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STANDARD LANGUAGE AND DIALECT IN AUSTRIA

Начало статьи в предыдущем номере.

3. Analysis

3.1. The Viennese monophthongisation

One salient characteristic of VD is the monophthongisation of [aɛ] and [ao].[1] This process has been extensively studied (for instance, [2; 3; 4; 5; 6; 7; 8; 9]). VD has a monophthong, where SG has a diphthong: 'ei' SG [aɛ] ↔ VD [ɛ:], 'au' SG [ao] ↔ VD [ɔ:][2]. However, the SG variable undergoes a gradual process of monophthongisation in production which can lead to different outputs in the same utterance. In order to explain this variation, the application of *postlexical stress* which depends on speaker's choices has to be considered (cf. [10]).[3] If a diphthong is in stressed position, and if a speaker decides to put relatively more or less (post-lexical) stress on a diphthong, it will be more or less diphthongic in VG; in this respect, monophthongization is a casual speech phenomenon. This effect does not occur in VD, the phoneme in this position is *historically* monophthongized ([aɛ] → [ɛ:]); casual speech processes (in unstressed position) lead to a reduction of the [ɛ:] quality ([ɛ:] → [ɛ]→ [ə]). The difference between the monophthongic or diphthongic realisation is exemplified in (08a), with a very weak diphthongic movement of F2 in VD /ae/, and a stronger movement in VG /ae/; The VG monophthongization is a gradual process, as much as the gradual phonological reduction of the VD monophthong which can be observed (schematic: 01b).

Since the two realizations have been described as coocurring in the speech of one speaker, it needs to be shown that these two processes can actually be told apart. A quantitative study of the degree of diphthongic quality (by F2 movement[4] as seen in 01a) shows two peaks, one at 0Hz, another at around 100-160Hz F2

[1]For the dialectological overview, cf., e.g., [1].

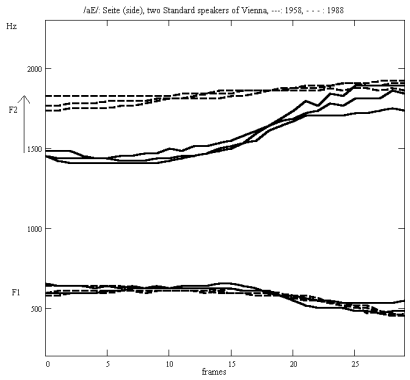
[2]The same is true for 'eu' SG [ɔɛ] ↔ VD [ɜ:].

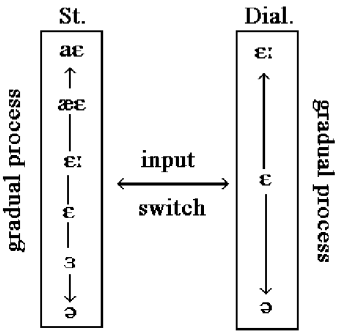
[3]Lexical stress is the assignment of stress as stored in the lexicon; however, speakers have some freedom to apply emphasis on words which creates secondary, *postlexical* stress patterns.

[4]The most important phonetic aspect of the monophthongization is seen in the movement of F2 across vowel production (cf. 01a).

