"…weil die Zukunft in Hochdeutsch liegt…"

("…because *Hochdeutsch* is the future…")

Language attitudes amongst adolescents from the Stuttgart area

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For my dear family and everybody who supported me along the way

Typographical conventions

- **Bold** is used for technical terms as they are introduced in the text and for emphasising these when necessary.
- ‘Single quotes’ are used for laypeople terms or everyday usages and to highlight a term being discussed.
- “Double quotes” are used for citations embedded in the text.
- The font `Courier` is used for citations set apart from the ordinary text.
- *Italics* are used for emphasis or for non-English words or expressions or for titles of papers and books.
- [ ] is used for my comments, translations and additions where these must be highlighted.

Word count: 79,239 (the entire dissertation)

Transcription conventions

The interviews have been transcribed with normal orthography and proofread by two native speakers of German with the transcription programme Praat version 5.2 (Boersma and Weenik 2001). I am very grateful to Carolin Schwarz and Daniella Picco for their thorough and accurate transcription and proofreading.

The excerpts chosen for analysis have been adapted to the GAT 2 transcription system (Selting et al. 2009), and the most important transcription conventions are:

Transcript key

[ ]	Overlap and simultaneous speech
°h / h°	Audible inhaling/exhaling ca. 0.2-0.5 sec.
°hh / hh°	Audible inhaling/exhaling ca. 0.5-0.8 sec.
°hhh / hhh°	Audible inhaling/exhaling ca. 0.8-1.0 sec.
(0.5)	Timed pause (anything longer than 0.7 seconds is considered a long pause)
<<emotion>_>	Mood expressed through voice quality, e.g. 'smiling'
_#	Self-interruption, not completed word
forMAL	Emphasis or louder pronunciation
((_))	Para- and non-linguistic activities, e.g. laughter
hm_hm	Confirming
ʔhmʔhm	Denying
(_)	Possible sound
(_/_)	Possible alternatives
(xxx)	Unintelligible, monosyllabic
(xxx xxx)	Unintelligible, dissyllabic
ähm/ehm	Voiced hesitation (German/English)
_:	Prolonging of preceding sound 0.2-0.5 sec.
???:	Unknown speaker

The German excerpts have been translated into English with an emphasis on the semantic meaning, which means that the translation is not always verbatim, and all analytic references are directed at the original German version.

❖ Chapter 1: Introduction

The focus of this study is ordinary adolescents' attitudes to different ways of speaking of their home region, the Stuttgart area, and the ideologies behind these attitudes. It is designed to investigate the "**folk linguistic**" (Niedzielski and Preston 2000) view on, or the "**folk theories**" (Irvine and Gal 2000) about, language use.

> […] from the perspective of ordinary speakers, linguistic differences are understood through folk theories (ideologies) that often posit their inherent hierarchical, moral, aesthetic, or other properties within broader cultural systems that are themselves often contested and rarely univocal.
>
> (Irvine and Gal 2000: 78)

National surveys rank the Swabian dialect amongst the most liked in Germany, and the inhabitants of the region amongst the most dialect speaking groups of the German population. These results may represent a lay perspective, but the depiction of a vital dialect situation in the Swabian dialect area is also found amongst dialectologists. However, in German dialectology this view is not undisputed. There is disagreement as to the state of the dialects in Germany in general. It is debated whether it is the case that the dialect-standard situation is characterised by strong dialects developing alongside and independently of the standard, or whether it is the case that the standardisation process results in general convergence towards or even shift to the standard (ch. 4.ii). These differing views with German dialectology makes it even more interesting to explore the lay perspective beyond the general results of the national surveys. Language attitudes "play an important part in the explanatory areas of language variation and change" (Preston 2013: 103). The investigation of the attitudes of adolescents from the Stuttgart area carried out in this study, offers an important contribution to the description of the dialect-standard situation of the area, and may also give an indication as to the future of it. With regard to this investigation of language attitudes, it is important to emphasise that it is the **ideological level** that is of interest in this study, not the level of dialectal features or linguistic resources[1] as such. I use the term 'resource' instead of 'feature', because folk theories often involve extra-linguistic objects on equal terms to linguistic features when it comes to language attitudes and metalinguistic constructions.

[1] I prefer the term linguistic resources due to the wider (social) meaning potential inherent in the word *resource*, in comparison to the traditional linguistic use of *feature*. I do this based on the difference in the definition of these two words: "*Feature — Linguistics*. A distinctive characteristic of a linguistic unit, especially a speech sound or vocabulary item, that serves to distinguish it from other of the same type " (http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/de/definition/englisch/feature); "*Resource* — (usually resources) A stock or supply of money, materials, staff, and other assets that can be drawn on by a person or organization in order to function effectively (…)" (http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/de/definition/englisch/resource).

i) The LANCHART attitudinal studies and the SLICE programme

The design of the experimental part of this study is based on the design of the LANCHART attitudinal studies (Kristiansen 2009), as it has been a priority to be able to compare the results found in Germany with those found in Denmark — and other European countries where the projects have been conducted along comparable theoretical and methodological lines, within the SLICE network (Kristiansen and Grondelaers 2013).

The LANCHART project (LANguage CHAnge in Real Time)[2] at Copenhagen University was funded by the Danish National Research Foundation for the ten year period 2005–2015, with the aim of "replicating a series of sociolinguistic studies previously carried out in the communities of […] Copenhagen, Køge, Næstved, Vissenbjerg, Odder and Vinderup" (Kristiansen 2009: 167) (for more on the design of other parts of the LANCHART study see Gregersen 2009, 2009a). The attitudinal part, however, was a replication only in the case of Næstved, as Næstved was the only location in which previous studies had been carried out. The Næstved studies (Kristiansen 1991, 1999) served as a model for the LANCHART attitudinal studies in all of the above mentioned locations, except for Køge. In the following, the LANCHART attitudinal studies are referred to as the LANCHART studies.

A distinction between consciously and subconsciously offered attitudes is central to the LANCHART studies, which means that there is a strong focus on the awareness of the respondents. Accordingly, the experimental study is designed to target the respondents' attitudes to dialectal differences, both when they are aware of these and when they are not. Based on Labov's arguments for language change going on both above and below the level of social awareness (1972, 1990), the elicitation of conscious and subconscious attitudes in the LANCHART studies is designed to investigate "[t]wo value systems at two levels of consciousness" (Kristiansen 2009: 169). The assumption is that when the respondents express their attitudes these can be an expression of either overt ideologies or of covert ideologies. Overt ideologies are expressed through conscious attitudes, and in Denmark there seems to be little connection between the conscious attitudes to dialectal variation and the ongoing language change. The dialects are, roughly speaking, loved but not used (Kristiansen 2009: 170). Covert ideologies are expressed through subconscious attitudes, and it seems that subconscious attitudes are consistent with the language change in Denmark (Kristiansen 2009: 171).

The two levels of consciousness are considered to correspond to two different value systems, and the value system corresponding to the subconscious level is regarded as an important driving force behind the language change in Denmark. With this as the foundation, the LANCHART studies set out to investigate whether or not Copenhagen is the only linguistic norm centre in Denmark (Kristiansen 2009: 172). The experimental set-up for this investigation consisted of two parts: a speaker evaluation experiment (SEE) and a label ranking task (LRT).

[2] http://lanchart.hum.ku.dk

In the SEE, respondents were presented with 12 voice samples that represented the three ways of speaking prevalent amongst present-day young Danes: local speech, conservative Copenhagen speech and modern Copenhagen speech. These are accent differences, as the 'conservative' and 'modern' differ solely in terms of segmental phonological features, and 'local speech' differs from the segmental variation in Copenhagen speech only in terms of suprasegmental (prosodic) features. Prior to and during the experiment, great care was taken to ensure that the respondents were kept unaware that they were expressing attitudes to accent differences. The voice samples were evaluated on eight adjective scales representing the speakers in terms of personality traits only. Having subsequently been informed about the attitudes-to-accents purpose of the experiment, the respondents listened to the voices once more and assessed them in terms of how '*rigsdansk*' they sounded (i.e. in terms of standardness). Simultaneously they also located them either in Copenhagen or in a local bigger city (in order to investigate the potentiality of the local bigger city as an alternative linguistic norm center). These two tasks concluded the SEE.

In the following LRT, the respondents were presented with a list of common names (labels) for a number of Danish varieties, and were asked to rank them in according to preference. On these lists the names of the three varieties in focus in the investigation were always present: the name of the traditional local dialect (varying with the study location), *københavnsk* and *rigsdansk* (i.e. the names for the ways of speaking which in common speech correspond to 'modern' and 'conservative' Copenhagen speech, respectively). The ranking of these three names (amongst a number of others, always covering all of Denmark) was the operationalisation of the consciously offered attitudes to be compared with the subconsciously offered attitudes to the three ways of speaking in the SEE (Kristiansen 2009).

In all study locations, the local dialect name was ranked on top in the LRT, followed by the name of the dialect in the local bigger city (or the neighbouring dialect in the case of Vinderup, as no local bigger city was included in the list). Rigsdansk followed in third position in all five locations. In the three locations furthest away from Copenhagen – Vissenbjerg, Odder and Vinderup – *københavnsk* was ranked considerably lower than both the local names and *rigsdansk*. In Copenhagen itself, københavnsk was ranked on top in accordance with the general preference for one's own dialect, and received second position in Næstved in accordance with the general upgrading of near-ny bigger city speech (Kristiansen 2009: 179; Gregersen and Kristiansen 2015: 59). Thus, the general picture which emerges from the consciously offered LRT data indicates that young Danes are more positive towards their 'own' dialect name than towards *rigsdansk*, and with *københavnsk* trailing behind (with the given qualification concerning Copenhagen and Næstved).

The SEE results turned this picture upside down. The voices representing 'local' varieties (which were all from the near-by bigger cities) were less positively assessed than the voices representing 'conservative' and 'modern' on all eight adjective scales. At the same time, the reactions to the 'conservative' and 'modern' voices revealed the existence of two evaluative dimensions. 'Modern'

was evaluated more positively than 'conservative' on values categorised as belonging to a dynamism dimension, whereas 'conservative' was evaluated more positively or on a par with 'modern' on values categorised as belonging to a superiority dimension (Kristiansen 2009: 188; Gregersen and Kristiansen 2015: 61). In other words, the subconsciously offered attitudes indicate that young Danes are less positive towards speech that signals 'localness' than towards speech that signals either 'Copenhagenness' or 'standardness'. The results of the second part of the SEE (see above) showed that the 'modern' voices were predominantly assessed to be from Copenhagen, that the 'conservative' voices were perceived to sound more standardised, and that the 'local' voices were predominantly assessed to be from the near-by bigger city. Based on these findings, the LANCHART group has argued that 'modern' is upgraded on dynamism values, because it is associated with the new public sector based on the modern spoken media (TV in particular). 'Conservative' is (still?) competitive on superiority values as it is associated with the traditional public sectors of education and business (Kristiansen 2001). In contrast to the conscious attitudes, the subconscious attitudes are in accordance with the language change in Denmark (Kristiansen 2009: 189).

The SLICE programme is an offspring of LANCHART. The name is an acronym for *standard language ideology in contemporary Europe*, and the programme consists of two strands: an experimental strand which pursues an experimental approaches to the empirical investigation of language attitudes, and a media strand which focuses on the media's role in the (re)construction of language ideologies (Grondelaers and Kristiansen 2013: 12). Within the experimental strand, empirical attitudinal studies, including this one, have been or are being carried out in a number of European countries. These work with designs that are more or less consistent with the design of the Danish that of LANCHART studies.

So far four volumes have been published as an outcome of the SLICE programme. The first of these, *Standard Languages and Language Standards in a Changing Europe* (Kristiansen and Coupland 2011), consists of reports of the dialect-standard situation in several European countries (part one), and of theoretical deliberations on central topics of the SLICE programme (part two) (Coupland and Kristiansen 2011: 13-15). A volume on *Language (De)standardisation in Late Modern Europe: Experimental Studies* (Kristiansen and Grondelaers 2013) consists of reports from attitudinal studies carried out in different European countries (part one), and of a number of deliberations on the methodology of the speaker evaluation experiment and on possible alternatives to this approach (part two) (Grondelaers and Kristiansen 2013: 28-46). Volumes related to work in the media strand include Thøgersen, Coupland and Mortensen (2016) and Mortensen, Coupland and Thøgersen (2016).

ii) Language attitudes in the Stuttgart area

As the dialect-standard situation in the Stuttgart area is part of the nationwide standardisation process in Germany (ch. 4.ii), the inherent ideological struggle is part of larger social power

structures. National ideologies about dialect and standard are a major factor in the power structure of the dialect-standard situation in Baden-Württemberg. As Fairclough (2001) points out, the 'one nation, one language' ideology exerts a heavy influence:

> A *language* has been jokingly defined as 'a dialect with an army and a navy', but this is a joke with a serious undercurrent. Modern armies and navies are a feature of the 'nation state', and so too is the linguistic unification or 'standardization' of large politically defined territories which makes talk of 'English' and 'German' meaningful.
>
> (Fairclough 2001: 17).

Ideologies often operate through hidden power structures, or **symbolic power** (Bourdieu 1991). A dialect-standard situation involves ideologies about appropriate language use, social status, group memberships, authenticity, etc., all of which have an impact on people's speech. To the lay speaker, language ideologies, e.g. the national standard ideology, often present themselves as received ideas or **common sense assumptions** (Fairclough 2001) about language use. An example of how the symbolic power of language ideologies works is the empowerment of certain speakers to be **gatekeepers** of (so-called) proper speech or of appropriate contextual language use. These gatekeepers are regarded as 'experts' and what they say is perceived as truths, regardless of the fact that this may not be the case. In other words, they are granted the power to administer and reproduce language norms. The adolescents' language attitudes will be investigated in order to expose the symbolic power of the norms governing the dialect-standard situation of the Stuttgart area. Two ways of speaking are central to the dialect-standard situation of the Stuttgart area: ***Schwäbisch***[3] and ***Hochdeutsch***[4], and accordingly, these are also central to this study. The investigation of the adolescents' attitudes to *Schwäbisch* and *Hochdeutsch* aims to reveal how the adolescents partake in and contribute to the ideologies of the standard-dialect situation.

a) The working hypothesis of this study

In this study, three different types of language attitudes were targeted: 1) **subconscious** attitudes, 2) **conscious** attitudes and 3) **metalinguistic constructions**. These different types of attitudes require different data collection methods and consequently the study involved both an **experimental study** collecting quantitative data and **group interviews** collecting qualitative data. The experimental part targets both the subconscious and conscious attitudes of the respondents, and collects their judgements in a **speaker evaluation experiment** (SEE) and a **label ranking task** (LRT):

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[3] The German term for the Swabian dialect is used as it represents what the respondents reported speaking.

[4] *Hochdeutsch* is not only the preferred lay term for spoken standard German, it is also the preferred label amongst linguists (e.g. Auer 2004; Scharloth 2005; Meyerhof 2006; Hundt 2009; Lenz 2010; Schmidt 2010; Stoeckle/Svenstrup 2011). Therefore, to indicate that the label covers both the linguistic and the lay perspective, *Hochdeutsch* (in its German form) is used to refer to spoken standard German throughout this study.

- The **SEE** collected subconsciously offered judgements of **12 voice samples** (voices) on eight **semantic differential scales** (defined by antonym adjectives at the ends of the scales — referred to as 'adjective scales'), presented to the respondents in a first questionnaire. In a second questionnaire, after having been informed about the 'attitudes-to-dialects' purpose of the experiment, the respondents listened to the voices again and ranked them according to how standardised they sounded, (the **perceived standardness task)** and located them geographically (the **geographic affiliation task)**.
- The **label ranking task** (**LRT**) was designed to record conscious reactions to nine stereotypical German variety labels — including the three labels assumed to be of relevance in the Stuttgart area: *Berlinerisch* (Berlinese), *Hochdeutsch* (spoken standard German) and *Schwäbisch* (Swabian). The LRT was included in the second questionnaire, after the perceived standardness task and the geographic affiliation task.

Finally, the **group interviews** focus on the participants' metalinguistic constructions of different ways of speaking in the Stuttgart area. These were conducted after the experimental study with participants found amongst the respondents.

This set-up aims to secure a complex description of the adolescents' attitudes to dialectal differences in the Stuttgart area. For the purpose of presenting linguistic variation to the respondents, 12 speakers from **Berlin**, **Reutlingen** and **Stuttgart** were recorded and are used as stimulus for the SEE. The assumption is that the Berlin voices represent out-group speech, and the Reutlingen and Stuttgart voices represent in-group speech, to the respondents. The reasons for selecting speakers from Stuttgart, Reutlingen and Berlin are:

- Stuttgart, as the largest city of the Swabian dialect area, is a potential linguistic norm centre for the Swabian dialect.
- Speakers from Reutlingen (a smaller urban area in the vicinity of Stuttgart) may be assumed to orient themselves towards Stuttgart (should it function as a linguistic norm centre in the area).
- Berlin, as the largest city and capital of Germany, is included as a potential parallel to Copenhagen in terms of status as national linguistic norm centre.

With these different approaches to the elicitation of adolescents' language attitudes, this study focuses on the following research questions:

- Is there an ideological difference between the conscious and the subconscious attitudes of the adolescents from the Stuttgart area?
- How do the adolescents construct *Schwäbisch* and *Hochdeutsch* metalinguistically in the group interviews?

- Do the revealed attitudinal patterns indicate that Stuttgart functions as a linguistic norm centre in its area?
- What do the adolescents' attitudes and metalinguistic constructions tell about the dialect-standard situation in the Stuttgart area?

In order to be able to answer these questions empirically 235 adolescents from the Stuttgart area took part in the experimental study. Of those, 59 were also used as participants in the group interviews. The study locations were Stuttgart, Reutlingen, Schwäbisch Gmünd, Göppingen and Kirchheim unter Teck — all within a radius of 60 kilometres. The analyses of the experimental results and the interviews are expected to reveal how the adolescents position themselves in the social ideological processes, which influence and govern their own language use and the dialect-standard situation in the Stuttgart area.

b) Outline of the thesis

The study is structured in the following way:

Chapter 2 presents the theoretical and methodological foundations of the investigation. First, the measurement of attitudes is treated, and as a part of this the elicitation of conscious and subconscious attitudes accounted for. This leads to the discussion and description of the **verbal guise technique** employed for the SEE, and a discussion of how possible evaluative dimensions of the results can be established. After this, the ideologies and power structures of language attitudes are discussed, and based on this, the foundation of the qualitative analysis of the group interviews is outlined. Chapter 3 describes the design of the study. The description of the **SEE** is opened with an account of the recording and selection process of the 12 voices from Berlin, Reutlingen and Stuttgart, which is followed by a description of the phonetic features. and the **adjective scales**. Then follows a description of the **standardness** and the **geographic affiliation** tasks. Next in line is the description of the **LRT**, including the process of finding the nine German variety labels for it. The data collection procedure of the entire experimental study is then recounted, and a description of the statistical tests used for the analyses is given. The final part of the chapter is concerned with the **group interviews**. The framework for the interviews is outlined, and the procedure followed for the recording of the interviews is described, before the analysis of the transcribed interviews is explained. Chapter 4 starts with a short dialectological description of the Swabian dialect area followed by an outline of the dialect-standard situation of the Stuttgart area, in particular, and in Germany, in general. Based on this outline and the discussion of the dialect-standard situation, I define the notion of *Hochdeutsch* (spoken standard German) that is employed in this study. Then the study locations are described and situated in the Swabian dialect area, before the makeup of the respondent group is presented. Chapter 5 presents a **self-reporting task** which concludes the second questionnaire, and accounts for the analysis of the result and of possible important factors in these results. In chapter 6 the SEE results on the adjective scales are

analysed and presented, and possible evaluative dimensions discussed. Chapter 7 accounts for the results of the perceived standardness task and the geographic affiliation task, and in chapter 8 the results of the LRT are analysed and presented. The metalinguistic group interviews are analysed and interpreted in chapter 9, and in chapter 10 the conclusion of the entire study is drawn.

❖ Chapter 2: The theoretical and methodological background

In the encounter with the world we employ social categorisation to establish order and facilitate our understanding of it. Accordingly, we also categorise other people. Sometimes these categorisations are quite accurate and fitting, and sometimes they are erroneous and misleading. Nevertheless, social categorisations influence how we perceive and behave towards other people, and **attitudes** are an integral part of these evaluative processes. Our attitudes to other people can be triggered by information and hearsay about them, but they can also be triggered by the way they look, how they dress, or how they speak. When we interact with other people, we make an effort to create some form of relationship with them to facilitate the interaction. Any utterance or participation in an interaction is essentially an effort to succeed in establishing a social relationship with, and convey information to, the other participants (Trudgill 2000: 2). The focus of this study is geographically conditioned variation in speech and how it is perceived on the ideological level, and the investigation is carried out with a combination of three different approaches. One approach targets attitudes to speakers from different locations (Berlin, Reutlingen and Stuttgart). Another approach investigates how stereotypical labels representing different ways of speaking (*Berlinerisch*, *Hochdeutsch* and *Schwäbisch*) are regarded in relation to each other. And the third approach explores how adolescents from the Stuttgart area construct the dialectal variation of the area on the metalinguistic level.

As soon as we open our mouths to speak, we are being evaluated and categorised, not only on parameters linked to the contents of our utterances, but also on parameters linked to the way we pronounce the words.

> Our accent and our speech generally show where we come from, and what sort of background we have. We may even give some indication of certain of our ideas and attitudes, and all of this information can be used by the people we are speaking with to help them formulate an opinion about us.
>
> (Trudgill 2000: 2)

Dialectal variation can be attributed social value and become an attitudinal object, which means that some dialects may be regarded more positively or negatively than others in certain contexts. When linguistic differences, e.g. dialectal variation, become meaningful, this has an influence on how a speaker is perceived, and very likely also an influence on her success in the given interaction. The speaker's way of speaking triggers attitudes in the interlocutors, and these attitudes influence how they categorise the speaker socially.

Such evaluative reactions have a societal dimension, as attitudes are the "result of interaction between individuals and the society in which they live" (Albarracín, Johnson, Zanna and Kumkale 2005: 6). Attitudes can be shared by a few persons or by an entire society, but their interactional character means they are contextual constructs. They emerge through interaction and are

therefore variable and sensitive to the influence of social factors such as peer pressures or shared norms.

> The cognitive processes by which evaluations of objects are generated are multifaceted, complex, and variable over time and across situations and individuals in systematic ways. Therefore, there is no reason to believe that a single person will always report the same attitude towards an object when asked about it on multiple occasions in different contexts.
>
> (Krosnick, Judd, and Wittenbrink 2005: 27)

Some attitudes are volatile and variable, while others are stable and "exhibit a high degree of social consensus, which some might interpret as representing social reality" (Albarracín, Johnson, Zanna and Kumkale 2005: 5). If an attitude is considered to represent social reality, then this attitude may establish itself as a **belief**. A belief becomes part of a person's permanent memory, and thereby it becomes part of the foundation for future attitudes. Accordingly, attitudes are here considered to be the result of a combination of existing beliefs and the immediate reactions to an attitudinal object:

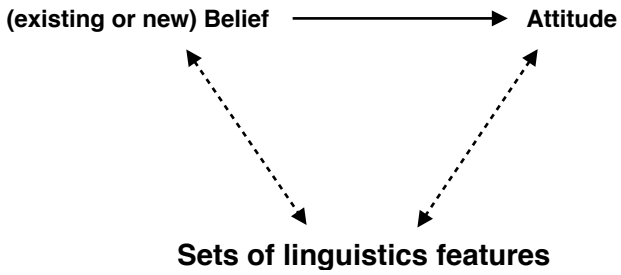


Figure 2.1: A model of the attitudinal process (adapted from an illustration by Dennis R. Preston in his course "Language in America" at Oklahoma State University (22 September 2011)).

Attitudes are contextual judgements of an attitudinal object. They are based on the information provided about this object in the given situation, but also on the information stored in the memory of the person harbouring or expressing the attitude. A **language attitude** is an evaluative reaction to linguistic input based on the information accessible in the given context. The word 'accessible' is very important here. Not only does it encompass the contextual information as well as the information stored in a person's memory, it also contains an element of censorship. Some information may be available but not accessible due to the given context. For instance, norms of proper behaviour, political correctness, or peer pressure may mean that some information is filtered out in the process of expressing an attitude. This is part of the contextual character of language attitudes. In short, language attitudes are concerned with the social values attributed to certain ways of speaking, and what consequences this may have, in a given context, as well as in a wider societal context.

i) Measuring language attitudes

Regardless of technique or method, the measurement of language attitudes is always contingent on respondents expressing an attitude in a form that can be observed. Measuring attitudes as done in this study requires respondents delivering the empirical attitudinal data. However, collecting empirical data from respondents also means that these respondents may or may not influence these data in an unfavourable way. Garrett, Williams, and Evans (2005) list a number of factors which may complicate the investigation of attitudes. Amongst these are **acquiescence** biases. These are cases when "respondents accommodate to what they sense are the researcher's preferred responses". Another set of disadvantageous biases are **social desirability biases**. These are cases when respondents modify their attitudes to be "more socially acceptable" (Garrett, Williams, and Evans 2005: 39). Both of these complications underline that the contextual character of attitudes is also relevant for their elicitation and interpretation. Therefore, an effort to avoid such complications must be implemented in the design of instruments for the measurement of attitudes.

Part of the efforts to minimise the risk of unintended and unfortunate influences in this study lies in the combination of different approaches. The quantitative approach, the SEE (ch. 3.i) and the LRT (3.ii), aims to minimise this influence through a standardised experimental design (the questionnaires). Collecting data from a relatively large amount of respondents means that the data are quantifiable and can be statistically analysed. Accordingly, the sheer amount of data and the statistical analysis are important parts of minimising the risk. In the group interviews (ch. 3.v), the qualitative approach, the efforts of minimising the risk of acquiescence and social desirability biases is heavily dependent on the fieldworker conducting the interviews. If the group interviews are skillfully conducted, the emergence of such potentially unfortunate influences can be used positively by incorporating them in the conversation to explore the participants' attitudes even further. Besides the intention of minimising and exploring the respondents' biases and their possible unfortunate influences, the combination of approaches also serves to obtain a more complex account of the language attitudes offered by the adolescents from the Stuttgart area.

The design of the quantitative approach places this study in the social psychological tradition of the matched guise technique (Lambert, Hodgson, Gardner and Fillenbaum 1960; Lambert 1967; Soukup 2013: 252; Kristiansen 2011: 267), also referred to as the speaker evaluation paradigm (Garrett 2010: 37). Within this tradition quantitative questionnaire studies using some form of the semantic differential scales (Osgood 1952, 1954, and 1964) have become the main instrument for measuring language attitudes (Soukup 2013: 252) (for more details on the matched guise technique see ch. 2.ii). Attitudinal studies within the speaker evaluation paradigm tradition focus on eliciting attitudes from large groups of respondents and generalise the results (through statistical analysis) to cover the societal level. This macro approach is well suited to account for

stereotypical attitudes to linguistic variation, attitudes that are likely to have established themselves as beliefs widely shared within the given society and/or community.

However, such a setup only offers one kind of data, and as Garrett points out, the collection of different types of attitudinal data is likely to provide a more complex representation of language attitudes (2005: 1257).

> Collecting qualitative data alongside the usual [quantitative] scales data can facilitate deeper insights into the cultural processes at work beneath the evaluative scores attributed to each variety along the various attitudinal dimensions.
>
> (Garrett 2005: 1257-1258)

The qualitative part of this study, the group interviews, is meant to do exactly that. Whereas the quantitative approach allows for an account of language attitudes shared by large populations, language attitudes on the macro level; the qualitative approach allows for an account at the micro level. It adds a small-scale comprehensive investigation of the ideological construction of linguistic variation by adolescents from the Stuttgart area. An investigation that targets the cultural context, in which the respondents express their attitudes to linguistic variation, and which can:

> […] afford a clearer view of the relative importances of the attitudinal dimensions to respondent groups in various contexts, the nature of regional rivalries and affiliations, and of struggles for socio-political and cultural maintenance and change.
>
> (Garrett 2005: 1258)

Combined, the two approaches investigate the societal norms and stereotypes that constitute the foundation, from which the respondents express their language attitudes. In other words, the this combination of quantitative and qualitative approaches is meant to facilitate the uncovering of the power structures and ideologies behind the adolescents' language attitudes.

Another way to refine the investigation of language attitudes in this study is the recording of the adolescents' **conscious** as well as their **subconscious** attitudes.

> 'Subconsciously' simply means that the informants were not aware of giving attitudes to 'accents' when they listened to audio-taped speakers and assessed them for a number of personality traits.
>
> (Coupland and Kristiansen 2011: 25)

This distinction, between when the adolescents are **unaware** of the fact that they are evaluating dialectal differences and when they are **aware** of this, is incorporated in the design of the study. In practice, this means that the questionnaire experiment must consist of two separate parts, because a shift from the adolescents being unaware to becoming aware of the dialectal differences is necessary. Therefore two questionnaires are handed out during the experiment. The first, the

adjective scales (ch. 3.i.c) target the adolescents' subconscious attitudes, and the second, the tasks for perceived standardness (ch. 3.i.d) and geographic affiliation (ch. 3.i.e), alongside the LRT (3.ii), target their conscious attitudes (for a description of how the experimental study is carried out see ch. 3.iii).

a) Conscious and subconscious attitudes — the evaluative process

In the process of encountering an attitudinal object and expressing an attitude to it, Krosnick, Judd, and Wittenbrink (2005) distinguish between **explicit** and **implicit** influences leading to the expression of the attitude. The difference between those two is contingent on the 'level' of awareness of the person expressing the attitude: when a person is aware of the connection between the attitudinal object and the attitude being expressed, then this attitude is considered to be the outcome of explicit influences. When a person is unaware of this connection, the attitudes expressed are the outcome of implicit influences (Krosnick, Judd, and Wittenbrink 2005: 26). Krosnick, Judd, and Wittenbrink argue that the inclusion of implicit influences in the measurement of attitudes contributes to more accurate reports of these attitudes (2005: 53). It helps control "the salience and relevance of normative considerations" and it limits the "self-presentational bias" (Krosnick, Judd, and Wittenbrink 2005: 54). Accordingly, the use of implicit influences can be a way to tone down the social consequences of expressing attitudes. This may facilitate the elicitation of attitudes that are otherwise subject to societal or normative restrictions. Besides, it contributes to minimising the effect of undesired influences from factors like acquiescence and social desirability biases.

I consider Krosnick, Judd, and Wittenbrink's (2005) distinction between 'explicit' and 'implicit' influences in the measurement of attitude to be a parallel to the distinction between 'conscious' and 'subconscious' language attitudes in this study. In the design and presentation of the questionnaire aimed at the respondents' subconscious attitudes, an effort is made to avoid that they become aware of the dialectal differences in the voices used as stimulus (ch. 3.i.a, b, and c). If this succeeds, and the respondents remain unaware of the dialectal differences, then these differences are considered an implicit influence. In the design and presentation of the questionnaire aimed at the conscious attitudes, an effort is made to direct the respondents' attention to the connection between the dialectal differences in the voices (ch. 3.i.d and e), as well as the stereotypical variety labels from the LRT and the attitudes they offer in the questionnaire. At this point of the experiment, the dialectal differences are, alongside the stereotypical variety labels, considered to be explicit influences.

Krosnick, Judd, and Wittenbrink establish a framework for describing the evaluative process, which they consider to consist of three phases (2005: 24): the **activation** phase, the **deliberation** phase and the **response** phase. This framework is the key to distinguishing between explicit and implicit influences in the study of attitudes. When confronted with an attitudinal object a person's first reaction is to activate cognitive resources which leads to an immediate and automatic reaction to

the object. This is the first phase of the evaluative process, the activation phase, and it happens "within a few hundred milliseconds after encountering the attitude object" (Krosnick, Judd, and Wittenbrink 2005: 25). At this stage the evaluative process is still a relatively basic process, which only engages a rather limited number of cognitive resources. Accordingly, it can take place without the respondent becoming aware of "the attitude object or of the activation" (Krosnick, Judd, and Wittenbrink 2005: 25). The result of the activation phase is a reaction so spontaneous and quick that there is no time for contemplation of neither the study object nor the potential consequences of sharing the evaluative reaction with others. A reaction which is likely to be contingent on already stored memory contents, e.g. stereotypes, knowledge, beliefs, etc. about the attitudinal object. If this is the first encounter with the attitudinal object, memory content concerning objects perceived to be similar is then activated. Consequently, on-the-spot-constructions of attitudes are possible at this stage. Krosnick, Judd, and Wittenbrink argue that the activation phase favours established and relatively stable attitudes, as "the particular memory contents that can be triggered automatically by an attitude object depend on the strength of their association with the object" (2005: 25).

In the second phase, the deliberation phase, the person carries out "a controlled search" of the memory content for information concerning the attitudinal object (Krosnick, Judd, and Wittenbrink 2005: 25). This requires time as well as motivation. The activation of memory content is supplemented with the establishment of a connection to normative and ideological structures considered to be relevant to the attitudinal object. In this phase the person has the opportunity to contemplate the social consequences of expressing the attitude. At this stage of the evaluative process, there is time for contemplating the study object as well as the possible social consequences of expressing an attitude to it.

Finally, the third phase, the response phase, is when a person expresses an attitude, an evaluative reaction to the attitudinal object. This response can be the result of one of two processes. If both the activation phase and the deliberation phase are executed prior to the response phase, then the attitude expressed is the result of an explicit influence. In this case, the person expressing the attitude can be assumed to be aware of the connection between the attitudinal object and evaluative response (Krosnick, Judd, and Wittenbrink 2005: 26). In this study this is considered to be a **conscious** attitude. However, if the deliberation phase is omitted from the evaluative process, and the response phase follows immediately after the activation phase, then the attitude expressed is the result of an implicit influence. In this case, the person expressing the attitude can be assumed to remain unaware of the connection between the attitudinal object and the evaluative response. In this study this is considered to be a **subconscious** attitude.

Preston (2013) has drawn up a model of the attitudinal process that incorporates the three phases of the evaluative process and distinguishes between conscious and subconscious attitudes. Displayed here with a few additions:

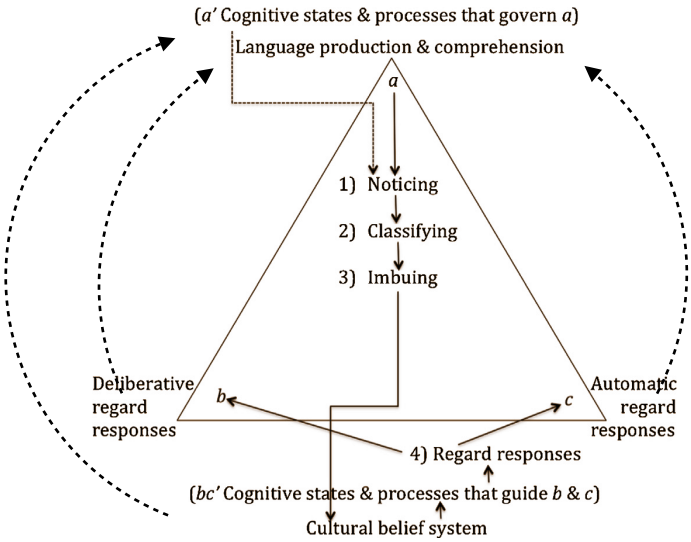


Figure 2.2: An elaborate model of the attitudinal process (adapted from Preston 2013: 94, Figure 1)

In the model, the letter '***a***' represents "**language itself**", '***b***' "**conscious regard reactions**", and '***c***' "**unconscious regard reactions**" (Preston 2013: 94). What Preston calls '**regard**' in this model refers to his notion of '**language regard**'. Preston considers the conscious regard reactions to belong to the field of folk linguistic and the subconscious regard reactions to belong to the field of language attitude studies (2010: 5), which means that:

> […] "language regard" is a cover term for what nonlinguists believe about languages and language varieties (i. e., "folk linguistics" and/or "language ideologies") as well as how they evaluate them (i. e., "language attitudes") […].
>
> (Preston 2010: 4)

Nevertheless, within the framework of this investigation I consider the terms of 'regard' and 'language regard' to be interchangeable with 'language attitude' (for more details on 'language regard' see Preston 2010, 2010a, 2010b, 2013). The same goes for Preston's term '**unconscious**' and the term '**subconscious**', which I use. The three curved, dotted arrows are my additions to Preston's model and they serve to illustrate the reproductive character of the evaluative process. The input (*a*) is received and processed (1, 2, and 3) and this results in an **attitude** (4). This attitude (4) can either be a **deliberate** (*b*) or an **automatic** (*c*) response. When expressed, the attitude is re-introduced into the system as an uttered response (the curved arrows), and it becomes an instance of language production (*a*). However, it also has the potential to establish itself as a part of the **cultural belief system** (*bc'*), and thereby enter the **cognitive states** and **processes** (*a'*) that govern **language production** and **comprehension** (*a*). Krosnick, Judd, and Wittenbrink list three different ways to render the deliberation phase irrelevant to the evaluative response. Three different ways to achieve an implicit influence on an expressed attitude: 1) the attitudinal object is kept "outside of awareness", 2) the evaluation an attitudinal object "triggers may remain outside of conscious awareness", and 3) "through misattribution of the evaluation" of the attitudinal object (2005: 27).

Part of the experimental design of this study aims to elicit subconscious attitudes from adolescents from the Stuttgart area, and this happens in two different ways. The first way aims to elicit subconscious evaluative reactions to dialectal differences in the voices used as stimulus in the experiment (ch. 3.i.). The effort to impede the deliberation phase consists of keeping the dialectal differences outside of the respondents' awareness so they misattribute their evaluations. When filling in the adjective scales (ch. 3.i.c) the adolescents are supposed to be unaware of the dialectal differences as the attitudinal object. As a consequence, they believe that they are evaluating the character of the speakers, and not the dialectal differences. This means that the adopted approach in this study (the adjective scales) fall under both number one and number three on Krosnick, Judd, and Wittenbrink's listed ways of achieving implicit influence (see above). On the face of it, the adolescents are evaluating the characters of the speakers of the voice samples on parameters of personal attributes, but their evaluative responses are taken to reflect the dialectal differences in the voices. Preston argues that interactional or discoursal approaches may collect both conscious and subconscious attitudes[5] (2010: 23). Therefore, the group interviews are considered to be the second approach, besides the adjective scales, of eliciting the adolescents' subconscious attitudes. In the group interviews the adolescents are aware of the attitudinal object but they are unaware of expressing an attitude to it. Consequently, the evaluation "remain[s} outside of conscious awareness" (Krosnick, Judd, and Wittenbrink 2005: 27), which means that this second approach falls under number two on the list above.

ii) From the matched guise to the verbal guise technique

The SEE employed in this study to investigate the adolescents' subconscious attitudes makes use of the verbal guise technique for this purpose. This technique is part of the social psychological tradition in which the matched guise technique is traditionally used as the primary instrument to measure language attitudes. The basic principle of these techniques is that respondents express evaluative reaction to an experimental stimulus (mostly voice samples) within the relatively rigid framework of a questionnaire. In this questionnaire the respondents are presented with a list of predefined categories in the form of scales with (assumed) positive and negative poles (adjective pairs), a so-called **semantic differential**:

> A limited number of such continua [pairs of polar terms/ adjectives], representative of the dimensionality of meaningful judgments, can be used to define a semantic space within which the meaning of any concept can be specified.
>
> (Osgood 1954: 177-178)

The evaluative reactions elicited with the adjective scales are taken to represent the adolescents' attitudes to the voices. If there is (systematic) linguistic variation present in the voices, then the

[5] This is also treated in the description of the experimental design in ch. 3, where Preston's (2010) classification of different approaches to the study of perceptual dialectology is also depicted (Figure 3.1).

adolescents' evaluative reactions can be considered to be an expression of their attitudes to this variation. The semantic space for the evaluations of the voices is framed in this study as personality traits (ch. 3.i.c). The adjectives chosen to represent these personality traits serve to "illustrate social connotations and stereotypes and allow comparisons amongst these for the various language varieties" (Garrett 2010: 78).

Garrett, Coupland, and Williams point out that there are usually three main approaches to the study of language attitudes: 1) "the analysis of societal treatment" which investigates language attitudes that are circulated and reproduced in broader social contexts, e.g. newspapers or advertisements; 2) "direct measures" such as enquiring directly about linguistic preferences and opinions on language policies; and 3) "indirect measures" used to investigate language attitudes through more subtle or manipulating approaches, e.g. misleading the respondents (2003: 15-16 — see Garrett 2010: 37-52 for an elaborate account of these three approaches). The **matched guise technique** belongs to the group of indirect measures, and it is regarded as the primary approach used in this group (Garrett 2005: 1252).

Without informing the respondents, the matched guise technique involves at least one speaker who is recorded for two or more voice samples, each of which represents different ways of speaking. In the bilingual setting of Montreal in Canada, Lambert and his colleagues used the matched guise technique to investigate evaluative reactions to Canadian French and Canadian English. The experimental design of their original study[6] included ten voice samples. All of them were male speakers, eight of them were matched guise voice samples, and two were non-matched guise voice samples. All voice samples were recording of the same text in Canadian English or Canadian French. The eight matched guise voice samples were recordings of four bilingual speakers reading the text in both Canadian French and Canadian English, i.e., they appeared in two different guises. The two non-matched guises voice samples were recordings of two different speakers. One reads the text in Canadian French, and the other reads it in Canadian English (Lambert, Hodgson, Gardner and Fillenbaum 1960: 44). As five of the voice samples were in Canadian French, and five of them were in Canadian English, the respondents participating in the experiment were well aware that their evaluative reactions were reactions to linguistic variation. However, they were kept unaware that four speakers had been recorded in both Canadian French and Canadian English. They were unaware that the matched guises were "recordings of a number of perfectly bilingual speakers" (Lambert 1967: 93). Accordingly, in the case of the matched guises the respondents were assumed to believe they were evaluating eight different speakers, when in fact they were only evaluating four different speakers. Lambert argues that the matched guise technique "appears to reveal judges' more private reactions to the contrasting groups" and that it "is particularly valuable as a measure of group biases in evaluative reactions" (1967: 94). Both the original study Lambert, Hodgson, Gardner and Fillenbaum 1960) and follow-up study (Lambert

[6] The 1967-study is meant as a follow-up to the original and also includes female voices (Lambert 1967: 95).

1967) showed significantly more favourable evaluation of the speakers in the Canadian English guise than in their Canadian French guise.

The matched guise technique may be the primary approach amongst the indirect measures in the study of language attitudes (Garrett 2005: 1252), but over the years the technique has also been the object of criticism. In particular, voice samples used as stimulus has been a target for this criticism. Garrett lists seven issues of criticism concerning the use of voice samples:

- *The salience issue*: when all voice samples read the same text the repetition increases the risk that the linguistic variation becomes to prominent to remain outside of the respondents' awareness.
- *The perception issue*: it is difficult to be sure that the respondents perceive the linguistic variation in the way it is intended, and therefore it is difficult to assert that the voice samples are representative of the desired linguistic variation.
- *The accent-authenticity issue*: the effort to isolate certain linguistic variables may lead to inauthentic sounding voice samples, as other naturally co-occurring variables fall victim to the control of non-relevant factors.
- *The mimicking-authenticity issue*: a bilingual speaker may be able to authentically represent two different varieties. However, if the same speaker is used to represent more than two varieties the authenticity of the representation may suffer from it.
- *The community-authenticity issue*: the variety labels used to name the linguistic variation of the voice samples may not match the labels for these particular ways of speaking commonly used by the respondents themselves.
- *The style-authenticity issue*: the reading of a text is prone to be of a more formal character than casual or spontaneous speech is, and this may influence the evaluations of the voice samples.
- *The neutrality issue*: the content of voice samples (in cases where it is not the same text that is being read) has an influence on the evaluations, and the notion of a neutral topic is controversial.

(Garrett 2010: 57-59)

The **verbal guise technique** can be regarded as a reaction to several of the issues raised above, perhaps to the mimicking-authenticity issue in particular. Even bilingual speakers may succumb to mimicking without knowing it, or it may be impossible to find speakers with a sufficient proficiency in two different varieties:

> […] this design [the verbal guise technique] has often been employed out of necessity, since it is not always possible to find a single person who can competently produce the varieties required for the study.
>
> (Garrett, Coupland, and Williams 2003: 53)

The well-tried use of linguistically trained actors to represent varieties (perform guises), different from their own native speech, has proven problematic. A person's native speech is a complex of linguistic resources that co-occur on different linguistic levels (syntax, grammar, phonetics, lexicon, etc.), and this complex is hard to reproduce with convincing accuracy.

Jørgensen and Quist (2001) conducted an attitudinal study concerning native Danes' attitudes to second language Danish speech. Some of the assessed second language speakers were ranked highly on their 'quality' of Danish, and they were even considered more proficient than the native speakers used in the study. Nevertheless, they were still recognised as second language speakers of Danish (Jørgensen and Quist 2001: 51). This makes Jørgensen and Quist ponder:

> If native speakers of a language possess intuitive skills which enable them to identify even those second-language users who outperform most native speakers of that language on traditional measures, we have a long way to go to find and describe those skills.
>
> (Jørgensen and Quist 2001: 51)

As a consequence, Jørgensen and Quist argue against the use of mimicked guises in attitudinal studies, because such guises are not likely to reproduce "subtleties that evade even a comparatively detailed linguistic analysis" (2001: 51).

This is also supported by Preston who emphasises that the "inaccuracies" of mimicked guise may be so subtle, that even though they are consciously validated by native speakers, these may still influence the evaluations of the guise (1996: 65). Purschke (2010) utilised this to investigate the level of linguistic awareness of Hessian (*Hessisch*) the German dialect. He confronted Hessian (in-group) and North German (out-group) respondents with eight imitated and two authentic Hessian voice samples (Purschke 2010: 156). The respondents were asked to rate how standardised/ dialectal the voice samples sound, to estimate which part of Hessen they are from (with predefined options), and whether or not the speakers were authentic Hessian speakers (Purschke 2010: 157).

Both groups of respondents considered all ten voice samples to be relatively non-standard speaking (Purschke 2010: 167). The in-group respondents differentiated more than the out-group, when they were asked to identify the voice samples in terms of geographic affiliation (Purschke 2010: 171), and there was a clear difference, in favour of the in-group, in the two groups' ability to estimate the authenticity of the voice samples. The in-group respondents were quite capable of distinguishing the mimicked from the authentic voice samples, whereas the out-group respondents

were not able to do so (Purschke 2010: 172). Not only does Purschke's (2010) study support that mimicked voice samples are not particularly suited to replace authentic voice samples, but it also shows a way to use this for investigative purposes.

The mimicking-authenticity issue is just one of more issues, and the version of the verbal guise technique used in this study seeks to address all seven issues raised by Garrett (2010: 57-59). The verbal guise is used as part of the SEE that targets the respondents attitudes to 12 voices from three different locations (Berlin, Reutlingen and Stuttgart). In the SEE the respondents start out by evaluating the 12 voices on eight adjective scales. At this point in the experiment they are kept unaware of the dialectal differences. After the completion of the adjective scales, the respondents are made aware of the dialectal difference. Then they are asked to judge how standardised the voices sound, and to identify them as coming from one of the three locations. The adjective scales, the scale for perceived standardness, and the geographic affiliation task, are the three parts of the SEE, and it is this experimental design (see ch. 3.i for a full account of this) that aims to address the seven issues.

Concerning the *salience issue*, instead of using different readings of the same text, spontaneous audio-recorded reactions to the question *what is a good teacher like?* are used. During the audio-recording of the voices, an effort is made to obtain informal spontaneous speech, and this is an attempt to address the *style-authenticity issue*. The topic chosen for the question to the speakers of the voice samples is intended to deal with the *neutrality issue*. As the respondents are 9th or 10th grade students, they can be assumed to consider this topic to be both relevant and relatively uncontroversial (ch. 3.i.a and .b). Regarding the *accent-authenticity issue*, there is only one constant variable present in the voices, the word *Lehrer* (teacher). This word, which no one can be surprised to hear in talk about a good teacher, is prone to dialectal variation on the phonetic level in the Swabian dialect (ch. 3.i.b). This, alongside the fact that the voices are spontaneous speech, is expected to take care of the accent-authenticity issue.

The *perception issue* is addressed by a combination of two elements. The initial step is the geographic affiliation task mentioned above. In this task the respondents are asked to identify the voices as coming from either Berlin, Reutlingen or Stuttgart. If the respondents generally identify the voices correctly, then the dialectal variation is considered to be the trigger of their evaluative reactions in the SEE (ch. 3.i.e and ch. 7.ii). Then they can be considered to have perceived the intended dialectal variation. The second step is to take into consideration the evaluative patterns in the results. The statistical analysis will reveal whether or not voices from the same location are evaluated alike, and different from voices from the other two locations. If this is the case, then the evaluative reactions elicited with the adjective scales of the SEE are considered to be based on the dialectal variation in the voices (ch. 6). Accordingly, the geographic affiliation task and the adjective scales contribute to address potential uncertainties concerning the perception issue.

Finally, the *community-authenticity issue* is addressed by using no variety labels in the SEE. Half-way through, after the adjective scales, the respondents are told that the voices are from either Berlin, Reutlingen or Stuttgart. This may be an issue in the part of the experiment that follows the SEE, in the LRT and the self-reporting task. In the LRT, the respondents are presented with nine stereotypical German variety labels (ch. 3.ii). However, to minimise the risk of these not being relevant to the respondents, these nine are the result of pilot studies asking peers of the respondents to fill in an open ranking task concerning German varieties (ch. 3.ii.a). In the self-reporting task the respondents are asked to report their own speech with no predefined varieties or categories given (ch. 5). Consequently, efforts are made to counter community-authenticity issues in both the SEE, the LRT and in the self-reporting task.

However, for the purpose of this study, the main issue, when choosing a verbal guise technique to measure language attitudes, is to ensure the elicitation of subconscious attitudes. The matched guise technique uses the same speaker to represent (at least) two different guises. Consequently, the respondents are, unknowingly, evaluating the same speaker twice. The purpose of this is to investigate possible differences in the respondents' evaluations of the same speaker. If there are differences, then these are considered to be differences in attitudes to the speakers' two (or more) guises. Following Krosnick, Judd, and Wittenbrink this is a "misattribution" of the respondents "evaluations" of the attitudinal object, which serves to circumvent the deliberation phase of evaluative process (2005: 27). In this way, the matched guise technique is designed to elicit respondents' subconscious attitudes to linguistic variation.

But what of the verbal guise technique? As there are no matched guises in a verbal guise technique, another way has to be found to circumvent the deliberation phase and elicit subconscious attitudes. In this study the crucial point, concerning the elicitation of subconscious attitudes, lies in the respondents' level of awareness during the answering of the adjective scales. Part of this effort is achieved through the avoidance of any references to dialectal differences in the presentation of the adjective scales (ch. 3.i.c and 3.iii). Besides this, the voices are intended to represent language use within the "every-day linguistic experience of young people in the local community under study" (Kristiansen 2009: 173). This means that an effort is made to keep the dialectal differences in the voices on a realistic but inconspicuous level. A level that matches what the respondents are likely to hear as part of their ordinary everyday linguistic experience (for more information on how this is achieved see ch. 3.i.a and b). This is assumed to help keeping the dialectal differences outside of the respondents' awareness. Finally, the respondents are put under time pressure when they fill in adjective scales (ch. 3.i.c). Applying a time constraint serves (at least) two purposes. Firstly, it "minimise[s] opportunities for mental processing" which diminishes the risk of the respondent having sufficient time to activate biases, e.g. social desirability or acquiescence biases (Garrett 2010: 56), in the evaluative process. Secondly, it enhances the possibility for "automatic […] information processing" (Garrett, Williams, and Evans 2005: 40), which limits the probability that the respondents will execute the deliberation phase. In that way

they are more likely to go directly from the activation phase to the response phase in the evaluative process.

The time constraint in this study lies in the time the respondents have to fill in the adjective scales while listening to the voices. They are allowed between 22 and 27 seconds to listen and react to (fill in the scales) each of the voices. This time span consists of the voice sample itself (7-12 seconds) and the ensuing pause (15 seconds) before the next voice sample (see ch. 3.i.a and .b). The combination of these three measures (avoidance of dialectal or geographic references, realistic but inconspicuous dialectal variation and time pressure) constitutes the effort to circumvent the deliberation phase of the evaluative process in this study. An effort that lays the foundation for the elicitation of the respondents' subconscious attitudes to the dialectal variation in the voices.

a) The evaluative dimensions of the LANCHART studies

Using an approach embedded in a tradition of a relatively stringent and uniform experimental design, as is the case with the verbal guise and the matched guise tradition, has both upsides and downsides. One of the downsides is the risk that the repeated use of the same technique becomes a circular effort, which may lead to a disproportionate influence of the experimental design on the results. One of the upsides is that the stringent character of the design facilitates the comparison of results across different investigations carried out in different locations. Such comparisons across different attitudinal studies using the matched guise technique, have made possible the establishment of three main dimensions of respondents' evaluative reactions. In the establishment of these evaluative dimensions, the measuring instrument known as the semantic differential scales, has been essential. The **semantic differential** was developed within the field of psycholinguistics by Osgood (Garrett 2005: 1255) as a tool for the "measurement of the meaning of signs" (Osgood 1952: 198). It is a combination of "associational and scaling procedures" (1952: 222) and consists of adjective pairs meant to represent opposite concepts, e.g. high-low or kind-cruel, separated by a 7-point ranking scale (1954: 177).

