Wie Lange?

**1=Nie                  2=Gelegentlich                  3=Regelmässig                  4=Oft                  5=Fast immer**

Wie oft sehen Sie fern?

- |                                |   |   |   |   |   |
|--------------------------------|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Österreichische Sender:     | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 2. Deutsche Sender:            | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 3. Sender aus anderen Ländern: | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

Wie oft hören Sie Radio?

- |                                |   |   |   |   |   |
|--------------------------------|---|---|---|---|---|
| 4. Österreichische Sender:     | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 5. Deutsche Sender:            | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 6. Sender aus anderen Ländern: | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

- |  |   |   |   |   |   |
|--|---|---|---|---|---|
| 7. Wie oft reisen Sie nach Linz?         | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 8. Wie oft Reisen Sie nach Salzburg?     | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 9. Wie oft reisen Sie nach Wien?         | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 10. Wie oft reisen Sie nach Deutschland? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

--

- |   |           |
|---|-----------|
| Haben Sie Verwandte in anderen Städten Österreichs? | Ja / Nein |
| Haben Sie Freunde in anderen Städten Österreichs?   | Ja / Nein |
| Haben Sie Verwandte in Deutschland?                 | Ja / Nein |
| Haben Sie Freunde in Deutschland?                   | Ja / Nein |



**Wie oft sprechen Sie Dialekt/Mundart in den folgenden Situationen:**

**1=Nie                  2=Gelegentlich                  3=Regelmässig                  4=Oft                  5=Fast immer**

11. Mit Ihren Eltern?	1	2	3	4	5
12. Mit Ihren Geschwistern?	1	2	3	4	5
13. Mit Ihren Großeltern?	1	2	3	4	5
14. Mit anderen Verwandten aus dem Innviertel?	1	2	3	4	5
15. Mit anderen Verwandten aus einem anderen Gebiet?	1	2	3	4	5
16. Mit Nachbarkindern?	1	2	3	4	5
17. In einem Gasthaus?	1	2	3	4	5
18. Auf einer Reise in anderen Regionen Österreichs?	1	2	3	4	5
19. Auf einer Reise in Deutschland?	1	2	3	4	5
20. In einem Sportklub?	1	2	3	4	5
21. Bei Sportveranstaltungen?	1	2	3	4	5
22. In der Kirche?	1	2	3	4	5
23. Beim Einkaufen?	1	2	3	4	5
24. In einem Restaurant mit dem Kellner/der Kellnerin?	1	2	3	4	5
25. Mit Unbekannten auf der Straße?	1	2	3	4	5
26. Mit Unbekannten am Telefon?	1	2	3	4	5
27. Mit dem Pfarrer?	1	2	3	4	5
28. Bei Veranstaltungen und Festen?	1	2	3	4	5
29. Wenn Sie mit sich selbst im Gedanken reden?	1	2	3	4	5
30. Beim Arzt im Wartezimmer?	1	2	3	4	5
31. Mit dem Arzt selber?	1	2	3	4	5
32. Mit Schulkameraden im Unterricht?	1	2	3	4	5
33. Mit Schulkameraden außerhalb des Unterrichts?	1	2	3	4	5
34. Mit dem Lehrer/der Lehrerin im Unterricht?	1	2	3	4	5
35. Mit dem Lehrer/der Lehrerin außerhalb des Unterrichts?	1	2	3	4	5
36. In einer Diskothek?	1	2	3	4	5
37. Im Jugendverein?	1	2	3	4	5
38. Mit dem Schuldirektor?	1	2	3	4	5

Bewerten Sie die folgenden Aussagen in folgender Weise:

- 1. Gar nicht einverstanden**
- 2. Eher nicht einverstanden**
- 3. Weder einverstanden noch nicht einverstanden**
- 4. Meistens einverstanden**
- 5. Völlig einverstanden**