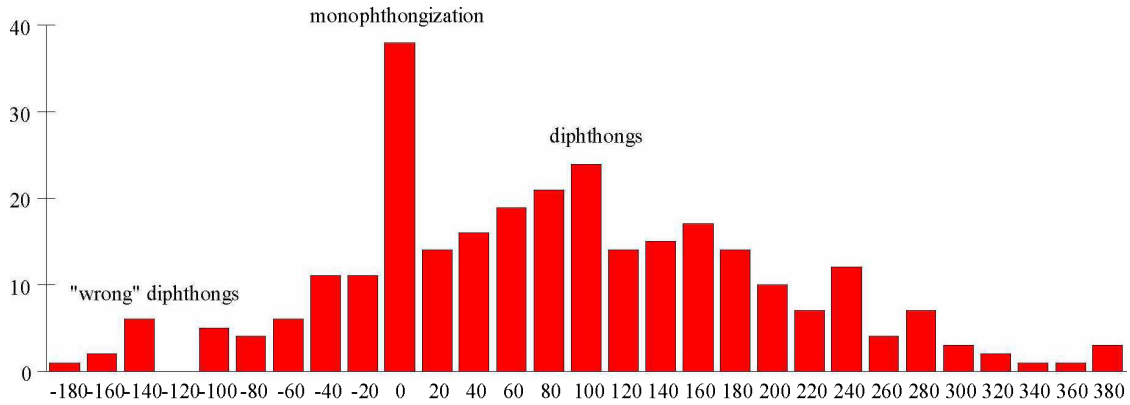
movement (02).[1] The speakers seem to distinguish two different realisations for phonemic /ae/, a frequent monophthong and a distribution of (weak) diphthongic qualities,[2] which has been interpreted as evidence for the two-competence model. This could therefore be an interesting showcase for subtle (overlapping) phonetic distinctions which can be sociopragmatically interpreted by competent listeners [8; 11].

(01) (a) Formants F1 and F2 for /ae/ in VD: monophthong [ɛ:] or diphthong [aɛ]. (b) Model for the interaction between the gradual monophthongisation of the diphthong /ae/ in VG and the range of realisations of the dialectal monophthong (cf. [3]).





(02) The number of occurrences of F2–movements (in 20 Hz bands) for /aɛ/ in Viennese German (4 speakers; cf. [3]).



In a qualitative analysis, speakers show different realisations in the same settings, as shown in (03), reading a text. This requires an explanation which is found in postlexical stress assignment [10]: Beside (fixed) lexical stress patterns for words in isolation, speakers have some choice how to put postlexical stress on syllables of inflected words and of phrases which then translates into strengthening or weakening of the diphthongic quality. While stress in 'Reiberéien' cannot be varied

[1]The diagram also shows that a number of realisations showed an F2 movement in the opposite direction which is perceived as a 'Viennese' monophthong.

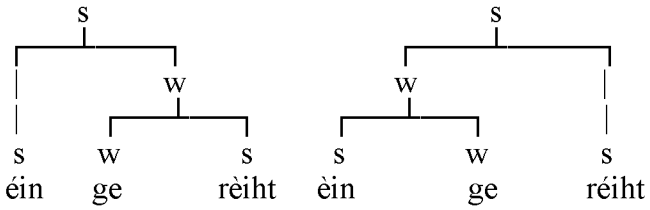
[2][2] showed much stronger diphthongs ([ae/aɪ]) in studio recordings of single words. All Viennese speakers are recognizable by their *weak* diphthongs or their monophthongisation.

(lexical stress), the word 'ein-ge-reiht' allows two postlexical stress patterns: 'éin-ge-reiht/ ein-ge-réiht' (04). Therefore (03a) shows uniformity in the relative strength of the two diphthongs (the second always being stronger), while diphthongic strength can vary between speakers in (03b) in dependence of postlexical stress.

(03) F2 movement in /ae/ diphthongs (cf. [3], 4 speakers)
(a)... denn **Reibereien** zwischen dem öffentlichen Verkehr und ...
(b)... vor einer Kreuzung links **eingereiht**,...

SPK:	(a) ʀaɛ	bɐ	'ʀaɛ.n	b)	aɛ̯ŋ	(ge)	ʀaɛ̯t
A:	226.5		**515.0**		132.8		**234.4**
B:	109.4		**171.9**		**277.3**		65.1
C:	183.6		**210.9**		179.7		**320.3**
D:	132.8		**425.7**		**208.4**		187.5

(04) Postlexical stress overrules lexical stress patterns, also across words



In this way, the quality of the diphthong in SG depends on a speaker's choice about intonation, i.e., intonation is the bridge between sociopragmatic factors and phonetic qualities, assigning meaning to the choice of variables and thereby in turn cementing their distinctiveness, instead of simply collapsing into one form (cf. [8]). This explains why diphthongisation vs. monophthongisation can participate in the sociopragmatic meaning of an utterance. The monophthongisation as a process expresses relatively less importance through phonetic reduction. The speaker's choice for the dialectal monophthongisation merges SG/VD in unstressed positions, but indicates VD use in stressed position; the use of a (weak) diphthong is indicative of SG. Both choices can be sociopragmatically interpreted as emotional involvement or objectivity, effort towards (in)formality, etc. – in accordance with stereotypic language attitudes [5].