> The label 'semantic differential' points quite accurately to its intended operation — a multivariate differentiation of concept meanings in terms of a limited number of semantic scales of known composition.
>
> (Osgood 1954: 177)

The semantic differential technique was further developed and refined in studies with English speaking American respondents throughout the 1950s. Based on this early work, Osgood concluded that three evaluative dimensions consistently emerged: an **evaluative** dimension, a **potency** dimension, and an **activity** dimension (Osgood 1964: 173). A number of international studies carried out in different linguistic settings, e.g. Farsi in Iran and Afghanistan and Flemish in

Belgium (see Table 1, Osgood 1964: 175 for an overview), confirmed these three as the main dimensions of measurement of meaning across different cultural settings:

> The major hypothesis of this research — that human beings share a common framework for differentiating the affective meanings of signs — is clearly borne out in the data. The dominant factors in the affective meaning system are Evaluation, Potency, and Activity, usually in that order.
>
> (Osgood 1964: 185)

The semantic differential is an essential part of the matched and verbal guise techniques (ch. 2.ii), and accordingly, the search for evaluative dimensions is also a part of the work with these two methods within social psychology and sociolinguistics.

Zahn and Hopper compared the results from a range of previous language attitudinal studies[7] that implemented variants of the matched guise technique. Based on this comparison, they designed a study of the possible collective dimensions of evaluative reactions to spoken language (1985: 113-114). Their design implicated 56 semantic differential items, and the study involved 572 (English speaking American) respondents (Zahn and Hopper 1985: 116-117). Once they had the results, Zahn and Hopper used a factor analysis to reduce the 56 semantic differential items to 30. They found that these 30 items could be categorised in three evaluative dimensions, which the factor analysis showed were responsible for 64.5% of the variation in the results of their study. They labelled these three dimensions "*superiority*, *attractiveness* and *dynamism*" (1985: 117-118 — italics in original). Thus, Zahn and Hopper identified the **attractiveness** dimension, the **superiority** dimension, and the **dynamism** dimensions as the primary dimensions for evaluative reactions to spoken language (1985: 117-118).

Osgood defines the three main dimensions for evaluative reactions as the relationship between "good" and "bad", i.e. the **evaluative** dimension, the relationship between "strong" and "weak", i.e. the **potency** dimension, and the relationship between "active" and "passive", i.e. the **activity** dimension (1971: 88). Zahn and Hopper define their three dimensions as concerned "with the qualities of speakers and their speech which reflect both social and aesthetic appeal", i.e. **attractiveness**, with social "status and education", i.e., **superiority**, and with the "speakers' social power, activity level, and the self-presentational aspects of speech", i.e. **dynamism** (1985: 119). Garrett (2005) argues that there is a parallel between the three dimensions found by Osgood (1952, 1954, 1964 and 1971) and those found by Zahn and Hopper (1985). He considers the finding of the attractiveness, the superiority, and the dynamism dimensions by Zahn and Hopper (1985) as a direct validation of the evaluative, the potency and the activity dimensions by Osgood (1952, 1954, 1964 and 1971) (Garrett 2005: 1255-1256).

[7] Mainly concerning different varieties of English (see Zahn and Hopper 1985: 114-116 for an overview).

In the preliminary work with the design of the LANCHART studies (ch. 1.i), four evaluative dimensions were proposed for the results of the semantic differential scales: **superiority**, **dynamism**, **competence** and **sociability**. Of these four dimensions, the superiority and the dynamism dimensions were assumed to be the main evaluative dimensions. The superiority dimension was assumed to be associated with success in the educational system and/or in the business world (Kristiansen 2003: 67) and the dynamism dimension with youth and the spoken media (Kristiansen 2009: 189). The remaining two dimensions, competence and social attractiveness, were assumed to be aspects of the two main dimensions (Kristiansen and Monka 2006: 13). Within these four dimensions, the semantic differential scales were assumed to be distributed as follows:

Evaluative dimension of the LANCHART studies

	Superiority	**Dynamism**
Competence	Intelligent — Stupid (Klog — Dum) Conscientious — Happy-go-lucky (Seriøs — Ligeglad)	Self-assured — Uncertain (Selvsikker — Usikker) Goal-directed – Dull (Målrettet — Sløv)
Sociability	Trustworthy — Untrustworthy (Til at stole på — Ikke til at stole på) Nice — Repulsive (Flink – Usympatisk)	Cool — Uncool (Tjekket — Utjekket) Fascinating — Boring (Spændende — Kedelig)

Figure 2.3 (adapted from Kristiansen and Monka 2006: 13 and 21).

The initial results from the Odder study confirmed superiority and dynamism as the two main evaluative dimensions. However, they also revealed a need for a redistribution of the scales (Kristiansen and Monka 2006: 21). This redistribution is illustrated by the grey circles and arrows in in Figure 2.3. A consequence of this redistribution was that the relevance of the proposed competence and social attractiveness dimensions was reduced. After the redistribution, the competence dimension was almost identical to the superiority dimension, except for one scale, and the social attractiveness dimension was almost identical to the dynamism dimension, also with the exception of one scale. In accordance with the results of the Odder study, the evaluative dimensions of the LANCHART studies were adjusted. Consequently, the superiority dimension used for the LANCHART studies consisted of the scales *Intelligent–Stupid*, *Conscientious–Happy-go-lucky*, *Goal-directed–Dull*, and *Trustworthy-Untrustworthy*. Whereas the dynamism dimension consisted of the *Self-assured–Uncertain*, *Fascinating–Boring*, *Cool–Uncool*, and *Nice–Repulsive* scales (Kristiansen and Monka 2006: 21; Kristiansen 2009: 188). This distribution of the scales was eventually confirmed in the rest of the LANCHART studies (Kristiansen 2009).

iii) Language Ideologies and power structures

The contention in this study is that there is a connection between language attitudes, the ideological level, and at language variation and change, the production level. That the study of

language attitudes can contribute to our understanding of the mechanism behind variation and change:

> The cognitive foundations and processes of language regard will, therefore, play an important part in the explanatory areas of language variation and change […].
>
> (Preston 2013: 103)

As already mentioned, I consider Preston's term '(language) regard' to be interchangeable with 'language attitude' in this study, and language attitudes are considered to be evaluative reactions to some form of linguistic production. Such evaluative reactions are governed by assumptions about the connections between certain social values and certain ways of speaking. Evaluative reactions to language use have the potential to establish themselves as beliefs about language (see Figure 2.1 and 2.2), which means that over time language attitudes can potentially become part of people's shared ideas about how language should be used. Such ideas are called **language ideologies**. Language ideologies are "ideas about social and linguistic relationships" (Irvine 1989: 255) or "sets of beliefs about language" (Silverstein 1979: 193) which circulate in the existing social order. They operate through the conventions of, and the consensus on, the existing social order, and therefore, the power exerted by language ideology is more often than not unnoticed or hidden.

Bourdieu labels such hidden or invisible power structures **symbolic power**. He considers symbolic power to function under the cover of the automatic and subconscious "complicity" of those subject to the power, as well as those wielding the power (Bourdieu 1991: 164). The 'complicity' of those who are subject to and those who are wielders of symbolic power is based on the state of affairs that certain social structures and certain power relations are taken for granted. For instance, assumptions about the social value and appropriate use of a certain way of speaking can become a received idea or 'common sense' to speakers. If this happens, then these assumptions achieve the status of (shared) knowledge, regardless of whether or not these assumptions are based on facts. A **common sense assumption** is an inference without empirical facts to support it, but which is nevertheless considered to be true. Common sense assumptions are a fundamental part of common interaction and, alongside the ensuing beliefs, they "control both the actions of members of a society and their interpretation of the actions of others" (Fairclough 2001: 64). Through their symbolic power language ideologies are highly structuring for people's speech, as they constitute the lay comprehension of what a language is and how it should be used. One of the most obvious examples of such power structures is the widespread standardisation/de-dialectalisation processes in Europe, which are based on a one-nation-one-language ideology (for more information on this see Kristiansen and Coupland 2011; Kristiansen and Grondelaers 2013; for an account of the standardisation process in Germany see Auer and Spiekermann 2011; Stoeckle and Svenstrup 2011; Svenstrup 2013; as well as ch. 4.ii, here). An example of this ideology and its symbolic power

is shown in the analysis of the group interview in this study. The analysis reveals how the participating adolescents assume the necessity of a national German standard, and how this assumption means that the Swabian dialect is in danger of becoming marginalised (ch. 9).

a) Metalinguistic awareness and the construction of registers

Language is part of how people categorise other people, and these categorisations are stored in people's memories. In that way they can be drawn upon when they become relevant, or they can be revised on the basis of new information. Put differently, people are susceptible to establish meaningful connections between certain ways of speaking and those who are perceived to speak like that (Irvine and Gal 2000: 35). These connections lead to ideologies about linguistic variation, assumptions about speakers and social groups associated with each other on the basis of linguistic variation. The metalinguistic awareness and metalinguistic constructions targeted in this study are concerned with this. What do the interview participants know and assume about particular ways of speaking? And which social groups do they associate it with? How do they establish and discern different ways of speaking? And what are the ideologies behind all this?

Attitudes are a part of the ongoing social categorisation process. Therefore the connection between certain ways of speaking and those perceived to speak like that, the connection between certain ways of speaking and social groups, is important to the study of language attitudes:

> If attitudes are learned and based on people's earlier experiences, information and inferences, these sources are of course related to social-group membership.
>
> (Garrett, Coupland, and Williams 2003: 14)

A speaker can perform a whole range of different contextual identities in an interaction. These identities are the result of a "mobilisation of a whole *repertoire* [italics in orig.] of identity features" which emerge as "moment-to-moment speaking positions" in interaction (Blommaert 2005: 232). If a speaker wishes to be considered as a member of a particular social group, she may attempt to indicate this through the use of linguistic resources associated with this group. However, a group membership is negotiable and interlocutors have to acknowledge the speakers' claim to the group identity in order for the claim to be successful. The speaker must be granted access to the group in question by the other participants of an interaction. In the same way, a speaker can also distance herself from a particular social group; either by using linguistic resources that are clearly not associated with this group, or by avoiding the use of those which are clearly associated with it. Coupland calls these interactional processes for "[a]cts of affiliation and disaffiliation" (2007: 130). The construction of identity in interaction does not necessarily have to be initiated by the speaker herself, though. Identity can also be assigned to a speaker by her interlocutors (Coupland 2007: 112). Accordingly, a particular identity or group membership can be

attained or ascribed, and linguistic resources function as both source and tools for these social categorisations.

The processes of attaining and assigning a group membership are also part of the ideological construction of a group. Accordingly, linguistic resources used to indicate a group membership does not only have a referential function, but also an instituting function. Groups and group membership, as well as the social values attributed to them, are negotiable, and their definition is contingent on a certain level of agreement amongst those with an interest in defining them. On the ideological level, connections between sets of linguistic resources and social groups are subject to social norms that govern language use. For instance, the metalinguistic construction of *Schwäbisch* is what the participants of the given interaction agree upon as being *Schwäbisch*. In doing so they draw on social norms about national languages and language variation based on geography, etc. On the ideological level, the connection between a set of linguistic resources and a social group can become so strong, that the two are generally believed to belong together. Their relationship becomes normative. If a speaker is acknowledged as a member of a particular group which is part of such a normative relationship, then she can lay claim to the linguistic resources associated with it. If this claim is acknowledged, then she can impose the norms for the use of these linguistic resources in interaction. The knowledge and the assumptions which a speaker draws upon when constructing a register like *Schwäbisch*, and when imposing the norms for the use of it, constitute the speaker's metalinguistic awareness.

b) The question of authority and access

With an ethnographic analysis of compliments in a rural Wolof community in Senegal as an example of "linguistic phenomena as objects of economic exchange" (Irvine 1989: 249), Irvine discusses the concept of the value of linguistic resources in relation to both the "world of ideas [...] [and] the world of objects" (1989: 262-263). This discussion underlines the complexity of linguistic resources' indexical function on the ideological level (Irvine 1989: 252), as well as on the level of economical commodities (ibid.: 258). One of the points in this discussion is that not only material goods but also linguistic resources are subject to processes of authentication and value attribution of material goods[8]:

> This kind of process [of authentication] applies […] to any exchangeable item invested with social value, where only an "expert" can tell if it "really" is what it purports to be. Such items include not only material objects, but also verbal items like magic spells or other texts.
>
> (Irvine 1989: 258)

[8] With a reference to Putnam (1975), Irvine uses gold as an example of how linguistic resources are a part of how experts authenticate and attribute value material goods (1989: 257).

The authentication and value attribution is contingent on an expert validating the authenticity of the item invested with social value. For linguistic resources to be authenticated and attributed values, there has to be experts, or **gatekeepers** (Kristiansen 2003a), empowered to do so. However, such gatekeepers are not necessarily experts per se. They are not necessarily the greatest experts on the given linguistic resources, as they may be empowered through other (ideological) structures, e.g. group hierarchy or social status, than those of actual expertise. Gatekeepers are simply people, who are in a position to wield the power necessary to set the norms for the authentication and value attribution of the given linguistic resources. Regardless of whether or not this position is validated through expertise on linguistic matters. For instance, on the top level of the social power structures, legislators and decision makers are gatekeepers of language use. Mostly, they are not experts on the subject but (ideally) resort to create official language policies based on advice from experts. On the level of the everyday lives of the average speaker, certain occupations are socially empowered to be gatekeepers, empowered to mediate and wield the symbolic power of language norms. Kristiansen highlights "primary school teachers and personnel managers" as occupations that empowers people to be gatekeepers of the language norms of the "elite discourse" (2003a: 286-287). On the micro-level of situated interaction, power asymmetry amongst the participants can empower one or more of them to act as gatekeepers. In the case of a power asymmetry, this is likely to have consequences for gatekeepers' own success, as well as that of the other participants, in the interaction.

Inherent in these symbolic power structures of language norms and gatekeepers is also the assumption that some ways of speaking, certain sets of linguistic resources, are more valuable than others. Some ways of speaking are associated with an elite discourse, and some are not. For a way of speaking to achieve the status of, or of being associated with, an elite discourse, it must be spoken by powerful speakers, and it has to be part of a unified **linguistic market** (Bourdieu 1977: 652). I consider the dialect-standard situation of the Stuttgart area and the symbolic power of the one-nation-one-language ideology to be an example of a linguistic market, in which one way of speaking is dominant:

> When one language dominates the market, it becomes the norm against which the prices of the other modes of expression, and with them the values of the various competences, are defined.
>
> (Bourdieu 1977: 652)

Some ways of speaking are more empowering that others, and accordingly speakers of them are more readily granted access to social status, "[a]cess to high positions and prestigious social circles" (Irvine 1989: 256). This goes for the all social levels, from the more general societal structures to the level of individual interactions. For instance, the analyses of the group interviews show that the use of *Hochdeutsch* in an educational context enhances a speaker's prospects of success in this setting, in comparison to the use of *Schwäbisch*. This is a very common ideological

construction of these two ways of speaking throughout the interviews. Consequently, the process of authentication and value attribution described by Irvine (1989) also extends to geographically and socially conditioned speech variation, e.g. dialects and (national) standards.

The relationship between a powerful way of speaking and its speakers is mediated by **indexicality**, and this is a relationship of mutual interdependence. When a speaker uses (and masters) a powerful way of speaking, this indexes the power attributed to this speech. When the speaker uses this powerful way of speaking, she is associated with it by her interlocutors. However, the interlocutors may strip the speaker and the powerful way of speaking of this power simply by refusing to acknowledge it. Or they may make an attempt to buy into this power by speaking in the same way. All of this is dependent on participants in the interaction sharing an understanding and recognition of the indexical relationship between speaker and speech. Similarly, linguistic resources associated with a particular social value can become indexes of this value, if the indexical relationship between them is recognised. When this happens, the social value is (potentially) activated every time the linguistic resources are used. Irvine argues that such indexical correlations between "linguistic differentiation and social differentiation" can become part of the historical process of the cultural systems of a society (1989: 253). They can become part of the symbolic power structures governing language ideology. Consequently, gatekeepers of language norms are not only empowered to control the **authenticity** of, and value attribution to, certain ways of speaking in a linguistic market. They are also empowered to control the **access** to these ways of speaking. Gatekeepers control who has access to a certain way of speaking, and who does not. They control who can lay claim to the status of authentic speaker, and who cannot.

c) The indexical field and the enregisterment of linguistic resources

The extent of the indexical correlation potential of linguistic resources is what Eckert (2008) calls the **indexical field**. It is the range of "social differentiation" (Irvine 1989: 253) that linguistic resources can be correlated with, their social meaning potential. Eckert introduces the term 'indexical field' in her study of stylistic practices, as a means to study linguistic "variation as an indexical system" (2008: 454).

> I argue that the meanings of variables are not precise or fixed but rather constitute a field of potential meanings – an indexical field, or constellation of ideologically related meanings, any one of which can be activated in the situated use of the variable.
>
> (Eckert 2008: 454)

Linguistic resources can only be associated with a limited range of social values, but this association is not necessarily always relevant, and therefore this range is a potential range. The limitations of the indexical field of linguistic resources are determined by the context of use and by the symbolic power constituting the ideological structure of this context. These ideological structures are cultural ideas about the connection between linguistic resources and social

categorisation of groups, social practices, and speech norms. The ideological structures of contextual attribution of value to linguistic resources may be agreed upon by the participants of an interaction, but this does not mean that this connection is firm and stable. The indexical correlations of an indexical field are negotiable. When they are activated they can be reproduced, or they can be used to produce new indexical correlations (Eckert 2008: 464). Consequently, the indexical field of linguistic resources is a dynamic structure that can change over time.

In an interaction, a speaker can use linguistic resources (alongside any other semiotic resources) to index specific social values and specific social categories, in an effort to constitute a social identity in relation to the other participants. For this endeavour to succeed, the social values and categories indexed have to be within the indexical field of the linguistic resources used. Furthermore, the indexical field has to be shared by the speaker and the other participants in the interaction. This way of constituting social meaning and identity is a **stylistic practice** and it is closely connected with ideological structures:

> Ideology is at the center of stylistic practice: one way or another, every stylistic move is the result of an interpretation of the social world and of the meanings of elements within it, as well as a positioning of the stylizer with respect to that world.
>
> (Eckert 2008: 456)

A certain way of speaking can be used to achieve a certain identity relative to the other participants in the interaction. This process of social meaning attribution and production takes place on the ideological and the production level simultaneously. Eckert uses the term **style** to label the result of successful stylistic practices (2008: 456). She defines linguistic style as "a clustering of linguistic resources, and an association of that clustering with social meaning" (Eckert 2001: 123). Eckert draws parallels between her own notions of style and stylistic practice (2008: 456), and Agha's (1999, 2003, 2005, 2007) notions of register and enregisterment. She equals style with register and compares the process of establishing a style through stylistic practices with the process of enregisterment (Eckert 2008: 456).

Enregisterment is the attribution of social value to linguistic resources. Combined with the interactional recognition of the value attribution over time, the process of enregisterment results in a **register** of linguistic resources acknowledged to be distinct from other registers (Agha 2007: 81). It is an ideological construct based on the belief that a set of linguistic resources belong together. The process of enregisterment is the social production and reproduction of this ideological construct. Registers are "living social formations, susceptible to society-internal variation and change" (Agha 2005: 40). For a register to maintain its status as a register it must be able to maintain some form of consistency from one interactional context to another, despite its dynamic and negotiable character. Such a relative consistency is achieved through

acknowledgment over time. It is achieved through the circulation and reproduction of a register in cultural practices, which means that enregisterment is a "sociohistorical process" (Agha 2007: 55).

> […] registers are cultural models of action that link diverse behavioral signs to enactable effects, including images of persona, interpersonal relationship, and type of conduct.
>
> (Agha 2007: 145)

When a set of linguistic resources is enregistered it becomes "differentiable within a language as a socially recognised register of forms" (Agha 2003: 231). Furthermore, it becomes "associated […] with particular social practices and with persons who engage in such practices" (Agha 1999: 216). Accordingly, a register can index the persons who engage in the social practices associated with the register, and vice versa. For instance, the use of dialect may index an agricultural occupation, if this is the social practice (stereotypically) associated with speakers of that dialect. Or, a well-dressed, intelligent looking person may be expected to use a standard variety, if these are the social values (stereotypically) associated with standard speech. On the ideological level the indexical connection between a register and social values can become so strong that the social values become "stereotypic indexical values" (Agha 2007: 81). In return, these stereotypical indexical values can become emblematic of a "stereotypic social personae" (Agha 2007: 82). Consequently, a register becomes an "*iconic* representation" of a social group and the connection between them acquires an air of "necessity" (Gal and Irvine 1995: 973). This is what Gal and Irvine label **iconicity** (1995: 973).

Metalinguistic awareness and construction is the part of the processes of enregisterment and iconicity that takes place on the ideological level. These constructions may mirror ways of speaking that are traditionally categorised by their (objective) linguistic qualities, e.g. dialects, but they are not just that. To ordinary people, linguistic variation, e.g. dialects or accents, is not just a matter of sound based differentiation, it is also "a system of contrastive social personae stereotypically linked to contrasts of sound" (Agha 2003: 241-242). This means that there is a social dimension to linguistic differentiation. The adolescents' metalinguistic constructions of, for instance, *Hochdeutsch* and *Schwäbisch* in this study also involve negotiations of (contextual) authority over and access to the constructed registers on the ideological level. Some adolescents are wielders of symbolic power that validates them as gatekeepers of a particular register. Others are subjects to these structures and must negotiate the access to the register in question. Some registers are more desirable to master or be associated with than others, but the access to them is not just a matter of linguistic proficiency. It is also a matter of power and recognition. Power to gain the recognition from the other participants in an interaction.

The ideological value attribution, which happens when linguistic resources are used to index social values in interaction, is a micro-level process. When the same linguistic resources are used to index the same range of social value across more interactions, these social values become the indexical

field of the linguistic resources in question. If this indexical correlation is reproduced and circulated across even more interactions, the indexical field can over time contribute to the enregisterment of these linguistic resources as a set of linguistic resource believed to belong together. If this register of linguistic resources continues to be reproduced and circulated, and it remains widely acknowledged as a register, then it can become an iconic representation of the social group associated with it. Accordingly, the social values of the register's indexical field become stereotypical indexical values of this particular social group and of the register itself. When this happens, the indexical correlation between a certain register, a certain indexical field of social values, and a certain social group becomes a social stereotypical relationship. This process shows how a micro-level process of social value attribution in interaction can be transformed into a macro-level process of iconicity.

❖ Chapter 3: The design of the Stuttgart study

Preston (2010) presents a (tentative) classification of the different approaches used in **perceptual dialectology**. This classification is ideal to illustrate the diversity of the experimental design of this study. Preston classifies the different approaches in this framework:

Two modes of Perceptual Dialectology		Production Source	
		External	Internal
Regard Type	Conscious	1. Identification 2. Discrimination and Comprehension 3. Discourse	1. Same-different 2. Hand-drawn 3. Evaluations 4. Imitations 5. Discourse
	Subconscious	1. Misdirection 2. Matched-guise 3. Discourse	1. Discourse

Figure 3.1: Taxonomy of production and regard (Preston 2010: 24)

In this classification the approaches are distributed according to two main aspects: 1) the 'production sources', which is the processual aspect of triggering an attitude; and 2) the 'regard type'[9], which is the type of attitude elicited. Preston considers the attitudinal process to consist of **external** or i**nternal** production sources, depending on the stimulus used to activate the evaluative response (2010: 5). External sources concern approaches "that have submitted linguistic samples to respondents" (Preston 2010: 6), which means that respondents offer their attitudes to specific linguistic stimuli. Internal sources, on the other hand, concern approaches that do not make use of linguistic samples. In this case, the respondents offer their attitudes to their own perceived representation of the study object. Preston also distinguishes between two different types of attitudes ('regard'): **conscious** and **subconscious** attitudes. Conscious attitudes are elicited with direct approaches targeting "a respondent's declarative knowledge of language (conscious or explicit)". Subconscious attitudes are elicited with indirect approaches aiming to "deflect attention from the fact that responses to language were being sought (subconscious or implicit)" (Preston 2010: 6).

To obtain a complex description of the adolescents' language attitudes, this study aims to elicit both conscious and subconscious attitudes, and for this purpose both external and internal production sources are employed. The study is designed to cover all four intersections in Preston's framework (Figure 3.1). The **SEE** (ch. 3.i) is designed to elicit both conscious and subconscious attitudes to an external production source in the form of 12 voices from Berlin, Reutlingen and Stuttgart. The respondents are kept unaware of the dialectal differences in these voices, when they are evaluating them on a number of personality traits. This is the first task of the SEE, the **adjective**

[9] Preston's 'Regard type' refers to his notion of 'language regard', which in this study corresponds to the term 'language attitude'.

scales, and it is designed to elicit the respondents' subconscious attitudes to the dialectal differences in the voices. When the adjective scales have been completed, the respondents are made aware of the presence of dialectal differences in the voices. In the following tasks the respondents then rank the voices according to how standardised (*Hochdeutsch*) they sound in the **perceived standardness task**, and they affiliate them with either Berlin, Reutlingen or Stuttgart in the **geographic affiliation task**. These two tasks aim to elicit conscious attitudes to the dialectal differences. The **LRT** (ch. 3.ii) collects consciously offered attitudes to stereotypical German variety labels. In this task the respondents are presented with external input in the form of nine stereotypical German variety labels. However, as it is an internal matter what the respondents associate with these variety labels, they are considered to be an internal production source. Finally, the **metalinguistic interviews** (ch. 3.v) collect both types of attitudes, with both types of production sources. The group interviews focus on the stereotypical labels of *Hochdeutsch* and *Schwäbisch*, as well as on the language use of the participants in particular, and the language use of the Stuttgart area in general. The respondents' metalinguistic constructions of these topics are discoursal constructs, and according to Preston, discourse covers all four intersections of his framework (2010: 24). Consequently, both internal, e.g. discussion of stereotypical variety labels, and external production sources, e.g. discussion of particular linguistic resources, are present in the interviews. Furthermore, the participants' discussions and accounts of their own language use, and the language use of the area in general, reveal both subconscious and conscious attitudes in the form of implicit and explicit statements about these.

Thus, this study aims to obtain conscious and subconscious attitudinal data from the application of both internal and external production sources. If the tasks of the experimental part of the study are carried out successfully, alongside the group interviews, then the result will be a complex description of the adolescents' attitudes to the language use of the Stuttgart area.

i) The design of the speaker evaluation experiment

The SEE is designed to collect three different kinds of responses to the 12 voices used as stimulus in the experiment:

- The respondents' evaluative reactions to dialectal differences in the voices (on parameters of personality traits).
- How standardised (*Hochdeutsch*) the respondents consider the voices to be.
- How well the respondents' recognise the geographic origin (either Berlin, Reutlingen or Stuttgart) of the voices.

The experiment aims to record both subconscious and conscious attitudes to the 12 voices, and an essential part of this setup is the focus on the respondents' awareness of the dialectal differences in them. Therefore, the SEE is divided into two parts in the form of two questionnaires (Appendix 1 and 2). When answering the first part, the adjective scales (no. 1 on the list above), it is vital that

the respondents are unaware of the dialectal differences in the voices. Conversely, it is a requirement for tasks of the second part, the perceived standardness task and geographic affiliation task (no. 2 and 3, above), that the respondents are aware of the presence of dialectal differences. This difference in awareness is necessary to ensure the distinction between the subconscious (first part) and the conscious attitudes (second part). Consequently, the 12 voices used as stimulus must be chosen with great care.

a) The process of recording the voices

The results elicited with the adjective scales are considered to be the respondents' social evaluations of the dialectal variation in the 12 voices. With this in mind, it is important to emphasise that 'dialectal variation' does not refer to the most dialectal speech available. Instead, the voices are supposed to represent the speech of an average adolescent from the three locations represented. In Kristiansen's words, the language use of the voices should belong "to the every-day linguistic experience of young people in the local community under study" (2009: 173). To comply with this, the 12 voices are recordings of spontaneous speech from short interviews with adolescents, conducted in schools in Berlin, Reutlingen and Stuttgart. Four speakers from each location were chosen as voices. The rationale for having four voices per location is to control the influence of non-dialectal factors, such as the content of the voices and their voice quality. This approach is adapted from the LANCHART studies in Denmark (Kristiansen and Monka 2006: 9; Kristiansen 2009: 175). The reasoning is that the results of the adjective scales will show whether or not the dialectal differences can be considered to be the main trigger of the respondents' evaluative reactions. If the four voices from the same location are evaluated alike, and differently from the other voices, then this evaluation is considered to have been triggered by what they have in common, in this case the dialectal colouring. If the voices from Reutlingen are evaluated alike, and differently from those from Berlin and Stuttgart, then the dialectal colouring of the Reutlingen voices are considered to be the trigger of the respondents' evaluative reactions. The same goes for the voices from Berlin and Stuttgart.

In the LANCHART studies (Kristiansen 2017, 2018) and similar studies in Denmark (Maegaard 2005; Svenstrup 2010) that also used the verbal guise technique, the speaker gender proved to have an influence on the respondents' evaluations. Therefore, two female voices and two male voices were chosen from each of the three location. This set-up makes it possible to determine whether or not female and male voices are evaluated differently.

The 12 voices were selected from 57 short interviews with 9th and 10th grade *Gymnasium* students[10] from Berlin, Reutlingen and Stuttgart. Before the interviews the students (as well as their teachers) were informed that the recordings were intended for research purposes. However, to prevent potential expectations and speculations concerning dialectal differences and geographic

[10] One of the final 12 voices (B045m) is an adult (see ch. 6.iii.b for more on this).

affiliation from influencing the students' language use in the interviews, nothing was revealed as to the study object, or as to where the research would be carried out. After the interviews, all was revealed to the students (and their teachers), and they were given the opportunity to ask questions. Mostly, these questions concerned what it means to be a researcher, what a fieldworker does, and why it is interesting to investigate the Swabian dialect. At this point the students were also given the possibility of withdrawing their interviews, but no one wished to do so.

In the short interviews the 9th and 10th grade students were asked to describe what they think characterises a good teacher: *"Was ist für dich ein guter Lehrer?"* ("What is, in your opinion, a good teacher like?"). This question is another adaptation from the LANCHART studies (Kristiansen 2009: 175), and it is designed with three particular purposes in mind. The first is the aim to keep the content of the interview dialect-neutral, to avoid any references to the linguistic variation in the voices. The second is to keep the content fairly similar across all the voices, by aking the same question. Finally, the third is to introduce a topic that is assumed to be both relevant and relatively uncontroversial to the average 9th and 10th grade students. Avoidance of controversial topics is important in order to avoid reactions that might override the impact of the dialectal differences on the respondents' evaluative reactions.

Despite the efforts to minimise them, the influence of outside factors on the students' language use in the interviews is inevitable. Being interviewed by an unknown university fieldworker is an unusual situation to anybody, and considering that this fieldworker is Danish and speaks learner German, the interview situation itself is bound to have an impact. The students must accommodate to an unfamiliar situation as well as to the non-native German of the fieldworker, and might therefore speak more standard than usual, if only slightly so. In an effort to minimise such an effect, I, in the role of fieldworker, wore casual clothes as a way of signalling informality and invited the interviewee to address me as Christoph and *"du"* (you — personal pronoun, second person, singular). In Germany it is customary to use the more polite and formal *"Herr"* (Mr.) followed by the last name, and to use *"Sie"* (you — personal pronoun, second person, singular (/ plural)), when unacquainted, or as only superficially acquainted adults address each other. In school, the 9th and 10th grade students address their teachers (and most adults) using this polite and formal form of address. By inviting the students to use the informal form of address, I hoped to mitigate expectations based on perceived differences of age or social status. Furthermore, I also emphasised that the students were free to decline from participating in the interview, and, should they volunteer, that there were no restrictions as to what they were allowed to say in the interview[11].

The aim was to find 12 adolescent speakers who were suitable as voices in the SEE. These voices were not to represent the traditional dialects of the three locations, but the common speech amongst adolescents. In other words, the dialectal colouring had to be within the gamut of what

[11] The same measures were taken in the group interviews (ch. 3.v).

the respondents consider to be everyday speech. In accordance with this, speakers judged to be too dialectal were dismissed. Only a handful of the interviews from Reutlingen and Stuttgart, and none of the interviews from Berlin, were eliminated due to this criterion. In truth, it was more difficult to find speakers with 'sufficient' dialectal colouring, as the majority of the students from the three locations speak relatively standardised. This may be an effect of my non-native German and the unfamiliar situation. However, the LANCHART studies experienced the same situation of 'shortage' of dialectal features, although the fieldworkers in Denmark were native speakers (Kristiansen 2009:175-176). Obviously, the dialect situations in Denmark and Germany are quite different, but the difficulties in finding speakers with 'sufficient' dialectal colouring seem similar. To ensure the presence of dialectal features, a phonetic transcription of the SEE voices was carried out (Appendix 3 and ch. 3.i.b). Furthermore, the analysis of the results of the SEE will show whether or not the dialectal differences are the main trigger of the respondents' evaluative reactions. The patterns in the evaluative results (ch. 6 and 7) indicate that this is the case. Accordingly, the dialectal variation in the voices is sufficient to trigger evaluative reactions, despite the unfamiliar situation of the interview and my non-native German.

b) Describing the 12 voices

In the LANCHART studies Kristiansen tests the hypothesis that a large city may function as linguistic norm centres for its immediate surrounding area (2009: 171-172), and this is also the starting point of this study. Ruoff's account of the linguistic situation in Baden-Württemberg (ch. 4.ii.a) suggests that Stuttgart may function as a linguistic norm centre, albeit on the attitudinal and ideological level rather than on the level of language use (1997: 145). The Stuttgart voices are expected to represent the most standardised local speech amongst the 12 voices. Reutlingen is situated in the area surrounding Stuttgart (ch. 4.iii), and if Stuttgart functions as a linguistic norm centre then speakers from Reutlingen are expected to orient towards Stuttgart. Therefore, the Reutlingen voices are expected to represent the least standardised local speech. Finally, according to national surveys Berlinese (*Berlinerisch*) is one of the most well-known German dialects (GfdS 2008: 14-15; Gärtig, Plewnia and Rothe 2010: 159, 164). It is also the only urban variety amongst the stereotypical variety labels presented in the LRT (ch. 3.ii.a and 8). Based on this it is safe to assume that *Berlinerisch* is a well-known (stereotypical) label to the respondents, even though they may not have an intimate knowledge of the actual dialect, apart form what they may have encountered in the media. Apparently this violates Kristiansen's intention of the voices representing everyday language use to the respondents (2009: 173). However, the Berlin voices are considered to represent standardised out-group speech to the respondents, e.g. such as they may encounter through the media, and not the dialect of Berlin. Therefore, the Berlin voices are considered to be within the gamut of what the respondents consider to be every day speech. The Berlin voices are either expected to be associated with some kind of urban quality, under the label of *Berlinerisch* (Berlinese), that enjoys a positive stance amongst young Germans (the respondents). Or, if they are

regarded as out-group, and not Berlin, speakers they may be associated with spoken standard German, with *Hochdeutsch*. The assumption here is that the latter is the more likely of the two.

The 12 interviews chosen as raw material for the voices were edited (using the software Audacity@[12]) to meet criteria of both length and content. The 12 voices were played three times during the experiment, which meant that it was quite time consuming. If the experiment lasted too long, the result might have been loss of concentration and haphazardly answered or unanswered questionnaires. The LANCHART studies used voice samples of about 30 seconds (Kristiansen 2009: 175), as did I in a study in Holstebro in Denmark (Svenstrup 2010). In both set-ups each voice sample was separated from the next by a 15 seconds pause, which allowed the respondents to catch up if they fell behind, and it also allowed for possible additional comments. For the entire experiment, three playbacks were necessary, which amounted to at least 25 minutes of playback time. On top of this, the introductions of the questionnaire tasks, the handing out of the questionnaires, the filling in of the remaining questionnaire tasks (the LRT and background information), the question rounds, the control question, plus any unforeseen delays all added to the duration of the experiment. As the fieldworker in the Holstebro study, I experienced that the data collections exceeded the one hour mark and it was my impression that this stretched the attention of the majority of the respondents to the limits of their capacity. Towards the end of the third playback of the voice samples, the Holstebro respondents appeared more and more distracted and restless.

To avoid the same thing happening in this study, shorter voice samples, edited to a length between 7 and 12 seconds, were used for the SEE. For reasons of anonymity, and for the purpose of the analysis, each of the voices was given a pseudonym referring to the recording location (B for Berlin, S for Stuttgart and R for Reutlingen), the recording number (in the order of the 57 interviews recorded), and the gender of the speaker (f for female and m for male). A list of the 12 voices and their length of recording (see also Appendix 3) follows:

<u>Reutlingen voices</u>

- R013m: 09.51 seconds
- R014m: 07.17 seconds
- R017f: 08.81 seconds
- R018f: 08.75 seconds

<u>Stuttgart voices</u>

- S029m: 10.97 seconds
- S032f: 10.03 seconds
- S035m: 08.04 seconds
- S041f: 11.76 seconds

<u>Berlin voices</u>

- B045m: 07.92 seconds
- B048f: 10.62 seconds
- B051m: 07.71 seconds
- B053f: 10.64 seconds

In comparison to the LANCHART studies and the Holstebro study, the voices used in this study are considerably shorter. This means a quicker execution of the SEE and a reduced risk of straining the attention span of the respondents. As an added bonus, the increased time constraint contributes to the elicitation of subconscious attitudes (ch. 2.i and ii). On the downside, voices this short are in

[12] Available for free (with the option of voluntary donation) at http://www.audacityteam.org/.

danger of being too short. Too short for the respondents to grasp, and/or too short for them to mark down their evaluative responses, with a large amount of incomplete or blank questionnaires as a result. However, the amount of incomplete or blank questionnaires is not particularly high. Furthermore, when asked about the time available for filling in the questionnaires, none of the participants in the group interviews deemed the task too stressing or impossible to achieve. I take the results to indicate that the voices are long enough to function as stimulus for the SEE.

Concerning the content of the voices, it is vital to avoid any hints at, or focus on, dialectal differences. At the same time it is important to ensure that the voices are fluent and appear credible to the respondents. Therefore, passages with references that could place the speaker geographically were removed from the recordings. So too were passages with explicit dialectal references, as well as passages with interfering noises or speech (e.g. bells ringing, someone accidentally barging in on the interview, or the fieldworker). After these passages were removed, recordings without sufficient fluent lengths of speech were eliminated. As a last criterion, the presence of dialectal variation had to be ensured.

This was done by selecting the word *Lehrer* (teacher) as a constant in the voices. This word is prone to dialectal variation of the phonetic level, a lowering /eː/ in the first syllable, in Swabian dialect (Mihm 2000: 2121; Spiekermann 2008: 67; Auer and Spiekermann 2011: 168). Furthermore, due to the nature of the question, *"Was ist für dich ein guter Lehrer?"*, the word *Lehrer* is present in almost all of the 57 short interviews. Accordingly, 12 voices were selected, in which the word *Lehrer* exhibits dialectal variation and occurs within a sufficiently fluent length of speech. In the eight voices from Reutlingen and Stuttgart the word is pronounced with a lowered /eː/ in the first syllable, although with different degrees of lowering (see Appendix 3 for the full phonetic transcriptions)[13]:

- S029m: [lɛːʁɐ]
- S032f: [lɛːɐ]
- S035m: [lɛ̰ːʁə]
- S041f: [lɛːʁɐ]
- R013m: [lɛːʁɑː]
- R014m: [lɛːʁɐ]
- R017f: [lɛːʁɐ]
- R018f: [læːʁɐ]

The four voices from Berlin all pronounce the word *Lehrer* without lowering the /eː/ in the first syllable, i.e., with a standard realisation:

- B045m: [leːʁɐ]
- B048f: [leːʁɐ]
- B051m: [leːʁɐ]
- B053f: [leːʁɐ]

Thus, the word *Lehrer* is proof that there is at least one case of dialectal variation separating the Berlin voices from those of Reutlingen and Stuttgart. In the voices from the Reutlingen and

[13] The phonetic examples in the following are transcribed with IPA and presented in brackets: [ ].

Stuttgart voices there are other phonetic features that are typical of Swabian dialect (see ch. 4.i.a). However, apart from the lowering of /eː/ in the first syllable of *Lehrer*, none of these is present in all eight voices from Reutlingen and Stuttgart. For example, there are four instances of the palatalisation of /s/ (to /ʃ/) which is a very common dialectal feature in the Swabian area (Mihm 2000: 2121; Spiekermann 2008: 69; Auer and Spiekermann 2011: 169):

- *"menschlich"* ("human", adj.): [mɛnʃlɪç] (R014m – Appendix 3)
- *"ist"* ("is", verb, 3rd pers. sing.): [ɪʒ] (R014m – Appendix 3)
- *"pädagogisch"* ("pedagogical", adj.): [pətagoːgɪʃ] (S035m – Appendix 3)
- *"ist"* ("is", verb, 3rd pers. sing.): [əʃ] (R018f – Appendix 3)

Another rather common feature is the raising of /au/ to /ɔu/ (Spiekermann 2008: 65; Schwarz 2015: 91), but only one instance of this feature is found:

- *"auf"* ("to", prep. (used in the expression *"einer der auf die Schüler eingeht"* ("one who is responsive to the students")): [ɔf] (with monophthongisation of the diphthong) (R014m – Appendix 3)

The phonetical description does not reveal much difference in the amount of Swabian features found in the Reutlingen and Stuttgart voices. Apparently, there is little dialectal difference between the two groups of voices. Nevertheless, the Reutlingen voices and the Stuttgart voices are evaluated significantly different on several of the adjective scales (ch. 6). The logic of the SEE says that, if voices from the same location are evaluated alike, and differently from the voices from the other locations, then the dialectal differences are accepted as the primary trigger of the respondents' evaluative reactions. The results of the adjective scales show that the respondents are able to distinguish between the Reutlingen and the Stuttgart voices on the subconscious level. In other words, despite the apparent scarcity of difference in terms of dialect features, the results indicate that such features are the primary triggers of the respondents' evaluations.

As no phonetic dialect features were found in the Berlin voices (for the transcription see Appendix 3), these are expected to sound standardised, to represent *Hochdeutsch*, to the respondents. The respondents are assumed to be familiar with the stereotypical variety label *Berlinerisch* (Berlinese), but beyond maybe a few stereotypical dialect features they are not expected to be familiar with the dialect of Berlin. Therefore, the Berlin voices are considered to represent dialect-neutral out-group speech to the respondents. The combination of the relative dialect-neutral character and the non-local and out-group status of the voices from Berlin is assumed to equal *Hochdeutsch* to the respondents. It is therefore plausible that the respondents will consider the Berlin voices to sound more standardised than the Reutlingen and Stuttgart voices.

c) The adjective scales

During the first playback, the respondents evaluate each of the 12 voices on eight scales (Appendix 1). These consist of eight adjective pairs with an unnumbered 7-point scale between them. Each adjective pair consists of a relatively positive (e.g. *Intelligent*) and a relatively negative (e.g. *Stupid*) personality trait. In the analysis of the results the scale point closest to the positively loaded adjective is given the value 1 and the scale point closest to the negatively loaded adjective the value 7. This setup is based on the **semantic differential** technique, which was developed for attitudinal studies within the field of psycholinguistics (Osgood 1952, 1954, and 1964). Today, the semantic differential is one of the most frequently used experimental tools for attitudinal research (Krosnick, Judd, and Wittenbrink 2005: 33), often used with the matched or the verbal guise technique (Soukup 2013: 252), as it is very suitable for putting respondents under time pressure in an effort to elicit automatic responses (Garrett 2010: 55-56). The automatic responses elicited with the adjective scales in this study are considered to be the respondents' subconscious attitudes.

There are diverging opinions as to whether even numbered or odd numbered scales are better suited for attitudinal studies. An even numbered scale leaves no option but to commit (to a greater or lesser degree) to one of the poles of the scale. Assuming "that it is not possible to have a 'neutral' attitude" (Garrett 2010: 55), then an even numbered scale is the best fit. An even numbered scale is suited for topics likely to trigger, or respondents likely to harbour, extreme attitudes. Such a "dichotomous scale" (Krosnick, Judd, and Wittenbrink 2005: 36) offers a relatively straightforward either-or evaluative instrument for recording attitudes. Following this line of argument, the central point of an odd numbered scale is (too) ambiguous and (too) imprecise, as there is uncertainty as to how it should be interpreted. Should it be considered a value similar to the other points on the scale? Or, should it be considered a neutral position not committed to any of the two poles? Taking a different stance, the central point of an odd numbered scale can be regarded as an asset. The potential neutral quality of the central point offers the respondent the possibility of <u>not</u> having an opinion on the subject at hand. Thus, a odd numbered scale is "trichotomous", as it offers a neutral option in addition to the two poles (Krosnick, Judd, and Wittenbrink 2005: 36). Therefore an odd numbered scale can be seen as a more complex representation of the respondent's evaluative reaction, which is why an odd numbered scale is used for the SEE in this study.

Krosnick, Judd, and Wittenbrink (2005) point out that there is great variance in the scale length of different attitudinal studies, but they lean towards the 7-point scale as the most favourable option.

> The number of scale points offered on a rating scale may be a determinant of task difficulty. Two-point scales simply requires a decision of direction (e.g. pro vs. con), whereas longer scales require decisions of both direction and extremity.
>
> (Krosnick, Judd, and Wittenbrink 2005: 38).

The scale length is dependent on both task and respondents. A certain length is required to achieve the level of refinement required to reflect the complexity of the attitudes targeted. This is to a large extent dependent on the respondents' relationship with the attitude object (Krosnick, Judd, and Wittenbrink 2005: 36). By not offering the respondents adequate opportunity to differentiate their answers, very short scales may oversimplify and misrepresent the attitudes they aim to depict. Very long scales, on the other hand, may overcomplicate and blur the attitudes. By offering too many options they may cause insecurity or confusion, which may cause the respondents to either ignore parts of the scale or simply fill it in arbitrarily (Krosnick, Judd, and Wittenbrink 2005: 38). Based on their account of (social psychological) literature on the topic of optimal scale length, Krosnick, Judd, and Wittenbrink conclude that both the reliability and the validity of the data obtained increases with the number of points on the scale, but only to a certain degree. Beyond this point the increase in reliability is only marginal and the validity is undermined (2005: 38-39). Based on studies showing that when respondents evaluate an object on unclassified scales they are inclined to mark out five, seven, or nine points, Krosnick, Judd, and Wittenbrink lean towards the use of a 7-point scale (Krosnick, Judd, and Wittenbrink 2005: 39-40). Furthermore, in the development of the semantic differential technique Osgood used a 7-point scale (1954: 177). Based on this, a 7-point scale is also being used in this study.

To ensure that the adjective scales elicit the respondents' subconscious language attitudes, it is important to carefully choose the adjective pairs that are used for the two poles. It is important that they are relevant to the respondents. At the same time, it is important that they cannot be associated with dialectal variation or differences. The obvious approach would be to collect the adjective pairs through pilot studies. However, in this study it is also a priority that the results are comparable to those of the LANCHART studies in Denmark (Kristiansen 2009), as well as to the European language attitude studies which are part of the SLICE project (Kristiansen and Coupland 2011; Kristiansen and Grondelaers 2013). Therefore, I take a different approach. In line with a number of the other SLICE experiments (Ó Murchadha 2013: 83, Vaicekauskienė and Aliūkaitė 2013: 108, Anderson and Bugge 2015: 249), the adjective pairs have been adapted from the Danish adjective pairs used in the LANCHART studies (Kristiansen 2009: 174).

> The advantage of using labels from previous studies is that it can save a great deal of time, and allow a reasonable degree of confidence that one has covered the main evaluative dimensions along which respondents are likely to be making their judgements. It may also allow better comparability across studies.
>
> (Garrett 2010: 56)

A careful adaptation and translation, with the help from German colleagues, ensures that the German adjectives are comparable to those of the other studies mentioned, and that they can be assumed to be well-known to the respondents as native speakers. In order to compensate somewhat for not finding the adjective pairs through pilot studies, and to possibly replace

problematic or irrelevant adjectives, participants in pilot study interviews were consulted. They were asked whether any of the adjectives came over as peculiar or particularly noticeable, or whether they could come up with better alternatives. None of them found anything peculiar or noticeable about any of the adjectives, and none of them suggested any alternatives. Consequently, no changes were made. Here is a list of the German adjective pairs used for the SEE (the Danish originals are in brackets and the English translations[14] used in the dissertation text are in **bold**):

Klug (*Klog*) — *Dumm* (*Dum*)

- **Intelligent** — **Stupid**

Seriös (*Seriøs*) — *Unseriös* (*Ligeglad*)

- **Serious**/Conscientious — **Frivolous**/Happy-go-lucky

Ehrgeizig (*Målrettet*) — *Träge* (*Sløv*):

- **Ambitious**/Goal-directed — **Indolent**/Dull

Vertrauenswürdig (*Til at stole på*) — *Nicht vertrauenswürdig* (*Ikke til at stole på*)

- **Trustworthy** — **Untrustworthy**

Selbstbewußt (*Selvsikker*) — *Unsicher* (*Usikker*)

- **Self-assured** — **Insecure**

Interessant (*Spændende*) — *Langweilig* (*Kedelig*)

- **Fascinating** — **Boring**

Cool (*Tjekket*) — *Uncool* (*Utjekket*)

- **Cool** — **Uncool**

Nett (*Flink*) — *Unsympathisch* (*Usympatisk*)

- **Nice** — **Disagreeable**/Repulsive

The listed adjectives are considered to be generally comprehensible and 'dialect-neutral', in the sense that they in no way refer directly to language use and/or variation. They are intended to "reflect abstract qualities of experience" (Osgood 1952: 231) and they are considered to be comparable.

> To the extent that judgments of different concepts involve the same factor structure, any concept may be compared with any other against a single, standardized semantic framework.
>
> (Osgood 1952: 231)

[14] Adaptation and translation from Danish to German and from German to English was mainly done by the use of www.leo.org, www.oxforddictionaries.com and www.duden.de.

The listed adjective pairs, and the 7-point scale separating them, compose the "standardized semantic framework" for the evaluation of the voices. All together, this constitutes the framework for the elicitation of the respondents' subconscious attitudes to the dialectal differences in the 12 voices presented to them.

d) The scale for the perceived standardness

After the debriefing session which concludes the adjective scales, the respondents' attention is directed to the dialectal differences in the voices. Now aware of the dialectal differences they listen to the voices once again and assess them in terms of both 'standardness' and 'geographic affiliation'.

Despite having a strong tradition for dialect use in Baden-Württemberg (Ruoff 1997), the state administration dictates that (spoken) standard German is the official norm of the educational system (Bluhm-Faust 2005). The Department of Education, Youth and Sports specifies the importance of implementing standard German as the norm for the language use at all levels of the educational system:

> Die Fähigkeit der Kinder und Jugendlichen, die Standardsprache zu lernen und sich in dieser zu verständigen, ist ein zentrales Anliegen aller Schularten.
>
> It is a central concern at all levels of the educational system that children and adolescents learn to understand and express themselves in the standard language. [My translation]
>
> (http://www.km-bw.de/,Lfr/Startseite/Schule/Sprachfoerderung)

Consequently, should students not be able to speak (or understand) standard German on their first day of school, then the educational system is obliged to change this. Based on this language policy, the respondents of this study, and adolescents from Baden-Württemberg in general, are assumed to consider standard German, and with it the stereotypical variety label *Hochdeutsch*, as a prestige variety in terms of education and (professional) competence. This attribution of social value and status to standard German is a central issue for this investigation and its comparison of attitudes to Swabian and *Hochdeutsch*. It is therefore highly relevant to find out if the respondents distinguish between the 12 voices on account of how standardised they sound.

The scale for **perceived standardness** (Appendix 2) is designed to measure the degree to which the voices are associated with *Hochdeutsch*. The respondents are asked to rank each of the 12 voices on a 7-point scale from 'very' (*'sehr')* to 'not at all' (*'gar nicht'*) *Hochdeutsch* (standardised). It is interesting to see, which of the samples are considered to sound the most *Hochdeutsch*, but it becomes really interesting with regard to the different locations of the voices. Do voices from the same location sound equally standardised? Which location is home to the most standardised voices? And, is there a difference in how standardised the in-group voices (Reutlingen and

Stuttgart) and the out-group voices (Berlin) sound? The perceived standardness task is one of two parts of the SEE, designed to elicit conscious attitudes. The other part, the geographic affiliation task, will be described next.

e) The geographic affiliation task

Simultaneously with the perceived standardness task the respondents are expected to complete the **geographic affiliation** task (Appendix 2), in which they are asked to identify each of the 12 voices as coming from either Berlin, Reutlingen or Stuttgart.