39. Leute, die meinen Dialekt sprechen, finde ich sympathisch.	1	2	3	4	5
40. Es hat Vorteile, Hochdeutsch sprechen zu können.	1	2	3	4	5
41. Die Innviertler Mundart ist ein wichtiger Teil meiner Kultur.	1	2	3	4	5
42. Ich habe vieles mit den Bayern gemeinsam.	1	2	3	4	5
43. Deutsche sprechen besseres Deutsch als Österreicher.	1	2	3	4	5
44. Norddeutsche finde ich sympathisch.	1	2	3	4	5
45. Der Innviertler Dialekt verschwindet langsam.	1	2	3	4	5
46. Es gibt Situationen, in denen Hochdeutsch unpassend ist.	1	2	3	4	5
47. Ich habe mehr mit den Bayern gemeinsam als mit Norddeutschen.	1	2	3	4	5
48. Es gibt Situationen, in denen man nicht Dialekt sprechen sollte.	1	2	3	4	5
49. Mein Dialekt wird außerhalb des Innviertels verstanden.	1	2	3	4	5
50. Leute, die meinen Dialekt sprechen, sind zuverlässig.	1	2	3	4	5
51. Bayern sind arrogant.	1	2	3	4	5
52. Ich bin zuerst ÖsterreicherIn, dann Europäer.	1	2	3	4	5
53. Richtiges Deutsch wird nur in Deutschland gesprochen.	1	2	3	4	5
54. In der Schule sollte man etwas über den Innviertler Dialekt lernen.	1	2	3	4	5
55. Bayern finde ich sympathisch.	1	2	3	4	5
56. Ich bin zuerst InnviertlerIn, dann Österreicher.	1	2	3	4	5
57. Es ist sehr wichtig, Hochdeutsch sprechen zu können.	1	2	3	4	5
58. Ich finde meinen Dialekt schön.	1	2	3	4	5
59. Bayern sind zuverlässig.	1	2	3	4	5
60. Es ist schlecht, mit einem starken Akzent zu sprechen.	1	2	3	4	5
61. Mir gefällt Mundartdichtung (z.B. von Franz Stelzhamer).	1	2	3	4	5
62. Ich kann mich besser in Hochdeutsch als im Dialekt ausdrücken.	1	2	3	4	5
63. Man sollte nur Hochdeutsch in der Schule lernen.	1	2	3	4	5
64. Norddeutsche finde ich arrogant.	1	2	3	4	5
65. Der Innviertler Dialekt sollte verschwinden.	1	2	3	4	5

## Translation of Questionnaire for School-Age Respondents

*Circle the appropriate answer.*

Name: Telephone Number:  
Gender: Male / Female  
Residence (town/city):  
Birthdate: in: (Town/City)  
Raised in (City/Town):

--

### EDUCATION

Elementary School: Town:  
Secondary School: Town:  
University/College: Town:

--

### RELIGION

Member: Yes / No  
Which confession?  
Regular attendance: Yes / No

--

### FREE TIME

Clubs/Organizations:

--

### Family

Father:	Mother:
Birthplace:	Birthplace:
Residence:	Residence:
Profession:	Profession:
Commutes to work: Yes / No	Commutes to work: Yes / No

--

### Grandparents:

Paternal – Residence:	Maternal – Residence:
Birthplace:	Birthplace:
Profession:	Profession:
Did you know them? Yes / No	Did you know them? Yes / No

--

Do you have siblings? Yes / No  
How many?

--

Longer stay outside of the Innviertel? Yes / No  
Where?  
How long?

**1=Never      2=Occasionally      3=Regularly      4=Often      5=Almost always**

How often do you watch television?

1. Austrian broadcasters:	1	2	3	4	5
2. German broadcasters:	1	2	3	4	5
3. Broadcasters from other countries?	1	2	3	4	5

How often do you listen to the radio?

4. Austrian broadcasters:	1	2	3	4	5
5. German broadcasters:	1	2	3	4	5
6. Broadcasters from other countries?	1	2	3	4	5

7. How often do you travel to Linz?	1	2	3	4	5
8. How often do you travel to Salzburg?	1	2	3	4	5
9. How often do you travel to Vienna?	1	2	3	4	5
10. How often do you travel to Germany?	1	2	3	4	5

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Do you have relatives in other cities in Austria?	Yes / No
Do you have friends in other cities in Austria?	Yes / No
Do you have relatives Germany?	Yes / No
Do you have friends in Germany?	Yes / No