3.2. Language development and variation

There is little research on variation in language development until recently [12; 13]. Variation itself varies between rural and urban settings and geographical locations. A diary study [14] of two pre-school children in Vienna found that urban parents (in Vienna) were using SG in child-directed speech, while otherwise being dialect speakers; other children (peers) and parents showed a similar behavior; consequently, the young children in an urban environment (Vienna) focus on SG first, and only slowly start to apply sociophonological rules to partially produce dialectal forms, beginning at age 4,0, developing a preliminary sociophonological competence towards age 5,0-6,0. It was found that the children first cancelled out variation, translated dialectal utterances into the standard language (05) (sometimes correctly as in (05a), sometimes with non-target (i.e., 'wrong') forms as in (05b)). The following two excerpts from conversations between adults and children shows how the children translate dialect words into their own SG variety.

(05) Correction of dialect forms [14]
A1= greatgrandmother, A2= mother, A3= father, C1/C2= child 1/2.

(a)	A1:	kʀiɐ̯g̊st	ɐ	ɒndɐs	kʰɛ:ksʊl	kʰã:	sɔ	ɐ	hɔɐ̯ts
	gloss:	kriegst du	ein	anderes	Keks-DIM	kein	so	ein	hartes
	gloss:	get you	an	other	cookie	not	such	a	hard-SUF
	you.get a different cookie – not such a hard one.								
	C2:	kʰaɐ̯n	hɔɐ̯t:ɛs		–	kʰaɐ̯n	ha:tɛs		
	gloss:	kein	hartes		–	kein	hartes		
	gloss:	*not a*	*hard-SUF*		–	*not a*	*hard-SUF*		
	not a hard one – not a hard one.								
(b)	A2:	i:sɔ	hɔstɐs		d̥ɛn	ɔ:d̥ʀa:t?			
	gloss:	ieso	hast du es		denn	abgedreht?			
	gloss:	hy	have you it		PTC	switched.off			
	Why did you switch it off?								
	C1:	iç	ha:b̥	ɛs	niçt	*ab̥g̊ɛd̥ʀa:t!			
	gloss:	ich	habe	es	nicht	abgedreht!			
	gloss:	I	have	it	not	switched.off			
	I did not switch it off!								

The great-grandmother A1 in (5a) speaks AD, e.g., [kʰã:] 'kein' and [hɔɐ̯ts] 'hartes' (S2); the child corrects the input into SG [kʰaɐ̯n ha:tɛs] 'kein hartes'. In (5b), the participle AD [ɔ:d̥ʀa:t] (W10 and more) of the mother is corrected by the child into [ab̥g̊ɛ̈d̥ʀa:t] (W10) which is wrong for [ab̥g̊ɛ̈d̥ʀe:t], because the lexical switch [d̥ʀa:n] ↔ [d̥ʀe:n] is not recognised by the child.

A bit later, the children started to sometimes use dialect forms for sociopragmatic purposes such as showing emotions such as affection, anger, and other feelings (06). The variable rules (input-switches) were sometimes wrongly applied (07), lexical, morphological or phonological opacity between SG and AD forms made it more difficult for the children to translate AD input into SG (08). It was concluded that sociolectal variation is learned together with its stereotypical function of dialect forms as informal/basilectal, familial, personal, emotional speech. In other words, the children are not dialect speakers, but can use input-switch rules to some degree to produce some register differences.

(06) Attempts of dialect use [14]

(a)	C1:	d̥as khan iç **nɛt.**	Das kann ich nicht.
		I cannot do that.	
(b)	C1:	iç ne:m **d̥as d̥ɔ**	Ich nehme das da.
		I take this one.	