The purpose of the task is to test the respondents' ability to link the voices with the correct geographic location — if they are aware of the dialectal differences. If a major part of the respondents affiliate the voices correctly, this would indicate the presence of dialectal differences associated with the geographic locations. In turn, it may be argued that these differences must have an impact on the respondents' reactions to the voices elicited with the adjective scales. In a similar task, the LANCHART studies offered the respondents two options, Copenhagen or the relevant local location, which means that the chance of guessing correctly is 50-50 (Kristiansen 2009: 176). Kristiansen argues that a percentage of correct answers above 50 indicates that an association of geographic location and dialectal colouring played a role during the subconscious assessment of the voice samples. In the present study, the respondents were asked to choose between three locations: Berlin, Reutlingen and Stuttgart. As a consequence, the chance of guessing correctly is lowered. If the percentage of correct answers is above 33, then this can be taken as an indication of a relationship between the association of geographic location and dialectal colouring and the respondents' subconscious attitudes. Accordingly, two thresholds are implemented as points of reference for an acceptable proportion of the respondents: 1) the initial threshold dictates that more than 33% of the respondents must affiliate a voice with the correct location, and 2) the Swabian-threshold dictates that more than 66% of the respondents must identify the Reutlingen and Stuttgart voices as coming from the Swabian area.

However, this set-up entails two factors with the potential to make it difficult for the respondents to link the voices with the correct location. The one such factor is the geographic and dialectal proximity of Reutlingen and Stuttgart (see Map 4.2 and Table 4.1). Due to this proximity the respondents may have difficulties discerning between speakers from the two locations. The respondents would probably have difficulties discerning between speakers from these two locations even in face-to-face interaction with longer stretches of fluent speech. Therefore, apart from being viewed in the light of three locations, the results will also be viewed in a Swabian vs. non-Swabian perspective. This added perspective might yield a relatively high level of recognition of the Reutlingen and Stuttgart speakers as coming from the Swabian area (above the 66% of correct allocations, by chance).

The other factor concerns the speakers from Berlin. None of the Berlin voices contains Berlinese dialectal features. Therefore, the respondents are likely not to associate these voices with a particular geographic area. With the lay terminology they have at their disposal, the respondents will categorise dialect-neutral speech as *Hochdeutsch*. In the geographic affiliation task the respondents are given the options of Berlin, Reutlingen and Stuttgart. They are likely to associate the latter two with their own speech and regard them as coming from 'in-group' locations. However, a voice which is judged not to sound *Schwäbisch* (hence not coming from Reutlingen or Stuttgart) can only be allocated to Berlin. Consequently, the Berlin-option in this task is considered to represent *Hochdeutch*, the neutral 'out-group' choice.

ii) Design of the LRT

In the LRT the respondents are presented with nine stereotypical German variety labels and asked to rank these according to liking. This task is part of the second questionnaire (*Fragebogen II* — Appendix 2), which is presented to the respondents after the study object is revealed, i.e., after they have been informed that the experiment concerns dialectal variation. Here, in contrast to the SEE, the respondents are expected to benefit from the second phase of the evaluative process, the deliberation phase (Krosnick, Judd, and Wittenbrink 2005: 24ff.). The respondents are offered the time and information necessary for a deliberated response exposing their conscious attitudes.

Three of the nine labels in the LRT are of particular interest here, namely *Hochdeutsch*, *Schwäbisch* (Swabian), and *Berlinerisch* (Berlinese). These are amongst the most well-known varieties in Germany (GfdS 2008: 14-15; Gärtig, Plewnia and Rothe 2010: 159, 164), and it is safe to assume that they are also well-known to the respondents of this study. This is also confirmed by a pilot study (see ch. 3.ii.a) and by the self-reporting task which is part of the second questionnaire (ch. 5). I the light of this, the stereotypical label of *Schwäbisch* is considered to represent the local dialect in the Stuttgart area (ch. 4.i), the label of *Hochdeutsch* to represent spoken standard German (ch. 1, p. 14, footnote 3), and the label of *Berlinerisch* to represent the variety spoken in Berlin, the capital of Germany. Seen in regard to the experiment as a whole, the stereotypical labels of *Hochdeutsch*, *Schwäbisch*, and *Berlinerisch* of the LRT are assumed to be somehow associated with the SEE voices. The Reutlingen voices are assumed to represent *Schwäbisch*, and the Stuttgart voices are assumed to represent *Hochdeutsch* and/or *Schwäbisch*. Both of these labels and both groups of voices are expected to be perceived as in-group by the respondents. The assumed link between the *Berlinerisch* and the Berlin voices is less obvious. The respondents are expected to be familiar with the stereotypical variety label *Berlinerisch* as a reference to the people from Berlin speak and/or the Berlinese dialect. However, due to the lack of phonetic dialectal features, the Berlin voices are expected to represent dialect-neutral out-group speech to the respondents (ch. 3.i.b), and not Berlinese dialect as such.

In the group interviews (ch. 9) the participants seem to be convinced that dialect use is for the smaller cities, villages, and the countryside in general. According to them, dialect use has no place

in larger cities, and they refer to Stuttgart as an example of this. Following this line of argument the respondents are likely to regard *Berlinerisch* to be closer to *Hochdeutsch* rather than as an actual dialect. However, this remains a qualified guess and nothing more. Perhaps it is more relevant to ask what the respondents expect their peers from Berlin to be speaking. The 'no dialect use in cities' argument indicates that they would expect their speech to be dialect-neutral and therefore associate it with *Hochdeutsch*, rather than with *Berlinerisch*. The interviews show that the age of the speaker is important in this matter. The participants associate dialect more readily with the age groups of their parents and grandparents, than with their peers. The speakers of the Berlin voices belong to the same young age group as the respondents, who may therefore associate them with *Hochdeutsch* rather than *Berlinerisch*. Accordingly, the link between the label *Berlinerisch* and the voices from Berlin remains problematic. In the comparative analyses it may in fact be more relevant to link the Berlin speakers with the label of *Hochdeutsch*. In any case, the comparability of the LRT and SEE results remains essential to this investigation, as this comparison makes a major contribution to explain the role of conscious and subconscious language attitudes amongst adolescents from the Stuttgart area.

a) Determining the relevant variety labels

With the main purpose of finding relevant stereotypical variety labels for the LRT, a number of pilot studies were carried out to gain knowledge about the (lay) linguistic setting of this study. In these, the respondents were presented with an empty LRT, here called an **open label LRT** (OLRT). In this OLRT they were asked to list all the German varieties known to them and rank them according to preference. In order to leave as much room as possible for the respondents' own labels, and to avoid unnecessary confusion concerning the definition of specific terms, the words *dialect* (*Dialekt*) and *variety* (*Varietät*) were avoided in the formulation of the question. Apart from the information that "1" equals "I like the most", no restrictions were imposed as to number of labels or how to rank them:

- wie heißt du? (- what is your name?)

- wo bist du aufgewachsen? (- where did you grow up?)

- welche Art von Deutsch sprichst du? (- which kind of German do you speak?)

- bitte, schreib so viele Arten von Deutsch auf, die du kennst, und bewerte die Arten auf einer Skala. 1 bedeutet: „ich mag am liebsten..." usw. (- please, write as many kinds of German as you know and rank them on a scale. 1 means: "I like the most…" etc.

Nummer (Number)	***Arten von Deutsch*** (Kinds of German)

[etc.]

Figure 3.2: The questionnaire of the open LRT

In total, 139 questionnaires were collected in the pilot studies from respondents in different locations in Baden-Württemberg. The nine stereotypical variety labels used in the LRT were selected on the basis of these OLRTs. Here is an overview of the pilot studies:

No.	Type of resp.	Location	Task	Resp.
1	Fourth semester university students	University of Freiburg	OLRT, self-reporting task	17
2	School students and a few teachers	Science Days (education fair), Europa Park, Rust in B.-W.	OLRT, self-reporting task	31
3	9th grade students	*Gymnasium* in Reutlingen	OLRT, self-reporting task, group interview	24
4	10th grade students	*Gymnasium* in Stuttgart	OLRT, self-reporting task, group interview	21
5	10th grade students	*Gymnasium* in Reutlingen	OLRT, self-reporting task	24
6	9th grade students	*Gymnasium* in Stuttgart	OLRT, self-reporting Task	22
				Total = 139

Table 3.1: The pilot studies[15]

To ensure comparability, the majority of the pilot study respondents (91) were 9th and 10th grade students, and it is therefore very likely that the most frequent labels listed in the pilot studies are also those most relevant to the respondents of the actual study. Seven labels matched the criterion of being mentioned by at least 50% of the respondents *Schwäbisch* (Swabian – listed by 93%), *Bayrisch*[16] (Bavarian – 91%), *Sächsisch* (Saxon – 82%), *Hochdeutsch* (71%), *Plattdeutsch* (Low German – 57%), *Berlinerisch*[17] (Berlinese – 55%), and *Schweizerdeutsch* (Swiss German – 53%). Amongst these seven labels the three of particular interest here, *Berlinerisch*, *Hochdeutsch* and *Schwäbisch*, are all present. The average number of labels listed in the OLRT is 8.56. The 8th and 9th most frequently listed labels were therefore also included. These two additions are: *Hessisch* (Hessian – 48%) and *Fränkisch* (Franconian – 39%). Thus, the analysis of the OLRT material resulted in the selection of nine variety labels, all of which are found in at least 39% of the pilot study

[15] The respondents from the Science Days in Europa Park were mixed age-wise. Some were students from grades lower than the 9th and 10th and a few were adults (teachers). The questionnaires were anonymous and therefore it was not possible to sort them according to age and grade level.

[16] Also listed as *Bairisch*. The adjective ***bayrisch*** (or *bayerisch)* generally concerns cases associated with or connected to the Bavarian area but can also be used about the dialect spoken there (www.duden.de/rechtschreibung/bayerisch). ***Bairisch*** is more or less restricted to refer to cases associated with or connected to the dialect (www.duden.de/recthschreibung/bairisch). Linguistically and dialectologically speaking, the dialect is referred to as *Bairisch* (e.g. Barbour and Stevenson 1998: 84-106 — on the classification of the German dialects) but here *Bayrisch* is used, as this is the most frequent form in the pilot studies.

[17] Also listed as *Berlinisch*. The adjective ***berlinisch*** refers both to things associated with or connected to the city of Berlin and to the dialect/vernacular/sociolect spoken there (www.duden.de/rechtschreibung/berlinisch). ***Berlinerisch*** is another form (www.duden.de/rechtschreibung/berlinerisch). Linguistically and dialectologically speaking, the dialect is referred to as *Berlinisch* (e.g. Barbour and Stevenson 1998: 121-136 — on the language use in Berlin), but here *Berlinerisch* is used, as this is the most frequent form in the pilot studies.

questionnaires. Here, the nine labels are ranked according to their average scores in terms of personal preference (1 = "I like the most"): *Hochdeutsch* = 2.11, *Schwäbisch* = 3.24, *Bayerisch* = 4.31, *Berlinerisch* = 4.56, *Schweizerdeutsch* = 4.62, *Plattdeutsch* = 5.33, *Hessisch* = 5.82, *Fränkisch* = 5.92, *Sächsisch* = 6.31. The only urban variety in the list is *Berlinerisch*. Other urban varieties, like *Hamburgisch* (referring to Hamburg speech) and *Kölsch* (referring to Cologne speech), were also listed in the pilot studies, but none of these was listed frequently enough to be included in the LRT. It could be argued that *Hochdeutsch* stands out as the only non-geographic label listed here[18]. However, as it is not possible to decide whether or not the pilot study respondents associate this label with a geographic area, this remains an assumption.

A comparison of this list with the lists of the most liked and least liked German dialects from national surveys shows several similarities. In two national surveys carried out by the *Institut für Demoskopie Allensbach* (Gfds 2008; Allensbach 1998, 2008), and one carried out by the *Institut für Deutsche Sprache* (IDS) (Gärtig, Plewnia, and Rothe 2010), the respondents were asked to list their favourite German dialects, as well as those they dislike the most (in two separate questions). The results for two questions from the three surveys are listed in Table 3.2:

	Most liked German dialects			**Least liked German dialects**		
Rank	**Allensbach 1998**	**Allensbach 2008***	**IDS**	**Allensbach 1998**	**Allensbach 2008**	**IDS**
1	Bavarian	Bavarian	Bavarian	Saxon	Saxon	Saxon
2	North/Low German	North/Low German	North/Low German	Berlinese	Berlinese	none
3	Berlinese	Berlinese	Swabian	Bavarian	Bavarian	Bavarian
4	Swabian	Swabian	none	Swabian	Swabian	Swabian
5	Rhinelandish	Rhinelandish	Saxon	Thuringian	Thuringian	Berlinese
6	Hessian	Hessian	Berlinese	Hessian	Hessian	North/Low
7	Saxon	Saxon	Hessian	East Prussian	East Prussian	Hessian
8	Franconian	Franconian		North/Low German	North/Low German	

*Although the order of the dialects from Allensbach 1998 and 2008 are identical in the two 'positive' lists, and it is identical in the two 'negative' lists, the percentages do vary.

Table 3.2: The most and least liked German dialects (adapted from GfdS 2008: 14-15 and Gärtig, Plewnia, and Rothe 2010: 159, 164)

Six dialects are present in both the 'positive' (most liked) and 'negative' (least liked) lists in all three surveys: Bavarian, North/Low German, Berlinese, Swabian, Hessian, and Saxon. Against that background, it seems safe to assume that these dialects are the six best-known in Germany.

[18] Other non-geographic labels were listed in the pilot studies, albeit infrequently, e.g. *Umgangssprache* (which roughly translates into vernacular or colloquial speech), *SMS-Deutsch* (SMS-German), *Jugendsprache* (youth language), and *Kanak(en)deutsch* (immigrant/foreigner speech — derogatory expression).

These six stereotypical variety labels are also present in the LRT, with the remaining three labels being *Fränkisch*, *Schweizerdeutsch*, and *Hochdeutsch*. *Fränkisch* or Franconian is no obscure label to the Germans, as it is the 8th most liked dialect in the two Allensbach surveys (Table 3.2). In the IDS survey it is listed as the 12th most liked and the 17th least liked dialect (Gärtig, Plewnia, and Rothe 2010: 159, 164). As for *Hochdeutsch*, it was probably not mentioned in either the Allensbach surveys or the IDS survey because the respondents were asked about dialects. Likewise, the absence of *Schweizerdeutsch* from the results of the national surveys is probably due to a general failure amongst respondents to consider it as being a dialect of German. The fact that *Schweizerdeutsch* is present in the LRT is most likely because the label is relevant to adolescents in Baden-Württemberg, as the state shares a border with Switzerland.

iii) The data collection procedure

The study aims to elicit both subconscious and conscious language attitudes from the respondents. In order to obtain this, it was crucial that the respondents receive no information beforehand about the purpose of the experiment they were about to take part in. The initial oral introduction was kept short and factual, during which I, as the fieldworker, gave my first name and the name of the university with which I was associated, and told them that they were about to participate in an experiment. The questionnaire for the first part (the adjective scales) was then placed face down in front of each respondent with the request to leave it there until further notice. This was to ensure that the respondents' attention is focused on the oral instructions given, to prevent them from discussing and making assumptions about the study object, and to prevent them from filling in the questionnaire in advance. I then read out the written instruction from the front page, and I emphasised that 12 voices would be played twice, the first time just to listen and get acquainted with the voices, and a second time to complete in the questionnaire. After this, the respondents were asked to hold back any possible questions until after the completion of the questionnaire. Then, I asked the respondents to turn over the questionnaire and read the front page, which contained the title, designated spaces for the (first) name and grade ID of the respondents, as well as the task instructions.

***Fragebogen I* (Questionnaire I)**

Name (Name): _____

Klasse (Class ID): _____

Für diesen Fragebogen werden 12 Stimmen zwei Mal vorgespielt: das erste Mal sollst du nur zuhören, und das zweite Mal den Fragebogen ausfüllen.

(As stimulus for this questionnaire 12 voice samples will be played back *twice*: the first time you are supposed to just listen, and the second time you are supposed to fill in the questionnaire)

*I**n diesem Fragebogen gibt es für jede Stimme 8 Skalen mit Charakter-Eigenschaften, und du sollst pro Stimme in jeder Skala ein Kreuz machen.***

(In this questionnaire there are 8 scales with personality traits for each of the voice samples, and you are supposed to make a mark in each scale for each of the voice samples.)

Danke.

(Thank you.)

Figure 3.3: The front page of the first questionnaire

Together with the respondents, I leafed through the 12 pages with adjective scales, one page for each of the voices. At this point I stressed that there were no correct answers, and that the experiment was about their immediate reactions. I also asked the respondents to notice that the scales in the questionnaire of the person sitting next to them were arranged in a different order. I reiterated that there were no wrong answers. Therefore it was meaningless to copy from the neighbour and I explained that the alternating order of the scales in the questionnaires were meant as a help to avoid this.

a

Was ist dein unmittelbarer Eindruck von dieser Person? (What do you think of this person?)

Ehrgeizig *(Ambitious)*	☐☐☐☐☐☐☐	***Träge*** *(Indolent)*
Vertrauenswürdig *(Trustworthy)*	☐☐☐☐☐☐☐	***Nicht vertrauenswürdig*** *(Untrustworthy)*
Seriös *(Serious)*	☐☐☐☐☐☐☐	***Unseriös*** *(Frivolous)*
Interessant *(Fascinating)*	☐☐☐☐☐☐☐	***Langweilig*** *(Boring)*
Selbstbewußt *(Self-assured)*	☐☐☐☐☐☐☐	***Unsicher*** *(Insecure)*
Klug *(Intelligent)*	☐☐☐☐☐☐☐	***Dumm*** *(Stupid)*
Nett *(Nice)*	☐☐☐☐☐☐☐	***Unsympathisch*** *(Disagreeable)*
Cool *(Cool)*	☐☐☐☐☐☐☐	***Uncool*** *(Uncool)*

Zusätzliche Kommentare (Additional comments):

Figure 3.4: The adjective scales

Finally, I asked the respondents asked to write their name and grade ID on the front page and emphasised that only their first name was required. Asking the respondents' names of course means a lesser degree of anonymity, but it also has advantages. It makes it easier to determine their gender for the purpose of analysis, and also possible to compare the utterances of the group interview participants with their responses in the two questionnaires. The reason for only asking their first names is the assumption that it would lessen the formality of the situation (nevertheless, some of the respondents still wrote their last name).

Before the first playback of the voices, I asked the respondents to leave the questionnaire (again face down) and pencil on the table and just listen carefully. After the first playback, I told them that during the second playback they were to complete the questionnaire. After the second playback, and all the respondents had finished writing, the questionnaires were collected and I opened the first round of questions. Usually, there were very few questions at this stage. These were often concerned with identifying the study object. I used this as a cue to ask the respondents to put forth their thoughts on the what this might be. This was the control question meant to ensure that the respondents were unaware of the dialectal differences in the voices while filling in the adjective scales. The control question mostly yielded suggestions such as 'first impression of the speakers' or 'personality traits judged on behalf of their voice quality', etc. Dialectal differences or different ways of speaking were never proposed. Consequently, the respondents were considered to have been unaware of the dialectal differences in the voices while they were filling in the adjective scales. This is considered as the confirmation of a successful elicitation of the respondents' subconscious attitudes.

After the study object was revealed and the respondents' questions had been answered, I introduced and handed out the second questionnaire. This questionnaire contained the perceived standardness task, the geographic affiliation task, the LRT, the self-reporting task, and questions concerning social background information. The voices were then played to the respondents for the third and final time as they completed the perceived standardness task and the geographic affiliation task, the final part of the SEE. In the perceived standardness task, the respondents were asked to judge how standardised, how *Hochdeutsch*, the voices sound on a 7-point scale:

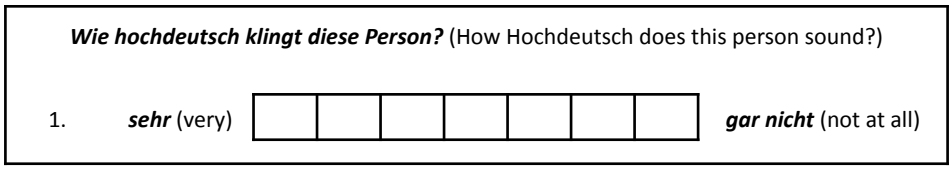


Figure 3.5: The perceived standardness task

In the geographic affiliation task the respondents were asked to locate each of the voices as coming from either Stuttgart, Reutlingen, or Berlin:

Woher kommt diese Person? (Where does this person come from?)

	Stuttgart	Reutlingen	Berlin
1.			

Figure 3.6: The geographic affiliation task

After the third playback of the 12 voices and the completion of the perceived standardness and the geographic affiliation tasks, the respondents turned to the LRT and started to rank the nine stereotypical German variety labels, according to their preference.

In der Liste unten sind 9 verschiedene Arten von Deutsch. (Here 9 different kinds of German are listed.)
Du sollst jetzt diese Arten auf einer Skala bewerten. 1 bedeutet: "ich mag am liebsten", und 9 bedeutet: "ich mag am wenigsten".
(Please rank these ways of speaking. 1 equals: "I like the most", and 9 equal "I like the least".)

Sächsisch	
Berlinerisch	
Fränkisch	
Plattdeutsch	
Schwäbisch	
Hochdeutsch	
Bayrisch	
Hessisch	
Schweizerdeutsch	

Figure 3.7: The label ranking task

After the LRT, the respondents filled in the questions concerning their social background information, before they completed the second questionnaire by reporting what they considered themselves to speak. I then concluded the questionnaire investigation by opening the second and final round of questions.

iv) The statistical analysis of the quantitative results

In order to be able to quantify and analyse the respondents' reactions statistically, their evaluative marks in the different tasks are each given a value. In the adjective scales the value 1 denotes the most positive evaluation and the value 7 denotes the most negative evaluation. For instance, on the scale *Nice – Disagreeable* 1 equals *nice* and 7 equals *disagreeable*. In the perceived standardness taks, the position next to *sehr* (very) is given the value 1, and the position next to *gar nicht* (not at all) the value 7, i.e. 1 means that a voice sounds very standardised, very *Hochdeutsch*. The remaining scales either have a value nomination of their own, i.e. the LRT, or the respondents' answers are of non-hierarchical character (nominal scales — see next paragraph), i.e. the task for geographic evaluation and the self-reporting task.

The design of the questionnaire offers the possibility to test the impact a number of social factors may have on the respondents' evaluative reactions. These factors are: **study location, respondent gender**, **school type**, **grade level**, **respondent age**, **respondent origin**. As it is interesting to see whether there is a connection between what the respondents report to speak and their evaluative reactions in the SEE and the LRT, this is also added to the list of potentially important factors: **reported speech** (the self-reporting task). In the statistical analysis of the results, the factors listed above and the respondents' evaluative reactions are the **variables** being tested. The factors are the **independent variables**, as they remain constant categories with the potential to influence the respondents' evaluative reactions. The evaluative reactions, the results of the questionnaires, are the **dependent variables**, as their distribution is dependent on the independent variables (Petersen 2001: 12). For instance, the results may show that the entire group of respondents is more positive towards the voices from Berlin than towards the other voices. However, when respondent gender is added to the analysis as an independent variable, it may show that there is a minority of male respondents, who are in fact more positive towards the Reutlingen voices. Accordingly, the fact that the female respondents constitute a majority of the respondents, in combination with the strength of their preference for the Berlin voices, 'drown out' the male respondents' preference for the Reutlingen voices. Therefore, the respondents' preferences regarding the voices can be considered to be dependent on their gender.

The quantitative results are analysed statistically with the SPSS package[19]. For the purpose of the analysis, it is important not only to ascertain which variables are independent and which are dependent, but also of which kind of variables the data set consists. To determine which statistical tests are suited for the analysis of the dependent variables, it is necessary to know the levels of measurements of the different kinds of variables. The SPSS package implements three levels of measurement for three different categories of variables. These are **nominal**, **ordinal**, and **scale** variables. A **nominal** variable consists of data that has no apparent order or value system. It does not matter how nominal data are ordered, and they can only be compared as categories, not as values. An example of a nominal variable is respondent gender. An **ordinal** variable consists of ordered data with a value system but with no specified internal relationship between the values. The order of the data is important and they can be compared as values. However, they cannot be compared as finite values. There is no way of ascertaining that the distance from value 1 to value 2 is equal to, greater, or lesser than the distance from value 2 to value 3, etc. The data gathered with a 7-point scale with the poles *trustworthy* and *untrustworthy* are an example of an ordinal variable. In such a task the distance between the points of the scale is arbitrary and therefore not comparable. Finally, a **scale** variable consists of ordered data with a value system containing specified internal value relationships. The order of the data is important and the data can be compared as finite values, because they have a specified internal relationship. The distance between value 1 and value 2 equals the distance between value 2 and value 3, etc. The only

[19] IBM Corp. Released 2013. IBM SPSS Statistics for Macintosh, Version 24.0. Armonk, NY: IBM Corp.

variable here that can be categorised as a scale variable is the respondent age, but this is an independent variable. Monetary values from a financial record are examples of data that can be categorised as a dependent scale variable.The distance between different monetary values is absolute, e.g. the distance from 25€ to 30 € is equal to the distance from 30€ to 35€, etc. The results of this study mainly consist of nominal and ordinal variables, and therefore parametric tests are not suited for the statistical analysis of them. One of the conditions for applying parametric tests is that the data set consists of scale variables (Petersen 2001: 13-14). Therefore, non-parametric tests will be used to test the results here, as they do not require scale variables.

Finally, the selection of suitable statistical tests is also determined by the distribution of the samples drawn from the data set for comparison. These samples can be either **related samples** or **independent samples**. **Related samples** are samples from the same group or subgroup of respondents. For instance, in this study the evaluations of the 12 voices are compared. These evaluations are from the same 235 respondents, and therefore the evaluations of each of the voices are related samples. **Independent samples** are not related, as the samples from different groups or subgroups are compared. If the evaluations of the 12 voices is seen in regard to respondents gender, then two independent samples are compared. There are female (128) and male (107) respondents in this study, and the comparison of their evaluations of the 12 voices is a comparison of two different subgroups within the respondent group.

Five tests were selected for the statistical analysis of the respondents' evaluative reactions measured with the SEE and the LRT. For the analysis of two related samples the **Wilcoxon Signed Rank Test** is used, and for the analysis of three or more (multiple) related samples the **Friedman's Two-Way Analysis of Variance by Ranks**. For the analysis of the two independent samples the **Mann-Whitney U Test** is used, and the **Kruskal-Wallis Test** is used for multiple independent samples. These four tests are all non-parametric tests suited for the analysis of ordinal variables, but not for the analysis of nominal variables. For the analysis of the results of the self-reporting task, which is a nominal variable, the **Chi-Square Test** for independence is used.

This concludes the description of the design and execution of the questionnaire tasks of this study, as well as the collection and analysis of the quantitative data gathered with these tasks. The focus will now be on the description and execution of the metalinguistic group interviews used to collect qualitative data.

v) The framework of the metalinguistic group interviews

The metalinguistic interviews are meant as a supplement to, and elaboration on, the respondents evaluative reactions to dialectal variation (the SEE) and different variety labels (the LRT). The group interviews allow for an exploration of the adolescents' own perspective on the language use and variation of the Stuttgart area.

> The young speakers use features and the values belonging to them, sometimes critically, sometimes oppositionally, but generally with an acute reference to the values in society at large, particularly adult values. Along the way the young speakers reproduce a lot of values, but here and there they construct alternatives.
>
> (Jørgensen 2010: 525-526)

The adolescents' perspective is valuable, not only because of their reproduction of social norms and values, but also because they dare to question these and produce some of their own. This reproduction of social norms and values are ideological constructions, governed by the symbolic power of the existing societal order in the Stuttgart area. When the adolescents produce their own alternatives to these norms, these may be indications of a rebellion against the existing ideological structures, or they may be the introduction of a whole new set of social values that were so far not relevant. The analysis of the group interviews aims to show how the adolescents construct registers such as *Hochdeutsch* and *Schwäbisch* ideologically, as these two are highly relevant to their perspective on the linguistic situation in the Stuttgart area. Focusing on the processes behind these constructs, the analysis will reveal the ideological structures and symbolic powers of the language norms of which these two registers are a part. Language norms, which influence the dialect-standard situation of the Stuttgart area and govern the language use of the participants.

14 group interviews involving 59 participants, 30 female and 29 male, were conducted as part of the study. For the most part, the participants were interviewed in groups of four (the initial interview, 01-RE-INT involving five participants, and the final interview, 14-KT-INT involving six). The group interviews were all carried out subsequent to the experimental study, and the participants were either volunteers amongst the respondents of the experimental study, or they were handpicked by the few teachers who insisted on doing so. The interviews vary in length from about half an hour to about 75 minutes.

Interview	Location	Date	School	Grade	Participants (pseudonyms)
01-R-INT (length 01:05:30)	Reutlingen	04.05.2010	*Gymnasium*	9.	Adam, Anna, Alina, Alicia, Andreas
02-S-INT (length 57:27)	Stuttgart	05.05.2010	*Gymnasium*	10.	Benjamin, Bastian, Beate, Bruno
03-R-INT (length 01:06:37)	Reutlingen	15.07.2010	*Gymnasium*	10.	Clara,Celine, Claus, Christian
04-S-INT (length 36:36)	Stuttgart	19.07.2010	*Realschule*	9.	Diana, Dea, Daniel, Damian
05-S-INT (length 39:47)	Stuttgart	27.07.2010	*Gymnasium*	10.	Eva, Esther, Elisa, Emil
06-R-INT (length 01:05:07)	Reutlingen	24.11.2010	*Hauptschule*	9.	Franziska, Felicitas, Felix, Florian
07-R-INT (length 49:34)	Reutlingen	08.12.2010	*Realschule*	9.	Gökhan, Gabriel, Gerdi, Ghade
08-SG-INT (length 58:15)	Schwäbisch Gmünd	17.12.2010	*Gymnasium*	9.	Hannah, Henrik, Hannes, Hiba
09-G-INT (length 01:14:07)	Göppingen	27.01.2011	*Hauptschule*	9.	Ina, Imperio, Ivonne, Ilhan
10-S-INT (length 54:33)	Stuttgart	07.02.2011	*Hauptschule*	9.	Jamil, Juliane, Jasmin, Jakob
11-S-INT (length 01:05:39)	Stuttgart	08.02.2011	*Hauptschule*	10.	Kevin, Karsten, Kanya, Kara
12-G-INT (length 58:30)	Göppingen	22.02.2011	*Realschule*	9.	Leoni, Lars, Leander, Lydia
13-S-INT (length 52:45)	Stuttgart	23.02.2011	*Hauptschule*	9.	Miriam, Marie, Marcel, Moritz
14-KT-INT (length 01:01:39)	Kirchheim u. Teck	24.02.2011	*Gymnasium*	10.	Niklas, Nadine, Natalie, Nina, Noah, Nils

Table 3.3: An overview of the group interviews

The metalinguistic interviews were semi-structured (Kvale 2015: 19) group discussions (Kruse 2008: 205), and they were conducted with the intention to let the participants speak and participate as freely as possible.

> Das Hauptmerkmal qualitativer Interviews ist es also, den Befragten so viel offenen Raum wie möglich zu geben, damit diese ohne fremd gesteuerte Strukturierungsleistungen und theoretische Vorannahmen, die von außen an sie herangetragen werden, ihre subjektiven Relevanzsysteme, Deutungsmuster, Sichtweisen, etc. verbalisieren können (…).
>
> The main purpose of qualitative interviews is to give the interviewees the freedom to express their own subjective value systems, interpretive patterns, personal views, etc., without the interference of pre-structured frameworks and theoretical assumptions (…). [My translation]
>
> (Kruse 2008: 44)

The participants in the interviews were encouraged to talk about themselves and their own perspectives on, and relations to, the topics of the interviews. They were encouraged to do so in their own words, i.e. to use their own terms and definitions. In addition to this, the participants were encouraged to discuss and relate to their own utterances and stereotypes about the language use and variation of the Stuttgart area. The aim of this was to get their account of the situation, and to get their thoughts on why the situation is as it is. The reason for conducting group interviews, instead of interviewing just one participant at a time, serves two purposes, in particular. Firstly, it is assumed to enhance the informality of the situation, which helps to ensure that the participants feel sufficiently at ease to express themselves freely. Secondly, within a group the participants can disagree and enter discussions, which opens up for a more complex treatment of the topics dealt with during the interview.

Kruse argues that a group discussion is not a subcategory of the qualitative interview, but that it is an "independent qualitative method of reconstructive social research" (Kruse 2008: 205 [my translation]). Ideally, in a semi-structured group discussion the topic just has to be introduced, and the rest will take care of itself. In the reality of this study, however, it was not as straightforward as that. More often than not, I, as fieldworker, had to intervene, or even take control of things, to get the conversation/discussion going or keep it on track. Inviting four (or five, or six) teenagers (age 14-16 — one 17 and one 19) to participate in a group discussion does not automatically mean that they will actively contribute to the conversation. The fact that the interviews vary in length from just over half an hour to about 75 minutes can, to some extent, be taken as an indicator of my success as a fieldworker and of the readiness of the participants to get involved. Sometimes a productive connection was established with the participants, and sometimes it was not. Some participants simply insisted on talking about topics other than the relevant ones, and I had to take charge and get them back on track — without losing their trust and willingness to collaborate. Other participants acted as if they expected the conversation to consist of a number of 'yes or no'-questions, and I had to labour hard to get the conversation going. On these occasions the interaction had more of a character of a series of question-posing-and-answering-sequences than of actual discussions amongst the participants. In one case, a participant who was apparently uncomfortable with the situation actively interrupted the interview. He started to talk on a one-on-one basis with one of the other participants, completely ignoring the ongoing conversation, and he even attempted to interview me, instead of it being the other way around. Such cases are probably familiar to most fieldworkers, who have worked with group interviews/discussion. To cope with them, a great deal of improvisation skill and empathy is required. This all meant that I had to abandon the role as neutral interviewer, mainly introducing topics and observing the participants' discussions of them. Instead, I had to take active part in the conversations and discussions of topic which I had to introduce. Due to this, I consider the interviews to be group interviews.

Going into the interviews, my main concern was to initiate the conversation and encourage discussions amongst the participants. It was my intention to let the participants introduce their

own topics and then to ensure that they discuss them using their own terminology. As mentioned, I did not refrain from actively participating, if I judged that the discussion would benefit from it, or if I found it necessary to keep the conversation on track. This was not without implications. There were situations in which I got too caught up in the conversation or discussion, thereby exerting too heavy an influence on the participants. Some passages, which at first seemed interesting and relevant for analysis, had to be omitted, because I was too dominant. On the other hand, sometimes such 'mistakes' on my behalf lead to interesting reactions from the participants (see ch. 9.i.c). Reactions, which proved highly relevant and valuable for the analysis of their attitudes. Furthermore, it was important that I learned from each interview and took advantage of the experiences gathered in completed interviews, in order to improve subsequent interviews.

In order to conduct group interviews like this, without intimidating the participants, it was of vital importance that I gained their trust. Otherwise, they might have lacked the courage to enter into conversation or discussion. Therefore, I tried to make the interviews as informal as possible. First of all, I invited the participants to address me by my first, instead of my last, name and with "*du*", instead of "*Sie*" (see ch. 3.i.a for more on this). Another measure was that I refrained from taking notes during the interviews. I assumed that taking notes might create distance to the participants, as they had no way of knowing what I was writing down, and this would be counterproductive in my endeavour to gain their trust. I consider my efforts to have been fruitful. In some cases to the point where the participants asked my permission to use, or just started to use, swear words or derogatory language to illustrate a point. In some interviews, the participants even ventured into the minefield of gossiping about their teachers. Such instances may not seem flattering or pleasant, but in the context of my group interviews, I consider them to be an indication of the participants' casual behaviour, which was facilitated by their trust in me.

The fact that a Dane, a foreigner speaking learner German, conducted group interviews with German adolescents in German may seem an unwise undertaking. However, instead of considering this to be a disadvantage, I made an effort to use it in a positive way. As a foreigner, the respondents were likely to consider me to be less knowledgeable about the linguistic situation in the Stuttgart area in particular, and in Germany in general, than themselves. Of course, my status as a university fieldworker with an interest in the linguistic setting of the Stuttgart area countered this to some extent. However, I assumed that my learner German pronunciation would mitigate this. The fact that on more than one occasion participants helped me find the right words in German, and even corrected my pronunciation, suggests that they considered themselves to be the greater 'experts' on German. Being cast by the participants as being less knowledgeable about German and speaking learner German also meant that they accepted my so-called 'stupid' questions about language use in Germany, regarding topics considered to be common knowledge to native speakers. For instance, the question "where in Germany does *Hochdeutsch* come from?". Most Germans would probably find this an odd question coming from another German (see the discussion of dialect-standard situation and *Hochdeutsch* in ch. 4.ii), but the participants readily

accepted it and responded. As a foreigner, I was allowed more leeway to challenge the common sense assumptions of the metalinguistic context of the Stuttgart area. Had a German taken the same approach, this would probably have come over as artificial, with the risk of being considered ridiculous. Therefore, I am certain that my status as a foreigner speaking learner German opened up more possibilities, rather than closing them down.

a) Executing the group interviews

For the interviews I chose to wear casual rather than formal clothes. Suit and tie would have signaled distance age-wise and socially to the participants, which I considered to be counterproductive to the aim of creating a relaxed interview setting. For this purpose, casual clothes, e.g. jeans and a sweat- or a t-shirt, were preferable, without trying to replicate or imitate the (assumed) clothing style of the respondents. Furthermore, it was also important that the clothes did not mediate messages of social value. Such messages, e.g. in writing or by way of images, may come over as controversial, or they may signal certain social values which influence the participants in an unfortunate way. Besides paying attention to my clothes, I also took care to address the participants in an informal way, and to invite them to do likewise (see ch. 3.i.a).

The interviews were presented to the respondents of the experimental study after the completion of the final round of questions (ch. 3.iii). I then selected the participants for the interview amongst those who volunteered, or those handpicked by the teacher. Some of the teachers insisted on handpicking the participants for the group interviews themselves, to ensure that these were fit and able to participate in the conversation. The participants and I then left the classroom and the other respondents behind, and went to a different room for the recording of the interview. When everybody was comfortably seated, I asked if the participants had any questions. Not many did, and the few questions posed were concerned with anonymity and who was going to listen to the recordings of the interviews. Regardless of whether or not the participants asked questions, I explained how their anonymity was going to be ensured, emphasising that pseudonyms would be provided for both participants and schools. I also made it clear that they were allowed to leave whenever they felt like it, and that the recording device would be turned off if so requested. Furthermore, I explained that they could speak freely during the interview, and that they were free to use any kind of language they saw fit. Rounding off the introduction, I asked if they were nervous, which most of them were. Taking this as a cue, I offered some comforting words and made a short account of the upcoming opening sequence as a final preparation for the actual interview. When everybody was ready, the recording device was switched on and the interview started.

Each interview was opened with the respondents introducing themselves from left to right, as this would facilitate the transcription of the interview. As the last one to do so, I introduced myself with first name only. After the introduction, I enquired about the participants' answers to the self-reporting task (ch. 5), and about their top rankings in the LRT (ch. 8). In the first two interviews

(01-R-INT and 02-S-INT) these two questions were the only predetermined questions of the interview. From the third interview (03-R-INT) onwards, a third predetermined question was added, and the participants were also asked if they found any of the voices from the experimental study noteworthy. If they did, then they were asked to elaborate on this. The reason for this question not being implemented in the first two interviews is that they were recorded during the pilot study where the respondents did not complete a SEE (Table 3.1). In the interviews I was focused on introducing relevant topics, on letting the conversation/discussion run its natural course, and on exploring the statements and stereotypes of the participants. When the interaction died down, and I felt that the participants had offered all they could, I ended the recording and thanked the participants for their contribution. I then turned off the recording device, before inviting them to ask any questions. After this, we all returned to the classroom, where I wrapped things up with the entire class and their teacher and expressed my gratitude for their contribution.

b) The analysis of the qualitative interviews

The analysis of the group interviews will show how the participants associate *Schwäbisch* and *Hochdeutsch* with different contexts, social values, and personas. The aim is to shed light on the linguistic world of the adolescents, as they perceive it, thereby shedding light on the ideological status of *Schwäbisch* and *Hochdeutsch*. The interviews have been transcribed and proofread by two native Germans, who both hail from southwest Germany. The excerpts analysed were transcribed a second time to add pause-lengths, voiced hesitation, emphasis, overlaps etc. by myself. The conventions of this second transcription are mentioned at the beginning of this dissertation (page 2). The translation of the excerpts used for analysis has been done with an emphasis on the semantic meaning of the participants' utterances. Accordingly, the translation from German to English is not always verbatim and there is no annotation of pauses, overlaps, etc. The English translation exclusively serves to make this study accessible to a broader audience, and all analytic references made in the text are therefore always to the German originals of the excerpts. It is important to emphasise that in the analysis of the excerpts it is the participants' own terminology for language use and variation which is of interest. When the participants talk about *Hochdeutsch*, *Schwäbisch* (Swabian), or *Neuschwäbisch* (New/Modern Swabian) these are not to be considered as dialectological concepts. Such names refer to folk linguistic concepts; they label ideological constructs, not linguistically structured entities. Therefore, the original labels, e.g. *Schwäbisch* will be used in both transcript and translation, instead of the English translation of them, e.g. Swabian.

As preparation for the analysis, the interviews have been coded for metalinguistic passages. These are passages in which the participants, either of their own accord or as a reaction to an utterance from the fieldworker, talk about language use and variation relevant to them. A passage chosen for analysis is considered to be an excerpt, and it covers the sequence of the group interaction that is relevant for the topic discussed. For instance, if the speech of people from Stuttgart is being

discussed, then the excerpt extends to the point when this topic is changed. The passages are all tagged with one or more of the following tags:

- **srp** = self-report — refers to passages with utterances about the self-reporting task and when the participants talk about what they themselves speak.
- **lrt** = LRT — refers to passages with references to the results of the LRT.
- **fea** = feature — refers to the mentioning of typical features of certain ways of speaking (dialect, accent, variety) and the possible description of these. It is also used for passages in which the participants use linguistic concepts, e.g. grammar, as an argument in their reasoning.
- **cxt** = context — refers to passages in which contextual factors, such as family, immediate environment, settings, situations and groups of people are associated with certain ways of speaking.
- **nrm** = norm — refers to passages in which norms and issues of access and authenticity are treated directly or indirectly.
- **att** = attitude — refers to passages in which attitudes, opinions, or 'feelings' about certain ways of speaking and/or about speakers of certain ways of speaking are expressed.
- **aso** = association — refers to passages in which social objects, e.g. particular vehicles or occupations, are associated with certain ways of speaking and/or the speakers of certain ways of speaking.
- **geo** = geography — refers to passages in which geography is considered to matter in relation to language use.
- **cmp** = comprehension — refers to passages in which comprehension is used as an argument for the employment of certain ways of speaking.
- **pcn** = perception — refers to passages in which the perspective of the outsider on the participants' own speech, or the respondents' perspective on 'out-group' speakers, are related to.
- **prp** = proper — refers to passages in which proper speech, correct writing and spelling and their connection to norms for language use are made relevant.
- **age** = age/time/era — refers to passages in which time-related issues, e.g. personal age or historical time and their influence on language use are mentioned.
- **sst** = social status — refers to passages in which factors of social status, e.g. money, education, power and their influence on language use are treated.
- **use** = use — refers to passages in which certain ways of speaking and their particular and/or restricted use are treated.

- **sty** = stylisation — refers to passages in which instances of stylisation are performed by the participants.
- **meq** = meta-questionnaire — refers to passages in which the experimental study is treated.

Coding the interviews with these tags allows for a systematic approach to the selection of excerpts for the analysis. The tagging functions as a categorisation of passages relevant for analysis as they identify topics relevant for the analysis. Here is an example of a tagged passage:

Excerpt: *"es wirkt lächerlich"*

LASA (Language Attitudes in the Stuttgart Area) corpus, recording: 02-S-INT, time: 00:08:22:28 — 00:08:46:13, participants: Bastian, Beate, Benjamin, Bruno, and EX1 (fieldworker).

001 INT: a[ber ist man dann]
002 BRU: [schwäbisch]
003 INT: stolz auf schwäbisch wenn man es nur zu hause und mit freunden
004 reden kann
005 (1.2)
006 BEA: ähm
007 (0.5)
008 BRU: ja ist [vielleicht sogar ein bisschen schade eigentlich dass man nicht überall
009 schwäbisch reden kann]
010 ???: [((lacht xxx xxx))]
011 (0.5)
012 INT: aber warum kann man dann nicht [(0.7)]
013 ???: [((zieht die nase hoch))]
014 INT: also [warum kann man nicht]
015 BEA: [weil das kommt immer] so unseriös finde ich (0.3) schwäbisch
016 INT: wieso unseriös
017 (0.3)
018 BEA: weil das so ähm dieser akzent so (0.4) bisschen_: (0.4) ja_:
019 (0.5)
020 BAS: es wirkt lächerlich [finde ich]
021 BEA: [ja] so lächerlich
022 BEN: [ja]

[TRANSLATION]

001 INT: but are you
002 BRU: schwäbisch
003 INT: proud of schwäbisch if you only speak it at home and
004 with friends
005
006 BEA: ehm
007
008 BRU: yeah is perhaps a pity actually that you cannot speak
009 schwäbisch everywhere
010 ???: ((laughs xxx xxx))
011

012 INT: but why can't you
013 ???: ((snuffles))
014 INT: well why can't you
015 BEA: because it sounds so silly i think schwäbisch
016 INT: silly how
017
018 BEA: because it ehm this accent is like a bit well
019
020 BAS: it sounds ridiculous i think
021 BEA: yeah ridiculous
022 BEN: yeah

Tags: 'srp', 'att', 'cxt' and 'nrm'.

This excerpt is tagged with:

- **srp** (self-report) because the topic is participants' own speech.
  - In line 03-04 the fieldworker picks up an earlier line of interaction, in which a participant reports that he only speaks *Schwäbisch* at home and with friends. The fieldworker reintroduces this topic by using the same contextual references as the participant (in this case Bruno), *zu hause* (at home) and *mit freunden* (with friends).
- **att** (attitudes) because opinions about, and feelings towards, *Schwäbisch* are expressed:
  - In line 03 the fieldworker associates the adjective *stolz* (proud) with *Schwäbisch*.
  - In line 15 and 21 Beate associates the adjectives *unseriös* (silly) and *lächerlich* (ridiculous) with *Schwäbisch*.
  - In line 20 Bastian associates the adjective *lächerlich* (ridiculous) with *Schwäbisch*.
- **cxt** (context) because the context is highlighted as important for the use of, or the attitude to, *Schwäbisch*:
  - In line 03 and 04 the fieldworker refers to *zu hause* (at home) and *mit freunden* (with friends) as settings in which *Schwäbisch* is spoken. This is a reference to an earlier utterance about these being the only contexts in which *Schwäbisch* can be spoken freely.
  - In line 08 Bruno refers to *überall* (everywhere) in relation to *Schwäbisch*.
- **nrm** (norm) because the interaction reveals something about the norms for the use of *Schwäbisch*:
  - In line 03-04 the fieldworker's utterance implies that there are norms restricting *Schwäbisch* to be used only at home (*zu hause*) and with friends (*mit freunden*), and that these norms were referred to earlier in the interview.

- In line 08-09 Bruno's utterance implies that there are norms barring *Schwäbisch* from being used everywhere (*überall*).

This is an example of the basic coding of a relevant passage from the interviews, and of how the same passage/excerpt can be assigned several tags. The assignment of the tags is the initial step in preparing the interviews for analysis. At this stage a passage is roughly deconstructed into its relevant parts, which are then further elaborated upon in the analysis (ch. 9).

❖ Chapter 4: The study area and the respondent group

National surveys of the language use in Germany show that the Swabian dialect is one of the most well-known in the country. In a survey conducted by *Institut für Deutsche Sprache* (IDS) the informants were asked about which dialects they liked the most, and which they liked the least. The Swabian dialect was ranked third amongst the most liked dialects, and fourth amongst the least liked dialects (Gärtig, Plewnia and Rothe 2010: 159, 164). A similar pattern was found in the two most recent surveys, 1998 and 2008, conducted by the *Institut für Demoskopie Allensbach*. In these, the Swabian dialect was ranked as the fourth most liked and the fourth least liked German dialect (GfdS 2008: 14-15). The fact that the Swabian dialect was ranked relatively high in both lists in these surveys demonstrates how widely known the dialect is in Germany. In a pilot study for a larger perceptual dialectology study in Germany, Hundt (2010) obtained data which underlines the status of Swabian as a widely known dialect. Informants from different parts of Germany[20] were presented with a map featuring the national borders, the largest rivers, and the largest cities of Germany, Switzerland, and Austria (Hundt 2010: 219). In one task the informants were asked to outline and name areas on this map, in which they consider the dialects to be similar or related to their own. Based on the results of this task, Hundt lists the 13 most widely known German dialects (those most frequently mentioned); the Swabian dialect is ranked third in this list (2010: 197).

The Swabian dialect area is located in Baden-Württemberg, and the state boasts one of the highest proportions of self-reported dialect speakers in Germany. In the Allensbach 1998 survey the informants where asked whether or not they spoke the local dialect and on the national level 50% answered "yes" to this (GfdS 2008: 13). Central Western (Rhineland-Palatinate and Saarland) and Southwest Germany (Baden-Württemberg) are clearly above the national level as 59% of the informants from these regions answered "yes" (Allensbach 1998: 3). In the IDS survey the questions was phrased differently as the informants were asked whether or not they could speak a dialect. On the national level 59.6% answered "yes" to this question and in Baden-Württemberg it was 85.7% (Gärtig, Plewnia, and Rothe 2010: 137-139). Asked about how often they spoke dialect, 45% answered "often" (21%) or "always" (24%) on the national level, and in Baden-Württemberg 64.4% answered "often" (31.9%) or "always" (32.5%) (Gärtig, Plewnia, and Rothe 2010: 146-147). Alongside Saarland and Bavaria, these results place Baden-Württemberg amongst the strongest dialect-speaking regions in Germany (Gärtig, Plewnia, and Rothe 2010: 139). Bavaria and Baden-Württemberg both belong in Southern Germany, and according to the IDS survey, dialectally coloured German is particularly valued in this region:

[20] The informants were from six urban areas situated in different German dialect areas: Dresden in the Upper Saxonian dialect area, Heidelberg in the Palatinate dialect area, Freiburg in the Alemannic dialect area, Kiel in the North/Low German dialect area, Erlangen in the Franconian dialect area, and Frankfurt an der Oder in the Brandenburg dialect area.

> Die positivere Bewertung des dialektal gefärbten Deutsch ist im Süden Deutschlands – und dort speziell in Bayern – besonders stark ausgeprägt, d.h. vor allem dort, wo viele Personen Dialekt können und auch verwenden.
>
> The positive evaluation of dialectally coloured German is particularly strong in the south of Germany – especially in Bavaria. This means that this positivity is typical of the areas in which many are competent in and use the dialect. [My translation]

(Eichinger et al. 2009: 25)

Thus, according to the inhabitants of Baden-Württemberg, the Stuttgart area is located in one of the strongest dialect-speaking regions of Germany, and the Swabian dialect is clearly one of the most widely known in the country.

i) The Swabian dialect area

The Swabian dialect area is part of the Alemannic area, which covers Southwest Germany, Alsace in France, the German speaking part of Switzerland, the westernmost part of Austria, Lichtenstein and the German speaking part of Italy (South Tyrol) (Schrambke 1997: 272). It borders on the Franconian and Bavarian dialect areas, as well as on the French, Italian and Rhaeto-Romance areas (Wiesinger 1983: 829-832).