***How often do you speak dialect in the following situations?***

**1=Never      2=Occasionally      3=Regularly      4=Often      5=Almost always**

11. With your parents?	1	2	3	4	5
12. With your siblings?	1	2	3	4	5
13. With your grandparents?	1	2	3	4	5
14. With other relatives from the Innviertel?	1	2	3	4	5
15. With other relatives from other regions?	1	2	3	4	5
16. With neighborhood children?	1	2	3	4	5
17. In a pub/bar?	1	2	3	4	5
18. On a trip in other regions of Austria?	1	2	3	4	5
19. On a trip in Germany?	1	2	3	4	5
20. In a sports club?	1	2	3	4	5
21. At sporting events?	1	2	3	4	5
22. In church?	1	2	3	4	5
23. While shopping?	1	2	3	4	5
24. In a restaurant with the waiter/waitress?	1	2	3	4	5
25. With strangers on the street?	1	2	3	4	5
26. With strangers on the telephone?	1	2	3	4	5
27. With a priest or minister?	1	2	3	4	5
28. At exhibitions and festivals?	1	2	3	4	5
29. When you talk to yourself in your mind?	1	2	3	4	5
30. In the doctor's waiting room?	1	2	3	4	5
31. With the doctor himself/herself?	1	2	3	4	5
32. With fellow pupils in school instruction?	1	2	3	4	5
33. With fellow pupils outside of the classroom?	1	2	3	4	5
34. With the teacher in school instruction?	1	2	3	4	5
35. With the teacher outside of the classroom?	1	2	3	4	5
36. In a disco/dance club?	1	2	3	4	5
37. In a youth club?	1	2	3	4	5
38. With the school principal?	1	2	3	4	5

Evaluate the following statements in the following manner:

- 1. Disagree completely**
- 2. Disagree somewhat**
- 3. Neither agree nor disagree**
- 4. Agree somewhat**
- 5. Agree completely**

- |  |   |   |   |   |   |
|--|---|---|---|---|---|
| 39. I find people who speak my dialect to be nice.                         | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 40. There are advantages to speaking Standard German.                      | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 41. The Innviertler dialect is an important part of my culture.            | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 42. I have a lot in common with Bavarians.                                 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 43. Germans speak better German than Austrians do.                         | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 44. I find northern Germans to be nice.                                    | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 45. The Innviertler dialect is slowly disappearing.                        | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 46. There are situations, where speaking Standard German is inappropriate. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 47. I have more in common with the Bavarians than with northern Germans.   | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 48. There are situations where one should not speak dialect.               | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 49. My dialect is understood outside of the Innviertel.                    | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 50. People who speak my dialect are dependable.                            | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 51. Bavarians are arrogant.  | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 52. I consider myself an Austrian first, and a European second.            | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 53. Proper German is only spoken in Germany.                               | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 54. One should learn about the Innviertler dialect in school.              | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 55. I find Bavarians to be nice.   | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 56. I consider myself an Innviertler first, and an Austrian second.        | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 57. It is important to be able to speak Standard German.                   | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 58. I find my dialect to be beautiful.                                     | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 59. Bavarians are dependable.  | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 60. It is bad to speak with a strong accent.                               | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 61. I enjoy dialect-poetry (for example from Franz Stelzhamer).            | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 62. I can express myself better in Standard German than in dialect.        | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 63. One should only learn Standard German in school.                       | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 64. I find northern Germans to be arrogant.                                | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 65. The Innviertler dialect should disappear.                              | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