In (6), examples for inappropriate mixtures of SG and AD are presented which show the children's incorrect choices of certain AD forms of ISR; in (6a), a function word AD [nɛt] 'nicht' (W4) does not fit with the rest of the utterance in SG: AD [d̥ɛs kʰaõ.i nɛt] ↔ SG [d̥as kʰan.ıç nıçt]. Similarly in (6b), [d̥as d̥ɔ] does not apply AD for W5, but S8; in this combination, it is 'wrong': AD [i nim d̥ɛs d̥ɔ] ↔ SG [iç ne:m das da]. As would be expected, rather frequent word-based AD forms are first inserted, as an attempt to apply sociopragmatic effects.

(07)	Wrong input-switch applications		
C1:	iç hab̥s niçt **g̊ɛ̈sii̯ɐ̯çt**	Ich hab’s nicht gesehen.	
	I have not seen it.		

Example (07) is difficult to describe to the non-speaker of AD; SG *sehen* has the participle *gesehen*; this would be rather similar in AD with the forms INF [se:ŋ] and PP [g̊se:ŋ]; however, the AD 1st/2nd/3rd person singular forms of this verb have a different root [sii̯ɐ̯ç-] ‘seh-’ (with a historical S4 diphthong). The child produces a PP [g̊ɛ̈sii̯ɐ̯çt] with W10 SG form *ge-* and a wrong attempt at using the AD root [sii̯ɐ̯ç-] (which would not apply for the participle). Judging from the rest of the sentence, the child thinks that this form is the SG form.

	(08)	Copying or correcting from adults	
(a)	A3:	d̥ɛs gɛ:t jɔ nët **ae̯ni**	Das geht ja nicht hinein.
		That does not fit in.	
	C1:	ɔja ës g̊e:t ʃɔn **ae̯ni**	Ohja, das geht schon **hinein**.
		It does fit in.	
(b)	A3:	k^ha:ʀɔ ge: **ɔvi**	Caro, geh runter.
		Caro, go down!	
	C1:	ʋ̥aʀum sɔɭ iç **a:bi**ge:n?	Warum soll ich **runter**gehen?
		Why shall I go down?	

The form [ae̯ni] in (8a) is AD, A3 speaks dialect; the child answers in SG, but copies the form that is too different from the SG form (*hinein*). (b) However, the child attempts a back-formation of AD form [ɔvi] as SG *[a:bi] – applying S8 which is lexically impossible here (SG ‘runter/hinunter’).

Variation first creates a language learning problem for children who need to distinguish alternative forms about which there is some insecurity at first, but then lets them integrate sociopragmatic variation into their linguistic competence, beginning with the most salient ISR. It is clear that rural children speak AD and have less SG exposure; for many urban children, however, SG is the dominant variety, and they do not acquire dialect as such, but rather add a sociophonological competence to their repertoire. This leads to language shift (AD → SG) and the attrition of the dialect as an autonomous variety, transforming it into a set of variables of SG. AD is reduced to regular phonological differences (ISR), grammatical and lexical differences tend to disappear in intergenerational transmission (with young people no longer actively using these forms), and the phonological ISRs are used for sociopragmatic effects.

3.3. Second-language speakers and variation

With immigration, many *new* speakers of German are confronted with phonological variation in a foreign language as adults, formally learning Standard German in classrooms (often according to Germany-German norms), but being exposed to AD and colloquial styles of SG in daily life. In a case study of one Albanian speaker [15] who has lived in Austria for more than 10 years, the use of standard and dialect variables was analysed.[1]

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[1]This case study was refined in a phonetic study of her /l/ realizations [16] in an attempt to analyse the foreignness of phonetic realisations (cf. also [17]).

The L2 speaker understands Austrian speakers with ease and appears to be competent in AD (with a foreign accent; cf. (09)); a sociophonological analysis exposed, however, that the L2 speaker creates this impression by applying only few segment-based ISR (such as S8, but also S2, S3) and otherwise uses mostly word-based ISR, i.e. uses two variants of specific lexemes. The full sociophonological system of AD/SG has not been integrated into her competence.

The speaker applies the dialectal choices to fit into casual speech situations, while at the same time, she expresses a negative attitude towards non-standard speech both in her mother tongue and in German. These common stereotypic language attitudes about *good* and *bad* forms apply to all languages, of course.