Map 4.1: The Alemannic dialect area (adapted from Schrambke 2001: 6)

Following Schrambke (1997, 2001) the Alemannic dialect area consists of the Upper Rhine Alemannic (*Oberrheinalemannisch*) area, the South Alemannic (*Südalemannisch*) area, the High Alemannic (*Höchstalemannisch*) area, the Swabian (*Schwäbisch*) area, and the Lake Constance Alemannic (*Bodenseealemannisch*) area. The Swabian area is separated from the other Alemannic

dialect areas by the ***Schwarzwaldschranke*** isogloss cluster (Maurer 1942: 209; Schrambke 2001: 6 ff.; Spiekermann 2008: 60-61) to the west, and the ***Sundgau-Bodenseeschranke*** (Maurer 1942: 196; Schrambke 2001: 6 ff.; Spiekermann 2008: 60-61) to the south. These isogloss clusters are subject to debate, though, and the *Sundgau-Bodenseeschranke* in particular. Some argue that the isoglosses constituting the *Sundgau-Bodenseeschranke* are too far apart to be considered a cluster. Instead they define the area as a dialectal transition zone (Seidelmann 2004: 482; Wiesinger 1983: 836) named the Central Alemannic (*Mittelalemannisch*) area (Wiesinger 1983: 832 ff.). Others define it as the independent dialect area of Lake Constance Alemannic (*Bodensee-alemannisch*) (Steger and Jakob 1983: 19-20 (and Map 12.7); Auer 1990: 89; Schrambke 2001: 6). Streck and Auer (2012) point out the difficulties in classifying the geographic area of a dialect through isoglosses altogether, and as an alternative they suggest using a dialectometrical method:

> Ziel dieser dialektometrischen Untersuchungen ist es, durch automatisierte Verfahren der Datenauswertung und durch die Anwendung von statistischen Verfahren der Datenreduktion wie Clusteranalyse oder Multidimensionale Skalierung eine solide empirische Basis für die Einteilung einer Sprachlandschaft in Dialekträume zu gewinnen.
>
> Through the use of automated data analysis and statistical methods of data reduction, such as cluster analysis or multidimensional scaling, it is the aim of this dialetometrical investigation to achieve a solid empirical base for the classification of dialect areas. [My translation]
>
> (Streck and Auer 2012: 149-150)

Regardless of whether the southern border of the Swabian dialect area is demarcated by the *Sundgau-Bodenseeschranke*, by the Central Alemannic area, or by the Lake Constance Alemannic area, for the purpose of this investigation it is defined as the area labelled "*Schwäbisch*" in Schrambke's map (4.1) above (2001: 6).

a) Regional and dialectal features of Swabian

Traditional dialectological accounts are based on data from so-called **NORM** informants, "*nonmobile, older, rural males*" (italics from original) (Chambers and Trudgill 1998: 29), or the female equivalent **NORF** (Schwarz 2015: 17). Often it is also preferred if their parents, and possibly even their grandparents, are also from the area (König 1982: 471). The motivation for collecting data from such informants is the desire to record the most original occurrences of the base dialect (König 1982: 47). With the concept of 'base dialects' defined as "[...] the most ancient, rural, conservative dialects" (Auer 2005: 7-8). That is, the aim is to seek out and record the oldest dialect features *still in use*. For this purpose NORM and NORF informants are ideal. However, such data do not (and are not meant to) represent general language use. In an effort to approximate the general language use of the Swabian dialect area, the description of Swabian in this study is focused on

features considered by recent accounts to be regional (Spiekermann 2008) or ***umgangssprachlich*** (colloquial/vernacular) (Mihm 2000). Such features can be considered more representative of the general language use in the Swabian dialect area than those found using NORM and NORF informants.

In his investigation of the language use in Baden-Württemberg Spiekermann (2008) analyses 25 linguistic features from the area. He considers eight of these to be regional Swabian (or Swabian and Alemannic) features (Spiekermann 2008: 62).

> Unter regionalen Merkmalen verstehe ich solche, die in ihrer Verbreitung an bestimmte Regionen innerhalb des deutschsprachigen Gebietes gebunden und damit Bestandteile regionaler Varietäten (Regionalstandards, Regionalsprachen, Dialekte) sind.
>
> Regional features are those which in their distribution are tied to certain regions of the German speaking area and thereby considered to be part of regional varieties (regional standards, regional languages, dialects). [My translation]
>
> (Spiekermann 2008: 62)

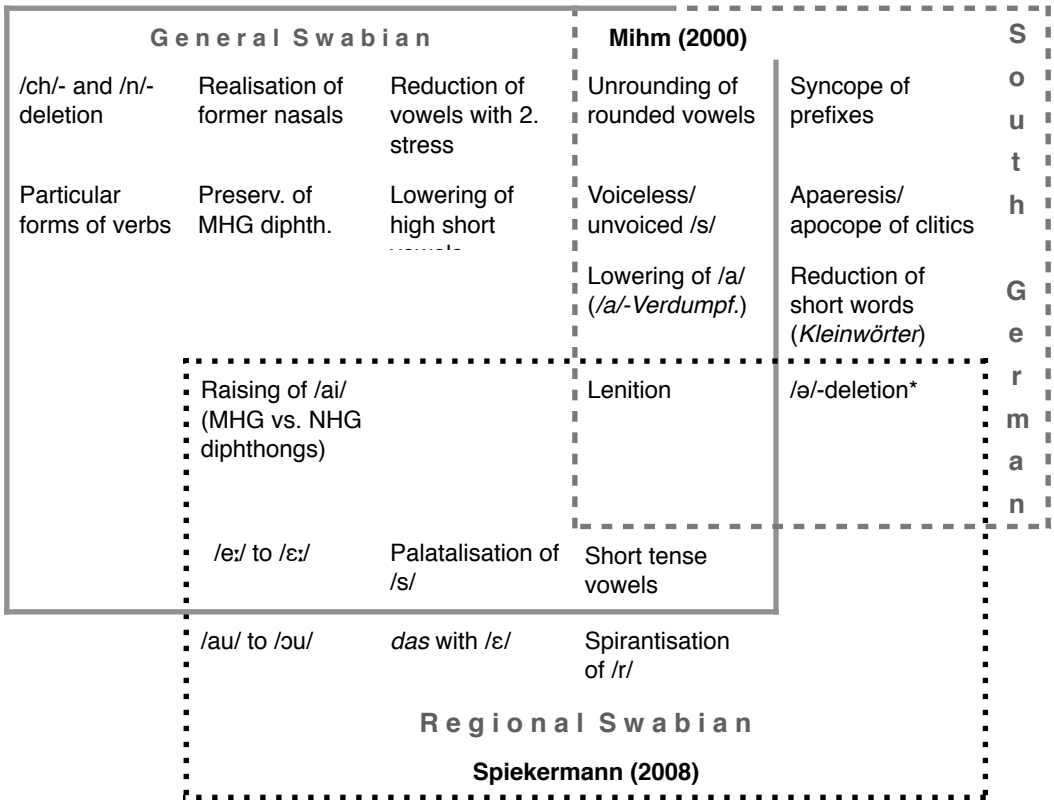
Alongside the eight regional Swabian features, one **allegro form**[21] is included, as this feature corresponds with one of those presented by Mihm (2000). All nine features are displayed in Figure 4.1, below.

Mihm deals with *Umgangssprachen*, which are common types of spoken language considered to be classified within the dialect-standard range, but which are categorised as neither of them (2000: 2107). He uses the plural term *Umgangssprachen* to refer to geographically-bound varieties, as well as to intra-regional variation. Consequently, he does not consider the term to cover a coherent and homogenous system, but rather a range of variation within the dialect-standard range (Mihm 2000: 2018). In Figure 4.1 18 features are displayed, which Mihm considers to belong to either the overall Swabian *Umgangssprache* or the South German *Umgangssprache*. The latter is included as there are overlaps with Spiekermann's (2008) Swabian features.

It is important to note, that Mihm (2000) uses the term 'regional' to refer to features limited to a much smaller geographic area than that used by Spiekermann (2008). When Mihm refers to *regionale* (regional) *Umgangssprachen*, he refers to the features closest to the base dialectal features (2000: 2121). Spiekermann considers regional features to cover the entire Swabian area (2008: 62), which is what Mihm calls the *gesamtschwäbische* (general Swabian) *Umgangssprache* (2000: 2121).

[21] Allegro forms are speech forms realised with a certain speed, as well as a tendency to abbreviations and contractions (Bußmann 1990: 69).

Figure 4.1 displays the features Spiekermann (2008) describes as **regional Swabian**, and the features Mihm (2000) describe as **general Swabian** or **South German** (see Appendix 4 for a description of these features):



*Spiekermann also defines /ə/-deletion as an allegro form.

Figure 4.1: The Swabian features described by Spiekermann (2008) and Mihm (2000).

This collection of features is, dialectologically speaking, likely to be encountered in the general language use of the Swabian dialect area. However, most of them are absent from the eight Swabian voices (Reutlingen and Stuttgart) used as stimulus in the SEE. The exceptions are the palatalisation of /s/ (Spiekermann 2008: 69; Mihm 2000: 2121) and the lowering of /eː/ (Spiekermann 2008: 67; Mihm 2000: 2121) (see ch. 3.i.b). This does not mean that the above listed features are no longer found in the Stuttgart area, but it indicates that the adolescents participating in this study use very few of them. Below, in the account of the dialect-standard situation of the area an effort is made to (at least partly) explain the few Swabian dialect features found in the voices. First, however, the dialectological concept of Swabian needs to be compared with the lay concept of *Schwäbisch*.

The features displayed in Figure 4.1 must be considered to reflect the dialectological concept of the Swabian, but in this study the term *Schwäbisch* is also employed. This term covers features or ways of speaking associated with the Swabian dialect area by the participants in the group interviews (ch. 9). *Schwäbisch* also figures in the LRT (ch. 8) and is used by the respondents to name their own speech in the self-reporting task (ch. 5). As the focus of this study is on the

attitudes of adolescents from the Stuttgart area, it is important to distinguish between the dialectological concept of Swabian and the folk linguistic term *Schwäbisch*. Although both refer to language use associated with the Swabian dialect area, they are not interchangeable.

ii) The dialect-standard situation in the Stuttgart area

Generally speaking, there are two differing views on the dialect-standard situation in Baden-Württemberg in particular, and in Germany as a whole, in German dialectology. One view regards the situation as one of vital dialects with little or no signs of decline or standardisation. The other argues for an advanced standardisation process in which the standard is replacing the dialects.

a) The argument for the endurance of the dialects

Representing the view of vital dialects, Ruoff (1997) considers all of southern Germany to be a dialectal stronghold. He sees no signs of dialect loss or convergence to the standard, although there are situations in which the dialects cannot be used, e.g. formal and public speech (Ruoff 1997: 142-143). Except for maybe the immediate surrounding areas, the larger cities in southern Germany do not function as norm-centres for the local dialects, on the level of use. However, they do so on the ideological level, as Ruoff considers them to strengthen the dialect mentality of the entire dialect area (1997: 145). Hence, Stuttgart is considered to be the ideological norm-centre for the Swabian dialect area, alongside other large cities of the area.

Another advocate for this view is Schmidt (2005, 2009, 2010). He considers the dialect-standard situation in all of Germany to be one of a "comprehensive regionalisation of communication", where regiolects and dialects exist side by side beneath the overarching standard (2010: 218). The regiolects are contemporary forms of the historical regional standards, which were dialectally influenced spoken realisations of written standard German (*Oralisierungsnorm der Schriftsprache*). They functioned as social prestige varieties in the different regions of Germany (*landschaftliche Prestigevariätet*) and offered the only spoken alternative to the dialects (Schmidt 2010: 289). With the emergence of a spoken national standard in the 20th century, the regional standards lost their standard status (Schmidt 2009: 133-134); they now exist as "colloquial, linguistically nonstandard (more precisely substandard) forms" (Schmidt 2010: 216), as regiolects. Today, the regiolects are considered to be "supraregional nonstandard" varieties, and the dialects are considered to be "the least standard and most local" varieties (Schmidt 2010: 217). Together, the regiolects and the dialects exist and develop independently of each other and of the overarching German standard.

> By the end of the twentieth century, all German dialect speakers had acquired active bivarietal competence (in dialect and regiolect) and at least passive competence in the standard spoken language.
>
> (Schmidt 2010: 218)

Schmidt regards the regiolects and the dialects to constitute the majority of spoken language use in Germany (2005: 301). Spoken standard German functions primarily as a norm on the ideological level and is only used by an exclusive social elite (Schmidt 2005: 301). Thus, according to the accounts of Ruoff and Schmidt, the dialects in Baden-Württemberg are alive and well and show no signs of levelling or convergence towards the standard.

b) The argument for the prevalence of the standard

Auer and Spiekermann contend that "the reach of the German standard variety within Germany is complete today" (2011: 174). They consider the present linguistic situation to be the third stage in the standardisation process in Germany. The first stage of this process was the emergence of the **regional standards**, prestige varieties influenced by local/regional "dialect phonetics" and almost exclusively spoken by a social elite (Auer and Spiekermann 2011: 163). The emergence of the regional standards was closely connected to the emergence of a written standard, which, by the end of the 18th century, had been implemented in all of the German speaking nations (Auer and Spiekermann 2011: 163). The second stage of the standardisation process was the development of an **orthoepic standard** based on the (theatrical) pronunciation norm set by the book "*Bühnenaussprache*" (Siebs 1989). The orthoepic standard spread across Germany in the first half of the 20th century, with the media as its primary vehicle and domain of use. Alongside the orthoepic standard, the regional standards continued to exist and develop independently (Auer and Spiekermann 2011: 165). The third stage of the standardisation process has the character of an actual language change or shift, compared to the development of the two preceding stages. A "modern standard" is replacing both the regional standards and the orthoepic (media) standard (Auer and Spiekermann 2011: 165). None of these two reached the scope and spread that this modern standard has achieved, as it is considered to be used in all of Germany today (Auer and Spiekermann 2011: 174).

Consequently, the result of the third stage of the standardisation process is a spoken standard which diverges from the written standard and is available for everybody for all communicative purposes in Germany today (Auer and Spiekermann 2011: 174). Unlike the two preceding standards it is not (strictly) codified and allows for variation, but even so, "[...] regional forms are increasingly disappearing from the spoken standard, i.e. the standard is becoming more homogenous across Germany" (Auer and Spiekermann 2011: 174). Spiekermann's investigation of the use of regional features in Baden-Württemberg reveals that so-called allegro speech is on the rise, at the expense of the dialects of the area (Spiekermann 2008: 308). Spiekermann regards the allegro forms to be neither (orthoepic) standard, nor regional, nor dialectal features (2008: 45-46). In other words, a modern spoken standard, with room for (a certain amount of) variation, is replacing not only the regional standards and the orthoepic standard, but also the dialects.

Against the backdrop of the described views of the dialect-standard situation in Baden-Württemberg, the respondents of this study may be expected to behave in one of two ways; either

in accordance with the Ruoff and Schmidt view or in accordance with the Auer and Spiekermann view. Following the Ruoff and Schmidt view, the adolescents would be expected to use and identify with the Swabian dialect, report *Schwäbisch* as their own speech, to be positive towards Swabian (in-group) voices (from Reutlingen and Stuttgart) and to rank *Schwäbisch* on top in the LRT. Conversely, in line with the Auer and Spiekermann view, they would be expected to identify and use spoken standard German, report *Hochdeutsch* as their own speech, to be positive towards the voices they consider to sound *Hochdeutsch* (but whether this means in-group Stuttgart or out-group Berlin voices is hard to say) and to rank *Hochdeutsch* on top in the LRT. It will be interesting to see, which of these two views is supported by the attitudes to *Hochdeutsch* and *Schwäbisch* of adolescents from the Stuttgart area, if any.

c) Two stages of the same process?

As I see it, the source of the two differing perspectives on the dialect-standard situation is primarily a matter of differing concepts of spoken standard German, and this difference is connected to the historical process of standardisation in Germany. To start with, I make an attempt to place the two perspectives within the framework offered by Auer in his description of the linguistic repertoires of the dialect-standard constellations of Europe (2005), as his terminology is helpful for my argumentation.

Ruoff lists base dialects, dialectal regional languages, regional *Umgangssprachen*, and dialectally coloured standard as the varieties used in southern Germany (1997: 142). He points out that, depending on the situation, a speaker has to switch from one variety (*Sprachregister*) to the next (Ruoff 1997: 143). The range of different varieties listed indicates a dialect-standard constellation that can be compared to Auer's definition of a **diaglossic repertoire**:

> A diaglossic repertoire is characterised by intermediate variants between standard and (base) dialect. The term regiolect (or regional dialect) is often used to refer to these intermediate forms, although the implication that we are dealing with a separate variety is not necessarily justified. More usually, the space between base dialect and standard is characterised by non-discrete structures (standard/dialect continuum)
>
> (Auer 2005: 22)

However, the fact that a speaker needs to switch from situation to situation indicates that the varieties are used in separate domains. This corresponds more with Auer's definition of a **spoken diglossia**, in which "[s]tandard and dialect have their strictly allocated and seldom overlapping domains of usage" (2005: 16). Schmidt talks of a "comprehensive regionalisation of communication" (2010: 218) in Germany. This regionalisation covers the parallel and independent processes of changes in dialects, regiolects and the standard. Here too, the number of varieties (dialects, regiolects and the standard) indicates that a comparison with diaglossic relationship

between dialect and standard in Auer's framework (2005: 22) is the best match, but the separate developments of the varieties correspond more with a diglossic relationship. Auer classifies the dialect-standard constellation in southern Germany as one of a weakened (or less stable) spoken diglossia (2005: 19):

> In attenuated forms of diglossia, both varieties of the repertoire are structurally and attitudinally (ethno-dialectologically) kept apart, and can usually be identified by speakers and linguists; they have their own prestige, one attached to formal, official language use and writing/literature, the other to regional identity.
>
> (Auer 2005: 20)

He adds that a weakened spoken diglossia is likely to develop into a diaglossic repertoire (2005: 20). Seen in this perspective, Ruoff and Schmidt appear to describe a dialect-standard constellation in the transitional phase from a diglossic to a diaglossic repertoire. In a diaglossic repertoire, the dialect and the standard may have been two distinct repertoires with each their range of domains of use, but over time they have converged. This convergence means that both dialect and standard are suitable for everyday communication and they more or less share domains of use. As a result, speakers with a diaglossic repertoire "can change their way of speaking without a clear and abrupt point of transition between dialect and standard" (Auer 2005: 23). Instead of a constellation of separate repertoires, which characterises a diglossic repertoire, it makes sense to talk about a dialect-standard continuum, as "the space between base dialect and standard is characterised by non-discrete structures" (Auer 2005: 22). Within Auer's framework the view of Auer and Spiekermann (2011) and Spiekermann (2008) can be regarded as another development in the standardisation process. The description of a shift from the local dialects and regional forms to a spoken modern standard indicates "a direct path from (…) diglossia to [dialect loss]" (Auer 2005: 29).

> […] the base dialect loses prestige and domains of usage; most notably, parents avoid dialect with their children. Since the base dialect is seldom used, speakers' competence in that variety also diminishes, which leads to insecurity and reluctance to speak dialect in more out-group contexts.
>
> (Auer 2005: 29)

Placing the two perspectives on the dialect-standard situation in Baden-Württemberg within the Auer's framework, makes it possible to treat them as two consecutive stages of the same historical process; treating them as two stages of the standardisation process in Germany. Ruoff and Schmidt's accounts correspond to a weakened diglossic relationship between dialect and standard, and Auer and Spiekermann and Spiekermann's accounts are considered to be the succeeding development, a dialect loss after a weakened diglossic standard-dialect constellation.

d) It is a matter of standards: a definition of Hochdeutsch

Here, I wish to argue that the chronological character of the two perspectives that I established within Auer's (2005) framework, leads to differing concepts of spoken standard German. I will make an effort to describe the difference between the two concepts, before I establish the spoken standard German concept that I use in this study.

As demonstrated above, I consider Ruoff (1997) and Schmidt (2005, 2009, 2010) to represent the same perspective on the dialect-standard situation in Baden-Württemberg. Both of them contend that the dialects develop independently, and that they show no signs of convergence or a shift to the standard (Ruoff 1997: 143; Schmidt 2010: 217). It is no coincidence that they agree on this, as their accounts build on the same definition of spoken standard German as an **orthoepic** standard.

Schmidt regards spoken standard German to be a pronunciation norm. By labelling it '*Oralisierungsnorm'* (2005) or 'national oralization norm' (2010) he implies that it is the spoken realisation of written standard German. The foundation of this standard is the codified norm of "*Bühnenaussprache"* (Siebs 1898), which he considers to have been "the federal German spoken standard" since the 1930s (Schmidt 2010: 216). This orthoepic standard was employed by and spread through "radio since 1930 and (in modified form) via television since the second half of the twentieth century" (Schmidt 2010: 216). He labels this norm for spoken standard German *"gemäßigte Hochsprache"* (Schmidt 2005: 300). To capture both the emphasis on (correct) pronunciation and the implication of high social status, I translate *gemäßigte Hochsprache* with 'measured exemplary speech'. In other words, it is a spoken standard trained professional speakers (e.g. radio and tv presenters) may be able to realise, but which is 'beyond the reach' of the average speaker (Schmidt 2005: 301). In a bid to mitigate this all but unattainable norm for a spoken standard, Schmidt suggests a distinction between two usage/user oriented standards. He suggests a distinction between *"Standard geschulter Sprecher"* (standard for trained speakers) and *"Kolloquial Standard"* (colloquial/vernacular standard) (Schmidt 2005: 301). The former is regarded to be parallel to*"gemäßigte Hochsprache"* and is suited for trained professional (and well educated) speakers, whereas the latter is suited for the average speaker. Accordingly, Schmidt does concede that the *"gemäßigte Hochsprache"* is a spoken standard reserved for an exclusive group of Germans, that it is not for everyone. However, he maintains that spoken standard German is to be defined as the spoken realisation of written standard German (*Literalisierungsnorm*), and that it is void of immediately detectable regional/dialectal features (2005: 302). He maintains that spoken standard German is an orthoepic standard. Thus, Schmidt argues for a very prescriptive spoken standard, which is all but unrealisable in everyday speech (2005: 301). The fact that he points out that (German) speakers always exhibit some dialectal or regional features (2005: 301) means that virtually no one speaks standard German.

In their historical account of the standardisation process in Germany, Auer and Spiekermann (2011) also refer to Siebs' (1889) "*Bühnenaussprache"* as the foundation of an orthoepic standard.

However, they consider this orthoepic standard to be the second stage in the historical standardisation process in Germany (Auer and Spiekermann 2011: 165), which is the stage preceding the present situation. The third stage is a change away from the over-articulation of the orthoepic standard, and thereby it is a change away from the codified norm of written standard German. Instead, it is a change towards a more practice-based and widely used spoken standard, implicating that "[...] for many Germans, the standard is the language they grew up with (not the dialect)" (Auer and Spiekermann 2011: 174). This means that Auer and Spiekermann's concept of spoken standard German is a **demotic** standard (2011: 175). It is a spoken standard that has become "popular (*demōs = populus* 'people'), i.e. it is used by the masses of the people" (2011: 162). Consequently, it is a standard that is actually spoken, and it is so common that "[i]t is simply taken for granted that the language of Germany is Standard German" (Auer and Spiekermann 2011: 166). In contrast to Schmidt's concept (2005, 2010), this concept of spoken standard German is suitable for use and not just as a prescriptive and hardly realisable norm for use. This concept of a spoken standard is capable of incorporating a certain amount of dialectal or regional variation, exactly because it is practice-oriented rather than prescriptive.

Ruoff (1997) and Schmidt's (2005, 2009, 2010) accounts operate with an orthoepic standard concept with no room for variation. Deviations from this restrictive (and almost unattainable) norm for spoken standard German are to be regarded as the result of influence from regional or dialectal varieties, which appear to be thriving alongside the standard. Implementing such a concept of spoken standard German means that Ruoff (1997) and Schmidt (2005, 2009, 2010) are bound to argue for vital dialects and regiolects which develop independently of spoken standard German. In Auer and Spiekermann's (2011) conceptualisation, the spoken standard is less prescriptive and less codified. Their concept corresponds to a widespread and commonly spoken variety, which is why they can argue that "for many Germans, the standard is the language they grew up with (not the dialect)" (Auer and Spiekermann 2011: 174).

In this study, I argue for a concept of spoken standard German which is in line with the one presented by Auer and Spiekermann (2011), and in line with the concept presented by Auer in his description of the dialect-standard constellations in Europe (2005). Auer establishes three fundamental criteria for a standard variety: "(a) it is orientated to by speakers of more than one vernacular variety", it "(b) is looked upon as an H-variety and used for writing", and "(c) it is subject to at least some codification" and it is widely spread/used (Auer 2005: 8). To account for the concept of spoken standard German used here, I divide these three criterion into five characteristics, which I then treat in the light of the Auer and Spiekermann's (2011) concept of spoken standard German. These five characteristics are: 1) the standard functions as a speech norm, 2) it is highly regarded, 3) it follows the written norm, 4) it is therefore (to some extent) codified, and 5) it is widely spread/used. Auer and Spiekermann argue that the modern spoken standard is diverging from the written norm (2011: 174), which means that the third characteristic, 'it follows the written norm' has little relevance for a concept of spoken standard German. As for

his third criterion (c), Auer (2005) suggests the primacy of 'spread/used' over 'codification' in a footnote:

> 4. The last criterion is an attitudinal one; it is not the fact of codification (such as the existence of a grammar and a dictionary) which makes a standard variety, but the fact that its speakers think that such things should exist and that, where they exist, they should determine how members of that society ought to express themselves in situations in which the standard is required.
>
> (Auer 2005: 32)

I fully agree with Auer's emphasis on the importance of the lay perspective and therefore also with the primacy of 'spread/use' in a conceptualisation of spoken standard German. The reason for my modification of the fourth characteristic, '(to some) extent codified' is the necessity of a practice-oriented character of a spoken standard. An emphasis on usage entails that any form of codification must leave room for variation. Accordingly, I consider spoken standard German to: 1) function as speech norm in all of Germany, 2) be highly regarded by the Germans in general, 4) be codified to some extent, and 5) to be widely spread and used. For this concept of spoken standard German I use the term *Hochdeutsch*.

iii) Study locations

The empirical data for this study were collected in five different locations in the northern part of the Swabian area. Based on the fact that Stuttgart is the capital of Baden-Württemberg, and that it is the largest city (about 600.000 inhabitants[22]) in the state, as well as in the Swabian dialect area, it was chosen for this study as a potential norm centre (Kristiansen 2009: 171-172) for Swabian dialect speakers. Ruoff suggests that Stuttgart does have this function on the attitudinal and ideological level (1997: 145). The remaining four study locations were chosen on the basis of being urban areas in relatively close proximity to Stuttgart (as well as access to a sufficient number of respondents). They are Reutlingen, Schwäbisch Gmünd, Göppingen and Kirchheim unter Teck. All five locations have been added to the map of the Alemannic dialect area shown earlier (map 4.1, ch. 4.i):

[22] 611,402 inhabitants (as of 3rd quarter of 2011) — http://www.statistik-bw.de/

Map 4.2: The study locations in the Swabian dialect area (adapted from Schrambke 2001: 6)

The four additional locations are situated within a 60 km radius of Stuttgart in the northern part of the Swabian dialect area. Reutlingen is the largest of them (about 110.000 inhabitants[23]) and Kirchheim unter Teck is the smallest (about 40.000 inhabitants[24]). All of the four locations have a direct connection to Stuttgart by public transport and are less than 40 minutes away by car:

Route	By public transport*	By car**
Reutlingen to Stuttgart***	8 departures, 0 to 1 change.	38.6 km, approx. 32 min.
Schwäbisch Gmünd to Stuttgart	5 departures, 0 changes.	54.5 km, approx. 38 min.
Göppingen to Stuttgart	7 departures, 0 changes.	43.3 km, approx. 37 min.
Kirchheim unter Teck to Stuttgart	9 departures, 0 to 1 change.	32.3 km, approx. 37 min.
*Between 07:00 and 09:00 in the morning on a Monday — according to Deutsch Bahn (http://bahn.de). **Shortest route — according to Google Maps (http://google.com/maps). *** Stuttgart Hauptbahnhof/Central Station		

Table 4.1: Transport to Stuttgart

Stuttgart is quite easy to reach from all of the other locations. Accordingly, it is assumed that the respondents from Reutlingen, Schwäbisch Gmünd, Göppingen, and Kirchheim unter Teck have visited Stuttgart on more than one occasion and are familiar with the city.

iv) The makeup of the respondent group

For an investigation of this kind, many respondents are needed in order to depict the attitudinal situation by means of statistical analyses of quantitative data. In this case, a minimum of 200

[23] 112,591 inhabitants (as of 3rd quarter of 2011) — http://www.statistik-bw.de/

[24] 39,986 inhabitants (as of 3rd quarter of 2011) — http://www.statistik-bw.de/

respondents was deemed desirable as well as attainable, and at least a third of these should be from Stuttgart. The complete experimental provides attitudes from 235 respondents:

- Stuttgart 38% of the respondents
- Reutlingen 29%
- Schwäbisch Gmünd 8%
- Göppingen 18%
- Kirchheim unter Teck 6%

In large-scale surveys, like the Allensbach surveys (1998; 2008) and the IDS survey (Gärtig, Plewnia and Rothe 2010), the data are collected by telephone, which facilitates the access to the respondents. This means that an amount of respondents, sufficiently large to ensure the validity of the statistical analysis, ideally 1000+ in large populations, is accessible. On top of this, the respondents are chosen to fit a desired social profile. Such an approach is not an option for this study as the recording of the subconscious attitudes and the group interviews require the presence of a trained fieldworker. In short, the experimental set-up entails a face-to-face data collection. The question of finding a respondent group of a sufficient size is therefore vital, and consequently, the matter of access becomes pertinent, as criterion for choosing the respondents. To comply with the criteria of quantity and access, the data collection is carried out in schools, using 9th and 10th grade students as respondents. In a school setting, a great number of respondents, distributed in manageable subgroups, are accessible, and available in corresponding settings.

Moreover, the school is a favourable setting for questionnaire studies, as students are used to completing similar tasks as part of their everyday school activities. They are used to answering questions in writing, as well as completing listening and comprehension tasks, and they are used to do so without questioning the reasoning behind it. This facilitates the aim of eliciting subconscious attitudes. For this purpose, the respondents must be willing to participate in an experiment with an absolute minimum of information given beforehand. The school's authoritative influence on students makes this easier. They are, so to speak, used to doing assignments because the teacher tells them to do so. On the downside, school tasks are normally a matter of answering right or wrong, which can be counterproductive in the attempt to elicit attitudes. It is important that the students express their own opinions and attitudes and not what they think is the right answer, what they think the fieldworker would like to hear, both in the experimental study and in the group interviews. Therefore, it is emphasised in the introduction that there are no correct or wrong answers to raised questions — neither in the questionnaire tasks nor in the subsequent interviews — and that it is the respondents' own opinion that matters. For the purpose of the metalinguistic interviews older students are preferable, as they may be assumed to be able to critically participate in a complex discussion of a metalinguistic character. The choice of 9th and 10th grade students was partly based on the assumption that they are sufficiently mature and

independent to express and discuss their own opinions to relatively complex topics in group interviews. The fact that the 9th and 10th grade are the highest levels represented in all three school types (see ch. 4.iv.a), *Gymnasium*, *Realschule* and *Hauptschule*, was a further reason for choosing students from these grades, in order to ensure a broad social diversity amongst the respondents.

Being in their adolescence, 9th and 10th grade students is in a stage of life characterised by flexible group constellations. This means that adolescents, more than adults, negotiate and renegotiate on a regular basis the ideologies of the society they live in. Adolescents have less reservations than adults about challenging existing societal norms, e.g. those of their linguistic environment (Jørgensen 2010: 151), and reveal even controversial attitudes. In comparison, adults may be more cautious about revealing and discussing language attitudes because of greater awareness of and adherence to societal norms. This, combined with adolescents' status as future gatekeepers of language use, means that they are an important part of language change and variation (Jørgensen 2010: 21). As motivation for the choice of adolescents as respondents in the LANCHART studies, Kristiansen argues that possible changes in the Danish standard variety "will have its origin and finds its strongest expression amongst young people" (2001: 13). In other words, some of the challenging and negotiating of norms for language use amongst adolescents will manifest itself as changes to these norms — and eventually as language change.

a) The respondents

In the educational system in Baden-Württemberg, all students attend elementary school until the fourth grade. After the fourth grade the students are divided according to academic ability and distributed amongst three different school types. The students with the highest academic proficiency (and ambition) continue in the *Gymnasium*, graduating after the 12th or 13th grade (depending on educational regulations[25]). The students with the least academic proficiency continue in the *Hauptschule*, graduating after the 9th grade or 10th grade[26], and those in-between continue in the *Realschule*, graduating after the 10th grade (Keim 2008: 180). All in all, 12 different classes from 12 different schools participated in the experimental study. In addition, two group interviews, conducted in Reutlingen and Stuttgart as part of the pilot studies, were analysed alongside the other group interviews.

[25] For more on the G8-Model and the G9-Model for the *Gymnasium* in Baden-Württemberg see http://www.km-bw.de/,Lde/Startseite/Schule/Gymnasium and https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Abitur_in_Baden-W%C3%BCrttemberg.

[26] In the school year 2010/2011 when the questionnaires were collected, the state of Baden-Württemberg introduced the concept of a *Werkrealschule*. This school type combines the *Realschule* and the *Hauptschule,* and in addition to the traditional graduations (*Hauptschule* after the 9th grade and *Realschule* after the 10th) the *Werkrealschule* also offers the *Hauptschule* graduation after the 10th grade (http://www.km-bw.de/,Lde/Startseite/Schule/Werkrealschule_Hauptschule).

Alias	Location	School type	Grade	Resp.	Study
gymnA	Reutlingen	*Gymnasium*	9th	24	pilot study
gymnB	Stuttgart	*Gymnasium*	10th	21	pilot study
gymn1	Reutlingen	*Gymnasium*	10th	21	exp. study
real1	Stuttgart	*Realschule*	9th	28	exp. study
gymn2	Stuttgart	*Gymnasium*	10th	22	exp. study
haup1	Reutlingen	*Hauptschule*	9th	25	exp. study
real2	Reutlingen	*Realschule*	9th	23	exp. study
gymn3	Schwäbisch Gmünd	*Gymnasium*	9th	19	exp. study
haup2	Göppingen	*Hauptschule*	9th	16	exp. study
haup3	Stuttgart	*Hauptschule*	9th	9	exp. study
haup4*	Stuttgart	*Hauptschule*	10th	19	exp. study
real3	Göppingen	*Realschule*	9th	27	exp. study
haup5/control	Stuttgart	*Hauptschule*	9th	12	exp. study
gymn4/control	Kirchheim unter Teck	*Gymnasium*	10th	14	exp. study

* There were very few students in haup3 and therefore haup4 was added to balance out the numbers.

Table 4.2: Data collection overview

A total of 235 questionnaires were collected from respondents from four different *Gymnasien*, three different *Realschulen*, and five different *Hauptschulen*. The group of *Gymnasium* respondents constituted 32% of the entire group (76 respondents, 53 female and 23 male); 19 of these being 9th grade students and 57 being 10th grade students. The *Realschule* group constituted 33% (78 respondents, 41 female and 37 male), all 9th grade students. Finally, the *Hauptschule* group constituted 35% (81 respondents, 34 female and 47 male respondents); 62 being 9th grade students and 19 being 10th grade students. One of the things this study aims to investigate, is Stuttgart's potential status and function as a linguistic norm centre for the surrounding area. This makes it interesting to compare the evaluative results of the Stuttgart respondents with those of the respondents from the other four study locations. The Stuttgart group consisted of 90 respondents (51 female and 39 male) and the REST group (the other four locations) consisted of 145 respondents (77 female and 68 male).

Besides completing the experimental task (the SEE and the LRT), the respondents were also asked to provide some social background information. They were asked their age, where they live, whether they used to live somewhere else, and if so, then where, etc. (Appendix 2). Except for three (two aged 18 and one aged 19), the respondents were all between 14 and 17 years of age, with an average age of 15.4 years. The average age of the 9th grade students was 15.1 years, and the average age of 10th grade students 15.9 years. The entire group consists of 54% (128) female respondents and 46% (107) male respondents. 83% of respondents report coming from Baden-Württemberg, 4% report coming from another part of Germany, and 12% report coming from

another country[27]. Because all the respondents live and attend school in and around Stuttgart, they should be well acquainted with the language use and the metalinguistic situation of the Swabian area. Furthermore, at the age of 14 to 17 they are bound to have encountered a variety of both dialect and standard speakers in a range of different everyday social settings, e.g. school or sports clubs. Thus, they may be considered to be very qualified as respondents for an attitudinal studym targeting the language use in Stuttgart and the surrounding area.

[27] Eastern Europe, Western Europe, USA, Central America, South America, Western Asia, Central Asia, and the Middle East

❖ Chapter 5: The self-reporting task

The final task of the experimental study was the **self-reporting task**, in which the respondents were asked to name their own speech (see Appendix 2). This task was formulated as an open question to allow the respondents to apply their own labels. The preceding LRT can be assumed to have had some influence on the answers, but the respondents still provided a whole range of different labels for ways of speaking that were not included in the LRT. Labels such as *Schriftdeutsch* (written German), *Normal* (ordinary), or *Jugendsprache* (youth language), etc.

i) Categorising the respondents' self-reported speech labels

The range of labels provided in the self-reporting task was so wide that a categorisation is necessary for the results to be manageable for the analysis. In general terms, the aim of the self-reporting task is to find out which speech labels the largest groups of respondents have in common. Considering the setting of the study, I assume that the two most relevant labels are *Schwäbisch* and *Hochdeutsch*. These two are therefore central to the categorisation of the labels from the self-reporting task. Table 5.1 displays the initial categorisation of the labels:

The initial categorisation of the self-reported speech labels	
Schwäbisch	23 %
Schwäbisch + other	2 %
Schw. + Hochd.	30 %
Schw. + Hochd. + other	4 %
Hochdeutsch	25 %
Hochdeutsch + other	7 %
Other	4 %
No answer	5 %
Total	100 %

N = 235

Table 5.1: The first categorisation of the speech labels

The explanation of these categories is:

a) The *Schwäbisch* category consists of the respondents who reported only this label (55 respondents).

b) The *Schwäbisch + other* category consists of the respondents who reported *Schwäbisch* alongside other labels (not *Hochdeutsch*), e.g. *Schwäbisch + Hessisch* (Swabian and Hessian) or *Türkendeutsch + Schwäbisch* (Turkish German and Swabian) (5).

c) The *Schwäbisch + Hochdeutsch* category consists of the respondents who reported both of these labels (69).

d) The *Schwäbisch + Hochdeutsch + other* category consists of the respondents who reported both of the former two labels alongside other labels, e.g. *Schwäbisch + Bayrisch + Hochdeutsch + Österreichisch* (Swabian, Bavarian, Hochdeutsch and Austrian) (10).

e) The *Hochdeutsch* category consists of the respondents who reported only this label (59).

f) The *Hochdeutsch + other* category consists of the respondents who reported *Hochdeutsch* alongside other labels (not *Schwäbisch*), e.g. *Schriftdeutsch + Hochdeutsch* (written German and *Hochdeutsch*) or *Hochdeutsch + Ruhrakzent* (*Hochdeutsch* and Ruhr accent) (17).

g) The *Other* category consists of respondents who reported labels which are not, and not combined with *Schwäbisch* and/or *Hochdeutsch*, e.g. *Türkish-Deutsch* (Turkish-German), *Jugendsprache* (youth language) and *Pfälzisch* (Palatine dialect) (9).

h) The *No answer* category consists of respondents who did not answer or reported labels which could not be linked to ways of speaking, e.g. *Keine Ahnung* (no idea) and *Bisschen* (a little) (11).

This list, along with the percentages in Table 5.1, confirm *Schwäbisch* and *Hochdeutsch* as the two most relevant labels for the respondents in the self-reporting task. These two labels, either alone, in combination with each other, or in combination with other labels, were reported by 91% (215) of the respondents. However, the categorisation above operates with two different categories of *Schwäbisch*, *Hochdeutsch*, *Schwäbisch+Hochdeutsch*. *Schwäbisch* and *Hochdeutsch* are the main interest in this study, and not the range of labels covered by *+other*. This means that the categories a) and b) become one *Schwäbisch+other* category, that the categories c) and d) become one *Schwäbisch+Hochdeutsch+other* category, and that the categories e) and f) become one *Hochdeutsch+other* category. The categories of g) and h) remain unchanged. The results of this recategorisation are five categories, which are considered to be manageable for the statistical analysis, without misrepresenting the labels provided by the respondents.

ii) The overall results of the self-reporting task

The distribution of the respondents over these categories is as follows: 26% report *Schwäbisch(+)*, 34% *Schwäbisch+Hochdeutsch(+)*, 32% *Hochdeutsch(+)*, 4% *Other* and 5% do not answer. According to this, *Schwäbisch* and *Hochdeutsch* are clearly the dominating ways of speaking amongst adolescents from the Stuttgart area. As already mentioned, 91% of the respondents report one or the other, or both. Considering the overlap between those who report *Schwäbisch* and those who report *Schwäbisch-Hochdeutsch*, 59% of the respondents report a competence in what can be assumed to be the label for the local dialect. The *Hochdeutsch* label is interpreted to cover either spoken standard German or dialect neutral speech, or both. Considering the overlap between the respondents who report *Hochdeutsch* and those who report *Schwäbisch+Hochdeutsch,* 66% report a competence in *Hochdeutsch*. This means that more respondents report a competence in spoken standard German/dialect neutral speech than in the local dialect. A look at the separate categories

confirms this, as there are more respondents who report *Hochdeutsch* (32%) than *Schwäbisch* (26%).

a) Analysing the impact of important factors

To get beyond just comparing percentages and start searching for significant differences in the results of the self-reporting task, it is necessary to apply a **Chi-Square** test. Unlike the other tests used for significance testing in this study, a Chi-Square test can be used for nominal variables (ch. 3.iv). This is the relevant level of measurement for the self-reports, as these cannot be ranked in relation to each other. The data simply consist of labels that the respondents have found suitable for their own speech. What can be compared is the number of respondents who report *Schwäbisch*, *Hochdeutsch*, etc.

An important parameter for using the Chi-Square test for multiple samples is that the expected frequency of all the observations of a sample is more than five. If this is not the case, the observations with an expected frequency lower than five can be merged in a sensible way to make the threshold (>5) (Petersen 2001: 80). For instance, when the results of the self-reporting task are analysed in relation to the age of the respondents (14, 15, 16, or 17 years), some of the expected counts are below the threshold. Table 5.2 provides an overview of the actual counts:

The self-reporting task and the respondent age

	14 years	15 years	16 years	17+ years*	Total
Schwäbisch (+)	12	21	19	8	60
Schw.+Hochd. (+)	10	41	26	2	79
Hochdeutsch (+)	10	22	35	9	76
Other	3	4	2	0	9
No answer	3	3	4	1	11
Total	38	91	86	20	235

* A merger of the observations for respondents aged 17, 18 (two), and 19 (one).

Table 5.2: Respondent age distribution

In Table 5.3 the results of a Chi-Square test of the respondent age factor are displayed:

The self-reporting task and respondent age: a Chi-Square test

	Value	df	Diff.
Pearson Chi-Square	19.908*	12	0.069
N of valid cases	235		

*8 cells (40.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 0.77.

Table 5.3: Chi-Square test of respondent age

The footnote in Table 5.3 is very important, as it reveals eight observations with an expected frequency (count) of less than five. This means that the Chi-Square value (19.908) is flawed, and therefore the difference found cannot be trusted (Petersen 2001: 80). In such cases the SPSS package offers the possibility of adding the **Fisher's Exact test** to compensate for the expected frequencies below five[28].

In the self-reporting task there are six factors which may have an impact on the results. These are respondent gender, school type, grade level, study location, respondent age and respondent origin. None of these has a sufficient percentage (more than 80%) of observations with an expected frequency above five. Consequently, all the Chi-Square tests used for the analyses are carried out with the Exact test added, and it is the result of the Exact test that will be used to determine whether the differences are significant or not. The Fischer's Exact test can either be run on its own, which demands a lot of available (computer) memory to run the process, or it can be implemented as part of the **Monte Carlo Estimate**, which is less memory consuming. Using a repeated sampling of the data, the Monte Carlo test estimates the exact significance level to compensate for small samples/frequencies[29]. In those cases where the Fischer's Exact test fails to run on it own, it will instead be run as a part of the Monte Carlo Estimation.

iii) The self-reporting task and the important factors

The impact of the six factors tested with a Chi-Square test, with Monte Carlo Estimate added, to reveal potential significant differences. In Table 5.4 there is an overview of the results:

The important factors in the self-reporting task

Factor	n	Test	Value	df	Difference
Respondent gender (Chi-Square test)	235	Pearson Chi²	7.346	4	0.119
	235	Fisher's Exact			0.112
Respondent age (Chi-Square test)	235	Pearson Chi²	19.908	12	0.069
	235	Fisher's Exact			0.046
Grade level (Chi-Square test)	235	Pearson Chi²	15.669	4	0.003
	235	Fisher's Exact			0.002
School type (Chi-Square test)	235	Pearson Chi²	32.394	8	0.000
	235	Fisher's Exact			0.000
Respondent origin (Chi-Square test)	235	Pearson Chi²	26.882	12	0.020
	235	Fisher's Exact			0.001
Study location (Chi-Square test)	235	Pearson Chi²	21.384	4	0.000
	235	Fisher's Exact			0.000

p<0.05. * Found via the Monte Carlo Estimation.

Table 5.4: An overview of important factors for self-reported speech

[28] https://www.ibm.com/support/knowledgecenter/en/SSLVMB_23.0.0/spss/base/idh_exact.html

[29] https://www.ibm.com/support/knowledgecenter/SSLVMB_23.0.0/spss/base/idh_exact.html

As it is the significant differences found in the result of the Fisher's Exact test that are important, these are highlighted in grey, and they show significant differences in all but one factor, respondent gender. However, it is still too early to discard this factor, as further analyses may reveal interesting results.

To find out the individual differences (p-values) of the cross tabulations between a given factor and the results of the self-reporting task, a post hoc test of the **adjusted standardised residual** values[30] (Beasley and Schumacker 1995) is carried out. This post hoc method tests for differences from the expected frequency (count) of an observation, and the (adjusted standardised) residual values indicate this difference. If a residual value is greater than 2 or lower than -2, then it means that the given value is an important factor in the overall result of the Chi-Square test (Beasley and Schumacker 1995: 10). The post hoc test calculates the p-values of each of the residual values to find out whether or not the actual count is significantly different from the expected count. This is the cell based difference (in a contingency table of a cross tabulation). In the tables below the residual values that are greater than 2 or lower than -2 are highlighted in grey.

a) The impact of respondent gender

According to the significant level of the Chi-Square test, the factor of the respondent gender has no influence. However, to take a look at the numbers behind the overall result of the Chi-Square test, this factor will be analysed anyway, and therefore a post hoc test is be carried out:

The self-reporting task and respondent gender: Post hoc test

		Schw.(+)	Schw.+Ho.(+)	Hochd.(+)	Other	No answer	Total
Female	%	20	33	39	3	5	100
	Count (exp. ct.)	26 (32.68)	42 (43.03)	50 (41.40)	4 (4.90)	6 (5.99)	128 (128)
	Adj. resid.	-2.01	-0.29	2.41	-0.62	0.01	
	Difference	0.0444	0.7718	0.0160	0.5353	0.9920	
Male	%	32	34	24	5	5	100
	Count (exp. ct.)	34 (27.32)	37 (35.97)	26 (34.60)	5 (4.10)	5 (5.01)	107 (107)
	Adj. resid.	2.01	0.29	-2.41	0.62	-0.01	
	Difference	0.0444	0.7718	0.0160	0.5353	0.9920	

Post hoc test of difference from expected frequency in Chi-Square test, adjusted sign. level = p<0.005.

Table 5.5: The impact of respondent gender on self-reported speech

Four of the residual values are higher than two or lower than minus two and therefore interesting. At a first glance all four are significant at the p<0.05 level, but the post hoc test involves further

[30] for a walkthrough of the post hoc test: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cOu9rv83G-I, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=krLz0GK3uwg, and https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Rp0qorrPXA0.

analysis[31] and it is therefore necessary to adjust the significance level to correct for the Type one error (Petersen 2001: 49). This adjustment is the usual significance level, 0.05, divided by the number of cells analysed (Beasley and Schumacker 1995: 10). In the case of the results in Table 5.5, 10 cells with residual values are analysed for significant differences, which means that the adjusted significance level is $p<0.05$ divided by 10 = $p<0.005$. Given this adjusted significance level, it is clear that no significant differences are found, even though some of the residual values indicate interesting differences. Consequently, the residual values show that notably (not significantly) fewer female respondents report *Schwäbisch* than expected, and notably more report *Hochdeutsch*. With male respondents it is the opposite in both cases. Thus, there are indications that the female respondents are more likely to report *Hochdeutsch* and less likely to report *Schwäbisch*, and that the male respondents are more likely to report *Schwäbisch* and less likely to report *Hochdeutsch*. Despite these differences being noteworthy, it must be emphasised that they are not significant.

b) The impact of respondent age

For the analysis of the possible impact of the respondents' age, one of the categories is a combination of three different age groups, because these three contain relatively few respondents. Accordingly, the 17+ category consists of (17) 17, (two) 18, and (one) 19 year-olds, and as a whole the 17+ category consists of 20 respondents. The other three categories consist of at least twice as many respondents or more (see Table 5.6, below). The Chi-Square test of the respondent age factor is not particularly clear, as it reveals both a non-significant result (Pearson = 0.069) and a significant result (Fisher's Exact Test = 0.046) (Table 5.4). The post hoc test of the residuals displayed in Table 5.6 will show whether or not there are cell based significant differences:

[31] A transformation of the adjusted standardised residual to a Chi-Square value and the transformation of this value into a p-value (Beasley and Schumacker 1995).

The self-reporting task and respondent age: Post hoc test

		Schw.(+)	Schw.+Ho.(+)	Hochd.(+)	Other	No answer	Total
14 years	%	32	26	26	8	8	100
	Count (exp. ct.)	12 (9.70)	10 (12.77)	10 (12.29)	3 (1.46)	3 (1.78)	38 (38)
	Adj. resid.	0.93	-1.04	-0.87	1.43	1.02	
	Difference	0.3524	0.2983	0.3843	0.1527	0.3077	
15 years	%	23	45	24	5	3	100
	Count (exp. ct.)	21 (23.23)	41 (30.59)	22 (29.43	4 (3.49)	3 (4.26)	91 (91)
	Adj. resid.	-0.69	2.95	-2.13	0.36	-0.80	
	Difference	0.4902	0.0032	0.0332	0.7188	0.4237	
16 years	%	22	30	41	2	5	100
	Count (exp. ct.)	19 (21.96)	26 (28.91)	35 (27.81)	2 (3.29)	4 (4.03)	86 (86)
	Adj. resid.	-0.92	-0.83	2.08	-0.91	-0.02	
	Difference	0.3576	0.4065	0.0375	0.3628	0.9840	
17+ years	%	40	10	45	0	5	100
	Count (exp. ct.)	8 (5.11)	2 (6.72)	9 (6.47)	0 (0.77)	1 (0.94)	20 (20)
	Adj. resid.	1.55	-2.34	1.27	-0.93	0.07	
	Difference	0.1211	0.0193	0.2041	0.3524	0.9442	

Post hoc test of difference from expected frequency in Chi-Square test, adjusted sign. level = p<0.0025.

Table 5.6: The impact of respondent age on self-reported speech

Four of the residual values indicate a noteworthy difference, but the adjusted significance level (p<0.0025) means that no significant differences are found. Accordingly, the interpretation is that there are no significant differences connected to the respondents' age.

c) The impact of grade level

The Chi-Square test (Table 5.4) shows a significant difference in the grade level factor's impact on the results, and in Table 5.7 the results of the post hoc test are displayed:

The self-reporting task and grade level: Post hoc test

		Schw.(+)	Schw.+Ho.(+)	Hochd.(+)	Other	No answer	Total
9th	%	30	29	29	6	6	100
	Count (exp. ct.)	49 (40.60)	46 (53.45)	46 (51.42)	9 (6.09)	9 (7.44)	159 (159)
	Adj. resid.	2.69	-2.20	-1.62	2.11	1.03	
	Difference	0.0071	0.0278	0.1052	0.0349	0.3030	
10th	%	15	43	39	0	3	100
	Count (exp. ct.)	11 (19.40)	33 (25.55)	30 (24.58)	0 (2.91)	2 (3.56)	76 (76)
	Adj. resid.	-2.69	2.20	1.62	-2.11	-1.03	
	Difference	0.0071	0.0278	0.1052	0.0349	0.3030	

Post hoc test of difference from expected frequency in Chi-Square test, adjusted sign. level = p<0.005.