## **APPENDIX C: Related Attitudes (Control Questions)**

### **Group 1: German Standard German vs. Austrian Standard German**

43. Germans speak better German than Austrians do.

53. Proper German is only spoken in Germany.

### **Group 2: Northern Germans**

44. I find northern Germans to be very nice.

47. I have more in common with the Bavarians than with northern Germans.

64. I find northern Germans to be arrogant.

### **Group 3: Local Loyalty**

52. I am an Austrian first, a European second.

56. I am an Innviertler first, an Austrian second.

### **Group 4: Bavarians**

42. I have a lot in common with Bavarians.

51. Bavarians are arrogant.

55. I find Bavarians to be nice.

59. Bavarians are dependable.

### **Group 5: Appropriateness of Standard German**

40. There are advantages to speaking Standard German.

46. There are situations in which Standard German is inappropriate.

48. There are situations where one should not speak dialect.

57. It is important to be able to speak Standard German.

### **Group 6: In Common with Bavarians**

42. I have more in common with the Bavarians than with North Germans.

47. I have a lot in common with Bavarians.

### **Group 7: Innviertler Dialect**

41. The Innviertler dialect is an important part of my culture.

58. I find my dialect to be beautiful.

65. The Innviertler dialect should disappear.

### **Group 8: Speakers of Innveirtel Dialect**

39. I find people who speak my dialect to be nice.

50. People who speak my dialect are dependable.

58. I find my dialect to be beautiful.

65. The Innviertler dialect should disappear.

### **Group 9: Language in School Instruction**

54. One should only learn Standard German in school.

63. One should learn about the Innviertler dialect in school.

**Group 10: Limitations of Innviertler Dialect**

- 40. There are advantages to speaking Standard German.
- 49. My dialect is understood outside of the Innviertel.

**Ungrouped Attitudes (No control questions):**

- 45. The Innviertler dialect is slowly disappearing.
- 60. It is bad to speak with a strong accent.
- 61. I enjoy dialect-poetry (for example from Franz Stelzhamer).
- 62. I can express myself better in Standard German than in dialect.



## **APPENDIX D: Approved Proposal GERM 04-001 for Academic Affairs Institutional Review Board of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill**

David Kleinberg

Dissertation Field Research: *A study of language attitudes in an Austrian town.*

### **1. Project Description:**

The town of Ried im Innkreis, Austria, population 10 000, is located on the border between Austria and Germany. The local citizens use a distinctive local dialect, different than that of the Germans across the border, and different than Austrians from nearby regions. It is of interest to me that Ried is an educational center for the entire region, with pupils commuting into the town for primary and secondary school. It is in the primary schools that the standard variety of German is taught.

The purpose of my research is to determine how the attitudes of an individual speaker of the local dialect relate to the frequency of use of the dialect vis-à-vis the standard variety of German language. I will also perform social network analysis, in order to determine individuals' network strength and correlate this value with the reported attitudes and language usage. I also wish to determine whether the school-age pupils speak a regional colloquial variety of German with one another, or whether they speak the local dialect of their individual hometowns.

The first step of this research involves a self-reporting questionnaire. This questionnaire will ask personal demographic information which can be used to perform the social network analysis, will ask the informants in which domains (institutional settings such as the home, in school, at work, at church, etc.) they feel it is appropriate or inappropriate to use the local dialect, and will ask them to agree or disagree with statements in order to evaluate their attitudes. Adult participants will be given a slightly different questionnaire than school-age participants, as questions about careers are not applicable to children, and questions about youth activities (clubs, discos) may not be applicable to adults.

Another aspect of the field research will be participant observation. In the course of administering the surveys and living in the town of Ried im Innkreis, I will interact socially with many individuals. Through participant observation I will determine what register (dialect, colloquial speech, or "high" German) is actually being used in each domain.

One additional form of data collection will consist of a limited number of personal interviews with informants, as a follow-up to the questionnaire.

### **2. Participants:**

The participants will consist of natives of the town of Ried im Innkreis, Upper Austria, Austria. They will fall within three age groups: 0-30, 31-60, and 60+. Both males and females will take the survey. All informants should be native speakers of the local dialect. That is, they have been born and raised in the local community and speak the local dialect as their first language. For the network analysis, I will divide the pool of informants into 12 classes, divided by age (3 classes), gender (male/female), and whether the informant works/studies in Ried or commutes elsewhere (2 classes).

It will be possible to gather completed questionnaires in large numbers of younger informants from the local elementary and secondary schools in Ried. I will find older

informants with the assistance of friends, acquaintances, school teachers, and clergy in Ried, with whom I have contacts from my time previously spent in Ried. I anticipate approximately 300-400 respondents. Potential informants will be approached using the “friend of a friend” method, in which the informant tends to be more cooperative due to mutual acquaintance of the informant and investigator.

For the social network analysis, it will be possible to limit the number of follow-up interviews to 5 per class, or 60 total interviews. The participant observation and personal interviews will be tape recorded if the informants give their consent.