In the following example (09a), a comparison to both standard (b) and colloquial (c) forms is given for comparison; an insecurity about the exact application of the sociophonological rules is visible. This makes the speaker both sound very competent and still foreign; sentence (09a) would be 'wrong' in terms of a fully competent speaker.

(09) Migrant speaking Austrian German [15]

(a)	'damœɛls	vɔ.ɪ	tsum 'bæɛʃpʏl	'hɛɐkɔmɛn bin	[...]
(b)	damal̩s	vɔ iç	tsum baɛʃpi:l	'hɛɐgɛkɔmɛn bin	(standard)
(c)	dɔmɔɛs	vɔ.i	tsum baɛʃpy:	'hɛɐkumɐn bin	(dialect)
	S8; S9	W3	S9[1]	W10; W8	(ISR)
	Damals,	wo[2] ich	zum Beispiel	hergekommen bin	[...]

At that time, when i came here, for example, [...]

By and large, the non-native speaker creates the impression of speaking very competently a casual Austrian colloquial language by selecting mostly some word-based dialect-forms (W), while segmental (S), i.e., phonological, ISR most often opt for the standard variable. The discrepancy between a standard language taught as L2 and spoken variability of forms is partially overcome through language practice.

The application of phonetic characteristics of phonemes and their variational range is one of the real 'secrets of sounding native' [18], as especially sociophonological variation is neither taught to nor easily adopted by L2 speakers; foreign accents may have to do in large parts with how phonemes can be varied differently in two languages, which will therefore expose most L2 speakers as such.

3.4. Dialect in acrolectal use

Contrary to Switzerland where Swiss German is used in media, a voluntary use of plain dialect is by and large inappropriate in Austrian media. The news reporters at the national broadcast corporation (ORF) undergo meticulous training to avoid dialectal features in their speech.[3] However, there are radio and TV programs aimed at dialect speakers, with dialect-speaking moderators, e.g., in the form of talk radio where listeners can call and ask for music pieces dedicated to friends and relatives; the usually older callers thereby speak authentic dialects.

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[1]A special subrule for S9 is [i:l] ↔ [y:] (cf. [4] for a detailed description).

[2]Using *wo* 'where' for 'when' is dialectal; *wie* 'how/when' would have been colloquial, *als* 'as/when' would be correct in the standard language

[3]This attempt is very successful, but still leaves some room for phonetic processes which give away the rough origin of some of the moderators.

The use of dialect forms by moderators, however, meets certain psychological restrictions, as dialect is not considered apt for acrolectal communication, according to stereotypic language attitudes [5; 19]. In this way, moderators of dialect programs find themselves in a double bind situation: Speaking real dialect will be criticised by some listeners and may be interpreted as *slang* or *jargon*. The moderators therefore tend to speak a very 'distinguished' (clear, slow, stylistically elaborated) form of dialect which, among other features, uses many words from the standard language – but in dialect phonology; i.e., some, not all, AD forms of ISR are applied to SG loanwords. This happens mostly to elaborated vocabulary which is lacking in AD. For instance, the verb *ausgearbeitet* [aɔsgɛ.ɐ:baɛtɛt] ('worked out') has no direct dialectal equivalent; if used in dialect, it would be pronounced [aɔsgɔɐvɐt], but the moderator may say [aɔsgɛ.ɔɐbaɛtɛt]; that means that the dialect form of S8 (/a:/ ↔ /ɔ:/) is applied to the /-ar-/ sequence, dialectal W10 (/gɛ-/ ↔ /g-/) and the dialectal morphological suffixation (AD [-t] ↔ SG /-et/) are not applicable. Summing up the observations, the choice of dialect forms centers around some preferred ISRs (such as S8), allowing few sociophonological selections to represent 'dialect'. One could say that the medium requires a quick standardisation of the dialect at all levels of grammar.