Table 5.7: The impact of grade level on self-reported speech

The residual values indicate six noteworthy differences. However, none of the p-values are lower than the adjusted level for significance. This lack of significant differences is either the result of a (too) conservatively adjusted significance level. Or it may be the case that the highlighted residual values all contribute to an overall significant Chi-Square result, without being significant on their own. Either way, the results show an overall significant difference in the impact of the grade level factor on the results.

d) The impact of school type

The initial Chi-Square test shows an overall school type dependent significant difference, and the post doc test will reveal which residual values contribute to these differences, as well as possible cell-based significant differences:

The self-reporting task and school type: Post hoc test

		Schw.(+)	Schw.+Ho.(+)	Hochd.(+)	Other	No answer	Total
GYM	%	15	54	25	3	3	100
	Count (exp. ct.)	12 (19.40)	41 (25.55)	19 (24.58)	2 (2.91)	2 (3.56)	76 (76)
	Adj. resid.	-2.37	4.56	-1.66	-0.66	-1.03	
	Difference	0.0178	0.000	0.0969	0.5093	0.3030	
REA	%	28	29	27	8	8	100
	Count (exp. ct.)	22 (19.91)	23 (26.22)	21 (25.23)	6 (2.99)	6 (3.65)	78 (78)
	Adj. resid.	0,66	-0.94	-1.25	2.17	1.54	
	Difference	0.5093	0.3472	0.2113	0.0300	0.1236	
HAU	%	32	19	44	1	4	100
	Count (exp. ct.)	26 (20.68)	15 (27.23)	36 (26.20)	1 (3.10)	3 (3.79)	81 (81)
	Adj. resid.	1.67	-3.55	2.88	-1.50	-0.51	
	Difference	0.949	0.0004	0.0040	0.1336	0.6101	

Post hoc test of difference from expected frequency in Chi-Square test, adjusted sign. level = p<0.003, GYm = Gymnasium, REA = Realschule, HAU = Hauptschule.

Table 5.8: The impact of school type on self-reported speech

There are five residual values greater than 2 or lower than -2, but only two of these reveal a significant difference, and they are both concerned with *Schwäbisch+Hochdeutsch*. Significantly more of the *Gymnasium* respondents report *Schwäbisch+Hochdeutsch* than expected, and significantly fewer of the *Hauptschule* respondents report it. Accordingly, *Gymnasium* students from the Stuttgart area are more likely to report *Schwäbisch+Hochdeutsch* than do *Hauptschule* students. *Schwäbisch+Hochdeutsch* is clearly a *Gymnasium* label.

e) The impact of respondent origin

In terms of origin, the respondents are grouped into four categories: 1) those from the state of Baden-Württemberg, 2) those from somewhere else in Germany, 3) those from another country,

and 4) those who did not report any origin. The vast majority (83%) report coming from Baden-Württemberg. The Chi-Square test shows that the respondent origin is important for what they report in the self-reporting task (Table 5.4), and the ensuing post-doc test will reveal if there are any significant differences within the four categories:

The self-reporting task and respondent origin: Post hoc test

		Schw.(+)	Schw.+Ho.(+)	Hochd.(+)	Other	No	Total
B.-W.	%	27	38	27	4	4	100
	Count (exp. ct.)	53 (49.79)	74 (65.55)	53 (63.06)	8 (7.47)	7 (9.13)	195 (195)
	Adj. resid.	1.28	3.10	-3.73	0.48	-1.75	
	Difference	0.2005	0.0019	0.0002	0.6312	0.0801	
DE, not B.-W.	%	0	10	70	10	10	100
	Count (exp. ct.)	0 (2.55)	1 (3.36)	7 (3.23)	1 (0.38)	1 (0.47)	10 (10)
	Adj. resid.	-1.89	-1.62	2.60	1.04	0.81	
	Difference	0.0588	0.1052	0.0093	0.2983	0.4179	
Outside of DE	%	25	14	50	0	11	100
	Count (exp. ct.)	7 (7.15)	4 (9.41)	14 (9.06)	0 (1.07)	3 (1.31)	28 (28)
	Adj. resid.	-0.07	-2.31	2.13	-1.13	1.61	
	Difference	0.9442	0.0209	0.0332	0.2585	0.1074	
No answer	%	0	0	100	0	0	100
	Count (exp. ct.)	0 (0.51)	0 (0.67)	2 (0.65)	0 (0.08)	0 (0.09)	2 (2)
	Adj. resid.	-0.83	-1.01	2.05	-0.28	-0.31	
	Difference	0.4065	0.3125	0.0404	0.7795	0.7566	

Post hoc test of difference from expected frequency in Chi-Square test, adjusted sign. level = $p<0.0025$, B.-W. = Baden-Württemberg, DE = Germany.

Table 5.9: The impact of respondent origin on self-reported speech

Six of the residual values play a larger part in the overall significant result of the Chi-Square test than the rest. However, there is only a significant difference in two cases and both of these are within the group of Baden-Württemberg respondents. Significantly more than expected of the Baden-Württemberg respondents report *Schwäbisch+Hochdeutsch*, and significantly fewer report *Hochdeutsch*. In other words, adolescents from the Stuttgart area, who were born and grew up in Baden-Württemberg, are more likely to consider themselves to speak *Schwäbisch+Hochdeutsch*, and less likely to consider themselves to speak *Hochdeutsch.*

f) The impact of study location

Part of the aim of this study is to investigate Stuttgart's potential as a (linguistic or ideological) norm centre for the Swabian dialect. Accordingly, the study location factor consists of two categories, one containing the respondents from Stuttgart, and one containing the respondents from the other four locations. The Chi-Square test of the influence of the study location shows a

significant difference (Table 5.4), and the post hoc test reveals that the main reasons for this difference are to be found in the categories of *Schwäbisch-Hochdeutsch* and *Hochdeutsch*:

The self-reporting task and study location: Post hoc test

		Schw.(+)	Schw.+Ho.(+)	Hochd.(+)	Other	No	Total
Stuttgart	%	19	26	50	3	2	100
	Count (exp. ct.)	17 (22.98)	23 (30.26)	45 (29.11)	3 (3.45)	2 (4.21)	90 (90)
	Adj. resid.	-1.84	-2.06	4.56	-0.31	-1.41	
	Difference	0.0658	0.0394	0.0000	0.7566	0.1585	
Other locations	%	30	39	21	4	6	100
	Count (exp. ct.)	43 (37.02)	56 (48.74)	31 (46.89)	6 (5.55)	9 (6.79)	145
	Adj. resid.	1.84	2.06	-4.56	0.31	1.41	
	Difference	0.0658	0.0394	0.0000	0.7566	0.1585	

Post hoc test of difference from expected frequency in Chi-Square test, adjusted sign. level = p<0.003.

Table 5.10: The impact of study location on self-reported speech

There are four residual values that contribute to the overall significant Chi-Square test result in particular. However, only two of them are significant, and they indicate a difference between the two study location categories, and the two cases, in which the difference is not significant, support this. Significantly more Stuttgart respondents than expected report *Hochdeutsch*, and notably fewer than expected report *Schwäbisch+Hochdeutsch*. In the case of the other four locations, significantly fewer respondents than expected report *Hochdeutsch*, and notably more than expected report *Schwäbisch+Hochdeutsch*. *Hochdeutsch* is clearly a Stuttgart label, and clearly not a label of the surrounding area.

iv) Are the results a manifestation of the standardisation process?

According to Ruoff (1997) Baden-Württemberg is a dialectal stronghold. The local dialects are widely spoken and looked upon with favourable eyes, and it is only in the domains of formal and public speech that they are little or not used (Ruoff 1997: 145). There is a strong identification with the dialects in the area, and Ruoff points to the larger cities, e.g. Stuttgart, as ideological norm centres for the dialects, norm centres that strengthen the dialect identity (1997: 145). Accordingly, Ruoff sees no signs of decline in the use of the dialects, although the modern society's diversity and mobility has resulted in some restriction as to the domains in which dialects can be used (1997: 143). Based on this, people from the Swabian area would be assumed to consider themselves dialect speakers, and adolescents from the Stuttgart area would be expected to answer *Schwäbisch*, when asked to label their own speech. Furthermore, it would be expected that the majority of the respondents of this study report *Schwäbisch*, as they live in the Swabian dialect area, and most of them originate from Baden-Württemberg.

The results of the self-reporting task show that *Schwäbisch* indeed is amongst the three most reported labels in the self-reporting task, but it is not the most reported label. *Schwäbisch +Hochdeutsch* is the most reported label (reported by 34%), followed by *Hochdeutsch* (32%), and then *Schwäbisch* (25%). Together, these three labels account for 91% of the respondents' self-reports. Taking the overlaps with the *Schwäbisch+Hochdeutsch* category into account, *Schwäbisch* and *Schwäbisch+Hochdeutsch* amounts to 59%, *Hochdeutsch* and *Schwäbisch+Hochdeutsch* to 66%. So even in such a calculation, *Schwäbisch* is not the most reported label. One might suggest that these percentages reflect a language change away from the dialect, *Schwäbisch*, towards a spoken German standard, *Hochdeutsch*[32]. Furthermore, the *Schwäbisch-Hochdeutsch* label may reflect the transitional character of the linguistic situation in which the respondents of this study find themselves.

a) The significant differences supports the standardisation hypothesis

The view of the linguistic situation as being transitional remains rather speculative as long as it is based only on counts of what the respondents report speaking. However, our analyses have revealed some of the sample differences to be statistically significant, allowing for generalisation and more substantial foundation for interpretations.

The statistical analyses (Chi-Square tests and post hoc tests) indicated that three of the social factors have little or no impact: respondent gender, respondent age, and grade level. In the case of the remaining three factors, school type, respondents origin, and study location, they only trigger significant difference in two of the self-report categories: *Schwäbisch+Hochdeutsch* and *Hochdeutsch*. Table 5.11 provides an overview of the factor dependent differences:

The important factors in the self-reporting task

Factor	Chi2 diff.	Post hoc diff.	Sign. level
Gender	n.s.		n.s.
Age	*		n.s.
Grade level	**		n.s.
School type	***	> GYM resp. report ***Schw.+Hochd.***	***
		< HAU report report ***Schw.+Hochd.***	***
Resp. origin	**	> B.-W. resp. report ***Schw.+Hochd.***	**
		< B.-W. resp. report ***Hochdeutsch***	***
Study location	***	> Stuttgart resp. report ***Hochdeutsch***	***
		< Other loc. resp. report ***Hochdeutsch***	***

p<0.5 = *, p<0.01 = **, p<0.001 = ***, n.s. = no significance, > = more than expected, < = less than expected, GYM = *Gymnasium*, HAU = *Hauptschule*, B.-W. = Baden-Württemberg.

Table 5.11: An overview of the important factors for self-reported speech

[32] For a discussion of the standardisation process of Baden-Württemberg and the Stuttgart area see Auer and Spiekermann 2011 and ch. 4.ii.

The *Schwäbisch+Hochdeutsch* label is clearly the most reported label amongst the respondents born and raised in Baden-Württemberg, and it is clearly a *Gymnasium* label. That is, adolescents from the Stuttgart area, who report coming from Baden-Württemberg, and attend the school type requiring the highest academic proficiency, prefer to label their own speech *Schwäbisch +Hochdeutsch*. Following Ruoff's (1997) account of the linguistic situation in Baden-Württemberg, in which the dialects are alive and well and Stuttgart functions as an ideological norm centre for the Swabian dialect area, the largest proportion of these respondents would be expected to report *Schwäbisch*. Seen in relation to this, the respondents of this study seem to have moved towards *Hochdeutsch* on the ideological level. They seem to have taken a step further in the standardisation process, and the *Schwäbisch+Hochdeutsch* label is an expression of this.

The significant and noteworthy differences found in the social factors impact on the self-reports can be considered to be a manifestation of the transitional character of the linguistic situation in the Stuttgart area. There is an ongoing standardisation process, which has not yet reached a stage in which the adolescents from the area are comfortable with discarding the local dialect and/or claiming the spoken German standard on the ideological level. As a consequence, they introduce the label of *Schwäbisch+Hochdeutsch* as a compromise. This speaks against Ruoff's (1997) account of the dialect-standard situation in Southwest Germany, and for the account of Auer and Spiekermann, who argue for a situation of an advanced standardisation process, in which most German adults grow up with the standard (2011: 174). The significant differences found in the impact of the school type factor support this. The impact of the study location factor shows that significantly more Stuttgart respondents than expected report *Hochdeutsch* and that significantly fewer of the respondents from the other four locations than expected report it. Consequently, adolescents from Stuttgart consider themselves to speak the standard (*Hochdeutsch*), whereas those from the surrounding area do not. This indicates a distinction between major, e.g. Stuttgart, and smaller, e.g. the other four locations, urban areas concerning the progression of the standardisation process. Adolescents from Stuttgart appear to spearhead the language change towards the spoken standard, towards *Hochdeutsch*, and those from the surrounding area are lagging behind.

❖ Chapter 6: The results of the adjective scales

The SEE is designed to elicit the respondents' subconscious attitudes as well as their conscious attitudes and extends therefore to both questionnaires handed out to the respondents. In this chapter the respondents' subconscious attitudes will treated in an analysis of their evaluative reactions to the 12 voices in the **adjective scales**.

In the first part of the SEE, the respondents are unaware of dialectal differences in the voices, and therefore the results of the adjective scales are considered to reflect their **subconscious** attitudes to these differences. The respondents' evaluations of the 12 voices will be analysed on three levels:

- The **voice** level. This is the most basic level where the evaluations of each voice are treated on their own, e.g. Table 6.1. On this level the voice codes will be used for reference, e.g. **R017f** = R(eutlingen)017f(emale).
- The **gender** level. On this level the voices are grouped and compared according to gender, either across the genders, e.g. Table 6.5, or within each gender, e.g. Diagram 6.2 and 6.3. Here, the name of the location, followed by the identification of the gender of the group members will be used for reference, e.g. **Berlin females**.
- The **location** level. On this level the voices are grouped according to where they come from, e.g. Table 6.3. Here, the name of the location, followed by "voices" will be used for reference, e.g. **Stuttgart voices**.

The voice level is important as a foundation for the analysis of the location, as it is on this level of the individual voices that it is established, whether or not the dialectal differences are the main trigger of the respondents' evaluative reactions. To be able to establish the dialectal differences as the main trigger for the respondents' reactions, voices from the same location must be evaluated alike, and differently from the voices from the other locations. If no such pattern is found in the results, then the dialectal differences cannot be considered the main trigger of the respondents' evaluative reactions elicited with the adjective scales. If such a pattern emerges, then the significant differences found on the location level are considered to be attitudinal differences to the dialectal variation in the voices.

The overall ranking (means) of all the 12 voices (in terms of means on 7-point scales) are shown in Table 6.1:

The ranking of the 12 voices in the adjective scales

Intelligent	B048 f 2.41	B053 f 2.50	B045 m 2.57	S041 f 2.68	S032 f 2.70	S035 m 2.86	S029 m 3.04	R017 f 3.20	R018 f 3.33	R014 m 3.51	R013 m 3.61	B051 m 4.22	**Stupid**
Serious	B048 f 2.82	S041 f 3.09	B053 f 3.10	B045 m 3.21	S032 f 3.24	S029 m 3.30	S035 m 3.45	R017 f 3.52	R013 m 3.54	R014 m 3.74	R018 f 3.87	B051 m 4.34	**Frivolous**
Ambitious	B053 f 2.79	B048 f 2.87	S032 f 2.95	S041 f 3.09	B045 m 3.18	S029 m 3.48	R014 m 3.61	R017 f 3.63	S035 m 3.86	R018 f 3.90	R013 m 3.97	B051 m 4.59	**Indolent**
Trust-worthy	B048 f 2.52	B053 f 2.71	S041 f 2.82	S032 f 2.92	B045 m 3.09	R017 f 3.12	S029 m 3.16	R014 m 3.30	R018 f 3.43	S035 m 3.49	R013 m 3.61	B051 m 4.17	**Untrust-worthy**
Self-assured	B048 f 2.39	B053 f 2.43	S032 f 2.58	R014 m 2.85	S041 f 2.97	S029 m 3.14	B045 m 3.30	S035 m 3.34	R017 f 3.44	R018 f 3.55	R013 m 3.77	B051 m 4.60	**Insecure**
Fascinating	B048 f 2.89	S032 f 2.94	B053 f 3.13	S041 f 3.21	R014 m 3.26	S029 m 3.57	B045 m 3.82	R013 m 3.90	S035 m 3.97	R018 f 4.05	R017 f 4.11	B051 m 4.86	**Boring**
Cool	R014 m 3.13	S032 f 3.26	B048 f 3.33	B053 f 3.52	S029 m 3.57	S041 f 3.64	S035 m 3.93	R013 m 3.95	R018 f 4.07	R017 f 4.21	B045 m 4.25	B051 m 4.46	**Uncool**
Nice	B048 f 2.14	B053 f 2.38	S041 f 2.48	R014 m 2.60	S032 f 2.67	S029 m 2.92	R017 f 2.93	B045 m 3.02	R013 m 3.07	R018 f 3.21	S035 m 3.24	B051 m 3.88	**Disagree-able**

The means of the 12 voice samples on the 7-point adjective scales.

Table 6.1: The ranking of the 12 SEE voices

The first thing worth mentioning is that the respondents are more prone to set their evaluative mark towards the positive end of the adjective pairs. Assuming that the central position of a 7-point scale, i.e. 4, divides it into a positive side and a negative side, there is a clear positive tendency in the respondents' evaluative reactions: 87.5% of the evaluative marks are placed on the positive side.

In Table 6.1, voices from the same location have been given the same background colour: Berlin voices = pale grey, Reutlingen voices = darker grey, Stuttgart voices = white. It is clear that the Berlin voices, with the exception of B051m, are generally the more positively evaluated voices (left-most in the table), followed by the Stuttgart voices (the central part of the table), and with the Reutlingen voices trailing behind (right-most in the table). Thus, voice-location does seem to have played a decisive part in producing the evaluative pattern. Based on this, I take the dialectal differences to be the main trigger of the respondents' evaluations of the 12 voices. Accordingly, it makes sense to test for differences between grouped voices on the level of location. The level of the location-based groups will be the starting point in the account of the results, but the impact of voice-gender will also be analysed. Before continuing to the analysis, though, the focus will be on B051m, as this voice stands out in the results displayed in Table 6.1.

a) Voice B051m is an outlier

In Table 6.1 the means of the evaluations of the 12 voices on the eight scales are displayed, and it is evident that the evaluations of B051m are different from the evaluations of the other voices. On all eight scales B051m is the least positively evaluated. The means of the evaluations of B051m ranges from 3.88 (*Nice – Disagreeable*) to 4.86 (*Fascinating – Boring*. He is perceived to be less *Intelligent*, *Serious*, *Ambitious*, *Trustworthy*, *Self-assured*, *Fascinating*, *Cool*, and *Nice* than all of the other voices. Here the outlier status of B051m is highlighted:

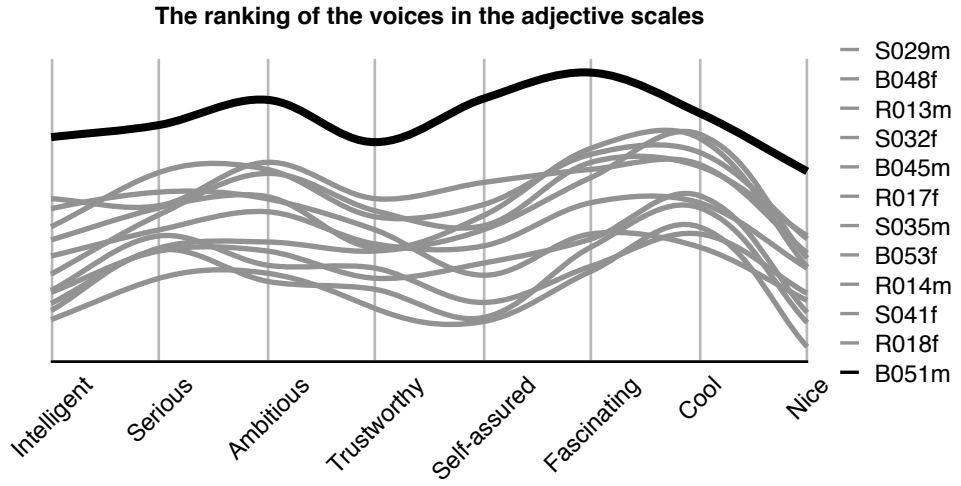


Diagram 6.1: The ranking of the 12 SEE voices (rankings between 2 (the baseline, most positive) and 5 (least positive))

The bold black line represents the means of the evaluative reactions to B051m. Table 6.2 shows the difference between the second least positively evaluated voice and B051m on of the scales:

	B051m = outlier								
	Voice	**N**	**Mean**	**Std. Dev.**	**Diff.**	**Voice**	**N**	**Mean**	**Std. Dev.**
Intelligent	R013m	227	3.61	1.436	0.000	B051m	230	4.22	1.549
Serious	R018f	221	3.87	1.405	0.000	B051m	227	4.32	1.504
Ambitious	R013m	227	3.97	1.422	0.000	B051m	226	4.59	1.542
Trustworthy	R013m	226	3.61	1.285	0.000	B051m	227	4.17	1.429
Self-assured	R013m	230	3.77	1.525	0.000	B051m	227	4.60	1.636
Fascinating	R017f	228	4.11	1.743	0.000	B051m	228	4.86	1.710
Cool	B045m	228	4.25	1.578	0.063	B051m	226	4.46	1.497
Nice	S035m	224	3.24	1.327	0.000	B051m	224	3.88	1.456

Wilcoxon Signed Rank Test (two related samples), the two lowest and two highest ranked voices on each scale, $p<0.05$.

Table 6.2: The outlier-status of B051m

As the evaluations of B051m differ from all the other voices, and from the other Berlin voices at the wrong end of the scales, so to speak, it must be assumed that something else than his dialect

lies behind the evaluative reactions to him. Consequently, B051m is excluded from the statistical significance testing of the results elicited with the adjective scales.

i) Significant differences in the subconscious attitudes

To further investigate the location-based pattern evident in the evaluations of the individual voices, the results are tested for significant differences between the Berlin, Reutlingen and Stuttgart voices:

A comparison of the evaluations of the Berlin, Reutlingen and Stuttgart voices on the adjective scales

Intelligent	Berlin	2.49	***	Stuttgart	2.82	***	Reutlingen	3.41
Serious	Berlin	3.00	n.s.	Stuttgart	3.27	***	Reutlingen	3.67
Ambitious	Berlin	2.94	***	Stuttgart	3.36	***	Reutlingen	3.74
Trustworthy	Berlin	2.78	***	Stuttgart	3.10	**	Reutlingen	3.35
Self-assured	Berlin	2.71	**	Stuttgart	3.02	***	Reutlingen	3.41
Fascinating	Berlin	3.28	n.s.	Stuttgart	3.44	***	Reutlingen	3.84
Cool	Stuttgart	3.59	n.s.	Berlin	3.70	n.s.	Reutlingen	3.83
				**				
Nice	Berlin	2.51	***	Stuttgart	2.82	n.s.	Reutlingen	2.96

Friedman test (multiple related samples) w. Bonferroni correction for multiple tests, BE = Berlin, ST = Stuttgart, RE = Reutlingen, * = p<.0.05, ** = p<0.01, *** = p<0.001, n.s. = no sign. diff.

Table 6.3: A comparison of the Berlin, Reutlingen and Stuttgart voices

The respondents are generally more positive towards the Berlin voices than towards the Stuttgart and the Reutlingen voices, and they are generally more positive towards the Stuttgart voices than towards the Reutlingen voices. The only scale that breaks this pattern is the *Cool – Uncool* scale. On this scale there is no significant difference between the evaluations of the Stuttgart and Berlin voices, and between the Berlin and the Reutlingen voices, but the Stuttgart voices are evaluated significantly more positive than the Reutlingen voices. To sum up, the respondents consider the Berlin voices to be more *Intelligent*, *Ambitious*, *Trustworthy*, *Self-assured* and *Nice* than the Stuttgart voices. Compared to the Reutlingen voices the respondents consider the Berlin voices to be more *Serious* and *Fascinating*, in addition to the traits just mentioned. In the comparison of the Stuttgart and the Reutlingen voices the respondents consider the Stuttgart voices to be more *Intelligent*, *Serious*, *Ambitious*, *Trustworthy*, *Self-assured*, *Fascinating* and *Cool*.

In line with the tradition from social psychology (as discussed by Soukup 2013: 255) the evaluative results from all eight scales have also been pooled for each of the locations, although this approach is not undisputed (Soukup 2013:256). The results of this exercise show that the respondents are quite uniform in their evaluations of the Berlin, Reutlingen and Stuttgart voices across the eight adjective scales. Consequently, the comparison of the pooled results for each of the location-based groups is considered to emphasise the attitudinal bias amongst the

respondents. When one result for the evaluations of the Berlin voices is calculated, one for the evaluations of the Reutlingen voices, and one for the evaluations of the Stuttgart voices, and these are tested for significant differences, the results are:

In line with the tradition from social psychology (as discussed by Soukup 2013: 255) the results from all eight scales for each of the locations are pooled together (although this approach is not undisputed, Soukup 2013: 256; and see more below on the possibility of reducing the patterns on the eight scales to a couple of underlying evaluative dimensions).

The evaluations of the location-based groups: one score for each

Mean	Std. Dev.	Diff.	Mean	Std. Dev.	Diff.	Mean	Std. Dev.
2.93	722	0.000	3.18	0.686	0.000	3.53	0.826
Berlin		***	**Stuttgart**		***	**Reutlingen**	

Friedman test (multiple related samples) w. Bonferroni correction for multiple tests, BE = Berlin, ST = Stuttgart, RE = Reutlingen, *** = p<0.000.

Table 6.4: A comparison of the location-based groups

When the evaluations are pooled across the eight scales, the clear differences between the locations (see Table 6.4) can be said to support the conclusion about dialectal differences as the main trigger for the evaluative reactions.

a) Comparison of the Berlin, Reutlingen and Stuttgart females

With such a clear evaluative pattern it is interesting to see whether there is any variation in the results based on the gender of the voice samples. The evaluations of the Berlin, the Reutlingen, and the Stuttgart females are compared in Diagram 6.2:

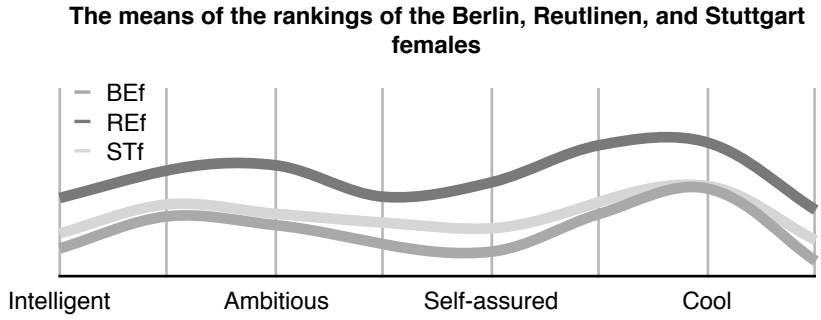


Diagram 6.2: The evaluations of the females (rankings between 2 (the baseline, most positive) and 5 (least positive))

The evaluation of the female voices are in line with the overall evaluation of the Berlin, Reutlingen and Stuttgart voices (Table 6.3). The respondents are most positive towards the Berlin females (grey), followed by the Stuttgart females (pale grey), and with the Reutlingen females (dark grey) trailing behind. The respondents are significantly more positive towards the Berlin females than the Reutlingen females on all eight scales (all p<0.001). There are four significant differences in the evaluations of the Berlin and the Stuttgart females: *Intelligent* (p<0.05), *Trustworthy* (p<0.05), *Self-*

assured (p<0.01) and *Nice* (p<0.001). Finally, between the Stuttgart and the Reutlingen females there are also significant differences in the evaluations on all eight scales (seven on p<0.001 level, and one, *Nice*, is on the p<0.01 level) (see Appendix 5 for all the differences in detail).

b) Comparison of the Berlin, Reutlingen and Stuttgart <u>males</u>

The pattern found in the comparison of the Berlin, Reutlingen and Stuttgart females is even clearer than the pattern found in the overall comparison (Table 6.3). This indicates that comparison of the male voices across the location-based groups is likely to be less clear, which Diagram 6.3 confirms:

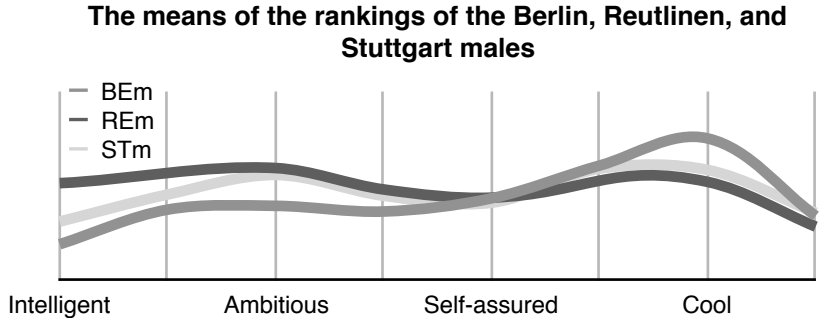


Diagram 6.3: The evaluations of the males (rankings between 2 (the baseline, most positive) and 5 (least positive))

On four of the eight scales (*Intelligent*, *Serious*, *Ambitious* and *Trustworthy*) the comparison of the Berlin, Reutlingen and Stuttgart males follows the overall pattern, and the pattern in the comparison of the female location-based groups, up to a point. On all these four scales the Berlin males are evaluated significantly more positive than the Stuttgart males (at least p<0.05) as well as the Reutlingen males (at least p<0.01). The difference between the Stuttgart and the Reutlingen males is only significant on one of them (*Intelligent* p<0.001).

The remaining four scales (*Self-assured, Fascinating*, *Cool*, and *Nice*) are not pattern conform, but it is only on one of them that there are significant differences in the evaluations. Both the Reutlingen (p<0.001) and the Stuttgart (p<0.01) males are evaluated significantly more positive than the Berlin males on the *Cool* scale (see Appendix 5 for all the differences in detail).

c) Gender differences within the location-based groups

The ranking of the 12 voices did not only indicate a location-based pattern in the respondents' evaluative reactions, it also indicated a gender-based pattern. Table 6.5 shows the gender-based differences within the location-based groups:

A comparison of the female and male voices within the location-based groups

	Intelligent	Serious	Ambitious	Trustworthy	Self-assured	Fascinating	Cool	Nice
BE	**F** (2.46)	**F** (2.97)	**F** (2.82)	**F** (2.62)	**F** (2.41)	**F** (3.01)	**F** (3.41)	**F** (2.26)
	n.s.	n.s.	*	***	***	***	***	***
	M (2.57)	**M** (3.12)	**M** (3.18)	**M** (3.09)	**M** (3.30)	**M** (3.82)	**M** (4.25)	**M** (3.02)
ST	**F** (2.70)	**F** (3.16)	**F** (3.01)	**F** (2.87)	**F** (2.78)	**F** (3.07)	**F** (3.45)	**F** (2.59)
	**	*	***	***	***	***	***	***
	M (2.93)	**M** (3.36)	**M** (3.69)	**M** (3.34	**M** (3.23)	**M** (3.77)	**M** (3.75)	**M** (3.07)
RE	**F** (3.26)	**M** (3.62)	**F** (3.78)	**F** (3.28)	**M** (3.31)	**M** (3.58)	**M** (3.56)	**M** (2.85)
	***	n.s.	n.s.	*	*	***	***	*
	M (3.54)	**F** (3.70)	**M** (3.78)	**M** (3.44)	**F** (3.51)	**F** (4.10)	**F** (4.14)	**F** (3.07)

Wilcoxon Signed Rank Test (two related samples), BE = Berlin, ST = Stuttgart, RE = Reutlingen, F = female, M = male, * = p<.0.05, ** = p<0.01, *** = p<0.001, n.s. = no sign. diff.

Table 6.5: Females vs. males within the location-based groups

Regarding the Berlin and Stuttgart voices, the female voices are overall more positively evaluated than the male voices (difference not significant for the Berlin voices on the *Intelligent* and *Serious* scales). In contrast, amongst the Reutlingen speakers it is the male voices that come out with most of the significantly better scores, on four scales (*Self-assured*, *Fascinating*, *Cool*, *Nice*), against significantly better scores for the female voices on two scales (*Intelligent* and *Trustworthy*).

ii) Important factors and their impact

When the impact of the factors is tested for significant differences on the level of the location-based groups, three of them can be discarded straight away: respondent gender, respondent origin, and study location[33]. The tests of these three factors show no significant differences. Two of the remaining four important factors result in relatively few significant differences on the level of the location-based groups, and therefore respondents' age and reported speech will be treated here, whereas the rest, and school type and grade level will be treated in separate paragraphs.

There are only three respondent age dependent significant differences in the respondents' evaluation of the location-based groups, and these are displayed in Table 6.6:

The Berlin and Stuttgart voices and the influence from respondent age

Grp.	Age	N	Mean	Diff.	Grp.	Age	N	Mean	Diff.	Grp.	Age	N	Mean	Diff.
	Ambitious					**Fascinating**					**Fascinating**			
ST	15	91	3.16	0.008	**BE**	17+	20	2.67	0.028	**ST**	15	91	3.25	0.029
	16	85	3.66			16	85	3.50			16	85	3.68	

Kruskal-Wallis test (multiple independent samples) w. Bonferroni correction for multiple tests, BE = Berlin, ST = Stuttgart, p<0.05.

Table 6.6: The Berlin and Stuttgart voices and the impact of respondent age

[33] Even when the study locations are grouped into Stuttgart vs. the remaining locations no significant differences are found.

The 15 year olds are significantly more positive than the 16 year olds towards the Stuttgart voices on the *Ambitious* and the *Fascinating* scales, and the 17+ year olds significantly more positive than the 16 year olds towards the Berlin voices on the *Fascinating* scale.

Table 6.7 shows the two significant differences dependent on the respondents' reported speech:

The influence of reported speech on the Reutlingen voices

Grp.	Speech	N	Mean	Diff.	Grp.	Speech	N	Mean	Diff.
Fascinating					**Fascinating**				
RE	Schw. (+)	60	3.46	0.018	**RE**	Oth.	9	3.19	0.018
	n.a.	11	4.80			n.a.	11	4.80	

Kruskal-Wallis test (multiple independent samples) w. Bonferroni correction for multiple tests, RE = Reutlingen, p<0.05.

Table 6.7: The Reutlingen voices and the impact of reported speech

The respondents who report to speak *Schwäbisch* and those who report *Other* are both significantly more positive than those who do not report anything (*No answer)* towards the Reutlingen voices on the *Fascinating* scale.

a) School type and the Reutlingen voices

A Kruskal-Wallis test reveals 21 significant differences dependent on the school type factor. Of these, two are found in the evaluations of the Berlin voices and three in the evaluations of the Stuttgart voices. In the evaluations of the Reutlingen voices 16 significant differences are found, that is, there are significant differences in the evaluations on all eight scales. Therefore, two tables will be used to display the 21 significant differences dependent on the school type factor found on the location level. One table will display the results for the Berlin and Stuttgart voices, and one the results for the Reutlingen voices. Table 6.8 shows the significant differences in the evaluations of the Berlin and Stuttgart voices:

The Berlin and Stuttgart voices and the influence from school type

Grp.	Sch.	N	Mean	Diff.	Grp.	Sch.	N	Mean	Diff.	Grp.	Sch.	N	Mean	Diff.
Intelligent					**Ambitious**					**Nice**				
ST	HAU	81	2.62	0.012	**ST**	HAU	80	3.18	0.008	**BE**	REA	77	2.35	0.008
	GYM	75	3.06			GYM	75	3.59			GYM	75	2.78	
Nice					**Nice**									
BE	HAU	81	2.41	0.027	**ST**	HAU	81	2.68	0.021					
	GYM	75	2.78			GYM	75	3.02						

Kruskal-Wallis test (multiple independent samples) w. Bonferroni correction for multiple tests, BE = Berlin, ST = Stuttgart, GYM = *Gymnasium*, REA = *Realschule*, HAU = *Hauptschule*, p<0.05.

Table 6.8: The Berlin and Stuttgart voices and the impact of school type

All five significant differences show that the *Gymnasium* respondents are significantly less positive towards the Berlin and the Stuttgart voices than the respondents from the *Realschule* (one case) or the *Hauptschule* are. However, these five significant differences are too few to establish a pattern.

The evaluations of the Reutlingen voices, however, show a clear school type dependent pattern. No significant differences are found in the *Realschule* and the *Hauptschule* respondents' evaluations of the Reutlingen voices, but both groups are clearly more positive towards the Reutlingen voices than the *Gymnasium* respondents, which Table 6.9 demonstrates:

The Reutlingen voices and the influence from school type

Grp.	N	Mean	Diff.	Grp.	N	Mean	Diff.	Grp.	N	Mean	Diff.	Grp.	N	Mean	Diff.
Intelligent				**Serious**				**Ambitious**				**Trustworthy**			
HAU	81	3.14	1.000	REA	78	3.48	1.000	HAU	80	3.52	1.000	HAU	81	3.18	1,000
REA	77	3.19		HAU	79	3.56		REA	77	3.59		REA	77	3.22	
HAU	81	3.14	0.000	REA	78	3.48	0.015	HAU	80	3.52	0.000	HAU	81	3.18	0.001
GYM	75	3.94		GYM	75	3.97		GYM	75	4.27		GYM	75	3.68	
REA	77	3.19	0.000	HAU	79	3.56	0.030	REA	77	3.59	0.000	REA	77	3.22	0.005
GYM	75	3.94		GYM	75	3.97		GYM	75	4.27		GYM	75	3,68	
Self-assured				**Fascinating**				**Cool**				**Nice**			
HAU	81	3.19	1.000	HAU	81	3.57	1.000	REA	76	3,58	1.000	HAU	80	2.73	1.000
REA	78	3.24		REA	77	3.64		HAU	80	3.73		REA	76	2.83	
HAU	81	3.19	0.001	HAU	81	3.57	0.000	REA	76	3.58	0.000	HAU	80	2.73	0.001
GYM	75	3,82		GYM	75	4.32		GYM	75	4.20		GYM	75	3.33	
REA	78	3.24	0.001	REA	77	3.64	0.000	HAU	80	3.73	0.009	REA	76	2.83	0.007
GYM	75	3.82		GYM	75	4.32		GYM	75	4.20		GYM	75	3.33	

Kruskal-Wallis test (multiple independent samples) w. Bonferroni correction for multiple tests, GYM = *Gymnasium*, REA = *Realschule*, HAU = *Hauptschule*, $p<0.05$.

Table 6.9: The Reutlingen voices and the impact of school type

If the Reutlingen voices are considered to represent the least standardised local speech, then they can be considered to be more dialectal than the Berlin and the Stuttgart voices. Accordingly, the *Gymnasium* respondents are clearly less positive towards dialectal voices than the *Realschule* and the *Hauptschule* respondents.

As the location level reveals so few significant differences in the evaluations of the Berlin and Stuttgart voices, the differences in the evaluations of these two groups will not be tested on the gender level. Concerning the Reutlingen females and males, the tests show seven significant differences in the evaluations of the Reutlingen males (distributed on five scales) and 16 in the evaluations of the Reutlingen females (distributed on all eight scales). Because of the extensive distribution of the significant differences in the evaluations of the Reutlingen females, the results will be displayed in two separate tables, one for the males, and one for the females. Here is Table 6.10 with the results for the Reutlingen males:

The Reutlingen males and the influence from school type

Grp.	Sch.	N	Mean	Diff.	Grp.	Sch.	N	Mean	Diff.	Grp.	Sch.	N	Mean	Diff.
	Intelligent					**Intelligent**					**Serious**			
REm	HAU	81	3.17	0.000	**REm**	REA	76	3.44	0.002	**REm**	HAU	79	3.45	0.037
	GYM	75	4.05			GYM	75	4.05			GYM	75	3.93	
	Ambitious					**Ambitious**					**Trustworthy**			
REm	HAU	80	3.48	0.000	**REm**	REA	77	3.69	0.011	**REm**	HAU	81	3.27	0.028
	GYM	75	4.20			GYM	75	4.20			GYM	75	3.73	
	Self-assured													
REm	REA	78	3.18	0.049										
	GYM	75	3.59											

Kruskal-Wallis test (multiple independent samples) w. Bonferroni correction for multiple tests, BE = Berlin, ST = Stuttgart, f = females, m = males, GYM = *Gymnasium*, REA = *Realschule*, HAU = *Hauptschule*, p<0.05.

Table 6.10: The Reutlingen males and the impact of school type

As expected, the tendency of the *Gymnasium* respondents to be less positive towards the Reutlingen voices than the *Realschule* or the *Hauptschule* respondents, or both, is also evident in the evaluations of the Reutlingen males. Table 6.11 displays all the school type dependent differences in the evaluations of the Reutlingen females:

The Reutlingen females and the influence from school type

Sch.	N	Mean	Diff.	Sch.	N	Mean	Diff.	Sch.	N	Mean	Diff.	Sch.	N	Mean	Diff.
	Intelligent				**Serious**				**Ambitious**				**Trustworthy**		
REA	77	2.91	1.000	REA	76	3.51	1.000	HAU	79	3.51	1.000	HAU	81	3.10	1.000
HAU	81	3.10		HAU	78	3.62		REA	77	3.51		REA	75	3.11	
REA	77	2.91	0.000	REA	76	3.51	0.034	HAU	79	3.51	0.000	HAU	81	3.10	0.002
GYM	75	3.78		GYM	75	3.99		GYM	75	4.33		GYM	75	3.63	
HAU	81	3.10	0.000	HAU	78	3.62	0.190	REA	77	3.51	0.000	REA	75	3.11	0.003
GYM	75	3,78		GYM	75	3.99		GYM	75	4.33		GYM	75	3.63	
	Self-assured				**Fascinating**				**Cool**				**Nice**		
HAU	81	3.22	1.000	HAU	81	3.72	1.000	REA	76	3.88	1.000	REA	76	2.75	1.000
REA	78	3.31		REA	76	3.82		HAU	80	3.92		HAU	81	2.84	
HAU	81	3.22	0.000	HAU	81	3.72	0.000	REA	76	3.88	0.001	REA	76	2.75	0.000
GYM	75	4.03		GYM	75	4.78		GYM	75	4.63		GYM	75	3.63	
REA	78	3.31	0.001	REA	76	3,82	0.000	HAU	80	3.92	0.000	HAU	81	2.84	0.000
GYM	75	4.03		GYM	75	4.78		GYM	75	4.63		GYM	75	3.63	

Kruskal-Wallis test (multiple independent samples) w. Bonferroni correction for multiple tests, GYM = *Gymnasium*, REA = *Realschule*, HAU = *Hauptschule*, p<0.05.

Table 6.11: The Reutlingen females and the impact of school type

The difference between the *Gymnasium* respondents and the other two groups is significant on all but one of the eight scales. On the *Serious* scales there is no significant difference between the *Hauptschule* and the *Gymnasium* respondents.

The results of Tables 6.10 and 6.11 show that the Reutlingen females are clearly more polarising than the males.

b) Grade level and the Reutlingen voices

As illustrated above, the school type is quite an influential social factor, especially with regard to the evaluations of the Reutlingen voices and the Reutlingen females. The social factor of grade level appears to 'go across' the school type factor, as each school type has two grade levels, 9th and 10th grade. However, the respondents' distribution over these two grade levels are far from perfect across the three school types. There are no 10th grade students amongst the *Realschule* respondents and there is a majority of 9th grade students (62) amongst the *Hauptschule* respondents. All in all, there is a majority of 159 9th grade students against 76 10th grade students amongst the respondents. The skewed distribution means that it is interesting to see if there are any overlaps between the school type factor and the grade level factor. The distribution of the 10th graders over the three school types confirms an overlap: 75% of the 10th graders are *Gymnasium* respondents, 25% are *Hauptschule* respondents, and no 10th graders are *Realschule* respondents.

The major part of the significant differences dependent on the grade level factor are found in the evaluations of the Reutlingen voices, and this indicates a connection between the grade level factor and the school type factor. As there are not nearly as many significant differences in the evaluations of the Berlin and Stuttgart voices, the results of the grade level factor on the location level will also be displayed in separate tables for the Berlin and Stuttgart voices on the one hand, and the Reutlingen voices on the other. Table 6.12 show the significant results for the Berlin and Stuttgart voices:

The Berlin and Stuttgart voices and the influence from grade level

Grp.	Grade	N	Mean	Diff.	Grp.	Grade	N	Mean	Diff.	Grp.	Grade	N	Mean	Diff.
		Nice					**Intelligent**					**Fascinating**		
BE	9th	157	2.40	0.004	**ST**	9th	157	2.73	0.21	**ST**	9th	158	3.36	0.044
	10th	76	2.73			10th	76	3.00			10th	76	3.59	
		Nice												
ST	9th	157	2.75	0.009										
	10th	76	2.98											

Mann-Whitney U test (two independent samples), BE = Berlin, ST = Stuttgart, $p<0.05$.

Table 6.12: The Berlin and Stuttgart voices and the impact of grade level

On the three scales, *Nice*, *Intelligent* and *Fascinating*, the 9th graders are significantly more positive than the 10th graders towards the Berlin and/or the Stuttgart voices. However, four significant differences are too few to suggest a pattern. Therefore, as it was the case with the school type factor, the evaluations of the Berlin and the Stuttgart voices will not be further analysed.

As Table 6.13 shows, a clear pattern is found in the evaluations of the Reutlingen voices:

The Reutingen voices and the influence from grade level

Grade	n	Mean	Diff.	Grade	n	Mean	Diff.	Grade	n	Mean	Diff.	Grade	n	Mean	Diff.
Intelligent				**Serious**				**Ambitious**				**Trustworthy**			
9th	157	3.20	0.000	9th	156	3.52	0.002	9th	156	3.62	0.000	9th	157	3.23	0.004
10th	76	3.85		10th	6	3.96		10th	76	4.13		10th	76	3.59	
Self-assured				**Fascinating**				**Cool**				**Nice**			
9th	158	3.21	0.000	9th	157	3.64	0.000	9th	155	3.70	0.001	9th	156	2.78	0.000
10th	76	3,82		10th	76	4.24		10th	76	4.12		10th	76	3.31	

Mann-Whitney U test (two independent samples), $p<0.05$.

Table 6.13: The Reutlingen voices and the impact of grade level

The tests show that the 9th grade students are clearly more positive towards the Reutlingen voices on all the adjective scales. Or put differently, the 10th grade students are significantly less positive towards the Reutlingen voices, which corroborates the overlap between the *Gymnasium* respondents and the 10th grade students. A Chi-Square test of the cross-tabulation of the two factors reveal a significant difference ($p<0.001$), and Table 6.14 shows the results of the post hoc test of the adjusted standardised residual values:

The cross-tabulation of school type and grade level: Post hoc test

		GYM	REA	HAU	Total
9th	%	12	49	39	100
	Count	19	78	62	159
	Exp. ct.	51.4	52.8	54.8	
	Adj. resid.	-9.7	7.5	2.1	
	Difference	0.000	0.000	0.0349	
10th	%	75%	0%	25%	100
	Count	57	0	19	76
	Exp. ct.	24.6	25.2	26.2	
	Adj. resid.	9.7	-7.5	-2.1	
	Difference	0.000	0.000	0.0349	

Post hoc test of difference from expected frequency in Chi-Square test, adjusted sign. level = $p<0.0083$.

Table 6.14: Cross-tabulation of school type and grade level

The results reveal significant differences in the distribution of the 9th graders and the 10th graders in the *Gymnasium* and in the *Realschule*. These differences show that significantly more than expected of the *Gymnasium* respondents are 10th graders, and significantly less than expected are 9th graders. Amongst the *Realschule* respondents the opposite is the case, significantly more than expected are 9th graders, and significantly less than expected are 10th graders. However, it is the proportion of 10th graders amongst the *Gymnasium* respondents that is interesting, and the result confirms an overlap between these two.

A switch of perspective to the gender level reveals a clear pattern in evaluations of the Reutlingen males and females. The 9th grade students are clearly more positive towards both the Reutlingen females and the Reutlingen males than the 10th grade students. This is shown in Tables 6.15 and 6.16:

The Reutlingen females and the influence from grade level

Grade	n	Mean	Diff.	Grade	n	Mean	Diff.	Grade	n	Mean	Diff.	Grade	n	Mean	Diff.
Intelligent				**Serious**				**Ambitious**				**Trustworthy**			
9th	157	3.04	0.000	9th	153	3.58	0.020	9th	155	3.57	0.000	9th	155	3.11	0.000
10th	76	3.70		10th	76	3.94		10th	76	4.20		10th	76	3.62	
Self-assured				**Fascinating**				**Cool**				**Nice**			
9th	158	3.27	0.000	9th	157	3.88	0.001	9th	155	3.99	0.008	9th	156	2.81	0.000
10th	76	4.01		10th	76	4.53		10th	76	4.44		10th	76	3.60	

Mann-Whitney U test (two independent samples), $p<0.05$.

Table 6.15: The Reutlingen females and the impact of grade level

And the evaluation of the Reutlingen males:

The Reutlingen males and the influence from grade level

Grade	n	Mean	Diff.	Grade	n	Mean	Diff.	Grade	n	Mean	Diff.	Grade	n	Mean	Diff.
Intelligent				**Serious**				**Ambitious**				**Trustworthy**			
9th	156	3.35	0.000	9th	155	3.45	0.003	9th	156	3.64	0.003	9th	157	3.38	0.183
10th	76	3.95		10th	76	3.96		10th	76	4.06		10th	76	3.57	
Self-assured				**Fascinating**				**Cool**				**Nice**			
9th	158	3.16	0.003	9th	157	3.42	0.002	9th	154	3.44	0.029	9th	156	2.77	0.023
10th	76	3.63		10th	76	3.90		10th	76	3.80		10th	76	3.01	

Mann-Whitney U test (two independent samples), $p<0.05$.

Table 6.16: The Reutlingen males and the impact of grade level

Thus, both the pattern found in the evaluations of the Reutlingen females and the one found in the evaluations of the Reutlingen males, contribute to the pattern found in the evaluations on the location level.

iii) Summarising and discussing the subconscious attitudes

To recap the comparison of the evaluations on the location level, Table 6.17 is a copy of the overview of the results for the Berlin, Stuttgart and Reutlingen voices displayed in Table 6.3, but without the means:

The evaluations of the Berlin, Reutlingen and Stuttgart voices on the adjective scales

Intelligent	Berlin	***	Stuttgart	***	Reutlingen
Serious	Berlin	n.s.	Stuttgart	***	Reutlingen
Ambitious	Berlin	***	Stuttgart	***	Reutlingen
Trustworthy	Berlin	***	Stuttgart	**	Reutlingen
Self-assured	Berlin	**	Stuttgart	***	Reutlingen
Fascinating	Berlin	n.s.	Stuttgart	***	Reutlingen
Cool	Stuttgart	n.s.	Berlin	n.s.	Reutlingen
			**		
Nice	Berlin	***	Stuttgart	n.s.	Reutlingen

p<0.05 = *, p<0.01 = **, p<0.001 = ***, n.s. = no significant difference.

Table 6.17: A comparison of the Berlin, Reutlingen and Stuttgart voices

The results show that adolescents from the Stuttgart area are most positive towards speech as it is represented by the Berlin voices, followed by the speech of the Stuttgart voices, and with the speech of the Reutlingen voices trailing behind. In the design of the experiment, the Berlin voices are expected to represent standardised out-group speech, the Stuttgart voices the most standardised local speech, and the Reutlingen voices the least standardised local speech (ch. 3.i.b) to the adolescents. The perceived standardness task (ch. 7.i) will shed more light on these assumptions, but for now it appears that the more standardised the voices are, the more positively they are evaluated by the adolescents. Or put differently, adolescents from the area are clearly least positive towards the speech closest to the local dialect.

a) Academic proficiency and the Reutlingen voices

The only factors to really have an impact on the respondents' evaluations are school type and grade level, and both these had their greatest impact on the evaluations of the Reutlingen voices. Table 6.18 provides an overview of the school type and grade level dependent differences in the evaluations of the Reutlingen voices:

The Reutlingen voices and the influence of school type and grade level.

Scales	School Type					Grade Level		
Intelligent	HAU	n.s	REA	***	GYM	9th	***	10th
Serious	REA	n.s	HAU	*	GYM	9th	**	10th
				**				
Ambitious	HAU	n.s	REA	***	GYM	9th	***	10th
Trustworthy	HAU	n.s	REA	**	GYM	9th	**	10th
Self-assured	HAU	n.s	REA	**	GYM	9th	***	10th
Fascinating	HAU	n.s	REA	***	GYM	9th	***	10th
Cool	REA	n.s	HAU	**	GYM	9th	**	10th
				***				
Nice	HAU	n.s	REA	**	GYM	9th	***	10th

p<0.05 = *, p<0.01 = **, p<0.001 = ***, n.s. = no significant difference, GYM(nasium), REA(lschule), HAU(ptschule)

Table 6.18: The Reutlingen voices and the impact of school type and grade level

Concerning the **school type** factor, both the *Hauptschule* and the *Realschule* respondents are significantly more positive towards the Reutlingen voices than the *Gymnasium* respondents. A similar pattern is discernible in the analysis of the impact of the **grade level** factor. The 9th graders are significantly more positive towards the Reutlingen voices than the 10th graders. A post hoc test (Table 6.14) of the results of a Chi-square test of the distribution of the 9th and 10th graders over the three school types reveals that it is no coincidence. There are significantly more 10th graders than expected amongst the *Gymnasium* respondents. The question is, which of the two factors is more influential? It is clear that the distribution of the 9th graders and the 10th graders over the three school types is skewed: the *Gymnasium* respondents consist of 25% 9th graders and 75% 10th graders, the *Realschule* respondents are all 9th graders, and the *Hauptschule* respondents consist of 77% 9th graders and 23% 10th graders. This might be taken to indicate that the grade level factor is more important than the school type factor. However, the fact that the 9th grade students are younger than the 10th grade students, combined with the fact that the influence of the respondent age factor was too small to have an impact, does not support a stronger effect for grade level.