### **3. Risk to participants:**

There is minimal risk to the participants. The research will consist of questionnaires, participant observation, and personal interviews. The nature of the questions is not intended to be embarrassing or to cause discomfort. All information collected will be held strictly confidential by the investigator. Names will only be collected in order to make follow-up interviews possible, and the names will not be shared with anyone else.

### **4. Describe steps to minimize risk**

N/A

### **5. Are illegal activities involved?**

There are no illegal activities involved in the research. I have already obtained permission from the local school council of Upper Austria (*Landesschulrat für Oberösterreich*) in order to administer the questionnaires in local schools and perform participant observation. I will make arrangements with the local schools’ principals and teachers (many of whom I already know from my year spent teaching English in two of the schools) to distribute the questionnaire in the schools.

### **6. Is deception involved?**

There is no deception involved. Participants will be informed that I am interested in the local dialect. Specifically, I wish to know how, why, when, where, and with whom the local dialect is used. The questions on the questionnaire are simple and straightforward.

### **7. What are the anticipated benefits to participants and/or society?**

Society will benefit from a better understanding of how social attitudes are reflected by the variety of language used, and what values can be expressed through the use of local dialect instead of standard varieties of language. It is also of great importance to document and preserve older, rural dialects as they are displaced by more standard varieties.

### **8. How will prior consent be obtained?**

All participants will be given a form with their questionnaire, which they will sign to indicate their consent. This form will explain who I am, what my research interest is, and how I intend to carry out the research. Any individual who does not wish to participate is free to decline. The consent form is included below. A separate consent form will be given to participants of the personal interview. Participants will be informed that their participation is voluntary; they have the right to refuse to participate, to discontinue their participation at any time, and to ask that the recording be stopped at any time. Oral consent will be obtained from

anyone involved in participant observation with audio recording. It is impractical to obtain written consent from every possible participant during participant observation, but if anyone asks that the audio recording be stopped, it will be. No attempt will be made to conceal the recorder or surreptitiously record participants.

For school-aged subjects, parental consent may be necessary. The *Landesschulrat* has not indicated that parental consent would be necessary, but I will also check with the school principals and other researchers in Austria. I have prepared a parental consent form in any case.

**9. Describe security procedures for privacy and confidentiality.**

All completed questionnaires will remain in my possession and in a locked room.

Participants will only need to provide their name if they consent to be contacted for a follow-up study, otherwise their answers will be anonymous. Each individual's name will be cross-referenced by an individual identifying number. When the data is entered into a computer for statistical analysis, it will not include the individual respondents' names. No respondent's name will be used in my dissertation or subsequent publications.

## APPENDIX E: Consent Form

Liebe Innviertlerin, lieber Innviertler,

Ich lade Sie dazu ein, an einem Forschungsprojekt teilzunehmen. Ich erforsche, wie, wann, wo, warum und mit wem Leute den lokalen Dialekt sprechen, besonders hier im Innviertel. Mein Forschungsprojekt besteht aus einem Fragebogen. Dieser Fragebogen ist Teil meiner Doktorarbeit an der Universität von North Carolina in den Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika. Es ist mein Ziel, besser zu verstehen, wie Sprache in der Gesellschaft benutzt wird.

Die folgende Umfrage wird Ihnen Fragen stellen über Sie selbst, Ihre Familie und Ihre Gemeinde. Danach werden Sie gebeten anzugeben, in welchen Situationen es Ihrer Meinung nach angemessen bzw. unangemessen ist, den lokalen Dialekt zu benutzen. Sie werden außerdem gefragt werden, ob Sie verschiedenen Aussagen zustimmen oder nicht zustimmen. Diese Aussagen beziehen sich auf den Dialekt, Hochdeutsch, und Leute, die Dialekt sprechen.

Diese Umfrage ist freiwillig. Sie können sich weigern, daran teilzunehmen, auch wenn Sie bereits begonnen haben, den Fragebogen auszufüllen. Zudem können Sie es auch jederzeit ablehnen, einzelne Fragen zu beantworten, ohne dafür einen Grund anzugeben.