In some other formats (comedy, talk shows), (urban) dialect is sometimes used with les care to some degree, especially studio guests may use AD or colloquial forms, often through code-switching [20], for sociopragmatic effects (e.g., emotional involvement, temporarily increased informality for more closeness to the listeners). Nonetheless, these utterances are rarely genuinely dialectal in a traditional sense.

Speakers in alternative radios, youtube channels and other self-produced media may use dialect, often indicating an alternative counter-culture. Exemplarily, the following examples are transcripts of an Austrian youtuber (Steve) who speaks about boat tours in rivers and lakes. These data have been chosen, because the speaker uses dialect in a very pronounced way and even defends his language use in some of his videos (which indicates that there has been feedback from listeners and a conscious, intentional usage on his side). When a speaker such as Steve uses dialect in public speeches, it may be interpreted as the expression of a linguistic and attitudinal identity which fits his hobby of enjoying nature, camping in the wild, usuing non-traditional travel routes (waterways), being in a non-urban setting. However, Steve's language is not a traditional dialect either, but rather a mixture of AD and colloquial forms of SG.

The speaker faces practical problems when using dialect for his reports; many technical terms do not exist in AD and are therefore (effortlessly) taken from SG (e.g., 'Stabilisierung'); furthermore, compounds between a potential dialect word and a standard term may require a phonological decision (e.g., 'Straßenbrücke', 'Steinbuhnen'). His speech contains SG loanwords which cannot be phonologically adapted (e.g., 'nämlich'). In this way, this speaker, again, does not produce an authentic dialectal speech, but a colloquial SG with a bit too many dialectal ISR choices, mainly due to a lack of lexical and syntactic elaboration of the dialect. In this case, again, the speaker needs to undertake a 'standardisation' of the dialect. The following short excerpts (10), (11) may exemplify this description.

(10) Steve speaking about river hiking in Austrian dialect[1]

6:32	hintɐ	dɐ	strɔ:sn̩**brykɛ**	fɔn	ɐentso:ne	hɔb.i.mi		
	hinter	der	Straßenbrücke	von	Venzone	habe ich mich		
	behind	the	road bridge	of	Venzone	have-1S-1S.ACC		
			DIA+STD	STD	*foreign*	DIA		
	ʃɔɐf	liŋks	kʰɔɛtn,	**əs**	**fuigŋ**	dɔ	ne:mliç	am
	scharf	links	gehalten,	es	folgen	da	nämlich	am
	sharply	left	held	2SN	follow	DEIX	namely	at+DF
	DIA		DIA		DIA	DIA	STD	
	rɛχtn	u:fɐ |	dɑn	ɐ	bɔɐ	sɔ	**staenbu:nɛn,**	
	rechten	Ufer	dann	ein	paar	so	Steinbuhnen,	
	right	shore	then	IDF	couple	such	stone groynes	
				DIA	DIA	DIA	STD	
	dɛ	ɐɔs	ʃɔ	**fyɐ**	**tsa:lraeχɛ**	**kɛntɐruŋɛn**	ġsɔɐġt	
	die	was	schon	für	zahlreiche	Kenterungen	gesorgt	
	REL	REL	already	for	numerous	capsizings	caused	
	DIA	DIA	DIA	STD	STD	STD	DIA	

(11)	hɐm,	[...]	10:30	**ʃtabilisiɐruŋ**	fɔn	dɛm	**brukŋ-**
	haben,			Stabilisierung	von	dem	Brücken-
	have			stabilisation	of	DF	bridge
	DIA			STD	STD	STD	DIA
	fundɐmɛnt	11:40	di:sɛ	brukŋ	15:10	**aesn̩ba:nbrykɛ**	
	fundament		diese	Brücke		Eisenbahnbrücke	
	fundament		DEM	bridge		railway bridge	
	DIA		STD	DIA		STD	

This short passage consists of one sentence (10) and a few instances of 'bridge' which followed shortly thereafter (11), in order to observe the pronunciation of *Brücke* which is AD [brukŋ] ↔ SG [brykɛ]: The first instance is [strɔ:sn̩brykɛ], i.e., dialectal S8 in 'street', but the standard lexeme for 'bridge' (AD [strɔ:sn̩brukŋ])). Later, the speaker uses [brukŋfundɐmɛnt] (AD + SG term), [diese brukŋ] (SG demonstrative pronoun + AD), and then again SG [aesn̩ba:nbrykɛ] (instead of [aesn̩baɔ~brukŋ]).