Maybe it is the case that both school type and grade level represent the same differentiation along a dimension of 'academical proficiency'. As for the school type factor, the *Gymnasium* respondents proved to be the less positive towards the least standardised of the three location-based groups, i.e., the Reutlingen voices. In other words, "[t]he students with the highest academic proficiency (and ambition)" (ch. 4.iv.a, p. 89) are the least positive towards (the most) dialectal speakers. As for the grade level factor, since its impact on evaluations does not seem to depend on the age difference between 9th and 10th grade students, difference in terms of 'academical proficiency'

suggests itself. Regardless of school type, 10th grade students have a longer education than 9th grade students, which can be considered equal to a higher level of academic proficiency.

b) Possible evaluative dimensions

Earlier in this chapter it was shown how B051m is an outlier compared to the other voices and therefore had to be omitted from the statistical analyses (ch. 6.a). However, B051m is not the only voice to stand out. The evaluations of two other male voices, B045m and R014m, are also noteworthy, although neither of them is an outlier like B051m. The means of the respondents' evaluations of the voices (Table 6.1) shows opposite trajectories for these two voices. Diagram 6.4 shows these trajectories clearly (B045m is marked with a bold, dark grey line, R014m with a bold, pale grey line):

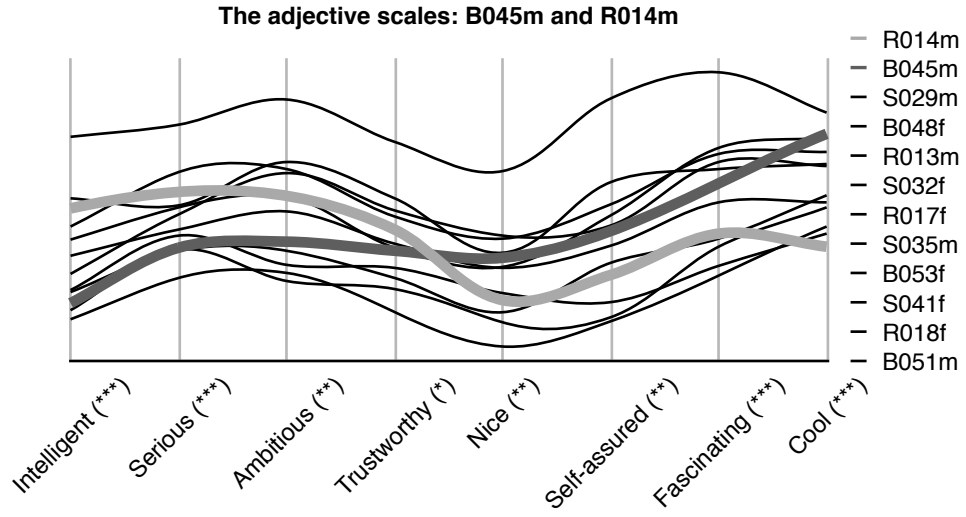


Diagram 6.4: A comparison of B045m and R014m (rankings between 2 (the baseline, most positive) and 5 (least positive). Diff. B045m vs. R014m: *** = p<0.001, ** = p<0.01, and * = p<0.05)

The trajectories intersect between the *Trustworthy* and *Nice* scales. To the left of this intersection B045m is evaluated more positively than R014m, and to the right the opposite is the case. Thus, the trajectories divide the scales into two blocks: *Intelligent*, *Serious*, *Ambitious* and *Trustworthy* on the one hand, and *Self-assured*, *Fascinating*, *Cool* and *Nice* on the other. This division suggests that the adjective scales can be divided into two **evaluative dimensions**. To a degree, the evaluations of the Berlin males, the Reutlingen males and the Stuttgart males supports this division. On the left-hand side scales (*Intelligent*, *Serious*, *Ambitious* and *Trustworthy*) the respondents are significantly more positive towards the Berlin males than towards both of the other male groups. Concerning the right-hand side scales (*Nice*, *Self-assured*, *Fascinating* and *Cool*) the respondents are significantly more positive towards both of the other male groups than towards the Berlin males only on the *Cool* scale (ch. 6.i.b). These results suggest that the adjective scales can be divided into an evaluative dimension consisting of *Intelligent*, *Serious*, *Ambitious* and *Trustworthy*, and one consisting of *Self-assured*, *Fascinating*, *Cool* and *Nice*.

In the LANCHART studies the results of the adjective scales (see ch. 2.ii.a) strongly indicate a division of the scales into two evaluative dimensions: a **superiority** and a **dynamism** dimension (Kristiansen 2009: 171).

The superiority dimension:			**The dynamism dimension:**		
Intelligent (*Klog*)	—	Stupid (*Dum*)	Self-assured (*Selvsikker*)*	—	Insecure (*Usikker*)
Serious (*Seriøs*)	—	Happy-go-lucky (*Ligeglad*)	Fascinating (*Spændende*)	—	Boring (*Kedelig*)
Goal-directed (*Målrettet*)	—	Dull (*Sløv*)	Cool (*Tjekket*)	—	Uncool (*Utjekket*)
Trustworthy (*Til at stole på*)	—	Untrustworthy (*Ikke til at stole på*)	Nice (*Flink*)	—	Repulsive (*Usympatisk*)

The evaluative dimensions of LANCHART(Kristiansen 2009). *Danish originals in brackets

Figure 6.1: The evaluative dimension of the LANCHART results

The pattern suggested by the evaluations of B045m and R014m, and by the evaluations of the Berlin, Reutlingen and Stuttgart males, is very similar to the pattern found in the LANCHART studies (Figure 6.1). To find out more about the evaluative dimensions behind the results of the adjective scales, a factor analysis is carried out to test for connections between the eight scales. A factor analysis tests whether or not two or more of the adjective scales have a comparable impact on the results. It also tests whether or not they can be categorised in the same evaluative dimension. The initial test shows a KMO[34] value of 0.912, which means that the scales (factors) are fit for a factor analysis. However, the ensuing test shows that all eight factors (scales) load on the same component, and that this component explains almost 65% (64.685% — Appendix 6) of the variance found.

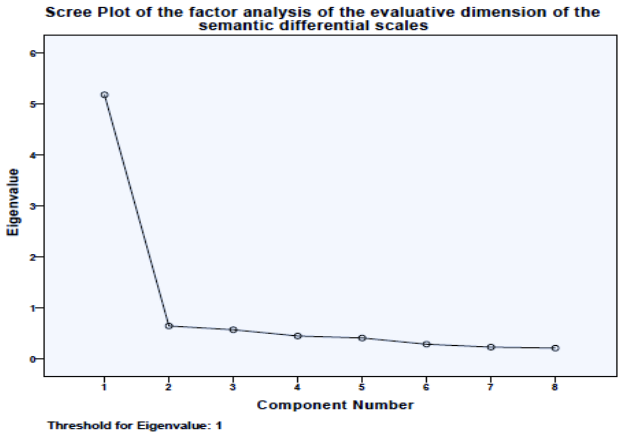


Diagram 6.5: Scree plot of evaluative dimensions

[34] Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin measure of sampling adequacy (IBM Corp. Released 2013. IBM SPSS Statistics for Macintosh, Version 24.0. Armonk, NY: IBM Corp.)

The scree plot shows that there is only one evaluative dimension in the results of this study, that the factors all load on the same component. This is evident by the number of dots (1) to the left of the transition point (at 2 on the x-axis) from a relatively steep to a relatively level curve. This result is based on a threshold at (greater than) 1[35] for the Eigenvalue — which is not undisputed[36]. In addition to this, the fact that only one factor is extracted means that the factors cannot be rotated to facilitate the interpretation of the results. To ensure the possibility of rotating[37] the factors, at least two components must be extracted. Consequently, a second factor analysis is carried out to get a look at the result of rotating the factors. This time the Eigenvalue threshold is replaced by the extraction of a fixed number of components.

A factor analysis compares the results scale for scale, which means that there potentially are eight evaluative dimensions, one for each scale. However, a factor analysis extracting eight components is of little relevance, as each of the scales would most likely load on their own component, due to the variance between the scales. Therefore, an initial number of four components is set for extraction, as this corresponds to the initial proposition of four evaluative dimensions in the LANCHART studies (Kristiansen and Monka 2006: 13). The results of a factor analysis set to extract four components (Appendix 5) still show that one component explains the majority (64.685%) of the total variance in the results (all four explain 85.604%). However, a look at the rotated component matrix shows connections between some of the factors. Table 6.19 shows the results of the factor analysis with four components extracted:

Factor analysis of the adjective scales:
Rotated component matrix* (w. four extracted components)

Factor	Component			
	1	2	3	4
Intelligent	0.488	0.491	0.560	0.011
Serious	0.259	0.291	0.204	0.854
Ambitious	0.147	0.865	0.239	0.275
Trustworthy	0.475	0.641	0.218	0.347
Self-assured	0.247	0.263	0.841	0.297
Fascinating	0.674	0.131	0.429	0.368
Cool	0.876	0.212	0.149	0.256
Nice	0.643	0.488	0.413	0.054

Extraction method: Principal component analysis. Rotation method: Varimax with Kaiser normalisation. *Rotation converged in 7 iterations.

Table 6.19: Factor analysis with four extracted components

[35] Also known as the 'Kaiser-criterion' (http://www.methodenberatung.uzh.ch/de/datenanalyse/interdependenz/reduktion/faktor.html).

[36] http://www.methodenberatung.uzh.ch/de/datenanalyse/interdependenz/reduktion/faktor.html.

[37] Using the common Varimax-Rotation (http://www.methodenberatung.uzh.ch/de/datenanalyse/interdependenz/reduktion/faktor.html).

The higher the value (up to 1), the stronger the connection between a factor and a component is. The common threshold for the strength of a loading is set at (above) 0.3 or 0.4, and the results show that there are plenty of loadings above 0.4. Accordingly, 0.4 will be the threshold for strength of loading implemented here (results above 0.4 are highlighted in grey). If a factor has more than one value above the threshold, then this factor cross-loads on these components. Here, two of the factors (*Nice* and *Intelligent*) load on three different components and another two (*Trustworthy* and *Fascinating*) load on two different components. In the case of such cross-loadings, the difference between the different loadings can be used to eliminate some of them. Depending on the purpose of the factor analysis, the threshold for the cross-load difference (between the highest value and all other cross-loadings) is normally set a 0.20[38]. Above the threshold, a factor can be considered to load on the component with the highest value (highlighted in darker grey). Below the threshold, the factor does not load on any of the components. Here, the 0.20 threshold will be kept in mind, but it will be regarded as more of a guideline than an actual criterion for elimination.

As the four evaluative dimensions proposed for the LANCHART studies were the reason for carrying out an analysis extracting four components, the three dimensions established by Zahn and Hopper (1985), and the two dimensions actually found in the LANCHART results (Kristiansen 2009), will also be taken into account. Consequently, two additional factor analyses are carried out, one extracting three components (explains 79.956% of the variance, Appendix 6), and one extracting two components (explains 72.788 of the variance, Appendix 6). In Table 6.20 the rotated results of both analyses are presented together:

Factor analysis of the adjective scales:
Rotated component matrix (w. three and two extracted components)

Factor	Component*			Component**	
	1	2	3	1	2
Intelligent	0.581	0.672	0.038	0.661	0.494
Serious	0.300	0.269	0.857	0.356	0.679
Ambitious	0.107	0.842	0.387	0.223	0.890
Trustworthy	0.437	0.615	0.437	0.523	0.698
Self-assured	0.503	0.589	0.231	0.579	0.549
Fascinating	0.769	0.256	0.351	0.805	0.319
Cool	0.839	0.197	0.302	0.866	0.235
Nice	0.673	0.590	0.106	0.744	0.456

Extraction method: Principal component analysis. Rotation method: Varimax with Kaiser normalisation. *Rotation converged in 13 iterations. **Rotation convergen in 3 iterations.

Table 6.20: Factor analyses with two and three extracted components

In both of these analyses there are four cross-loadings. Compared to the four cross-loadings in the first analysis (Table 6.19), it is clear that there are some changes. *Intelligent*, *Trustworthy*,

[38] http://www.methodenberatung.uzh.ch/de/datenanalyse/interdependenz/reduktion/faktor.html.

Fascinating and *Nice* are the factors cross-loading in the first analysis (extracting four components), whereas the *Self-assured* factor replaces the *Fascinating* factor in the other two analyses (Table 6.20). There is also some variance in the loading patterns of the three analyses, but none of them provides a conclusive argument for a particular number of extracted components. Considering that the initial factor analysis did show that all eight factors load on the same component (Diagram 6.5), this is no surprise.

However, when all three analyses are taken into account, and only the highest loading for each factor is considered, then there are some connections which suggest more than one evaluative dimension. Seen in comparison to the evaluative dimensions of the LANCHART studies, both the proposed (Kristiansen and Monka 2006:13) and those actually found (Kristiansen 2009: 171; Kristiansen and Monka 2006: 21), and in comparison to Zahn and Hopper's three dimensions (1985: 117-118), the following connections are interesting:

1) *Fascinating*, *Cool* and *Nice* all load on the same component across the three analyses. This suggests the presence of an attractiveness or sociability dimension. The three factors match three of the scales (*Fascinating*, *Cool* and *Nice*) from the proposed sociability dimension in the LANCHART studies (Kristiansen and Monka 2006). These three factors are all concerned "with the qualities of speakers […] which reflect both social and aesthetic appeal", which is how Zahn and Hopper characterise their attractiveness dimension (1985: 119).

2) *Ambitious* and *Trustworthy* load on the same component across the three analyses. This suggests the presence of a superiority dimension. The two factors match two of the scales (*Goal-directed* and *Trustworthy*) from the superiority dimension found in the LANCHART results (Kristiansen 2009). Furthermore,both of them can be categorised as part of the competence segment of the superiority dimension by Zahn and Hopper (1985: 119).

3) The factors of *Intelligent* and *Self-assured* load on the same component in all three analyses. Compared to the dimensions found in the LANCHART studies, the corresponding scales are dynamism dimension scales (Kristiansen 2009). In their work, Zahn and Hopper consider the dynamism dimension to be concerned with "speakers' social power, activity level, and the self-presentational aspects of speech" (1985: 19). *Intelligent* and *Self-assured* both suit this description. The results are not unambiguous, though. When three components are extracted, *Intelligent* and *Self-assured* load on the same component as *Ambitious* and *Trustworthy*. This suggests that they could be superiority factors. Conversely, when two components are extracted, *Intelligent* and *Self-assured* load on the same component as *Fascinating*, *Cool* and *Nice*. This suggests that they are sociability factors, parallel to those from the proposed LANCHART dimensions. In the LANCHART results, the sociability dimension is considered to be an aspect of the dynamism dimension. Accordingly, this supports that *Intelligent* and *Self-assured* should be considered as dynamism scales.

4) Finally, *Serious* loads on its own component when four and three components are extracted, which suggests an independent competence dimension. In the analysis extracting two components, though, *Serious* loads on the same component as *Ambitious* and *Trustworthy,* both of which are considered to be superiority factors. This makes sense, as competence is part of the superiority dimension (Zahn and Hopper 1985: 119).

Keeping the initial factor analysis (Diagram 6.5) in mind, the ensuing analyses do suggest the presence of more than one evaluative dimension (Table 6.19 and 6.20). In their study, Zahn and Hopper (1985) established three evaluative dimensions, superiority, attractiveness and dynamism. Kristiansen and Monka (2006) proposed four evaluative dimensions for the LANCHART studies: two main dimensions, superiority and dynamism, and two secondary dimensions, competence and sociability, considered to be aspects of the main dimensions. The evaluative pattern of the LANCHART results (Kristiansen 2009; Kristiansen and Monka 2006) confirmed the presence of the two main dimensions of superiority and dynamism. However, compared to the initially proposed dimensions, some of the scales had to be redistributed.

The only patterns found in the results of this study, the evaluations of B045m compared to those of R014m, and the evaluations of the male groups, suggest two evaluative dimensions. Compared to the superiority and the dynamism dimensions found in the LANCHART results, the (two component) factor analysis suggests that results of the adjective scales here can be distributed as follows (see 3.i.c for the differing translations of the adjectives):

Two evaluative dimensions in this study:		**The two evaluative dimensions in the LANCHART studies:**	
Comp. 1	**Comp. 2**	**Dynamism**	**Superiority**
	Serious – Frivolous		Conscientious – Happy-go-lucky
	Ambitious – Indolent		Goal-directed – Dull
	Trustworthy – Untrustworthy		Trustworthy – Untrustworthy
Intelligent – Stupid			Intelligent – Stupid
Self-assured – Insecure		Self-assured – Insecure	
Fascinating – Boring		Fascinating – Boring	
Cool – Uncool		Cool – Uncool	
Nice – Disagreeable		Nice – Repulsive	

Figure 6.2: A comparison of evaluative dimensions (adapted from Table 9, Kristiansen 2009: 188)

As the comparison shows, the two evaluative dimensions from the two component factor analysis here are very similar to the two dimensions found in the LANCHART studies, with the *Intelligent* scale as the only exception. This suggests that evaluative dimensions may be relevant for the comparison of the location-based male groups and for the comparison of B45m and R014m as individual voices.

On the level of the location-based voices there are no results to support more than one evaluative dimension. There are no suggestions of an evaluative pattern similar to the one found in the LANCHART results (Kristiansen 2009: 171) in the overall results. Diagram 6.6 depict the evaluative trajectories of the three location-based groups:

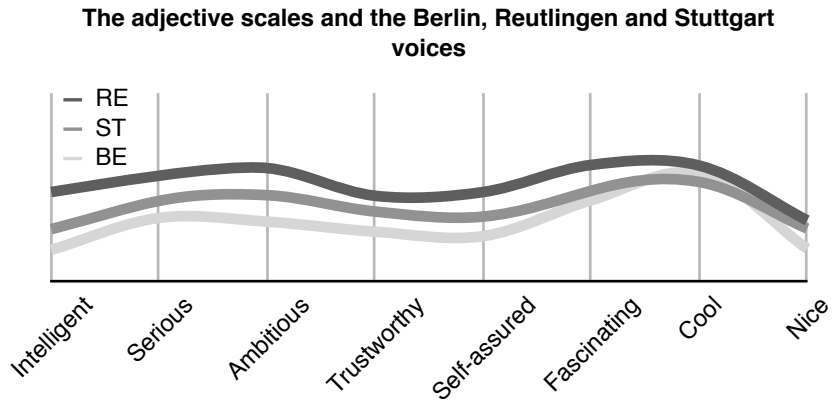


Diagram 6.6: A comparison of the Berlin, Reutlingen and Stuttgart voices (rankings between 2 (baseline, most positive) and 5 (least positive))

If any evaluative dimensions are discernible in the overall results, then it would be that the *Cool* scale constitutes its own evaluative dimension. The *Cool* scale appears to 'behave' differently from the other scales. However, the divergence of the *Cool* scale is not clear or strong enough to emerge in any of the factor analyses. Therefore, the only pattern found in the overall results is that all eight scales behave uniformly.

❖ Chapter 7: The perceived standardness and geographic affiliation tasks

The second part of the SEE consists of two perception tasks, which the respondents have to complete simultaneously: perception of the voices' standardness and of their geographic affiliation. At this stage of the investigation, the respondents have been informed of the dialectal differences and that the voices are from either Berlin, Reutlingen and Stuttgart. Thus, this part of the SEE elicits the respondents conscious perceptions of the voices.

i) The scale for perceived standardness

As already mentioned, the state of Baden-Württemberg dictates that spoken standard German is the norm for language use at all levels of the educational system (ch. 3.i.d). The implementation of spoken standard German as the primary language of teaching has a long tradition in the German educational system (Ammon 1977, 1983, 1989; Rosenberg 1989; Bluhm-Faust 2005). The dialects have no place there, apart from being a topic in the curriculum, and even as such the dialects are largely neglected (Rosenberg 1989: 79-80). Based on this, it is assumed that adolescents from the Stuttgart area consider spoken standard German, *Hochdeutsch*, to be a prestige variety, in terms of education and (professional) competence. The results of the LRT, which will be presented in the next chapter (ch. 8), may be interpreted to support this assumption. *Hochdeutsch* is ranked as number one, on a par with *Schwäbisch* and significantly higher than the remaining seven variety labels. The results of the self-reporting task can also be interpreted to support this, as they reveal more *Hochdeutsch* than *Schwäbisch* speakers amongst the respondents (ch. 5). These results may be seen as a manifestation of the prestige *Hochdeutsch* enjoys amongst adolescents from the Stuttgart area (and most likely amongst adolescents in all of Germany), and of their desire to claim it as their own speech. As yet another approach to the prestige/standardness issue, the students were asked to evaluate the voices on a **standardness** scale. This scale was designed to elicit perceptions of the voices in terms of how *Hochdeutsch* they sound, on a 7-point scale from 'very much' (1) to 'not at all' (7).

a) The Berlin voices sound Hochdeutsch

In Table 7.1 the perceived standardness of the voice is shown, and the results suggest a location-based pattern:

The perceived standardness scale

Speaker	n	Min.	Max.	Std. Dev.	Mean
B045M	233	1	7	1.648	2.21
B048F	235	1	7	1.409	2.66
S041F	235	1	7	1.395	2.86
B053F	235	1	7	1.509	2.93
S032F	235	1	7	1.382	3.02
S029M	235	1	7	1.523	3.28
R017F	235	1	7	1.493	3.32
S035M	235	1	7	1.607	3.69
B051M	234	1	7	1.517	3.78
R013M	235	1	7	1.786	4.60
R018F	234	1	7	1.753	4.64
R014M	234	1	7	1.797	4.92

Table 7.1: The standardness of the individual voices

The Berlin voices (pale grey) are generally perceived to be more standardised than the Reutlingen (darker grey) and Stuttgart voices (white), whereas the Stuttgart voices are generally perceived to be more standardised than the Reutlingen voices. However, the pattern is not clearcut.

Before this pattern is explored further, the evaluations of B045m, R014m and B051m will be treated, as the respondents' reactions to these three voices showed some particularities on the adjective scales (see ch. 6.i.a and ch. 6.iii.b). A series of Wilcoxon signed ranks tests are carried out to find potential significant differences in the perceived standardness of B045m, R014m, and B051m, both in comparison to each other, and in comparison to the other voices (see Appendix 7). B051m attracts particular interest here, as his outlier status means that he was excluded from the statistical analyses of the adjective scales. In the perceived standardness task B051m is perceived to be significantly less standardised than the other Berlin voices. He is also considered to be less standardised than three of the Stuttgart voices and one of the Reutlingen voice samples (R017f). But he is evaluated on a par with S035m and perceived to be significantly more standardised than the remaining three Reutlingen voices. Accordingly, B051m is not considered an outlier here and included in the ensuing statistical tests. Switching the focus to B045m and R014m, Table 7.1 shows that B045m is perceived to be significantly more standardised than all of the other voices, whereas R014m is perceived to be significantly less standardised than all of the other voices. Thus, B045m represents the most standardised, the most *Hochdeutsch*, extreme, and R014m the least standardised, or most dialectal, extreme, amongst the 12 voices on the standardness scales.

Table 7.2 displays the comparison of the Berlin, Reutlingen and Stuttgart voices' perceived level of standardness on the location-based level:

The perceived standardness of the location-based groups							
Berlin	2.60	***	Stuttgart	3.21	***	Reutlingen	4.37

Friedman test (multiple related samples) w. Bonferroni correction for multiple tests, sign. level: *** = p<0.001.

Table 7.2: The standardness of the Berlin, Reutlingen and Stuttgart voices

The respondents perceive the Berlin voices to be more standardised than the other two location-based groups, and they perceive the Stuttgart voices to be more standardised than the Reutlingen voices. Accordingly, to adolescents from the Stuttgart area, the Berlin voices represent the most standardised speech, the Stuttgart voices the most standardised local speech, and the Reutlingen voices the least standardised speech. The Reutlingen voices are, in other words, the most dialectal of the location-based groups.

The gender of the voices may also have an impact on how standardised they are perceived to be, and in Table 7.3 the voices are compared within the genders:

The perceived standardness of the females and of the males — across the location-based groups							
Group	**Mean**	**Diff.**	**Group**	**Mean**	**Diff.**	**Group**	**Mean**
Berlin females	2.80	0.590	Stuttgart females	2.94	0.000	Reutlingen females	3.99
Berlin males	3.00	0,000	Stuttgart males	3.49	0.000	Reutlingen males	4.77

Friedman test (multiple related samples) w. Bonferroni correction for multiple tests, p<0.05.

Table 7.3: The standardness of the females and males across the groups

There is no significant difference in the respondents' evaluations of the Berlin and the Stuttgart females, but in all other cases significant differences are found. These follow the pattern from the overall comparison of the location-based groups (Table 7.2).

Next, the females and the males will be compared within the location-based groups.

The perceived standardness of the genders from each location		
Group	**Mean**	**Diff.**
Berlin females	2.80	0.010
Berlin males	3,00	
Stuttgart femal	2.94	0.000
Stuttgart males	3.49	
Reutlingen fen	3.99	0.000
Reutlingen ma	4.77	

Friedman test (multiple related samples) w. Bonferroni correction for multiple tests, p<0.05.

Table 7.4: The standardness of the females and males within the groups

In all cases, the females are perceived as significantly more standardised than the males. In other words, adolescents from the Stuttgart area associate female speakers more than male speakers with spoken standard German, *Hochdeutsch.*

ii) The geographic affiliation of the voice samples

Alongside the results of the adjective scales, the **geographic affiliation task** is meant to validate that it is feasible to talk about dialectal differences in connection with the evaluations of the voices. If an acceptable proportion of the respondents is able to affiliate the voices with the correct location, then the dialectal differences are considered to be the main trigger of the evaluations elicited with the adjective scales.

a) Locating the voices

In the overview of the results, the percentages above the initial threshold for recognition (highest percentage above 33%) are highlighted in grey. The same goes for the percentages that meets the Swabian-threshold (above 66%) in the column for the Swabian area (to the right of the table).

The geographic affiliation Task

	Stuttgart		Reutlingen		Berlin		NA		Swabian area	
S029M	94	40 %	76	32 %	63	27 %	2	1 %	170	72 %
S032F	112	48 %	62	26 %	59	25 %	2	1 %	174	74 %
S035M	103	44 %	77	33 %	52	22 %	3	1 %	180	77 %
S041F	89	38 %	71	30 %	71	30 %	4	2 %	160	68 %
R013M	89	38 %	108	46 %	36	15 %	2	1 %	197	84 %
R017F	82	35 %	70	30 %	81	35 %	2	1 %	152	65 %
R014M	102	43 %	88	38 %	43	18 %	2	1 %	190	81 %
R018F	78	33 %	99	42 %	55	24 %	3	1 %	177	75 %
B048F	96	41 %	62	26 %	75	32 %	2	1 %	158	67 %
B045M	78	33 %	45	19 %	109	47 %	3	1 %	123	52 %
B053F	52	22 %	57	24 %	124	53 %	2	1 %	109	46 %
B051M	86	37 %	78	33 %	69	29 %	2	1 %	164	70 %

Table 7.5: Locating the voices geographically

It is clear that Kristiansen's threshold for recognition in the LANCHART studies (2009: 176), a percentage of above 50 correct answers, would only be met in one case here: 53% of the respondents affiliate B053f with Berlin. With regard to the threshold set for this study, however, the rate is more acceptable. All four Stuttgart voices are identified as coming from Stuttgart by a proportion of the respondents above the threshold. However, this is only the case with two of the Reutlingen (R013m and R018f) and two of the Berlin (B045m and B053f) voices. One of the Reutlingen voices, R014m, is linked with Reutlingen by 38% of the respondents, which is above the level of random choice (33%), but 43% link him with Stuttgart. None of the three remaining voices,

R017f, B051m, and B048f, is correctly recognised by a proportion of the respondents above the threshold, above the level of random choice. The results in the Swabian area-column are more convincing. They show that the respondents are quite able to recognise the Stuttgart and Reutlingen voices as Swabian. Only one voice, R017f, does not meet the threshold for being recognised as Swabian, but only just (with 65%). To sum up, the Stuttgart voices are generally recognised as coming from Stuttgart and the Reutlingen voices as coming from Reutlingen, although not as clearly, and all of them are generally recognised as Swabian voices. Concerning the Berlin voices, two of them are correctly identified as coming from Berlin, but the other two are linked with Stuttgart.

It is worth noting that in regard to two of the voices, R017f and B051m, there is confusion as to where they are from. Both of them are linked with each of the three locations by approximately a third of the respondents:

- 35% link R017f with Stuttgart, 30% with Reutlingen and 35% with Berlin.
- 37% link B051m with Stuttgart, 33% with Reutlingen and 29% with Berlin.

B051m is clearly an outlier in the results of the adjective scales, not only compared to the rest of the Berlin voices, but also compared to all of the other voices (ch. 6.a), whereas R017f does not stand out in the results of the adjective scales.

If the voices are grouped according to location, and the proportions of the respondents affiliating them correctly with this location is divided accordingly, then the proportion of the respondents recognising them correctly is above the threshold for all three groups: the Berlin voices are recognised correctly by 40.25% of the respondents, the Reutlingen voices by 37.25%, and the Stuttgart voices by 42.5%. The grouped results of the Swabian area-column show that 72.75% link the Stuttgart voices, and 76.15% the Reutlingen voices, with the Swabian area. In combination with the location-based patterns found in the results of the adjective scales (ch. 6), the results here are interpreted to validate the dialectal differences in the voice to be the main trigger of the respondents' evaluative reactions elicited with the adjective scales.

❖ Chapter 8: The results of the label ranking task

In the **LRT** the respondents are presented with nine German variety labels and asked to rank these according to preference. At this stage of the investigation, the respondent are aware of the dialectal differences in the voices; the results are therefore considered to be an expression of their conscious attitudes. In contrast to the adjective scales, the respondents now have the time and information to benefit from the second phase of the evaluative process and offer a deliberated response (Krosnick, Judd, and Wittenbrink 2005: 24ff.).

Three of the nine variety labels in the LRT are of particular interest: *Berlinerisch*, *Hochdeutsch* and *Schwäbisch*. In national surveys *Schwäbisch* and *Berlinerisch* are amongst the most well-known dialects in Germany (Allensbach 1998, 2008; GfdS 2008; Gärtig, Plewnia, and Rothe 2010). The dialectological account here establishes *Schwäbisch* as the local dialect of the Stuttgart area (ch. 4.i and ii), and the results of the self-reporting task establish it as one of the respondents' in-group varieties (ch. 5). Given its well-known status and its frequent occurrences in the pilot studies (3.ii.a), the label *Berlinerisch* can safely be assumed to be known to the respondents (for a discussion of their level of knowledge of *Berlinerisch*). Amongst linguists (e.g. Auer 2004; Scharloth 2005; Meyerhof 2006; Hundt 2009; Lenz 2010; Schmidt 2010; Stoeckle/Svenstrup 2011) *Hochdeutsch* is the preferred label for spoken standard German, and Auer and Spiekermann argue that many Germans grew up with this standard (2011: 174). The pilot studies (3.ii.a) show that *Hochdeutsch* can be assumed to be a well-known label to the respondents. This is confirmed by the results of the self-reporting task, as they show that *Hochdeutsch* is considered by the respondents to be an in-group label (ch. 5).

In the LRT the respondents are asked to rank the nine German varieties presented from 1 ("I like the best") to 9 ("I like the least"). Consequently, in the statistical analysis, the lower the mean of a label in the results, the better the respondents like it. In Table 8.1 the results of the LRT are ordered according to ascending means, according to 'popularity':

LRT: Descriptive Statistiscs – Variety Labels

Variety	n	Min.	Max.	Std. Dev.	Mean
Hochdeutsch	231	1	9	2.375	2.94
Schwäbisch	231	1	9	2.493	3.04
Bayrisch	231	1	9	2.600	4.71
Berlinerisch	228	1	9	2.549	4.86
Schweizerdeutsch	229	1	9	2.783	5.43
Fränkisch	229	1	9	2.174	5.73
Hessisch	230	1	9	2.115	5.76
Sächsisch	231	1	9	2.586	5.89
Plattdeutsch	229	1	9	2.508	6.13

Table 8.1: The rankings of the nine varieties in the LRT

The two top-ranked varieties are identical to the in-group labels found in the self-reporting task (ch. 5): *Hochdeutsch* and *Schwäbisch*[39], and the third label assumed to be relevant here, *Berlinerisch*, is ranked fourth (after *Bayrisch*). In the rest of the analyses the focus will remain on these three labels, and the results for the other six variety labels will not be further investigated.

The differences in the respondents' rankings of *Berlinerisch*, *Hochdeutsch* and *Schwäbisch* are displayed in Table 8.2:

LRT: Variety Labels

Variety	Mean	Diff.	Variety	Mean	Diff.	Variety	Mean
Hochdeutsch	2.94	0.929	Schwäbisch	3.04	0.000	Berlinerisch	4.86

Friedman test (mutiple related samples) w. Bonferroni correction for multiple tests, n = answers, n.s. = no significance, $p<0.05$.

Table 8.2: A comparison of *Berlinerisch*, *Hochdeutsch* and *Schwäbisch*

There is no significant difference in the respondents' rankings of the in-group labels *Hochdeutsch* and *Schwäbisch*, but they are both significantly better 'liked' than the out-group label of *Berlinerisch*. In other words, adolescents from the Stuttgart area have a clear preference for their own speech, *Hochdeutsch* and *Schwäbisch*, over out-group varieties, i.e., *Berlinerisch* alongside the remaining variety labels (the difference to *Bayrisch* is also significant).

i) Important factors in the results of the LRT

As with the other tasks of the questionnaires, the potentially important factors implemented in the design will be tested statistically for their possible impact on the results of the LRT. Table 8.3 provides an overview:

[39] The German labels will be kept (and not translated) in the account of the LRT results, as these are the labels presented to the respondents.

The important factors of the LRT

Factor	Label	n	Test stat.	Difference
Respondent gender	Berlinerisch	228	7052.500	0.202
	Schwäbisch	231	5053.000	0.002
	Hochdeutsch	231	8235.000	0.001
Respondent age	Berlinerisch	228	4.457	0.216
	Schwäbisch	231	13.280	0.004
	Hochdeutsch	231	16.500	0.001
Grade level	Berlinerisch	228	5751.000	0.957
	Schwäbisch	231	7077.500	0.010
	Hochdeutsch	231	4287.500	0.000
School type	Berlinerisch	228	0.284	0.868
	Schwäbisch	231	4.515	0.105
	Hochdeutsch	231	4.348	0.114
Respondent origin	Berlinerisch	228	2.760	0.430
	Schwäbisch	231	9.869	0.020
	Hochdeutsch	231	2.646	0.449
Study location	Berlinerisch	228	5604.000	0.248
	Schwäbisch	231	6195.000	0.795
	Hochdeutsch	231	7350.000	0.030
The self-reporting task	Berlinerisch	228	2.946	0.567
	Schwäbisch	231	45.522	0.000
	Hochdeutsch	231	34.232	0.000

$p<0.05$.

Table 8.3: An overview of the important factors in the LRT

The school type factor yields no significant difference in how *Berlinerisch*, *Hochdeutsch* and *Schwäbisch* are ranked. And none of the other factors yields significant differences in the rankings of *Berlinerisch*. Therefore, only the rankings of the labels *Hochdeutsch* and *Schwäbisch* will be analysed further.

a) The impact of respondent gender

The results for gender show that there are significant differences in how the female and the male respondents rank *Hochdeutsch* and *Schwäbisch*. These are shown in Table 8.4:

The LRT and respondent gender

Label	Gender	n	Mean	Std. dev.	Diff.
Hochdeutsch	Female	127	2.56	2.281	0.001
Hochdeutsch	Male	104	3.40	2.416	
Schwäbisch	Female	127	3.46	2.660	0.002
Schwäbisch	Male	104	2.54	2.181	

Mann-Whitney test (two independent samples), $p<0.05$.

Table 8.4: The impact of respondent gender on the LRT

The results show that female adolescents from the Stuttgart area are more positive towards *Hochdeutsch* than their male peers, who in return are more positive towards *Schwäbisch*.

b) The 14-years-olds prefer Schwäbisch

The factor of respondent age consists of four groups, 14, 15, 16, and 17(+)-year-olds (see ch. 5.iii.b), and in Table 8.5 only the significant differences are included:

The LRT and respondent age

Label	Age	n	Mean	Std. dev	Adj. sign
Hochdeutsch	15	90	3.00	2.440	0.044
Hochdeutsch	14	37	4.19	2.634	
Hochdeutsch	16	85	2.48	2.114	0.001
Hochdeutsch	14	37	4.19	2.634	
Hochdeutsch	17	19	2.26	1.790	0.020
Hochdeutsch	14	37	4.19	2.634	
Schwäbisch	14	37	2.24	2.229	0.003
Schwäbisch	16	85	3.74	2.770	

Kruskal-Wallis test (multiple independent samples) w. Bonferroni correction for multiple tests, p<.05.

Table 8.5: The impact of respondent age on the LRT

The group of 14-year-olds is involved in all comparisons revealing significant differences, as they rank *Schwäbisch* significantly higher than the 16-year-olds, and *Hochdeutsch* significantly lower than all of the other three groups. Accordingly, in the Stuttgart area 14-year-old adolescents are more positive towards *Schwäbisch* and less positive towards *Hochdeutsch* than those aged between 15 and 17.

c) The 10th graders prefer Hochdeutsch — the 9th graders Schwäbisch

In the respondent group there are students from two different grade levels, 9th and 10th grade, across all three school types. The results show a significant difference in the two grade levels rankings of *Hochdeutsch* and *Schwäbisch* both:

The LRT and respondent grade level

Label	Class	n	Mean	Std. dev.	Diff.
Hochdeutsch	10th	76	2.18	1.802	0.000
Hochdeutsch	9th	155	3.31	2.534	
Schwäbisch	9th	155	2.84	2.475	0.010
Schwäbisch	10th	76	3.46	2.495	

Mann-Whitney test (two independent samples), p<0.05.

Table 8.6: The impact of grade level on the LRT

Following the results displayed in Table 8.6, in the Stuttgart area 9th graders are positive towards *Schwäbisch*, and less positive towards *Hochdeutsch*, than are the 10th graders. As there is a close connection between respondents age and grade level (average age in the 9th grade = 15.13 years, and in the 10th grade = 15.93), it will be discussed below whether or not this has an impact on the results.

d) The impact of respondent origin

The initial Kruskal-Wallis test shows a respondent origin dependent significant difference in the rankings of *Schwäbisch*. However, in the following tests a correction for multiple samples was necessary, and the results show that the significance of the differences disappears. This, in combination with very small sample sizes (eg., DE = 10, and N.A. = 2), means that only a comparison of the means for *Schwäbisch* will be treated in Table 8.7:

The LRT and respondent origin: *Schwäbisch*

Origin	Mean	Std. dev
No answer	1.50	0.707
Baden-Württemberg	2.87	2.430
Elsewhere in Germany	4.40	2.716

Comparison of means for the ranking of *Schwäbisch*

Table 8.7: The impact of respondent origin on the rankings of *Schwäbisch*

The respondents who do not give an answer are the most positive towards *Schwäbisch*, followed by those from Baden-Württemberg, and with those from elsewhere in Germany being the least positive towards it. However, none of these differences is significant, and the results therefore cannot be generalised to the adolescents of the Stuttgart area.

e) Stuttgart adolescents prefer Hochdeutsch

The rankings of *Schwäbisch* do not show any study location dependent significant differences, and therefore only the results for *Hochdeutsch* will be displayed here:

The LRT and study location: Hochdeutsch

Location	n	Mean	Std. dev.	Diff.
Stuttgart	89	2.55	2.195	0.030
Other locations	142	3.18	2.457	

Mann-Whitney test (two independent samples), $p<0.05$.

Table 8.8: The impact of study location on the rankings of *Hochdeutsch*

Hochdeutsch is clearly a Stuttgart label, as the respondents from Stuttgart rank it significantly higher than those from the other four locations. Seen in a larger perspective, adolescents from the city of Stuttgart are more positive towards *Hochdeutsch* than adolescents from the surrounding area.

f) You like what you speak

The results show three significant differences in how *Hochdeutsch* is ranked, which is dependent on what the respondents report as their own speech, and four in the rankings of *Schwäbisch*:

The LRT and the self-reported varieties

Label	Self-rep.	n	Mean	Std. dev.	Adj. sign.
Hochdeutsch	Sw.	60	4.02	2.752	0.000
	Ho.	74	2.05	1.979	
Hochdeutsch	Sw.+Ho.	79	2.65	1.754	0.030
	Ho.	74	2.05	1.979	
Hochdeutsch	Ho.	74	2.05	1.979	0.001
	Oth.	9	5.33	2.915	
Schwäbisch	Sw.	60	2.15	2.193	0.000
	Ho.	74	4.03	2.699	
Schwäbisch	Sw.	60	2.15	2.193	0.000
	n.a.	9	5.22	2.386	
Schwäbisch	Sw+/Ho.	79	2.42	1.932	0.001
	Ho.	74	4.03	2.699	
Schwäbisch	Sw.+Ho.	79	2.42	1.932	0.008
	n.a.	9	5.22	2.386	

Kruskal-Wallis Test (multiple independent samples) w. Bonferroni correction for multiple tests, Sw = Schwäbisch, Ho. = Hochdeutsch, Oth. = other, n.a. = no answer, $p<0.05$.

Table 8.9: The impact of self-reported speech on the LRT

The results in Table 8.9 show that there is an interesting connection between what the respondents report speaking and how they rank *Hochdeutsch* and *Schwäbisch* in the LRT. Those who report speaking *Hochdeutsch* rank the label *Hochdeutsch* significantly higher than most of the other groups (on a par with those who do not answer). Those who report speaking *Schwäbisch* or *Schwäbisch+Hochdeutsch* are significantly more positive towards the *Schwäbisch* label than those who report *Hochdeutsch* and those who does not report anything. In other words, adolescents from the Stuttgart area are generally more positive towards (the label that represents) their own speech, compared to (labels for) other ways of speaking.

ii) Summarising and discussing the results of the LRT

No significant differences based on the factors have been found in the rankings of *Berlinerisch*. This indicates that the respondents do not have as intimate and complex a relationship with *Berlinerisch*, as they clearly do with *Hochdeutsch* and *Schwäbisch*. Maybe this is just the result of that the respondents consider *Berlinerisch* to be an out-group label, in the sense that is not relevant to them in the way that *Hochdeutsch* and *Schwäbisch* are. The impact of different factors on the respondents' ranking of these two labels is displayed in Table 8.10:

The important factors in the LRT

	Hochdeutsch			***Schwäbisch***		
Respondent gender	Female	**	Male	Male	**	Female
Respondent age	15	*	14	14	***	16
	16	**	14			
	17	*	14			
Grade level	10th	***	9th	9th	*	10th
Study location	Stutt.	*	REST			
Self-reported variety	Ho.	***	Sw.	Sw.	***	Ho.
	Ho.	**	Sw./Ho.	Sw.	**	n.a.
	Ho.	**	Oth.	Sw./Ho.	**	Ho.
				Sw./Ho.	**	n.a.

Ho. = Hochdeutsch, SW. = Schwäbisch, p<0.05 = *, p<0.01 = **, p<0.001 = ***.

Table 8.10: An overview of the important factors of the LRT

Overall, the results of the LRT show that adolescents from the Stuttgart area harbour positive attitudes towards their own speech, towards *Hochdeutsch* and *Schwäbisch*. Accordingly, these two labels are considered to cover the in-group speech of the adolescents, which they clearly rate higher than out-group speech, for instance represented by the remaining seven labels in the LRT.

a) Gender matters

The statistical analyses show that respondent gender matters in the LRT. According to the results, female adolescents from the Stuttgart area are more positive towards *Hochdeutsch*, and less positive towards *Schwäbisch*, than their male peers are. However, these results may be connected with the results of the self-reporting task. Of the female respondents 39% report *Hochdeutsch*, which is the largest proportion, 33% *Schwäbisch-Hochdeutsch* and 20% *Schwäbisch*. Amongst the male respondents 34% report *Schwäbisch-Hochdeutsch*, 32% *Schwäbisch* and 24% *Hochdeutsch* (see ch. 5). The Chi-Square test, however, does not reveal a significant difference in what the female and the male respondents report to speak (Table 5.4), but the adjusted standardised residuals of the post hoc test indicate some variation. Notably less female and more male respondents than expected report *Schwäbisch*, and notably more female and less male

respondents report *Hochdeutsch* (Table 5.5). In Table 8.11 the gender-based results for the LRT and the self-reporting task are listed:

The LRT and the self-reporting task: respondent gender

	Hochdeutsch			***Schwäbisch***		
The LRT (sign. diff.)	Female	**	Male	Male	**	Female
The self-reporting task (adj. std. resid.)	Female		Male	Male		Female
	◊ 2		**◊ -2**	**◊ 2**		**◊ -2**

sign. diff = difference found with the Mann-Whitney U test, adj. std. resid. = adjusted standardised residuals found with a post hoc test of Chi-Square results, $p<0.01$ = **, ◊ **2** = adj. std. resid. > 2.00, ◊ **-2** = adj. std. resid. < -2.00.

Table 8.11: The impact of respondent gender on the LRT and self-reported speech (adapted from Tables 8.4 and 5.5)

Despite the lack of significant differences in what the female and the male respondents report, there still seems to be a connection. The largest proportion of the female respondents, which is notably more than expected, report *Hochdeutsch* as their own speech, and they are significantly more positive towards the *Hochdeutsch* label than the male respondents in the LRT. As to the male respondents, the connection is not quite as clear. It is only the second largest proportion of the male respondents, which is still notably more than expected, who report *Schwäbisch*, but they are still significantly more positive than the female respondents towards the *Schwäbisch* label in the LRT. Taken together, the results of the self-reporting task and the LRT indicate that *Hochdeutsch* is more of an in-group label to the female respondents than to the male respondents, and vice versa concerning *Schwäbisch*. Seen in the perspective of the standardisation process, as put forth by Auer and Spiekermann (2011, here, ch. 4.ii), these results indicate that female adolescents from the Stuttgart area are spearheading the change from the dialect(s) to the (spoken) standard on the ideological level, and that the male adolescents are lagging behind.

b) The connection between age and grade level

The average age of the two different grade levels suggests that there may be a connection between the factors of respondent age and grade level. The respondents attending 9th grade are 15.13 years old on average, and those attending 10th grade are 15.93, which makes a difference of almost a year. If the four age groups are reduced to two in an attempt to approximate these two averages, then the analysis can be carried out with one group of 14+15-year-olds (129 respondents) and one group of 16+17(+)-year-olds (106 respondents). The results are shown in Table 8.12:

The LRT and respondent age: redistributed age groups

Variety	Age	n	Mean	Std. dev.	Diff.
Hochdeutsch	14+15	127	3.35	2.546	0.002
Hochdeutsch	16+17	104	2.44	2.052	
Schwäbisch	14+15	127	2.65	2.318	0.003
Schwäbisch	16+17	104	3.52	2.625	

Mann-Whitney test (two independent samples), $p<0.05$.

Table 8.12: The impact of age-groups on the LRT

The results of the analysis of the redistributed age groups resemble those of the analysis of the grade level. The 14+15-year-olds rank the *Hochdeutsch* label significantly lower and the *Schwäbisch* label significantly higher than the 16+17(+)-year-olds, which corresponds to the rankings of the 9th and the 10th grade students (Table 8.6). Accordingly, there is a strong connection between the factors of respondent age and grade level and their impact on the results of the LRT. Adolescents from the Stuttgart area who are 14 or 15 years old and attend 9th grade are more positive towards the *Schwäbisch* label than those who are 16 or 17 years old and attend 10th grade, and vice versa concerning the *Hochdeutsch* label. When this is seen in relation to the standardisation process, the 16-17 year old 10th graders become the frontrunners amongst Stuttgart area adolescents in the *conscious* ideological up- and downgrading of the competing speech varieties.

c) Stuttgart adolescents speak and like Hochdeutsch

There is a significant difference in how the respondents from Stuttgart and the respondents from the other four locations rank *Hochdeutsch* in the LRT, and there seems to be a connection between this result and those of the self-reporting task. Both sets of results are displayed in Table 8.13:

The LRT and the self-reporting task: study locations

	Hochdeutsch		
The LRT (sign. diff.)	Stuttgart	*	Other locations
The self-reporting task (adj. std. resid.)	Stuttgart		Other locations
	◊ 2, ***		**◊ -2**, ***

sign. diff = difference found with the Mann-Whitney U test, adj. std. resid. = adjusted standardised residuals found with a post hoc test of Chi-Square results, $p<0.05$ = *, **◊ 2** = adj. std. resid. > 2.00, **◊ -2** = adj. std. resid. < -2.00.

Table 8.13: The impact of study location on the LRT and self-reported speech (adapted from Tables 8.8 and 5.10)

In the LRT the Stuttgart respondents rank the *Hochdeutsch* label significantly higher than the respondents from the other locations. With regard to the self-reporting task, the percentages show that 50% of the Stuttgart respondents report *Hochdeutsch* and only 21% of the respondents from

the other locations. The statistical analysis of these numbers shows that significantly more Stuttgart respondents report *Hochdeutsch* than expected, and significantly fewer respondents than expected from the other locations report it (see ch. 5.iii.f). According to these findings, *Hochdeutsch* is considered more of an in-group label by adolescents in Stuttgart, compared to adolescents from the surrounding area. Furthermore, Stuttgart adolescents are more positive than adolescents from the surrounding area towards *Hochdeutsch*. Seen in the perspective of the standardisation process, Stuttgart adolescents spearhead the standardisation on the ideological level with the adolescents from the surrounding area trailing behind.

❖ Chapter 9: The results of the group interviews

This study is an investigation of lay people's attitudes to language use and the ideologies behind these attitudes. So far this has been explored by analysing and interpreting quantitative data collected by means of the SEE (ch. 6 and 7) and the LRT (ch. 8). The qualitative data collected in the group interviews are expected to add to the complexity of the attitudinal description by "facilitat[ing] deeper insights into the cultural processes" (Garrett 2005: 1258), responsible for the evaluative patterns found in the quantitative data.

i) The metalinguistic constructions of *Hochdeutsch* and *Schwäbisch*

The participants in the group interviews were found amongst the respondents of the experimental study. In groups of four (one of five and one of six) the adolescents were invited to talk about and discuss different ways of speaking in the Stuttgart area. The different ways of speaking that the participants touch on in the interviews are classified as registers in the analysis, and the aim is to show how the participants construct these registers metalinguistically — how they enregister the registers (Agha 2003, 2005, 2007). The registers of particular interest are *Hochdeutsch* and *Schwäbisch*, as the results of the self-reporting task show that the respondents regard these two as in-group registers (ch. 5). The metalinguistic constructions establish the limitations and extensions of the domains of usage, the indexical fields (Eckert 2008), of *Hochdeutsch* and *Schwäbisch*. The formation of the indexical fields is based on language ideologies, as their symbolic power governs the way the participants think about and react to the language variation — it governs their language attitudes. Uncovered by the analysis, these ideologies will be an important part in explaining the respondents' evaluative reactions in the SEE and thereby the attitudes of adolescents from the Stuttgart area.

a) The appropriate register for school

School is a recurrent topic in the interviews, which is no coincidence. Firstly, the interviews are recorded in the participants' schools, which means that the setting is an obvious invitation to deal with language use in school during the interviews. Secondly, to many children and adolescents, school is the first context in which they are required to deal with language variation and use in an analytical and interpretative way. In school they are expected to develop a certain amount of eloquence, and they are tasked with learning one of more foreign languages. In addition to this, in Baden-Württemberg, they are expected to master spoken standard German (http://www.km-bw.de/,Lfr/Startseite/Schule/Sprachfoerderung), should they not do so beforehand. Concerning written language, most children learn to read and write in school, and later they are required to write essays on given topics and write grammatically correct. Furthermore, in the final years of their basic school education they are expected to also analyse and interpret other people's texts. Accordingly, the school plays a major role in the language development of most people, as it is in school that they learn to deal with language in a critical way. Thirdly, due to its major role in the

students' language development, the school is an important normative influence on their language use and attitudes. In school, students not only encounter a strong normative culture of correct and incorrect, both in terms of answering questions and solving assignments, and in terms of spelling and writing correctly, but also in terms of the way they themselves speak. As the analysis of Excerpt 1 shows, the adolescents constitute relatively restrictive norms for language use in the educational system.