Ich möchte Sie bitten, die folgenden Fragen ehrlich und vollständig zu beantworten. Ich schätze, dass es etwa 20-30 Minuten dauern wird, den Fragebogen auszufüllen. Im Ganzen werden zwischen 300 und 400 Leute an der Umfrage teilnehmen. Nur ich selbst werde Ihre Antworten lesen und statistisch erfassen. Ihren Namen brauche ich nur für eventuelle Rückfragen. Wenn Sie für Rückfragen nicht zur Verfügung stehen, schreiben Sie Ihren Namen bitte nicht auf den Fragebogen. Ihre Antworten bleiben streng vertraulich und Ihr Name wird zu keiner Zeit in meinen Forschungsergebnissen auftauchen.

Wenn Sie Fragen oder Bedenken zu dieser Umfrage haben, wenden Sie sich bitte an mich (siehe Kontakt-Information) oder an meinen Betreuer, Prof. Dr. Paul Roberge, via E-mail unter der Adresse ptr@email.unc.edu, oder telefonisch unter (001)919-966-1641.

David Kleinberg BA MA  
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Der Institutionelle Kontrollrat für Akademische Angelegenheiten (AA-IRB, Academic Affairs Institutional Review Board) der Universität von North Carolina in Chapel Hill hat diese Studie genehmigt. Wenn Sie Fragen zu Ihren Rechten als Teilnehmer an dieser Studie haben, wenden Sie sich bitte an den AA-IRB unter (001)919-962-7761 oder via E-mail unter der Adresse aa-irb@unc.edu.

Wenn Sie bereit sind, an der Umfrage teilzunehmen, unterschreiben Sie bitte eine Kopie dieses Formulars und behalten Sie eine weitere Kopie für sich selbst.

*Ich bin bereit, an dieser Studie teilzunehmen. Mir ist bewusst, dass meine Antworten streng vertraulich bleiben. Mir ist weiterhin bewusst, dass ich nicht verpflichtet bin, an dieser Studie teilzunehmen, und dass ich meine Teilnahme jederzeit beenden kann. Meine Unterschrift zeigt an, dass ich teilnehmen möchte, und dass ich diese Entscheidung für mich selbst getroffen habe. Indem ich meinen Namen auf den Fragebogen schreibe, erkläre ich mich bereit, für Rückfragen zur Verfügung zu stehen.*

---

Unterschrift

Datum

## Translation of Consent Form

Dear Innviertler,

I invite you to take part in a research project. I am researching how, when, where, why, and with whom the local dialect is spoken, in particular here in the Innviertel. This research will consist of a questionnaire. This questionnaire is part of the research for my doctoral dissertation at the University of North Carolina in the United States. My goal is to better understand how language functions in society.

The survey will ask you about your background, family and community. You will then be asked to indicate in which situations it is appropriate to use the local dialect, and when it is inappropriate. You will also be asked to agree or disagree with statements about the dialect or the standard variety, and statements about speakers of dialects.

This survey is voluntary. You may decline to participate, even after you have begun the survey. You may also decline to answer any question for any reason.

I request that you answer the following questions honestly and completely. I anticipate that it should take 20-30 minutes to complete the survey. The total number of participants in the study will be between 300 and 400. Your answers will be read and statistically calculated by only me. Your name is only required in the case that I need to contact you with follow-up questions. If you do not wish to be contacted later, you should not write your name on the survey. Your answers will remain strictly confidential and at no time will your name appear in my research results.

If you have questions or concerns about the survey, please contact me (contact information below) or my advisor, Prof. Dr. Paul Roberge, via email at [ptr@email.unc.edu](mailto:ptr@email.unc.edu), or via telephone at (001)919.966.1641.

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The Academic Affairs Institutional Review Board (AA-IRB) at The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill has approved this study. If you have any concerns about your rights as a participant in this study, you may contact the AA-IRB at (001)919.962.7761 or at [aa-irb@unc.edu](mailto:aa-irb@unc.edu).

If you are willing to participate, please sign one copy of this form, and keep one copy for yourself.

*I am willing to take part in this research. I recognize that my answers will remain strictly confidential. I understand that I am not required to take part in this research, and that I may stop at any time. My signature indicates that I would like to participate, and that I have reached this decision by myself. By writing my name on the questionnaire, I consent to being contacted for follow-up.*

---

Signature

Date

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