Specific lexemes (e.g. 'Steinbuhnen', 'zahlreiche Kenterungen') are either borrowed as such, or – if possible – phonologically adapted to the dialect (e.g., [əs fuigŋ] ← 'es folgen'). Structurally, certain phrases are from the STD ('für zahlreiche Kenterungen gesorgt'), others arte dialectal ('scharf links gehalten'; DIA [dɛ ɐɔs][2] 'which'); in some cases, there is no recognisable difference between the two varieties (the pronunciation being 'Austrian/colloquial'). The form [ġsɔɐġt] is yet another example for W10 (reduction of prefix /*ge-*/) with a SG word (*sorgen*).

[1]Flusswandern mit Steve #14 – Tagliamento von Tolmezzo bis ans Meer.

[2]Orthographically 'die was' is the AD relative pronoun for SG 'die'.

This linguistic behavior is a 'typical' contemporary conscious use of dialect by younger speakers which is strongly influenced by SG and distinct from older speakers of AD. The AD has thus been firmly integrated into (or 'roofed over by' [21], [22]) SG and is no longer independently applicable by an urbanised speaker, but simply provides some degree of variation in order to achieve certain sociopragmatic effects of presenting specific attitudes of familiarity or, in this case, rurality.

4. Discussion

Vertical multilingualism of a spoken vernacular and an elaborated standard language which is universally accessible through education, media, and globalised (i.e., widened) communicative needs leads to the increasing assimilation of the dialect into the spoken form of the standard language through its superior linguistic resources in lexicon, structure, and its sociolinguistic prestige. Austrian dialects thereby are reduced to sociophonological variables which are, however, used for various sociopragmatic effects.

For the description of variation, 'variable rules' have to be defined; the microsociolinguistic analysis of phonological variables (or 'input-switch rules', ISR) manages to describe the variational choices of speakers which produce a new 'colloquial Austrian' language which replaces the historical dialects and appears closer to the educational standard language, having eliminated more distinct dialectal characteristics. The standard language is usually the idealised target, and 'dialectal' forms are interpreted by speakers as casual or informal varieties of the standard forms which nowadays dominates structure and lexicon of the spoken language; at the same time, emotional involvement or the covert prestige of the dialect as a marker of identity can lead to the willful choice of dialectal phonetic characteristics being applied even to SG lexemes. Lexical and grammatical differences are smoothed out in favor of standard forms, while (some) phonological aspects of the dialects and frequent dialectal forms of function words and morphemes persist. The dialects are then reduced to being sociolectal variants of the standard language.

Rule application is steered by stylistic decisions of the speakers. This requires a high degree of competence which is learned only slowly by preschool and school children and poses a problem for L2 speakers (wishing to achieve native speaker competence). Language learners (L1, L2) will derive one variable from the other, usually taking SG as the model. In this way, the ISR are actually no longer bidirectional, but monodirectional (SG → AD), the dialect no longer being an independent language in its own right.

This development is, of course, universal, it can be observed in many current situations and accounts for the global decline of minority languages and dialects, with 'national languages' having quickly spread across vast regions, replacing local languages and dialects which (temporarily) may influence the speaking practices to some degree, but could eventually be absorbed by the standard language transmitted through general education and mass media. Standardised languages present a more useful resource for the widened speech community and at times incorporates local variation on the basis of the original vernaculars (through language contact).

Abbreviations

1S	1st person singular	PTC	particle word
DIA	dialect form	s	strong syllable
DIM	diminutive	SG	Standard Austrian German
F1	first formant	SG	Standard German (also SG)
F2	second formant	SPK	speaker
Hz	Hertz	STD	standard language
ISR	input-switch rule	VD	Viennese Dialect
L1	first language development	VG	Viennese German
L2	second language development	W	word-based ISR
P	phoneme-based ISR	w	weak syllable
PRS	present tense		

LITERATURE

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