Excerpt 1: *"grundsätzlich spricht man eher hochdeutsch"*

LASA (Language Attitudes in the Stuttgart Area) corpus, recording: 01-R-INT, time: 00:02:56:00 — 00:03:55:31, participants: ALINA, ALICIA, ANNA, and EX1 (fieldworker).

001	EX1:	benutzt ihr (0.3) irgendwann hochdeutsch
002		(1.0)
003	EX1:	oder ist das normal hochdeutsch zu reden
004		(0.9)
005	ALI N:	ja wir reden eigentlich schon EHER (0.2) hochdeutsch als schwäbisch also
006		(0.4)
007	ALIC:	aber andere leute hören es glaube ich [trotzdem] (0.5) man hört es irgendwie
008	ANN:	[ja] dass [(xxx)]
009	ALiN:	[ja] das ist
010	ANN:	[dass man aus dem süden kommt gel]
011	ALIN:	[man hört woher man kommt aber] grundsätzlich spricht man eher hochdeutsch als (0.3)
012		(xxx) (0.2) also dialekte
013		(0.5)
014	EX1:	[hm_hm]
015	ANN:	[und] (0.1) ich denke auch im unterricht °h [klar] passiert es einem mal dass mann
016	???:	[((clears throat))]
017	ANN:	bisschen °h aus versehen ins schwäbische kommt aber °h da gebe ich mir mal mühe dass
018		ich auch ziemlich (0.5) FORMAL spreche so °h for allem in deutschunterricht oder so
019		kommt drauf an °h in welchem unterricht °hh da: ich glaube da achten die lehrer auch
020		drauf wir hatten mal in der fünften klasse eine °h lehrer also °h da wo wir von der
021		grundschule also aus dem ort wo ich ko# herkomme °h da is# gehö# wa# sprechen alle
022		dann schwäbisch oder viele °hh hier runter in die schule °h hier (0.4) und dann hat er
023		gleich zu uns gesagt ja °h wir sollen doch lernen °h ein bisschen h° im unterricht
024		hochdeutsch zu sprechen °h am anfang war es schwierig aber jetzt hat man sich es in der
025		schule so (xxx) angewöhnt

[TRANSLATION]

001	EX1:	do you sometime use hochdeutsch
002		
003	EX1:	or is it normal to speak hochdeutsch
004		
005	ALIN:	yes we do speak hochdeutsch rather than schwäbisch really like
006		
007	ALIC:	but other people can still hear it i think somehow you can still hear it
008	ANN:	yes that (xxx)
009	ALIN:	yes it is

010	ANN:	that we are from the south right
011	ALIN:	you can hear where your are from but basically you speak hochdeutsch rather than
012		(xxx) like dialects
013		
014	EX1:	hm_hm
015	ANN:	and i think in class of course it can happen that you
016	???:	((clears throat))
017	ANN:	like accidentally speak schwäbisch but then again i always make an effort to
018		that i speak quite formally like especially in german class or like
019		it depends on which class it is i think the teachers also pay attention
020		to it we once had in the fifth grade a teacher like back when we came from
021		elementary school like from the place that i come from everybody speaks
022		schwäbisch or many do down to school here and then he
023		said to us straightaway well we have to learn kind of in class
024		to speak hochdeutsch in the beginning it was difficult but now you in school you (xxx) have
025		gotten used to it

Tags: ‘srp’, ‘pcn’, ’cxt’, ‘nrm’, ‘aso’ and ‘geo’.

At the beginning of this excerpt, the fieldworker asks the participants if they sometimes speak *Hochdeutsch* (li. 001). A long pause follows (li. 002), and as none of the participants responds, the fieldworker rephrases the question as to whether or not it is normal to speak *Hochdeutsch* (li. 003). After another long pause (li. 004), the participants (ALINA, ALICIA, and ANNA) respond (li. 005-012). In addition to *Hochdeutsch* ALINA adds *Schwäbisch* as a relevant register for answering the fieldworker’s question (li. 005). She uses the comparative construction *eher…als* (*rather…than*) to juxtapose the two registers’ relevance as the participants’ own speech, in favour of *Hochdeutsch*. ALICIA modifies this by pointing out that even though they may speak *Hochdeutsch*, other people are likely to hear that they are from the Swabian area (li. 007). ALINA tries to negotiate ALICIA’s modification (li. 008), but is interrupted by ANNA (li. 009). She supports ALICIA’s statement and elaborates on it by referring to their geographic origin in *Süden* (*the South* (of Germany)). Her utterance is rounded of with the southern German (vernacular) interjected particle *gel* (*right*) (li. 010), which clearly marks her as coming from this region. After acknowledging (*man hört woher man kommt* (*you can hear where you are from*) — li. 011) ALINA’s modification of her own initial statement, ALICIA succeeds with her second attempt at negotiating this modification (li. 011-012). She opens the negotiation with the conjunction *aber* (*but*) followed by the adverb *grundsätzlich* (*strictly speaking*) (li. 011). The conjunction serves as a modification of her initial support of ALINA’s statement, and the adverb serves to emphasise her own statement. She then repeats her own statement but replaces *Schwäbisch* with *Dialekt* (*dialect*) (li. 012). Doing so, she establishes *Schwäbisch* as a dialect that can be related to *Hochdeutsch* in a dialect-standard context. From talking about two different ways of speaking and their relevance to the participants as in-group registers, she juxtaposes *Hochdeutsch* and *Schwäbisch* as parts of the dialect-standard

situation in the Stuttgart area. A juxtaposition that favours *Hochdeutsch*, the spoken standard, over *Schwäbisch*, the dialect, as the participants' own speech.

After the fieldworker confirms his attention and encourages the participants to continue (li. 014), ANNA takes the floor. She initiates a lengthy monologue (li. 015-025) about the relevance of *Hochdeutsch* and *Schwäbisch* in school by talking about language use in class (li. 015). Using the school as frame of reference, ANNA juxtaposes the two registers in terms of use and domains of use. She points out how she, on occasion, still speaks *Schwäbisch* by accident in class (li. 015-017), and that she has to apply herself to avoid doing so (li. 017-018). Instead, she tries to speak more formally (than *Schwäbisch*), especially in German class (li. 017-018). Clearly, *Schwäbisch* does not belong in the *Gymnasium*. She refers to the teachers as the gatekeepers who ensure that *Hochdeutsch* is the norm for language use in school (019-024). In an account of the transition from *Grundschule* (elementary school) to the *Gymnasium*[40] (in next large town – Reutlingen) (li. 020-024) she relates *Schwäbisch* and *Hochdeutsch* to the two school types. She implicitly indicates that *Schwäbisch* is used and accepted in *Grundschule*, as she establishes it as the in-group register of where she comes from (li. 020-022). In *Gymnasium*, however, she explains how a teacher told her to use *Hochdeutsch* in school (li. 020-024). At the beginning, the switch from *Schwäbisch* to *Hochdeutsch* was difficult but over time it has become a matter of routine (li. 024-025).

ANNA establishes *Schwäbisch* as the register she grew up speaking and still speaks with the people of her home village. The social background information from the experimental study shows that she comes from a village in the mountain range *Schwäbische Alb*, which is situated to the south of Reutlingen. In the interviews, the participants often refer to the *Schwäbisch Alb* as an area where the Swabian dialect is (still) spoken on a regular basis. Coming from a dialect area, she, in her own account, grew up speaking *Schwäbisch*, also in *Grundschule*. This is, however, as far as the domain for speaking *Schwäbisch* goes within the educational system. ANNA's account clearly shows that *Hochdeutsch* is <u>the</u> register of the *Gymnasium*, and that *Schwäbisch* is considered misplaced there (li. 017-018 and 023-025).

The two parts of this excerpt demonstrate how the participants consider *Hochdeutsch* to be their own speech, and how the educational system imposes this way of speaking as the norm. In the first part, apart from the negotiation about whether or not the participants speak *Hochdeutsch* with an identifiable *Schwäbisch* accent (li. 001-012), *Hochdeutsch* is undisputedly established as the participants' in-group register. In the second part, ANNA's account (li. 015-025) shows how *Schwäbisch* can be used and accepted in *Grundschule* in a dialect speaking area, but that *Hochdeutsch* is the norm for language use in *Gymnasium*. She identifies the teachers as the gatekeepers of the norm for language use in the educational system, as they, supposedly, allow *Schwäbisch* in *Grundschule* (in a dialect speaking area) and impose *Hochdeutsch* in *Gymnasium*.

[40] Her utterance does not mention *Gymnasium* directly, but the participants in this interview are all *Gymnasium* students.

Consequently, the norms of the educational systems demand that adolescents who grew up as dialect speakers switch from dialect to standard if they attend *Gymnasium*.

b) The prevalence of Hochdeutsch

In Excerpt 2 the participants talk about which way of speaking they are going to teach their children. By introducing this topic, the fieldworker gets the participants to reveal their perspective on the future prospects of *Hochdeutsch* and *Schwäbisch*. Considering that these adolescents will grow up to influence future language ideologies, their perspective on the future use of *Hochdeutsch* and *Schwäbisch* is highly relevant. They could potentially change the norms governing the language use of the Stuttgart area. However, given their utterances in Excerpt 2, as well as in the other interviews, this change is likely to be no more than minor adjustments to the ongoing standardisation.

Excerpt 2: *"weil die zukunft in hochdeutsch liegt"*

LASA (Language Attitudes in the Stuttgart Area) corpus, recording: 11-S-INT, time: 00:45:11:30 — 00:45:59:20, participants: KEVIN, KANYA, KORA, KARSTEN, and EX1 (fieldworker).

001	EX1:	werd (0.1) eure kinder (0.5) hochdeutsch oder schwäbisch (0.5) sprechen
002	KEV:	weiß man nicht ich glaube [eher hochdeutsch]
003	KAN:	[hochdeutsch]
004	KOR:	hochdeutsch
005		(0.5)
006	KEV:	außer wenn es sich jetzt in den nächsten (0.3) keine ahnung zwanzig jahren verändert
007		(0.7) dann halt dann (0.2) muss man lernen das was da ist
008		(0.5)
009	KAR:	also wenn ich kinder bekommen würde dann: würde ich ihnen auf jeden fall hochdeutsch
010		beibringen
011		(0.5)
012	EX1:	kein schwäbisch
013		(1.6)
014	KAR:	also nicht also ist nicht relevant ist nicht notwendig für die zukunft kommt halt darauf an
015		wenn auf einmal irgendwelche leute darauf °h auf die idee kommen dauernd nur
016		schwäbisch zu reden dann würde das kind ja von selber reden
017	KEV:	(xxx)
018	EX1:	aber warum ist es dass nicht notwendig vor der zukunft ist
019		(1.5)
020	KAR:	WEIL (0.3) die ZUKUNFT in hochdeutsch liegt
021	EX1:	ist schwierig das weiß ich
022	KEV:	°h
023	KAR:	weil in hochdeutsch die zukunft liegt eigentlich
024		(1.3)
025	EX1:	glaubt ihr alle dass es so ist
026		(0.5)
027	KAR:	ja

[TRANSLATION]

001 EX1: are your children going to speak hochdeutsch or schwäbisch
002 KEV: it is hard to say rather hochdeutsch i think
003 KAN: hochdeutsch
004 KOR: hochdeutsch
005
006 KEV: except of course if things change in the next i do not know twenty years
007 then like then you will have to learn whatever is there
008
009 KEV: right if i have children than i would definitely teach them
010 hochdeutsch
011
012 EX1: no schwäbisch
013
014 KAR: like not it is like not relevant it is not necessary for the future it depends on
015 if suddenly some people come up with the idea to permanently just speak
016 schwäbisch then the child would on its own speak
017 KEV: (xxx)
018 EX1: but why is it not necessary for the future
019
020 KAR: BECAUSE hochdeutsch is the FUTURE
021 EX1: is difficult i know
022 KEV: °h
023 KAR: because hochdeutsch is the future actually
024
025 EX1: do you all think so
026 KAN: yes

Tags: 'nrm', 'age', and 'att'.

The fieldworker introduces the topic of the future prospects of *Hochdeutsch* and *Schwäbisch*, by asking the participants which of the two registers their children will be speaking (li. 001). By mentioning both ways of speaking by name, he ensures that these are the registers treated, and by introducing the participants' possible future offspring, he ensures that the focus is on the future of the two registers. In their responses to the question all four participants agree on *Hochdeutsch* (li. 002-010). KEVIN is the first one to respond (li. 002). He starts by asserting that the answer is only a guess, with the utterance *weiß man nicht* (*no one knows (for sure)/it is hard to say*). This indicates that he is either unsure of the answer, or he is worried about exposing himself, socially speaking, by answering. Still cautious, modifying with *ich glaube* (*I think*) and the adverb *eher* (*rather/more likely*), he states that his children are going to speak *Hochdeutsch*. KANYA (li. 003) and KORA (li. 004) simply answer *Hochdeutsch*, which indicates that they are less tentative about the difficulty or social consequences of answering the question. KEVIN then submits a reservation to his initial (cautious) answer (li. 006-007). He opens with the conjunction *außer wenn* (*unless*) and hypothesises that if things change in the next 20 years, then his children will have to learn what is spoken then (li. 006-007). This reasoning implies a principle of necessity, which governs language use. KEVIN assumes *Hochdeutsch* to be the majority register (*das was da ist* (*that which is there*) —

li. 007) of the Stuttgart area/Germany, and therefore his children will grow up speaking *Hochdeutsch*. If another register becomes the majority register, then, according to KEVIN, you have to adapt (*dann muss man lernen* (*then you have to learn*) — li. 007)) and use that register.

KARSTEN is very clear in his answer to the question concerning the speech of the participants' future children (li. 009-010). He uses the prepositional construction *auf jeden fall* (*definitely*) (li. 009) to emphasise that he intends to raise his children to be *Hochdeutsch* speakers. The fieldworker reacts to this statement by enquiring about *Schwäbisch* as potential way of speaking for KARSTEN's future children (li. 012). He responds that *Schwäbisch* is not relevant, is not necessary, for the future (li. 014), and then continues his argument in line with KEVIN's principle of necessity. He contends that if *Schwäbisch* should somehow become the majority register, then his child would automatically switch to *Schwäbisch* (li. 014-016). After an unintelligible utterance from KEVIN (li. 017), the fieldworker asks why *Schwäbisch* is not necessary for the future (li. 018). With emphasis on the first word of his utterance, the conjunction *WEIL* (*because*), KARSTEN responds with the statement *weil die zukunft in hochdeutsch liegt* (*because hochdeutsch is the future*) (li. 020). The fieldworker assures the participants that he is aware of the difficult character of the question (li. 021), before KARSTEN repeats his statement (li. 023). This time without the emphasis on *weil*, but with the adverb *eigentlich* (*actually*) added. This could either be meant as validation of the statement, or it could be meant as a modification of the assertiveness character of the statement. This is followed by a long pause (li. 024) after which the fieldworker addresses the remaining participants and asks about their stance on KARSTEN's statement (li. 025), to which KANYA utters a supportive response (li. 027).

In this excerpt, KEVIN and KARSTEN both use a principle of necessity to argue for speakers to adapt to a majority register. This shows an awareness of a normative linguistic setting and an awareness of the existence of a standard language ideology, which, in their opinion, governs the language use of the Stuttgart area. In their reasoning KEVIN and KARSTEN both assume *Hochdeutsch* to be the majority register, and therefore *Hochdeutsch* is what they intend to pass on to their future children. According to them, the status of *Hochdeutsch* as the majority register leaves no room for *Schwäbisch*, at least not when it comes to their future offspring. They do not consider *Schwäbisch* to be part of their future, or the future in general, and they more or less regard it as a relic of the past with no future. In contrast to *Hochdeutsch*, there is simply no future in speaking *Schwäbisch*, as KARSTEN puts it (li. 014).

c) The symbolic power of Hochdeutsch

In the interviews, the participants often refer to their own speech as 'normal' and they state that it is 'normal' to speak *Hochdeutsch*. Taking the results of the self-reporting task (ch. 5) into account, it is safe to assume that to a large extent the participants regard *Hochdeutsch* as their in-group register. However, they are also convinced that they do not speak 'proper' (*richtiges*) or 'pure' (*reines*) *Hochdeutsch*. Throughout the interviews, the participants negotiate how

Hochdeutsch they actually speak and how much their Swabian origin is detectable in their speech. Some argue that there will always be an influence, others that it is possible to learn to suppress such an influence, but none of them questions the standard status of *Hochdeutsch*. As Excerpt 3 shows, *Hochdeutsch* enjoys the prestige of being the all but undisputed ideal for spoken German amongst the participants.

Excerpt 3: *"hochdeutsch ist wie gott"*

LASA (Language Attitudes in the Stuttgart Area) corpus, recording: 14-KT-INT, time: 00:21:31:23 — 00:24:00:60, participants: NILS, NATALIE, NOAH, NIKLAS, NADINE, NINA, and EX1 (fieldworker).

001	EX1:	ist schwäbisch nicht normal (1.2) du hast früher gesagt du sprichst eher normal (0.3) deine
002		mutter schwäbisch spricht
003		(1.2)
004	NOA:	ja: ich denke jetzt mal früher war es schon normal aber (0.6) also (0.3) jetzt: (1.0)
005		ich glaube nicht dass es also HIER in der region (0.5) das ist schon von der region her
006		abhängig also jetzt wenn auf der alb ist es normal aber hier denke ich jetzt mal (0.4) ist
007		hochdeutsch (1.3) mehr normal
008		(1.4)
009	EX1:	seid ihr einig
010		(2.2)
011	NAT:	ja ich finde irgendwie (0.3) dass wir alle nicht so richtig hochdeutsch reden
012	???:	hm_hm h°
013	NAT:	also irgendwie hat jeder so einen leichten akzent (0.3) [finde ich]
014	NOA:	[nein] aber das wird halt so
015		angestrebt dass man so: (0.3) bisschen drauf achtet dass man [jetzt nicht so voll]
016	NAT:	[ja klar]
017		(0.8)
018	EX1:	was ist richtig hochdeutsch
019		(1.3)
020	NAT:	ja: (1.6) keine Ahnung [(xxx)]
021	NIK:	[wenn] man so redet wie man schreibt
022	NIN:	ja
023	NAT:	[ja]
024	EX1:	[aber] redet ne# jemand wie man schreibt
025	NAD:	nein man [schriebt ja]
026	NAT:	[eher nicht]
027	NAD:	wenn man irgendwie einen aufsatz schreibt dann: sagt man ja auch °h SIE IST GEGANGEN
028		und (0.4) oder (0.2) man sagt zum beispiel auch wenn man so normal alltagssprache (xxx)
029		sagt man auch (0.2) DES und nicht DAS und °h NICH und nicht NICHT oder NE oder [(0.3)]
030	???:	[h°]
031	NAD:	ja <<laughing>irgendwie sowas>
032	EX1:	ISCH ist
033	NAD:	ja (0.5) genau
034		(2.5)
035	EX1:	aber: w: was ist dann (0.7) richtiges hochdeutsch also (0.7) es gibt ja niemanden die (0.4)
036		ständig ICH HABE sagen die sagen ICH HAB
037	NOA:	doch in Hanover zum beispiel also die reden ziemlich niedersachsen
038		(0.7)

039 EX1: da redet man: (0.2) [reinstes hochdeutsch]
040 NOA: [ziemlich hochdeutsch] ja
041 (0.5)
042 EX1: warum ist das so
043 NOA: hhh° aber vielleicht weil es eine ziemlich moderne stadt ist wo in den letzten jahren °h
044 ganz viele hingezogen sind (0.9) ja und da dann keine kultur gabe die davor war die wie
045 hier im schwabenland ((laughter))
046 ???: [((laughter))]
047 ???: [((laughter))]
048 ???: [((laughter))]
049 EX1: seid ihr einig (0.8) ist Hanover kulturlos
050 ???: [((laughter))]
051 ???: [((laughter))]
052 ???: [((laughter))]
053 ???: [((laughter))]
054 ???: [((laughter))]
055 ???: [((laughter))]
056 (2.7)
057 EX1: o# seid ihr einig dass man in Hanover hochdeutsch spricht
058 NAD: ja
059 (1.5)
060 NAT: ich weiß es nicht [((laughter))]
061 ???: [((laughter))]
062 ???: [((laughter))]
063 NIN: [ich habe es halt auch gehört] meine mutter hat gesagt ja in: Hanover
064 spricht man das reinste deutsch irgendwie anscheinend aber ich weiß es auch nicht
065 <<laughing>genau>
066 (1.4)
067 EX1: warum: warum glaubt ihr dass man sowas sagt
068 ???: ((clears throat))
069 (1.4)
070 NOA: ja weil man halt so ein: ideal irgendwie braucht wo sich daran festhalten kann das ist wie
071 (0.1) mit gott oder so (0.3) dass leute halt an was (0.6) glauben MÜSSEN (0.4) um
072 irgendwie (0.4) irgend# sich irgendwie festhalten zu können (0.8) so was anstreben zu
073 können

[TRANSLATION]

001 EX1: is schwäbisch not normal earlier you said that you speak more normal that your mother
002 speaks schwäbisch
003
004 NOA: yes i think like it used to be normal right but like nowadays
005 i think that HERE in this area that it really depends on the area
006 like if you in the alb area it is normal but i think is
007 hochdeutsch more normal
008
009 EX1: do you agree
010
011 NAT: yes i think somehow that none of us speak like real hochdeutsch
012 ???: hm_hm
013 NAT: like somehow everybody has a slight accent i think
014 NOA: no but like

015 you try to kind of make an effort to like not entirely
016 NAT: exactly
017
018 EX1: what is real hochdeutsch
019
020 NAT: well i do not know (xxx)
021 NIK: when you speak like you write
022 NIN: yes
023 NAT: yes
024 EX1: but does som# anybody speak like they write
025 NAD: no you write
026 NAT: not really
027 NAD: if you write an essay or so then you say SIE IST GEGANGEN
028 and or for instance you say when you like everyday speech (xxx)
029 you say like DES and not DAS and NICH and not NICHT or NE or
030 ???:
031 NAD: yes <<laughing>like that>
032 EX1: ISCH IST
033 NAD: yes exactly
034
035 EX1: but w: what is real hochdeutsch then i mean nobody
036 says ICH HABE they say ICH HAB
037 NOA: there is in Hanover for instance they speak quite niedersachsen
038
039 EX1: there they speak pure hochdeutsch
040 NOA: quite hochdeutsch yes
041
042 EX1: and why is that
043 NOA: but maybe because it is such a modern city where in the last couple of years
044 at lot of people moved there yes and there used to be no culture kind of
045 like here in schwabenland ((laughter))
046 ???: ((laughter))
047 ???: ((laughter))
048 ???: ((laughter))
049 EX1: do you agree that Hanover has no culture
050 ???: ((laughter))
051 ???: ((laughter))
052 ???: ((laughter))
053 ???: ((laughter))
054 ???: ((laughter))
055 ???: ((laughter))
056
057 EX1: o# do you agree that they speak hochdeutsch in Hanover
058 BAD: yes
059
060 NAT: i do not know ((laughter))
061 ???: ((laughter))
062 ???: ((laughter))
063 NIN: i also heard that my mother says like in Hanover
064 they speak pure hochdeutsch sort of apparently but i also do not know
065 <<laughing>exactly>

066
067 EX1: why why do you think that you say that
068 ???: ((clears throat))
069
070 NOA: yes well you sort of need an ideal which you can hold on to it is like
071 god or so that people like have to believe in order to
072 somehow so# to somehow be able to hold on to something to be able to strive for
073 something

Tags: ‘srp’, ‘fea’, ‘cxt’, ‘nrm’, ‘geo’, ‘prp’, ‘age’, and ‘sty’.

At the beginning of the excerpt, the fieldworker addresses NOAH and, referring to one of his earlier utterances, asks him why it is not normal to speak *Schwäbisch* (li. 001-002). In the utterance referred to, NOAH compares his own way of speaking, *eher normal* (*rather normal*), with that of his mother, *Schwäbisch*. After a long pause (li. 003), NOAH explains that the juxtaposition of his and his mother’s way of speaking is based on factors of age and geography (li. 004-007). It used to be (*früher* (*earlier*) — li. 004) normal to speak *Schwäbisch*, but nowadays (*jetzt* (*now*) — li. 004 and 006), in the Stuttgart area (*HIER in der region* (*here in the region*) — li. 005; and *hier* (*here*) — li. 006), it is more normal to speak *Hochdeutsch*. Referring to the Stuttgart area as a *Hochdeutsch* speaking region shows that he counts himself and the other participants amongst the *Hochdeutsch* speakers. In contrast to this, he clearly attributes speaking *Schwäbisch* to the generation(s) preceding his own, exemplified by his mother, although he does concede that in certain regions it is still normal to speak *Schwäbisch* (li. 005-006). He identifies the *Schwäbische Alb* as such a region.

This is followed by a long pause (li. 008), and as none of the other participants seems to want to contribute to this of their own accord, the fieldworker asks them directly if they agree with NOAH (li. 009). Another long pause follows (li. 010), before NATALIE replies that she agrees up to a point (li. 011 and 013). NATALIE opens with the adverb *irgendwie* (*somehow* — li. 011). This could be a way to tone down the conflict potential of her challenge of NOAH’s suggestion of the participants being *Hochdeutsch* and not *Schwäbisch* speakers. She argues that they (the participants) do not speak proper or correct (*richtig*) *Hochdeutsch*, which is supported by one of the other participants (li. 012). NATALIE also opens her second contribution with *irgendwie* (*somehow*) (li. 013), most likely with the same intention as the first time. She elaborates that everybody (*jeder*) has a slight accent, but as she concludes her statement NOAH interrupts (li. 014-015). He acknowledges that they (the participants and their peers from the area) do not speak proper *Hochdeutsch* (*nein* (no) — li. 014), but he argues that proper *Hochdeutsch* is what they aspire to speak (li. 014-015). At the end of NOAH’s utterance, NATALIE interrupts to agree with him (li. 016), showing her acknowledgement of their negotiated mutual consensus.

This first passage (li. 001-016) of the excerpt shows that the participants (NOAH and NATALIE at least) consider themselves to be *Hochdeutsch* rather than *Schwäbisch* speakers, but that they speak *Hochdeutsch* with a *Schwäbisch* influence. According to NOAH this is a relatively new

phenomenon, connected to age and geography. It used to be common to speak *Schwäbisch* (he considers his own mother to speak *Schwäbisch*), and in some regions (e.g. *Schwäbisch Alb*) it still is, but nowadays not in the Stuttgart area (Kirchheim unter Teck).

The fieldworker continues by enquiring about proper *Hochdeutsch* (li. 018). Based on NOAH's and NATALIE's negotiation of what kind of *Hochdeutsch* the participants speak themselves, the fieldworker assumes that it is possible to speak proper *Hochdeutsch* as well as *Hochdeutsch* with different (regional) accents. The question is followed by long pause (li. 019), which indicates that the participants consider the question to be either rather complex to answer, or they are worried of exposing themselves. Finally, NATALIE responds by stating her ignorance of the subject (li. 020). The prolonged vowel of her *ja* (*yes*) and her long pause (1.6 seconds) before continuing with *keine ahnung* (*i really do not know*), indicates her insecurity about her response. Before she can continue, NIKLAS interrupts her with a more assertive response (li. 021), as he states that proper *Hochdeutsch* is when you speak just like you write. In other words, it is the spoken form of the (codified) norm for written standard German. This definition is supported by NINA and NATALIE (li. 022 and 023), but the fieldworker challenges the statement by asking if anybody speaks exactly like they write (li. 024). This question makes NADINE (li. 025) and NATALIE (li. 026) revise their initial stance, which clearly shows that the fieldworker has left the role of the objective and neutral observer/interviewer. Such a clear manipulation of the participants would, in most cases, be considered a mistake on behalf of the fieldworker, leading to the passage being discarded as unfit for analysis. In this case, however, this violation prompts the participants to elaborate on the relationship between written and spoken language.

NADINE's elaboration on her response to the fieldworker's challenging question (li. 027-029 and 031) is a characterisation of the gap between sounds uttered in speech and sounds represented in writing. She pronounces the sentence *sie ist gegangen* (*she went/left*) (li. 027) with an exaggerated diction to illustrate the written language of an essay or a school assignment. In contrast to this she positions *alltagssprache* (*everyday speech*) (li. 028), which she characterises by pointing out differences between the pronunciation and the spelling of the words *das* (*the/this/that*, etc.) and *nicht* (*no/not*, etc.) (li. 029). In support of NADINE's utterance, the fieldworker offers the word *ist* (*is*) pronounced with a palatalised /s/ (and deletion of /t/) as an instance of everyday speech (li. 032). However, the palatalised /s/ alludes not only to the everyday pronunciation of the *ist*, it also refers to the Swabian dialect. The palatalisation of /s/ does occur in spoken standard German but only in /sp/ and /st/ constructions in syllabic onset (Spiekermann 2008: 69). In all other positions the occurrences of a palatalised /s/ are non-standard, as it is the case of the word *ist*. Such occurrences are typical of the entire Alemannic area, including the Swabian area, (Spiekermann 2008: 69), "and [it] is often associated with the state of Baden-Württemberg by outsiders" (Auer and Spiekermann 2011: 169). Accordingly, the fieldworker's reference is, intentionally or not, more directed more at *Schwäbisch* than at everyday speech. Nevertheless, NADINE's acknowledgement

of the example (li. 033) indicates that she considers the reference to be directed at everyday speech.

After a long pause (li. 034), the fieldworker repeats his question about proper *Hochdeutsch* (li. 035-036). This time he takes the proposed differences between spoken and written language into account, by pointing out that nobody pronounces every single letter of every single word. NOAH is quick to disagree, as he points out that some people do (li. 037). He refers to the city of Hanover and the state of *Niedersachsen* (Lower Saxony) as places where people speak proper *Hochdeutsch* (li. 037). The fieldworker reacts to this statement by asking if the purest (*reinste*) *Hochdeutsch* is spoken in that area (li. 039). NOAH confirms this, but modifies to quite or rather (*ziemlich*) *Hochdeutsch* (li. 040), which indicates some caution on his part. The fieldworker then asks why people from Hanover and Niedersachsen are considered to speak 'the most' *Hochdeutsch* (li. 042). In his answer to this, NOAH refers to the city of Hanover and juxtaposes it with the Swabian area (li. 043-045). He speculates that the reason for the rather pure/proper *Hochdeutsch* of the Hanover inhabitants, is that it is such a modern city, having experienced a rise in population in the recent years[41], mainly due to newcomers. These two arguments, the modernity of the city and the amount of newcomers, he uses to support the claim that there is little or no shared cultural heritage in Hanover, as opposed to the Swabian area. He finishes the statement off by laughing (li. 045), which indicates that he is uncertain about his own line of argumentation. The fact that the response from at least three of the other participants is laughter (li. 046-048), also suggests that they too find the line of argument a little far-fetched.

NOAH's line of argument, although it causes himself and the other participants to burst into laughter, is still interesting. The association of the city as a melting pot with *Hochdeutsch* suggests that the latter functions as a German lingua franca, capable of mediating the communication between people from different places and regions. NOAH juxtaposes the 'multicultural' setting of Hanover with the Swabian area. This indicates that he considers the latter to be inhabited by people, whose families have been living there for generations. As a result, the Swabian area is home to a rich and strong cultural heritage. He implicitly assumes the Swabian dialect to be part of this cultural heritage, and therefore it must have a strong influence on the *Hochdeutsch* which he regards himself and the other participants to speak. Following NOAH's line of argumentation, the 'purity' of *Hochdeutsch* has a strong connection with mobility and tradition. Mobility furthers the use of *Hochdeutsch* and tradition works against it. The mobility of the 'masses', who have moved to Hanover, results in a mixing and/or loss of different regional traditions and ways of speaking. Accordingly, these people have need of a lingua franca for communication, they need *Hochdeutsch*. The cultural and linguistic diversity leads to an all but pure pronunciation of *Hochdeutsch*, void of dialectal or regional influences. As a contrast to this, NOAH singles out the

[41] This is in fact not the case. The population of Hanover has remained relatively constant showing figures above 490.000 from 1953 (495.130) to 2016 (532.864) (https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Einwohnerentwicklung_von_Hannover and https://www.statistik.niedersachsen.de/).

Swabian area as a place of strong cultural traditions. With this juxtaposition, he implicitly links non-mobile inhabitants of the Swabian area with a strong cultural tradition and strong dialects. The dialects of the Swabian area are so strong that they influence the *Hochdeutsch* he, nevertheless, considers his own generation to speak. Accordingly, they do not speak entirely pure or proper *Hochdeutsch*.

In the final part of the excerpt, the fieldworker further encourages the high spirits by asking the other participants if they also find Hanover to be lacking a cultural heritage (li. 049). This triggers another round of laughter (li. 050-055), which is followed by a long pause (li. 056). The fieldworker then tries to get the interview back on track by asking if the other participants also find that people in Hanover speak *Hochdeutsch* (li. 057). NADINE confirms her general agreement (li. 058), but none of the remaining participants responds immediately. After another long pause (li. 059), NATALIE points out that she does not know if it is so. She finishes the utterance off with a laughter (li. 060), and two of the other participants join in (li. 061 and 062). This time the laughter seems more to have a character of uncertainty than the preceding high spirited laughter, which indicates that it is a difficult question for the participants to answer. NINA interrupts the laughter and adds that she has heard that people in Hanover speak *Hochdeutsch* (li. 063-065). She accredits her mother with the statement that people from Hanover speak the purest (*Hoch)deutsch* (*reinste deutsch* — li. 064). By referring to the words of her mother (*meine mutter hat gesagt* (*my mother said*)— li. 063) she emphasises that what she knows, she knows from hearsay rather than personal experience. She surrounds her statement with uncertainty, not only through the hearsay reference, but also through the use of the adverbs *irgendwie* (*somehow*/*kind of* — li. 064) and *anscheinend* (*apparently* — li. 064). Furthermore, she rounds off the utterance by pointing out that she does not know for sure (*ich weiß es auch nicht genau* — li. 064-065) and accompanies this with a little laughter (li. 065). Her entire utterances gives off an air of insecurity, about how to respond to the fieldworker's question.

After yet another long pause, the fieldworker tries another approach. He asks why, in the participants' opinion, do people associate *Hochdeutsch* with Hanover (li. 067). This is also followed by a long pause (li. 069), which indicates a continued uncertainty on behalf of the participants. Eventually NOAH breaks the silence (li. 070-073). His response is more concerned with why he considers *Hochdeutsch* essential, than with the association of *Hochdeutsch* with Hanover. He argues for the necessity of a stable ideological structure (li. 070), which serves as reference point (*wo [man] sich daran festhalten kann* — li. 070 and *um irgendwie sich irgendwie festhalten zu können* — li. 071-072) and exemplary ideal (*so was anstreben zu können* — li. 072-073) for spoken language. He compares the necessity of such a spoken language ideal with the necessity of God for (Christian) religious believers (*ist wie gott oder so dass leute halt an was glauben müssen* — li. 070-071). Apart from being rather extravagant, this comparison testifies to the 'omnipotent' status *Hochdeutsch* enjoys amongst the participants of these interviews — and amongst the participants of the other interviews too.

There is no doubt that the participants regard *Hochdeutsch* as their own speech. They do admit to having some regional, *Schwäbisch*, influence in their speech, but they essentially consider themselves *Hochdeutsch* speakers. To them, *Schwäbisch* belongs to generations past, or in certain (rural) regions. Their negotiation of the 'purity' of their *Hochdeutsch* pronunciation in the beginning of the excerpt, shows that they do not consider themselves to be model *Hochdeutsch* speakers. They consider pure *Hochdeutsch* to be the spoken realisation of the norm for written standard German, and they contend that model speakers can be found in the city of Hanover and the state of *Niedersachsen* (Lower Saxony). Based on assumptions about mobility and population growth, the participants argue for the cultural composition of Hanover as the reason for its inhabitants being model *Hochdeutsch* speakers. Although this line of argumentation rests upon a false premise (see footnote 41, p. 146), the connection of mobility and modernity with standardised speech is still interesting. In particular in the light of the comparison with the Swabian area, which they regard as a region of little mobility and, therefore, a strong dialectal tradition. Throughout the excerpt, nobody questions the primacy they attribute to *Hochdeutsch*. They consider themselves to be living in an area with a strong dialectal tradition extending to their parents' generation, but at the same time they consider themselves *Hochdeutsch* speakers. None of them questions this apparent shift from *Schwäbisch* to *Hochdeutsch* from one generation to the next. In fact, the symbolic power of *Hochdeutsch* is so strong that they even compare the necessity of it with that of the necessity of God for (the Christian) religion.

ii) The exclusiveness of *Schwäbisch*

Excerpts 1-3 above are all examples of how the interview participants express more positive attitudes towards *Hochdeutsch* than towards *Schwäbisch*. *Schwäbisch* does not seem to enjoy a particularly high status amongst adolescents from the Stuttgart area, at least not compared to *Hochdeutsch*. This is, also to a large extent the case in the group interviews, but there are instances in which the participants construct *Schwäbisch* as a desirable register. Excerpts 4-9 show how it may be a difficult task to obtain the other participants' acknowledgment of a claim to be an authentic *Schwäbisch* speaker. The excerpts are all from the same interview and recount BRUNO's endeavours to be acknowledged as a *Schwäbisch* speaker throughout the interview, and the other participants', BEATE in particular, continuous dismissals of his claim.

Before the analysis of the ongoing negotiation of BRUNO's access to *Schwäbisch* begins, some background information about BEATE and him are appropriate. Unfortunately, they participated in the pilot study and therefore did not participate in the SEE, nor did they provide detailed background information. Only data from their self-reporting tasks, from their open label ranking task (OLRT — see ch. 3.ii.a), and where they are from, are available. Both of them are from Stuttgart, where they attend the 10th grade at a *Gymnasium*. BRUNO ranked *Schwäbisch*, *Bayrisch* (Bavarian) and *Sächsisch* (Saxon) as top three in his OLRT, and BEATE ranked *Hochdeutsch*,

Schwäbisch and *Bayrisch* (Bavarian) as top three. In the self-reporting task they both reported to speak *Hochdeutsch*.

a) BEATE and BRUNO and their self-reported speech

In the passage preceding Excerpt 4, the fieldworker launched the interview by asking the participants about the top rankings in their open label ranking tasks. BRUNO says he ranked *Schwäbisch* on top because his father grew up in the Swabian dialect area and speaks *Schwäbisch*. BEATE states that she ranked *Hochdeutsch* on top because she does not like dialects much. The fieldworker's next question concerns the participants' answers in the self-reporting task:

Excerpt 4: *"was wir sprechen"*

LASA (Language Attitudes in the Stuttgart Area) corpus, recording: 02-S-INT, time: 00:01:29:29 — 00:02:00:88, participants: BRUNO, BEATE, BASTIAN, and EX1 (fieldworker).

001	EX1:	und was habt ihr geschrieben unter: was ihr spricht
002		(1.7)
003	BRU:	was wir sprechen
004	EX1:	ja
005	BRU:	ähm auch (0.9) hochdeutsch and schwäbisch also hochdeutsch mit schwäbischem: ähm °hh
006		akzent so: bisschen (0.2) also ja (0.4) gerade wie ich vorher gesagt habe weil: einfach
007		mein vater auch (0.7) schwabe ist und von daher: ist es vielleicht so ein bisschen auf mich
008		übergegangen und von meiner umwelt auch
009	EX1:	hm_hm
010		(0.3)
011	???:	[(xxx)]
012	BEA:	[also] ich habe nur hochdeutsch weil ich kann gar nicht schwäbisch glaube ich (0.2) also:
013		bisschen aber (0.3) eigentlich nur hochdeutsch

[TRANSLATION]

001	EX1:	and what did you write under what you speak
002		
003	BRU:	what we speak
004	EX1:	yes
005	BRU:	ehm also hochdeutsch and schwäbisch that is hochdeutsch with swabian ehm
006		accent a little like yeah as i just said because simply
007		my father is a swabian and therefore it has maybe kind of
008		been passed on to me and from my surroundings as well
009	EX1:	hm_hm
010		
011	???:	[(xxx)]
012	BEA:	[well] i just wrote hochdeutsch because i can't speak schwäbisch at all i guess well
013		maybe a little but just hochdeutsch actually

Tags: 'srp', 'cxt', 'geo, 'meq'.

The fieldworker's question is followed by a long pause (li. 002). This indicates either insecurity as to how to respond to the question, or that the participants need time to recall what they actually wrote in the self-reporting task. After the pause, BRUNO asks a confirming question (li. 003) before he responds (li. 005-008), and then BEATE responds (li. 012-013). As BRUNO's answer is the most interesting for the analysis, BEATE's response will be treated first. She states that she wrote *Hochdeutsch* in the self-reporting task, and she motivates this with her lack of proficiency in *Schwäbisch*. This is in accordance with her stated motivation for ranking *Hochdeutsch* on top in the OLRT, and it clearly shows that she does not consider herself a dialect speaker.

BRUNO answers that he speaks *Hochdeutsch* and *Schwäbisch*, which he modifies to *Hochdeutsch* with a *Schwäbisch* accent (li. 005-006). He motivates this with his father's Swabian background and the fact that he himself lives in the Swabian area (li. 007-008). This statement is very interesting, as he only wrote *Hochdeutsch* in the self-reporting task. There are a number of reasons which could be the cause of this discrepancy:

1. It may be contextually conditioned, as filling in a questionnaire is a much less exposing task, socially speaking, than uttering your affinities and opinions face-to-face in a group interview. BRUNO may think that claiming to speak only *Hochdeutsch* as more exposing than claiming to speak *Hochdeutsch* and *Schwäbisch*.
2. BRUNO may fall victim to his own response to the fieldworker's first question, in which he reasons that he ranks *Schwäbisch* on top in the OLRT because his father is Swabian. He reiterates this motivation after stating that he wrote *Hochdeutsch* and *Schwäbisch* in the self-reporting task. This indicates that once his Swabian heritage had been established, he cannot, or does not wish to, abandon this claim to *Schwäbisch*.
3. BRUNO may believe that a claim to *Schwäbisch* will be associated with positive social values by the fieldworker and (perhaps also) the other interview participants. Accordingly, a proficiency in *Schwäbisch* will put him in a more positive light.
4. Maybe BRUNO does not hear the fieldworker's question properly. The question is followed by a long pause (li. 002), after which BRUNO asks *was wir sprechen* (*what we speak* — li. 003). The fieldworker confirms this as the essence of the question (li. 004), and then BRUNO initiates his answer (li. 005-008). It may be that BRUNO simply misses the reference to the self-reporting task and therefore he does not consider his answer to be related to it.
5. It may simply be that BRUNO forgot what he wrote in the self-reporting task and that he genuinely believes that he wrote *Hochdeutsch* and *Schwäbisch*, instead of just *Hochdeutsch*.

No matter which one, or which combination, of these reasons is the motivation for his answer to the fieldworker's question, the discrepancy between his answer in the questionnaire and that of the interview is meaningful. As the following excepts will show, the claim to *Schwäbisch* is

important to BRUNO. With this in mind, number two and three on the list above seem the most feasible of the five possible reasons.

b) BEATE's first instance of gatekeeping

The passage presented in Excerpt 5 takes place about five minutes after the passage presented in Excerpt 4, on the basis of which we established that BEATE distances herself from *Schwäbisch*, whereas BRUNO claims it as an in-group register. In the part of the interview lying between Excerpts 4 and 5, the participants have been discussing whether it is embarrassing to speak *Schwäbisch*, or whether it is something to be proud of. BEATE argues in favour of it being embarrassing, and BRUNO is more in favour of being proud of speaking *Schwäbisch*:

Excerpt 5: *"du redest ja auch nicht richtig schwäbisch"*

LASA (Language Attitudes in the Stuttgart Area) corpus, recording: 02-S-INT, time: 00:07:49:79 — 00:08:22:44, participants: BRUNO, BEATE, and EX1 (fieldworker).

001	EX1:	wo redest du schwäbisch
002		(1.0)
003	BRU:	eigentlich ähm (1.0) schwierig also ich glaube ich rede auch vor allem mit meinen
004		freunden eher schwäbisch und zuhause (0.5) mit meinem vater vor allem auch und (1.5)
005		ich glaube sch# nicht schwäbisch rede ich (0.6) eher (0.9) eher bei formellen anlässen so
006		auf dem amt im ratshau# im rathaus (1.2) oder: (0.2) in der [schule oder so]
007	BEA:	[ha (aber) du redest] ja auch
008		nicht richtig schwäbisch [eigentlich]
009	BRU:	[nein] [nur]
010	EX1:	[aber]
011	BRU:	nur so kleine (0.5) [kleine sachen] manchmal fetzen [so: (xxx)]
012	BEA:	[das hört man]
013	BEA:	[hört man] kaum raus

[TRANSLATION]

001	EX1:	where do you speak schwäbisch
002		
003	BRU:	actually ehm difficult well i guess i also speak primarily with my
004		friends more schwäbisch and at home with my father primarily too and
005		i guess sch# not schwäbisch i speak more more on formal occasions like
006		in an administrative office in tonw ha# in town hall or in school or so
007	BEA:	ha (but) you kind of do not really
008		speak schwäbisch actually
009	BRU:	no only
010	EX1:	but
011	BRU:	only small small things sometimes snippets like (xxx)
012	BEA:	you can hardly
013	BEA:	you can hardly hear it

Tags: 'srp', 'cxt', 'nrm', and 'use'.

Following up on BRUNO's statements about being proud to speak *Schwäbisch*, the fieldworker enquires about when and where he speaks it (li. 001). A long pause follows (li. 002), which indicates either insecurity or the need for contemplation, before BRUNO answers (li. 003-006). After a false start, *eigentlich ähm* (*actually ehm*) and some hesitation, *schwierig also ich glaube* (*difficult well i guess*) (li. 003), BRUNO explains that he speaks *Schwäbisch* primarily with his friends and at home with his father (li. 003-004). The false start and the hesitation in BRUNO's utterance indicate that he is either uncertain as to what he should answer, or that he is apprehensive about exposing himself to the judgement of the other participants. Considering BRUNO's ongoing struggles to claim an identity as a *Schwäbisch* speaker during the interview, the latter seems the more plausible of the two.

Before BRUNO gets to finish his utterance (li. 006), BEATE interrupts to dispute his proficiency in *Schwäbisch* (li. 007). BRUNO in return interrupts BEATE towards the end of her utterance to negotiate this challenge (li. 009 and 010). However, BEATE persists and interrupts him twice, once without success, to have the last word on the matter (li. 012 and 013). She clearly disagrees with the fieldworker's casting of BRUNO as a *Schwäbisch* speaker, and with BRUNO's claim to be a *Schwäbisch* speaker. BRUNO tries to negotiate her rejection of his access to *Schwäbisch* by somewhat agreeing and modifying his claim, *nein […] machmal fetzen* so (*no […] sometimes snippets like* — li. 009 and 011), but he does not challenge her statement directly. Accordingly, BEATE establishes herself as an expert on authentic *Schwäbisch*, and as a gatekeeper of access to it, which BRUNO acknowledges to a large extent. He even lets her have the last word, as she interrupts him to state *das […] hört man kaum raus* (*you […] can hardly hear it* — li. 012 and 013), referring to his *Schwäbisch*.

c) BEATE's second instance of gatekeeping

A couple of minutes after BEATE's first instance of gatekeeping, the fieldworker tries to encourage the participants to discuss *Schwäbisch* (Excerpt 6). He does this by juxtaposing the fact that two of them claim to speak *Schwäbisch* (and *Hochdeutsch* — BRUNO and BASTIAN) with their own stereotypes of *Schwäbisch* speakers (li. 001-003 and 008).

Excerpt 6: *"die reden auch kein schwäbisch"*

LASA (Language Attitudes in the Stuttgart Area) corpus, recording: 02-S-INT, time: 00:10:25:30 — 00:10:48:30, participants: BRUNO, BASTIAN, BEATE and EX1 (fieldworker).

001	EX1:	ja ich finde es interessant weil i# weil ihr redet (0.5) i# zwei von euch sagt dass ihr ähm
002		bisschen hochdeutsch mit schwädi# schwäbisch redet aber es ist ja (0.5) trotzdem ein
003		bisschen pin# peinlich schwäbisch zu reden oder
004		(1.3)
005	BRU:	a: wa: (ach was) [(0.4) quatsch]
006	BAS:	[nein muss ab#]
007	BEA:	[((laughter))]

008 EX1: nein aber man ist ein bauer: ist lächerlich: [also]
009 BEA: [die reden] ja nicht wirklich schwäbisch also:
010 die reden (0.2) so redet denke ich mal jeder so ein bisschen in stuttgart aber (0.2)
011 schwäbisch das (0.4) [gibt es] aber ist was ganz anderes
012 ???: [nein]

[TRANSLATION]

001 EX1: yes i find it interesting because y# because speak y# two of you say that you ehm
002 speak somewhat hochdeutsch with schwädi# schwäbisch but it is still a
003 little im# embarrassing to speak schwäbisch is it not
004
005 BRU: really nonsense
006 BAS: no but it doe#
007 BEA: ((laughter))
008 EX1: no but you are boorish sound foolish like
009 BEA: they do really speak schwäbisch like
010 they speak everybody speaks a little like that in stuttgart i guess but
011 there is schwäbisch but it is something entirely different
012 ???: no

Tags: 'srp', 'nrm', 'att', 'aso', 'geo', 'pcn', and 'sty'.

The fieldworker juxtaposes their claim to be *Schwäbisch* speakers with earlier comments that it can be embarrassing to speak *Schwäbisch* (li. 001-003). BRUNO responds with the comment *a: wa: quatsch* (li. 005), which appears to be stylised *Schwäbisch* for *ach was quatsch* (*really nonsense*). Employing stylised *Schwäbisch* here functions as an ironic comment to the juxtaposition made by the fieldworker. BRUNO plays on the stereotype, that it is embarrassing to speak *Schwäbisch* by stating that it is not embarrassing to speak it, but he does this in stylised *Schwäbisch*. Accordingly, the form of his utterances contrasts its content, which labels it as ironic.

BASTIAN tries to argue against the fieldworker's statement (li. 007), but he is interrupted by BEATE's laughter (li. 008). It is difficult to tell whether she is laughing because she finds the fieldworker's juxtaposition funny, or whether it is a response to BRUNO's stylised utterance. The fieldworker carries on by emphasising two stereotypes about *Schwäbisch* offered by the participants earlier in the interview, that it sounds boorish (*man ist ein bauer*) and foolish (*ist lächerlich*) (li. 008). After this, BEATE once again takes the floor as the expert on *Schwäbisch*, and the gatekeeper of access to it. She points out that BRUNO and BASTIAN do not really speak *Schwäbisch* (li. 009). Instead, she argues that they speak like everybody else in Stuttgart (li. 010), and that this way of speaking has nothing to do with *Schwäbisch*, although *Schwäbisch* is spoken in Stuttgart (li. 011). This time she regulates not only BRUNO's but also BASTIAN's access to *Schwäbisch*, and she also establishes *Schwäbisch* as a minority register in Stuttgart, as it is not how everybody (*jeder* — li. 010) speaks.

d) The participants' own Schwäbisch

Excerpt 7 comes immediately after Excerpt 6, and it serves to show BEATE's unassailable status as the expert on *Schwäbisch* — even when it is about the *Schwäbisch* the participants speak themselves.

Excerpt 7: *"Neuschwäbisch"*

LASA (Language Attitudes in the Stuttgart Area) corpus, recording: 02-S-INT, time: 00:10:48:33 — 00:11:23:79, participants: BASTIAN, BEATE, BENJAMIN, BRUNO, and EX1 (fieldworker).

001 BAS: (xxx)
002 EX1: gibt es stuttgarter schwäbisch [schwäbisch]
003 BAS: [(xxx xxx)]
004 BRU: [ja] [ja da gibt es ein city schwäbisch]
005 BEA: [ja] [genau so nur einen leichten] akzent
006 aber das [ist] (0.7) also
007 BRU: [ja]
008 BAS: ja es es ist so es gibt ein stuttgarter schwäbisch ein [wirkliches schwäbisch] was
009 BEA: [(xxx)]
010 BAS: wirklich nach schwäbisch klingt aber es gibt auch das was wir reden eben
011 BEA: ja eben [dieses]
012 BEN: [ja]
013 BRU: [dieses neu] neuschwäbisch ich glaube [dafür gibt es noch keine definition]
014 EX1: [was ist das]
015 EX1: [neuschwäbisch cool das ist ein cooler
016 ausdruck]
017 BRU: [also (0.3) oder]
018 BEA: [das ist auch so bisschen so ist auch] so eine [jugendsprache] schon das
019 BAS: [ja es ist hat]
020 BEN: [(xxx xxx)]
021 BEA: nur [(0.6)] auch schon [so:] (0.5) GEH MER (0.2) anstatt GEHEN WIR das ist
022 einfach
023 BEN: [jugendschwäbisch]
024 BRU: [ja]
025 BEA: so auch abkürzungen und das ist dann (0.4) sagt man hier halt so ein bisschen aber
026 das ist (0.2) eher so ein bisschen jugendsprache als jetzt richtig schwäbisch weil
027 schwäbisch da gibt es ja auch °h für wörter wie zum beispiel roSINEN oder (0.2)
028 plätzchen neue wörter [also das ist]
029 BEN: [das (0.3)] das ist ja quatsch

[TRANSLATION]

001 BAS: (xxx)
002 EX1: is there such a thing as stuttgart schwäbisch schwäbisch
003 BAS: (xxx xxx)
004 BRU: yes there is a city schwäbisch
005 BEA: yes like that just a slight accent
006 but that is like
007 BRU: yes

008	BAS:	yes that that is right there is this stuttgart schwäbisch a real schwäbisch that
009	BEA:	(xxx)
010	BAS:	really does sound schwäbisch but then there is also what we speak
011	BEA:	yes right this
012	BEN:	yes
013	BRU:	this new new-schwäbisch i think it has not really been defined yet
014	EX1:	what is that
015	EX1:	new-schwäbisch cool that is a cool
016		term
017	BRU:	like or
018	BEA:	that is also like kind of like a youth language this
019	BAS:	yes it has
020	BEN:	(xxx xxx)
021	BEA:	only kind of like geh mer instead of gehen wir that is
022		just
023	BEN:	youth-schwäbisch
024	BRU:	yes
025	BEA:	like also abbreviations and that is then you kind of say it like that here i guess but
026		that is more like youth language i guess than like real schwäbisch because
027		schwäbisch there are like for words like for instance raisins or
028		cookies new words like that is
029	BEN:	that that is just silly

Tags: ‘geo’, ‘cxt’, ‘fea’, and ‘sty’.

The fieldworker latches onto the final part of BEATE’s utterance in Excerpt 6, where she states that *Schwäbisch* is spoken in Stuttgart. In an attempt to develop this topic, the fieldworker enquires about a Stuttgart *Schwäbisch* (li. 002). BRUNO, BEATE, and BASTIAN all agree on the existence of a Stuttgart *Schwäbisch*, a city *Schwäbisch* as BRUNO labels it (li. 004). BEATE states that this is restricted to a light accent (li. 005), which BRUNO supports (li. 007). BASTIAN elaborates on the subject and distinguishes between *ein wirkliches schwäbisch was wirklich nach schwäbisch klingt* (*a real schwäbisch that really does sound schwäbisch* — li. 008 and 010) and what the participants themselves speak (li. 010). Accordingly, BASTIAN establishes two different registers, which he considers to be Stuttgart *Schwäbisch,* a dialect register the participants’ in-group register. This distinction is confirmed by the other participants, BEATE (li. 011), BENJAMIN (li. 012), and BRUNO (li. 013).

BRUNO confirms *Schwäbisch* as an in-group register by naming it *neuschwäbisch* (*new-schwäbisch*) for want of a better definition (li. 013). The fieldworker reacts with enthusiasm to this label and asks BRUNO to elaborate on it (li. 014 and 015). He initiates a response (li. 017), but is immediately interrupted by BEATE, who takes charge of the elaboration (li. 018, 021-022, and 025-028) — unopposed by BRUNO. BEATE classifies *Neuschwäbisch* as a youth language (*jugendsprache* — li. 018), which is corroborated by BASTIAN (li. 019), BENJAMIN (li. 023) and BRUNO (li. 024). She continues with an example (li. 021) and a description of its pronunciation (li. 025), before she

juxtaposes *Neuschwäbisch* with *Schwäbisch* (li. 026) and provides examples of dialectal pronunciation of the latter (li. 027-028). The final utterance of the excerpt is made by BENJAMIN, but it is difficult to say whether it is directed at the example and description of youth language, or at the examples of *Schwäbisch*.

Despite the fact that BRUNO is the one to name their own speech *Neuschwäbisch*, it is BEATE who establishes herself as the expert accounting for it. BEATE clearly commands a higher standing amongst the participants in such matters. The fact that BRUNO chooses to comply and even supports her description, instead of standing firm and opposing her, only confirms her status within the group. Although BEATE repeatedly distances herself from *Schwäbisch* during the interview, and repeatedly states her lack of proficiency in speaking it, the other participants do not hesitate to acknowledge her as the expert amongst them on the matter.

e) BEATE's third instance of gatekeeping

Following a passage about why *Hochdeutsch,* and not dialects like *Schwäbisch*, is appropriate for TV presenters, news anchors, and formal occasions in general, the fieldworker asks the participants directly (in Excerpt 8), if they are dialect speakers (li. 001).

Excerpt 8: *"ich rede so meinen eigenen eignenen dialekt so"*

LASA (Language Attitudes in the Stuttgart Area) corpus, recording: 02-S-INT, time: 00:40:05:60 — 00:40:46:00, participants: and EX1 (fieldworker).

001 EX1: aber redet ihr dann dialekt
002 (1.2)
003 BRU: jeder (0.9) [oder je#]
004 EX1: [redest du dialekt]
005 BEA: [jeder mensch] redet ein art von dialekt (0.2) [(xxx xxx)]
006 BRU: [ich glaube ich rede so:] meinen
007 eigenen eigenen dialekt so: (0.5) halt hochdeutsch mit (0.3) wenig schwäbisch drin
008 EX1: aber würde andere das dialekt nennen
009 (1.0)
010 BRU: kommt darauf an wie stark das wie stark auf ihnen das an# auf wie stark auf ihnen das
011 anders wirkt oder fremd wirkt dann würde er das demnach vielleicht (0.4) °h (0.7) dialekt
012 nennen aber wenn es e# wenn er es kaum merken w# kaum bemerken würde würde er es
013 glaube ich nicht dialekt [nennen]
014 BEA: [ich würde jetzt nicht] beim BRUNO sagen wenn ich ihn so hören
015 würde dass der einen [dialekt] redet °h aber wenn jetzt halt jemand kommt der irgendwie
016 ???: [nein]
017 BEA: nicht von hier ist oder so der würde vielleicht bisschen sagen aber (0.2) das ist minima:l
018 also wir hören das

[TRANSLATION]

001 EX1: but do you speak dialect then
002

003 BRU: everybody or ev#
004 EX1: do YOU speak dialect
005 BEA: everybody speaks some form of dialect (xxx xxx)
006 BRU: i guess i speak like my
007 own own dialect like just hochdeutsch with a little schwäbisch in it
008 EX1: but would others call that dialect
009
010 BRU: it depends to which degree it to which degree to them it dif# to which degree it seems
011 different to them or how strange it seems then he would maybe call it dialect
012 accordingly but if it h# if he hardly hears it i# hardly notices it he would would not
013 i think call it dialect
014 BEA: i would not in BRUNO's case say if i heard him like this
015 that he speaks a dialect but if like someone comes who kind of
016 ???: nein
017 BEA: is not from here or like he would maybe say somewhat but it is fractional
018 like we can hear it

Tags: 'srp', 'geo', and 'pcn'.

The fieldworker's question is followed by a long pause (li. 002). This seems to be because the participants have not quite heard or understood the question correctly, as BRUNO asks whether the fieldworker means people in general (*jeder* — li. 003). Before he can continue he is interrupted, by the fieldworker asking him directly if he speaks dialect (li. 004), and by BEATE who starts to explain that everybody speaks some form of dialect (li. 005). Before BEATE can finish her explanation, BRUNO interrupts to answer the fieldworker's rephrased question (li. 006-007). He responds that he speaks his own dialect, *Hochdeutsch* with a little influence from *Schwäbisch*. To the fieldworker's follow-up question, whether other people regard him as a dialect speaker (li. 008), he responds, after a long pause (li. 009), that it depends on how different they perceive his way of speaking to be (li. 010-013). Before he can finish he is interrupted by BEATE, who points out that she does not consider him to speak dialect and that only a complete outsider would maybe consider him to speak a little dialect (li. 014-015 and 017). She finishes off by emphasising that she and the other participants are still able to hear the *Schwäbisch* influence in BRUNO's speech (li. 018), despite its fractional (*minimal* — li. 017) character. During her utterance, one of the other participants offers the comment *no* (*nein* — li. 016), most likely in support of her statement concerning BRUNO. Once again, BEATE establishes herself as the expert on *Schwäbisch* and makes a point of disputing BRUNO's access to the register. This time it even appears that one of the other participants (BASTIAN or BENJAMIN), or BRUNO himself, supports her gatekeeping efforts towards BRUNO and his claim to *Schwäbisch*.

f) BEATE's fourth instance of gatekeeping — the ridicule

Prior to Excerpt 9 the conversation was about the participants' own speech, and about the Scandinavian/Danish accent of the fieldworker. During this passage the participants offered their

thoughts on different ways of speaking, on different German varieties, and their affiliation with geographic locations and/or social groups, as well as their attitudes to (foreign) accents. Motivated by this, the fieldworker addresses BRUNO directly and asks him about his favourite variety of German (*was is dein favoritdeutsch* — li. 001).

Excerpt 9: *"kackschwäbisch"*

LASA (Language Attitudes in the Stuttgart Area) corpus, recording: 02-S-INT, time: 00:49:15:99 — 00:49:25:58, participants: BRUNO, BEATE, BASTIAN, and EX1 (fieldworker).

001	EX1:	was ist dein favoritdeutsch
002		(0.7)
003	BRU:	°h das deutsch was ich spreche
004	EX1:	schwäbisch
005		(0.4)
006	BEA:	er redet [kein schwäbisch]
007	BRU:	[ja mei# <<annoyed>ich] rede [kein schwäbisch>]
008	???:	[((laughter))]
009	BRU:	direkt [aber ich glaube mein mein hochdeutsch] mit schwäbisch
010	BEA:	[<<jokingly>er redet kacke kackschwäbisch>]

[TRANSLATION]

001	EX1:	what is your favourite german
002		
003	BRU:	the german that i speak
004	EX1:	schwäbisch
005		
006	BEA:	he speaks no schwäbisch
007	BRU:	well my# i speak no schwäbisch
008	???:	((laughter))
009	BRU:	as such but i guess my hochdeutsch with schwäbisch
010	BEA:	he speaks shitty shit-schwäbisch

Tags: 'srp', 'att', 'use' and 'nrm'.

BRUNO's answer, *das deutsch was ich spreche* (*the german that i speak* — li. 003), causes the fieldworker to ask if he means *Schwäbisch* (li. 004), thus casting him as a *Schwäbisch* speaker. BEATE rejects this casting, as she states that he does not speak *Schwäbisch* (li. 006). This is followed by laughter from one or both of the other participants, BASTIAN and BENJAMIN (li. 008). Annoyed, BRUNO interrupts BEATE to agree with her statement (li. 007), before negotiating it (li. 009). During this negotiation BEATE makes a funny comment to the other two participants about BRUNO's proficiency in *Schwäbisch* (li. 010). Using a reference to faeces to describe his *Schwäbisch*, *er redet kacke kackschwäbisch* (*he speaks shitty shit-schwäbisch* — li. 010), the character of this comment is relatively harsh, and it serves to ridicule BRUNO's claim to *Schwäbisch*. This is the culmination of BEATE's gatekeeping of BRUNO's access to *Schwäbisch*, both

in terms of occurrences in the interview and in terms of the conflict potential of this gatekeeping. This is evident in BRUNO's annoyed reaction (li. 007) to BEATE's rejection of his access to *Schwäbisch*, and the fact that she goes one step further this time and ridicules him in front of the other participants and the fieldworker. BEATE clearly demonstrates her powerful position regarding BRUNO's access to *Schwäbisch*. The extent of this powerful position is underlined by the fact that the fieldworker chooses to change the subject immediately after BRUNO finishes (li. 009), instead of exploring the subject any further.

g) The long and winding road to Schwäbisch

BRUNO's struggles to claim a *Schwäbisch* identity and BEATE's gatekeeping of it show the participants' complicated relationship with the register. In general, the participants consider *Schwäbisch* to belong to past generations or rural speakers, but they nevertheless treat is as an exclusive register with a restricted access. The continuous negotiations of BRUNO's entitlement to *Schwäbisch* show that norms of **authenticity** are essential for the access to the register. It may be that *Schwäbisch*, to a large extent, indexes social values from which the participants distance themselves, but that does not mean that just everybody can gain access to the it. The paradox of the participants' more or less arguing for an abandonment of *Schwäbisch*, in favour of *Hochdeutsch,* and their vehement gatekeeping of it seems puzzling. It certainly testifies to the strong feelings involved in the matter, but it also indicates the strict norms for dialectal speech in the Stuttgart area. In the interviews, the participants concur in seeing it as the prerogative of their grandparents, and maybe their parents, to claim to be authentic *Schwäbisch* speakers. This indicate that they consider the register to be part of their cultural heritage, but it also implies that the register has been lost along the way, as the participants themselves never learnt 'proper' *Schwäbisch*. Either because they lacked the motivation to do so, or because it was not passed on to them. The fact of the matter is that the adolescents neither consider themselves to be speakers of *Schwäbisch* nor do they allow each other access to *Schwäbisch*. Only if you have grown up in a region widely acknowledged as a dialectal area, like ANNA from the *Schwäbisch Alb*, you are entitled to claim a *Schwäbisch* identity.

❖ Chapter 10: The language attitudes of adolescents from the Stuttgart area

The aim of this study has been to 'measure' (in quantitative data) attitudes to dialectal differences in the Stuttgart area, and to reveal (in qualitative data) the ways of thinking about language use that emerge as 'measurable' attitudes. As informants for this task, adolescents were chosen, partly because of their assumed readiness to discuss and challenge existing norms, and partly because of their position as future users and gatekeepers of language in the Stuttgart area. In this sense, the investigation not only provides a lay perspective on the current state of the dialect-standard situation, it also provides a prognosis of its future.

Part of the endeavour to obtain a complex description of the adolescents' attitudes has been to elicit both consciously and subconsciously offered attitudes, based on the hypothesis that people may draw on different sets of social values depending on whether they are aware or not aware of expressing attitudes. Evaluative reactions to other people's speech are part of the way we categorise and understand the world, and attitudes can be an expression of either overt or covert social values. The attitudes that are an expression of 'covert' values are, in contrast to those that are an expression of 'overt' values, not directly accessible, and therefore they "will have to be studied in people's reactions and practices when they are not aware of displaying or (re-)constructing evaluative rankings of ways of speaking" (Coupland and Kristiansen 2011: 25).

Central to the study of attitudes to the language variation of the Stuttgart area are the varieties of *Schwäbisch* and *Hochdeutsch*. In this study these two are investigated as names for the respondents' speech (the self-reporting task), as stereotypical labels (the LRT), as varieties represented by voice samples (the SEE), and as metalinguistically constructed registers (the group interviews). In their totality, the results shed much light on adolescent attitudes to *Schwäbisch* and *Hochdeutsch* and provide the basis for an interpretation of the ideologies underlying these attitudes.

i) Academically proficient adolescents prefer *Hochdeutsch*

As a background to the interpretation of some of the other results, the results of the **self-reporting task** (ch. 5) will be recapitulated. These results show that adolescents from the Stuttgart area consider themselves to speak *Schwäbisch* or *Hochdeutsch,* or both. The largest group of respondents report *Schwäbisch and Hochdeutsch* (34%), followed by those who report *Hochdeutsch* (32%) and by those who report *Schwäbisch* (25%). Most of the respondents in the *Schwäbisch and Hochdeutsch* category used a hyphen (either *Schwäbisch-Hochdeutsch* or *Hochdeutsch-Schwäbisch*). This suggests that they consider themselves to either use (and switch/ shift between) both of the two varieties, or that they consider one of them as dominant and the other as an influence or accent. The group interviews (ch. 9) support the latter interpretation as the participants often discuss the 'purity' of their *Hochdeutsch* and the amount of influence from *Schwäbisch* in their *Hochdeutsch*. There is a connection between the reported label *Schwäbisch-*

Hochdeutsch and academic proficiency, in the sense that more *Gymnasium* students than *Realschule* and *Hauptschule* students report *Schwäbisch-Hochdeutsch* as their own speech. Location also matters, as *Hochdeutsch* is more frequently reported in Stuttgart than in the surrounding area. Thus, the compound *'Schwäbisch-Hochdeutsch'* suggests that the adolescents conceive of themselves as being in a transition phase on the move away from the local dialect towards the spoken German standard. In addition to this, the total picture based on the self-reporting task indicates that conceptions and values to do with education and rurality/urbanity are a main ingredient of the adolescents' reorientation from *Schwäbisch* to *Hochdeutsch*.

Against the background of the self-reports, the **LRT** results show that the Stuttgart area adolescents prefer their own speech, as they rank *Hochdeutsch* and *Schwäbisch* on a par and significantly higher than the seven other varieties included in the ranking task. They generally prefer their own speech over other ways of speaking; a clear distinction between in-group and out-group varieties is established. There is a positive correlation between self-reported speech and ranking of the in-group varieties. *Hochdeutsch* is ranked on top by those who report to speak *Hochdeutsch*; *Schwäbisch* is ranked on top by those who report to speak *Schwäbisch* or *Schwäbisch-Hochdeutsch*. In terms of gender, girls are more positive than boys towards *Hochdeutsch*, and vice versa in the case of *Schwäbisch*. Thus, it seems that the ideological move towards standardisation in the Stuttgart area is spearheaded by female adolescents, while the male adolescents are lagging behind. Age was found to play a role, as older adolescents are more positive than younger towards *Hochdeutsch*, and less positive towards *Schwäbisch*. A corresponding pattern was found for grade level impact: 10th graders are more positive than the 9th graders towards *Hochdeutsch*, and less positive towards *Schwäbisch*. Finally, adolescents from Stuttgart are more positive than those from the surrounding area towards *Hochdeutsch*, and this supports the suggestion of the Stuttgart adolescents as the leaders in the standardisation process. In sum, also the picture based on the LRT results indicates that the adolescents' ideological reorientation from *Schwäbisch* to *Hochdeutsch* are rooted in conceptions and values to do with rurality/urbanity and education (as 10th graders have more educational experience than 9th graders).

In the **geographic affiliation task**, the adolescents showed that they were able at a level above random chance to associate the voices (in the SEE) with their locations, and the Stuttgart and Reutlingen voices were generally identified as Swabian. The respondents were quite capable of distinguishing between in-group (Swabian) voices and out-group (Berlin) voices. This is important for the interpretation of the other results of the SEE.

In the data from the **perceived standardness task**, a clear pattern emerges: the Berlin voices are perceived to be more standard than the Stuttgart and Reutlingen voices. Thus, even if *Hochdeutsch* counts as in-group speech ('our language') for adolescents in the Stuttgart area, they consider the in-group speakers (the Stuttgart and Reutlingen voices) to be less standardised than the out-group

speakers (the Berlin voices). As to the perceived standardness of the in-group voices, the data confirms the assumption regarding their relative status (ch. 3.i.b): The Stuttgart voices are perceived to be the most standardised local speakers and the Reutlingen voices the least standardised local speakers. The perceived standardness of the voices was influenced by voice gender, as the female voices were perceived as more standard than the male voices.

The results of the **adjective scales** reveal a clear evaluative pattern with the Berlin voices in front, followed by the Stuttgart voices, and with the Reutlingen voices trailing behind. The adolescents are most positive towards the most standardised speech, and they are more positive towards the most standardised local speech than towards the least standardised local speech. Put differently, adolescents from the Stuttgart area distance themselves from the more dialectal speakers, from the Reutlingen voices, in comparison to more standardised speakers. The factors of school type and grade level have an influence on the evaluative reactions measured with the adjective scales. Compared to *Hauptschule* and *Realschule* students *Gymnasium* students clearly distance themselves more from the least standardised speakers, from the Reutlingen voices, and the same goes for 10th graders in comparison with the 9th graders. Again it seems that academic proficiency matters, as the *Gymnasium* and the 10th grade students can be assumed to have the highest level of academic proficiency.

Overall, the results of the SEE adjective scales indicate that the more standardised a speaker is, the more positively he or she is evaluated. Which also means that the more dialectal a speaker is, the less positively he or she is evaluated. Amongst adolescents from the Stuttgart area, speech associated with *Hochdeutsch* (the Berlin and Stuttgart voices), with spoken standard German, enjoys more prestige than speech associated with *Schwäbisch* (the Reutlingen voices), with the local dialect. *Hochdeutsch* speakers are perceived to be more *Intelligent*, *Serious*, *Ambitious*, *Trustworthy*, *Self-assured*, *Fascinating*, *Cool* and *Nice* than *Schwäbisch* speakers. This also supports a reorientation from *Schwäbisch* to *Hochdeutsch*.

None of the potentially influential factors have a continuous impact across the different tasks of the experimental study, but the combination of three of them appears to form a pattern. These three are respondent age, grade level and school type. Assuming that older students, 10th graders and *Gymnasium* students have the highest level of academic proficiency in the respondent group, on account of their seniority and qualifications, the results indicate that academic proficiency matters. In the Stuttgart area adolescents with a high level of academic proficiency lead the rest in the standardisation process on the ideological level.

ii) The LANCHART results and the Stuttgart results

The results of the LANCHART studies showed a clear difference between the conscious attitudes of the LRT and the subconscious attitudes of the SEE. The conscious attitudes showed a preference for the local speech (the local variety label) over the conservative Copenhagen speech (*rigsdansk*)

and the modern Copenhagen speech (*københavnsk*) as well. Considering that the two varieties of Copenhagen speech can be regarded as two varieties of spoken standard Danish (Brink and Lund 1975), the conscious preference for local speech did in no way correspond to the standardisation process in Denmark (Kristiansen 2009: 170; Pedersen 2003). In contrast, the subconscious attitudes of the SEE showed an evaluative pattern that corresponds with the standardisation process (Kristiansen 2009: 189). The subconscious attitudes revealed that the modern and conservative Copenhagen speakers were evaluated more positively than the local speakers. Furthermore, they revealed two evaluative dimensions as the modern Copenhagen speakers dominated in the dynamism dimension and the conservative (more or less) in the superiority dimension. That is, the more standardised speakers were evaluated better than the local speakers, without exception, and modern and conservative Copenhagen speech were positively associated with different social values.

A comparison of the Stuttgart results with the LANCHART results shows both similarities and differences. The conscious attitudes of this study show roughly the same picture as the LANCHART studies in as far as the (name for) local speech, *Schwäbisch*, is top-ranked in the LRT together with the (name for) the standard language, *Hochdeutsch*. As a parallel to the Danish distinction between two versions of Copenhagen speech — 'conservative'/*rigsdansk* vs. 'modern'/*københavnsk* — was neither theorised nor operationalised in this study, the evaluative patterns are not directly comparable. However,we may note as a similarity that the higher degree of standardness is associated with the SEE voices from the capital city of Berlin, corresponding to the higher degree of standardness ascribed to the 'conservative' version of Danish capital-city (Copenhagen) speech. And the respondents (appear to) have associated the label *Berlinerisch* with the 'dialect of Berlin', just like Danes associate the label *københavnsk* with the 'dialect of Copenhagen'.

Also when it comes to comparison of the subconscious attitudes, there are differences in the set-up of the SEEs to be taken into account. In the LANCHART SEE the respondents evaluated one group of local (in-group) speakers and two groups of standard (Copenhagen out-group) speakers. In this study the respondents evaluate two groups of local (in-group) speakers (Stuttgart and Reutlingen) and one group of standard (out-group) speakers (Berlin), as the design was used to investigate the role of Stuttgart as a linguistic norm centre in the Swabian dialect area. The subconscious results show that the more standardised speakers are perceived to be, the more positively they are treated by the adolescents. The Berlin voices are treated more positively than the two other groups of voices, and the Stuttgart voices are treated better than the Reutlingen voices. This indicates that Stuttgart functions as a norm centre favouring language standardisation (ideological upgrading and spread of *Hochdeutsch*) in the Swabian area.

iii) *Hochdeutsch* is the future and *Schwäbisch* is not for everybody

The group interviews are expected to provide insights into the motivation for the attitudinal patterns in the results of the experimental study. The participants' metalinguistic constructions of *Schwäbisch* and *Hochdeutsch*, and their accounts as to if, when, and where they use these two registers, are expected to contribute to the explanation of the ideologies of their attitudes.

The metalinguistic constructions of *Schwäbisch* and *Hochdeutsch* often emerge from a direct comparison of the two. That is, they are often enregistered in relationship to each other, which confirms that they are the two most relevant registers to adolescents from the Stuttgart area. However, it is clear that *Hochdeutsch* is more relevant than *Schwäbisch*. In their metalinguistic construction of *Hochdeutsch*, the participants enregister it as their in-group register, although they do not consider themselves model speakers of it. According to the participants, model *Hochdeutsch* is either pronounced according to the norm for written standard German, or it is associated with the city of Hanover. Neither of these two definitions is left uncontested, but the participants agree on the fact that there are speakers who speak a 'purer' or more 'proper' *Hochdeutsch* than they do themselves. In other words, they do not consider themselves entirely 'up to standard', which indicates that they believe in the existence of more skilled standard speakers than themselves. If this is the case, it shows that they consider *Hochdeutsch* to be a prestigious register, socially speaking. The comparison of the necessity of such an ideal register as a norm for language use with the necessity of God for a (Christian) religion speaks for itself.

Throughout the interviews the participants discuss the degree of *Schwäbisch* in their *Hochdeutsch*, which some regard as a consequence of the strength of the *Schwäbisch* dialect tradition. Be that as it may, they still steer clear of enregistering *Schwäbisch* as their own speech. Instead, they enregister *Schwäbisch* as an out-group rural register. Their grandparents and parents may speak it, but the participants distance themselves from it, and the only peers that may speak *Schwäbisch* are found in villages in rural areas. One of the participants happens to be such a village born *Schwäbisch* speaker. ANNA was born and grew up in a village in *Schwäbisch Alb,* a region often mentioned as a place in which *Schwäbisch* is still spoken on a regular basis. She attends a *Gymnasium* in Reutlingen, but prior to that she attended to the local *Grundschule* where, according to her, *Schwäbisch* was spoken. This is the only time any of the participants mentions the possibility of *Schwäbisch* being used in the educational system. ANNA illustrates the reason for this nicely, when she, in relation to the change from *Grundschule* to *Gymnasium,* describes how a teacher told her and the other 'village children' to switch from *Schwäbisch* to *Hochdeutsch*. *Schwäbisch* has virtually no place in the educational system, where *Hochdeutsch* is the undisputed register for success. This shows how the educational system imposes *Hochdeutsch* on those who may not already speak it, and how the teachers function as gatekeepers of this norm.

It also shows how the *Schwäbisch* and *Hochdeutsch* have indexical relationships to separate social domains. Not only is *Hochdeutsch* the register of the educational system, almost without exception

the participants enregister it as the majority register of the Stuttgart area (and probably also the rest of Germany). As such, they consider it to be the register of the future and of future generations. In other words, if you want to belong there and to signal that you are a modern academically proficient adolescent, then you should speak *Hochdeutsch*. In comparison to this, *Schwäbisch* is enregistered as a thing of the past, of preceding generations, although it may still be used in other (remote) regions. On top of that, the access to *Schwäbisch* is severely regulated by the participants themselves. The case of BRUNO's struggle to assert himself as a *Schwäbisch* speaker shows the rigour with which the gatekeeping of *Schwäbisch* is carried out. BEATE's gatekeeping may be more persisting than it is the case with the gatekeeping in the other interviews, but her swiftness and inflexibility is nothing out of the ordinary. If a participant wishes to claim an identity as a *Schwäbisch* speaker, this must be well substantiated for the other participants to acknowledge it. Besides considering themselves to be *Hochdeutsch* speakers, some of the participants also try to assert themselves as *Schwäbisch* speakers. Those that are acknowledged as *Schwäbisch* speakers are almost always introduced as *Schwäbisch* speakers by other participants, e.g. ANNA. It seems to be the case that if you wish to be acknowledged as a *Schwäbisch* speaker, then you should abstain from claiming it yourself, in favour of an endorsement from one of the other participants — preferably from one of the 'established' experts and gatekeepers of *Schwäbisch*. The attitudinal climate amongst adolescents from the Stuttgart area is clearly one of positivity towards *Hochdeutsch* and speakers of it. They regard it as the speech of the future and to a large extent they consider themselves as *Hochdeutsch* speakers. All this at the expense of *Schwäbisch*, as the adolescents generally distance themselves from it and consider it to be the speech of the past or the (rural) periphery in the Stuttgart area. Should someone nevertheless desire to claim an identity as a *Schwäbisch* speaker, without sufficient substantiality behind the claim, achieving the acknowledgement as such may turn in to a difficult, even futile, endeavour. The access to *Schwäbisch* is severely restricted, with the participants themselves as the gatekeepers. Not only do the participants not consider themselves to be *Schwäbisch* speakers, they also deny each other access to speak it. On the ideological level this means a change away from *Schwäbisch* and towards *Hochdeutsch*. In terms of the dialect-standard situation in the Stuttgart area, this indicates a relatively advanced standardisation, fuelled by the apparent shift from *Schwäbisch* to *Hochdeutsch* over the course of three generations, from the grandparents' generation to the participants' generation.

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English abstract

The present standard-dialect situation in the Stuttgart area is the object of differing opinions amongst German dialectologists. Some regard it to be a situation of vital dialects developing alongside but independently of the German spoken standard. Others consider it to be a situation of an advanced standardisation, in which the dialects disappear in favour of spoken standard German. This study is about ordinary adolescents' lay perspective on this dialect-standard situation.

To obtain a complex description of the adolescents' language attitudes, three different kinds of attitudes are investigated: subconscious attitudes, conscious attitudes and metalinguistic constructions. Two different approaches are used to collect the empirical data: an experimental questionnaire study for quantitative data and group interviews for qualitative data. Thus, this dissertation seeks to answer the following questions:

- Is there an ideological difference between the conscious and the subconscious attitudes of the adolescents from the Stuttgart area?
- How do the adolescents construct *Schwäbisch* and *Hochdeutsch* metalinguistically in the group interviews?
- Do the revealed attitudinal patterns indicate that Stuttgart functions as a linguistic norm centre in its area?
- What do the adolescents' attitudes and metalinguistic constructions tell about the dialect-standard situation in the Stuttgart area?

The experimental study consists of a speaker evaluation experiment and a label ranking task. The **speaker evaluation experiment** employs a verbal guise technique to target the respondents' subconscious attitudes to dialectal differences in 12 voice samples. These voices represent three different ways of speaking, corresponding to the locations they were recorded in: Berlin, Stuttgart and Reutlingen. In a semantic differential consisting of eight adjective scales the respondents are asked to evaluate the 12 voices in terms of personality traits, without being aware of the dialectal differences. After they have been told about the dialectal differences, the respondents are asked to rate the voices according to standardness and to locate them geographically. The **label ranking task** targets the respondents' conscious attitudes to nine German variety labels. These nine labels include *Berlinerisch*, *Hochdeutsch* and *Schwäbisch*, as these are assumed to be relevant to the respondents and assumed comparable to the dialectal variation in the voice samples. Finally, the **group interviews** target the participants' metalinguistic constructions of different ways of speaking in the Stuttgart area — with a particular focus on *Hochdeutsch* and *Schwäbisch*.

The analyses of this combination of empirical data are expected to show, how adolescents from the Stuttgart area position themselves in the social ideological processes underlying their own language use and the dialect-standard situation of the area.

Danish abstract

Den nuværende dialekt-standard-situation i Stuttgartområdet er genstand for delte meninger blandt tyske dialektologer. Nogle mener, den består af vitale dialekter, der udvikler sig parallelt med men uafhængigt af den talte tyske standard. Andre mener, at der er en fremskreden standardisering i området, og at dialekterne forsvinder til fordel for den talte tyske standard. Denne afhandling drejer sig om unges læg-opfattelser af denne dialekt-standard-situation.

For at få en kompleks beskrivelse af de unges sprogholdninger, bliver tre forskellige slags holdninger undersøgt: underbevidste holdninger, bevidste holdninger og metalingvistiske konstruktioner. To forskellige tilgange bliver benyttet til at samle de empiriske data: en eksperimentel spørgeskemaundersøgelse og gruppeinterviews. Med det som udgangspunkt ønsker afhandlingen at give svar på de følgende spørgsmål:

- Er der en ideologisk forskel på de bevidste og underbevidste holdninger hos unge fra Stuttgart området?
- Hvordan konstruerer de unge *Schwäbisch* og *Hochdeutsch* metalingvistisk i gruppeinterviewene?
- Tyder holdningsmønstrene på, at Stuttgart fungerer som et lingvistisk normcenter for nærområdet?
- Hvad siger de unges holdninger og metalingvistiske konstruktion om dialekt-standard-situationen i Stuttgartområdet?

Den eksperimentelle spørgeskemaundersøgelse består af en sprogmaskeundersøgelse og en dialekthitliste. **Sprogmaskeundersøgelse** benytter sig af en sprogmasketest til at undersøge informanternes underbevidste holdninger til dialektale forskelle i 12 stemmeprøver. Stemmerne repræsenterer tre forskellige måder at tale på, som svarer til de steder, hvor de er blevet optaget: Berlin, Stuttgart og Reutlingen. Unden at være klar over de dialektale forskelle bliver informanterne bedt om at vurdere de 12 stemmer på personlighedstræk i et såkaldt semantisk-differens-instrument, der består af otte adjektivskalaer. Efter de er blevet gjort opmærksom på de dialektale forskelle, bliver informanterne bedt om at vurdere, hvor standardiserede stemmerne lyder og om at fastslå, hvor de kommer fra. **Dialekthitlisten** undersøger informanternes bevidste holdninger til ni tyske varieteter. Blandt disse ni er varieteterne *Berlinerisch*, *Hochdeutsch* og *Schwäbisch*, for de antages at være relevante for informanterne og at kunne sammenlignes med den dialektale variation i sprogmasketesten. **Gruppeinterviewene** undersøger deltagernes metalingvistiske konstruktioner af forskellige måder at tale på i Stuttgartområdet — med et særlig fokus på *Hochdeutsch* og *Schwäbisch*.

Analyserne af denne kombination af empiriske data forventes at afsløre, hvordan unge fra Stuttgartområdet positionerer sig i den socialideologiske process, der er baggrund for deres egen sprogbrug og dialekt-standard-situationen i området.

List of Tables, Figures and Diagrams

Appendices

Appendix 1: The first questionnaire

a

Fragebogen I

Name:_____

Klasse:_____

Für diesen Fragebogen werden 12 Stimmen *zwei Mal* vorgespielt: Das erste Mal sollst du nur zuhören, und das zweite Mal den Fragebogen ausfüllen.

In diesem Fragebogen gibt es für jede Stimme 8 Skalen mit Charakter-Eigenschaften, und du sollst pro Stimme in jeder Skala ein Kreuz machen.

Danke.

Nr. 1

Was ist dein unmittelbarer Eindruck von dieser Person?

Ehrgeizig								***Träge***
Vertrauenswürdig								***Nicht vertrauenswürdig***
Seriös								***Unseriös***
Interessant								***Langweilig***
Selbstbewußt								***Unsicher***
Klug								***Dumm***
Nett								***Unsympathisch***
Cool								***Uncool***

Zusätzliche Kommentare:

Nr. 2

Was ist dein unmittelbarer Eindruck von dieser Person?

Ehrgeizig								***Träge***
Vertrauenswürdig								***Nicht vertrauenswürdig***
Seriös								***Unseriös***
Interessant								***Langweilig***
Selbstbewußt								***Unsicher***
Klug								***Dumm***
Nett								***Unsympathisch***
Cool								***Uncool***

Zusätzliche Kommentare:

Nr. 3

Was ist dein unmittelbarer Eindruck von dieser Person?

Ehrgeizig								***Träge***
Vertrauenswürdig								***Nicht vertrauenswürdig***
Seriös								***Unseriös***
Interessant								***Langweilig***
Selbstbewußt								***Unsicher***
Klug								***Dumm***
Nett								***Unsympathisch***
Cool								***Uncool***

Zusätzliche Kommentare:

Nr. 4

Was ist dein unmittelbarer Eindruck von dieser Person?

Ehrgeizig								***Träge***
Vertrauenswürdig								***Nicht vertrauenswürdig***
Seriös								***Unseriös***
Interessant								***Langweilig***
Selbstbewußt								***Unsicher***
Klug								***Dumm***
Nett								***Unsympathisch***
Cool								***Uncool***

Zusätzliche Kommentare:

Nr. 5

Was ist dein unmittelbarer Eindruck von dieser Person?

Ehrgeizig								***Träge***
Vertrauenswürdig								***Nicht vertrauenswürdig***
Seriös								***Unseriös***
Interessant								***Langweilig***
Selbstbewußt								***Unsicher***
Klug								***Dumm***
Nett								***Unsympathisch***
Cool								***Uncool***

Zusätzliche Kommentare:

Nr. 6

Was ist dein unmittelbarer Eindruck von dieser Person?

Ehrgeizig		***Träge***
Vertrauenswürdig		***Nicht vertrauenswürdig***
Seriös		***Unseriös***
Interessant		***Langweilig***
Selbstbewußt		***Unsicher***
Klug		***Dumm***
Nett		***Unsympathisch***
Cool		***Uncool***

Zusätzliche Kommentare:

Nr. 7

Was ist dein unmittelbarer Eindruck von dieser Person?

Ehrgeizig								***Träge***
Vertrauenswürdig								***Nicht vertrauenswürdig***
Seriös								***Unseriös***
Interessant								***Langweilig***
Selbstbewußt								***Unsicher***
Klug								***Dumm***
Nett								***Unsympathisch***
Cool								***Uncool***

Zusätzliche Kommentare:

Nr. 8

Was ist dein unmittelbarer Eindruck von dieser Person?

Ehrgeizig								***Träge***
Vertrauenswürdig								***Nicht vertrauenswürdig***
Seriös								***Unseriös***
Interessant								***Langweilig***
Selbstbewußt								***Unsicher***
Klug								***Dumm***
Nett								***Unsympathisch***
Cool								***Uncool***

Zusätzliche Kommentare:

Nr. 9

Was ist dein unmittelbarer Eindruck von dieser Person?

Ehrgeizig								***Träge***
Vertrauenswürdig								***Nicht vertrauenswürdig***
Seriös								***Unseriös***
Interessant								***Langweilig***
Selbstbewußt								***Unsicher***
Klug								***Dumm***
Nett								***Unsympathisch***
Cool								***Uncool***

Zusätzliche Kommentare:

Nr. 10

Was ist dein unmittelbarer Eindruck von dieser Person?

Ehrgeizig								***Träge***
Vertrauenswürdig								***Nicht vertrauenswürdig***
Seriös								***Unseriös***
Interessant								***Langweilig***
Selbstbewußt								***Unsicher***
Klug								***Dumm***
Nett								***Unsympathisch***
Cool								***Uncool***

Zusätzliche Kommentare:

Nr. 11

Was ist dein unmittelbarer Eindruck von dieser Person?

Ehrgeizig								***Träge***
Vertrauenswürdig								***Nicht vertrauenswürdig***
Seriös								***Unseriös***
Interessant								***Langweilig***
Selbstbewußt								***Unsicher***
Klug								***Dumm***
Nett								***Unsympathisch***
Cool								***Uncool***

Zusätzliche Kommentare:

Nr. 12

Was ist dein unmittelbarer Eindruck von dieser Person?

Ehrgeizig								***Träge***
Vertrauenswürdig								***Nicht vertrauenswürdig***
Seriös								***Unseriös***
Interessant								***Langweilig***
Selbstbewußt								***Unsicher***
Klug								***Dumm***
Nett								***Unsympathisch***
Cool								***Uncool***

Zusätzliche Kommentare:

Appendix 2: The second questionnaire

Fragebogen II

Name:_____

Klasse:_____

Für diesen Fragebogen werden 12 Stimmen *ein Mal* vorgespielt. Während die Stimmen vorgespielt werden, sollst du die ersten zwei Tabellen auf Seite 2 ausfüllen ("Wie hochdeutsch klingt diese Person" und "Woher kommt diese Person"). Danach sollst du die Seiten 3 und 4 ausfüllen.

Danke.

Wie hochdeutsch klingt diese Person?

1.	sehr							gar nicht	Stuttgart / Reutlingen / Berlin
2.	sehr							gar nicht	Stuttgart / Reutlingen / Berlin
3.	sehr							gar nicht	Stuttgart / Reutlingen / Berlin
4.	sehr							gar nicht	Stuttgart / Reutlingen / Berlin
5.	sehr							gar nicht	Stuttgart / Reutlingen / Berlin
6.	sehr							gar nicht	Stuttgart / Reutlingen / Berlin
7.	sehr							gar nicht	Stuttgart / Reutlingen / Berlin
8.	sehr							gar nicht	Stuttgart / Reutlingen / Berlin
9.	sehr							gar nicht	Stuttgart / Reutlingen / Berlin
10.	sehr							gar nicht	Stuttgart / Reutlingen / Berlin
11.	sehr							gar nicht	Stuttgart / Reutlingen / Berlin
12.	sehr							gar nicht	Stuttgart / Reutlingen / Berlin

Woher kommt diese Person?

In der Liste unten sind 9 verschiedene Arten von Deutsch.

Du sollst jetzt diese Arten auf einer Skala bewerten. 1 bedeutet: "ich mag am liebsten", und 9 bedeutet: "ich mag am wenigsten"

Sächsisch	
Berlinerisch	
Fränkisch	
Plattdeutsch	
Schwäbisch	
Hochdeutsch	
Bayrisch	
Hessisch	
Schweizerdeutsch	

Persönliche Angaben:

Wie alt bist du?

Wo wohnst du (Stadt)?

Hast du früher irgendwo anders gewohnt? Wenn ja, wo?

Was möchtest du gerne werden (Beruf)?

Welche Art/Dialekt von Deutsch sprichst du?

Appendix 3: The orthographic and phonetic transcriptions of the voice

The 12 voice samples transcribed orthographically with annotations and phonetically with IPA:

01. B-045-m (07.92 sec)

- Ein guter Lehrer ist für mich jemand der äh Regeln einhalten kann als auch fairness hat in der Benotungen

- aɐ̯n guːtɐ leːʁɐ ɪst fø mɪç jeman d̥eɐ ʔəm ʁeːgl̥n ʔaɐ̯nhalt̥n̥ kʰan ʔals ʔaʊx fɛɐ̯nəs had̥ ən ɐ bənoːtʊŋ

02. B-048-f (10.62 sec)

- Also für mich ist ein guter Lehrer wenn er Spaß am Unterricht hat den Schülern aber es trotzdem gut vermitteln kann der Unterrichtsstoff also an den man gebracht wird aber trotzdem noch mit Spaß an der Sache dran

- ʔalzə fʏ mɪç ɪs aɐ̯n guːd̥ɐ leːʁɐ vɛn ʔeɐ̯ ʃb̥az am ʔʊntɐʁɪçd̥ had̥ den ʃyːlɐn ʔaβa əs tʁɔtsdm̥ guːt fɐmɪtl̥n kʰan deːɐ̯ ʔʊntɐʁɪçʃd̥ɔf alzo an n man gəbʁax vəd abɐ d̥ʁɔtsdm̥ nɔx mɪd̥ ʃb̥aːs ʔan nɐ zaxə dʁan

03. B-051-m (07.71 sec)

- Der äh auf jeden Fall äh gute Kommentare gibt zum Unterricht naja wenn es halt ein etwas äh nicht so *geduldsamer* Lehrer is dann

- deɐ̯ ʔɛm aʊf jedn̥ falː ʔɛm gutə kɔmətaːʁə gɪb̥ tsm̥ ʔʊnd̥ɐʁɪçt̪ nɑjɑː v̥ɛn s hald n̥ ʔɛd̥vas ʔə nɪç so gədʊld̥samɐ leːʁɐ ʔɪs dan

04. B-053-f (10.64 sec)

- Ein guter Lehrer ist für mich wenn er den Stoff den er vermitteln soll gut vermittelt an die Schüler aber er sollte dabei nicht all zu streng sein und auch mal ein bisschen mit den Schülern mitlachen

- ʔaɐ̯n guːd̥ɐ leːʁɐ ʔɪs fə mɪç vɛn ɐː den ʃd̥ɔf deːn a fɐmɪtɪn zɔl guːt fɐmɪtl̥t ani ʃyːlɐ ʔaːβɐ ʔeɐ̯ zɔltə daːbaɐ̯ nɪç ʔaltsu ʃd̥ʁɛŋ zaɐ̯n ʔʊn ʔaʊx maː n bɪsçən mɪt en ʃyːlɐn mɪd̥laxn̥

05. S-029-m (10.97 sec)

- Äh ein guter Lehrer ist für mich jemand der äh die Schüler versteht also der Verständnis für die Schüler hat und nicht irgendwie so und will den Schülern auch wirklich helfen wenn die auch mal Probleme haben oder so

- ʔæːm ʔaɐ̯n guːd̥ə lɛːʁɐ s fʏ mɪç jeman dɛːɐ̯ ʔæːm di ʃyːlɐ fɐʃd̥eːtʰ ʔazə dɛɐ̯ fəʃd̥ɛnd̥nɪs fø dɪ ʃʏlɐ had̥ ʔʊnd niç ʔʊŋvizoː ʔ ʊnd vɪl ən ʃyːlɐn ʔaɔ̯x vəkɪç hɛlfm̥ vɛn dɪ ʔaɔ̯ mɑ pʁod̥leːmə ham oda sɔ

06. S-032-f (10.03 sec)

- Mm guter Lehrer ist der die Klasse im Griff hat und das Thema halt gut rüberbringen kann also interessanter Unterricht macht und abwechslungsreich also nicht nur vorne stehen erzähl erzähl erzähl

- ʔŋ gʊtʰə lɛː ɪs dɛɐ̯ dɪ glas əm gʁɪf hat ʔʊn das teːma hald̥ gʊd̥ ʁyːβɐ bʁɪŋŋ̥ kʰan ʔazo ʔɪd̥ʁəsand̥ ʔʊntʁɪçd̥ maxt ʔʊn ʔab̥vɛsn̥sʁaə̯ç ʔazo nɪç nuɐ̯ fɔɐ̯nə ʃd̥eːn ʔɜtseːl ɜtseːl ɜtsə̯l

07. S-035-m (08.04 sec)

- Äh für mich ist ein guter Lehrer äh eine Person die pädagogisch auch was drauf hat also dass sie weiss wie sie es den Leuten beibringen kann

- ʔəː fø mɪç ɪs ʔaɐ̯n guːtʰə lɐ̯ːʁə ʔɜːm ʔaə̯nə pəɐ̯soːn dɪː pətagoːgɪʃ ʔaɔ̯x vas dʁaɔ̯f had̥ ʔalso das si vaə̯s vi zɪ s dən lɔə̯dn̥ baə̯bʁɪŋ kan

08. S-041-f (11.76 sec)

- Ein guter Lehrer ist für mich einer der halt also die Klasse im Griff hat und trotzdem noch freundlich zu den Schülern ist den Unterrichtsstoff interessant und gut rüberbringt und trotzdem nicht zu anspruchsvoll aber so dass auch alle mitkommen

- ʔaɐ̯n guːtə lɛːʁɐ ɪs f mɪç ʔaɐ̯nə dɛɐ̯ halḍ ʔazo di klas əɪm gʁɪf haḍ ʊn ḍʁɔḍsdəm nɔx fʁɔ̯ɪndlɪç tsʊ n ʃyːlɐn ʔɪs dən ʔ ʊnḍəʁɪçʃḍɔf ʔɪntʁəsanḍ ʊn gut ʁyβɐ bʁɪŋḍ ʔon ḍʁɔsdəm nɪç tsu ʔanʃb̥ʁʊxsfɔl ʔaβɐ zoː das ʔaɔ̯x ʔalə mɪḍkɔmm̩

09. R-013-m (09.51 sec)

- Mich ist ein guter Lehrer wenn die Klasse beim Unterricht Spaß hat also wenn es ihr gefällt aber wenn er also dass er seriös rüberkommt und die Klasse unter Kontrolle hat

- mɪç ɪʒ n guːtə lɛːʁɑː vɛn dɪ klasə d baem ʔʊntəʁeçḍ ʃb̥aːs haḍ ʔalsɔ vɛn s ʔiɐ̯ gəfɛlḍ ʔabɔ vɛn eɐ̯ ʔazə das ə sɛʁejøːs ʁʏbɔ kɔmt̬ ʔoːn ḍɪ klas ʊndɔ kɔnḍʁɔlə hat¬

10. R-014-m (07.17 sec)

- Ein guter Lehrer ist für mich einer der auf die Schüler eingeht schaut dass alle mitkommen und einfach dass er ein bisschen menschlich ist

- n gʉːtʰə lɛːʁɐ ɪs fø mɪç ʔaɐ̯nə dɛːɐ̯ ɔf di ʃyːlɐ ʔaɐ̯ngeːtʰ ʃaɔ̯t ḍas ʔalə mɪdkɔmm̩ ʔʊːntʰ ʔaɐ̯mfax das əɐ̯ n bɪsçən mɛnʃlɪç ɪʒ

11. R-017-f (08.81 sec)

- Für mich ist ein guter Lehrer der auf die Schüler eingeht und zuhört und die Probleme auch noch mal anhört und nochmal erklärt wenn man es nicht verstanden hat

- fʏ mɪç ɪs n gutʰɐ lɛːʁɐ dɛɐ̯ aɔ̯f di ʃyla ʔaɐ̯ngeːt on tsuːhøːḍ ʊn di pʁob̥leːmə aɔ̯x nɔx mal ʔanhøɐ̯t ʔʊnt nɔxma ʔɛɐ̯kleɐ̯ḍ vɛ man s nɪç fəʃtandn̩ hat¬

12. R-018-f (08.75 sec)

- Äh ein guter Lehrer ist für mich einer der immer zuhören kann oder auch ein Spaß versteht oder auch ein lockeren Unterricht macht weil ich find man lernt dann besser

- æːm n guːḍə læːʁɐ əʃ fʏ mɪç ʔaə̯nə dɛː ʔɪmɐ tsuːhøːɐn kan ʔodɐ aɔ̯x ʔn ʃb̥aːs fəʃḍeːd ʔodɐ ʔaɔ̯x n lɔkəʁən ʔʊntəʁeçd¬ maxt̬ vɛːl ʔɪç fɪnd¬ man lɛɐ̯n dan bɛsɑ

Appendix 4: A description of typically Swabian features

- Lenition
  - Spiekermann also calls this phenomenon *Schwächung stimmloser Konsonanten* (weakening of voiceless/unvoiced consonants), and counts it among the Swabian features in his study (2008: 70). Mihm differentiates between weakening of voiceless/unvoiced consonants, which he considers to be part of the *Umgangssprachen* in all of the South German dialect area (2000: 2120), and *Lenisierung der Verschlußlaute* (the lenition of stops) in medial and word final position, which he considers typical of the Sw*U* (2000:2121). As an example of lenition Spiekermann names the verb *hatten* (‘had’ — past tense of the verb *haben* ‘to have’), which is realized [ˈhatən]/[ˈhatn̩] in standard and [ˈhad̥n̩] in Swabian with lenition of /t/ to /d̥/ (2008: 71).
- *The unrounding of rounded vowels*
  - Mihm considers the unrounding of umlauts to be part of the *Umgangssprachen* in all of southern Germany (2000: 2120), but he also attributes the phenomenon to the (Central) Sw*U* (2000: 2121). As examples of the unrounding of rounded vowels he points out the words *Nüsse* (‘nuts’ – plur.), *Röcke* (‘skirts’ — plur.), and *Häuser* (‘houses – plur.), realized [nɪs], [ʁek], and [həisɐ] in the SG*U* and Sw*U* (Mihm 2000: 2121) and [nʏsə], [rœkə], and [hɔyzɐ] in standard.
- Voiceless/unvoiced /s/ in intitial position
  - In the German standard the /s/ in initial position is always voiced, but in a lot of the central and southern German varieties it is voiceless/unvoiced (Barbour & Stevenson 1998: 167). According to Mihm this phenomenon is typical of all the South Germany including the Swabian dialect area (2000: 2121). The word *See* (‘lake’) is an example of this phenomenon. It is realized [zeː] in its standard form and either [s̥eː] or [z̥eː] in its dialectal/regional form.
- /a/-rounding (/a/-*Verdumpfung*)
  - The /a/-rounding of the MHG *ei* and *â* is considered to be common in the SG*U* as well as in the Sw*U* (Mihm 2000: 2120, 2121). Mihm mentions the words *Jahr* (‘year’) and *heiß* (hot) as examples of /a/-rounding. In their dialectal/regional form they are realized [jɔːʁ] and [hɔɪs] (Mihm 2000: 2121), whereas they are realized [jaːɐ̯] and [hais] in their standard form.
- The deletion of /ə/ (schwa) in word final position
  - Mihm counts the deletion of /ə/ and /n/ in word final position as typical of the SG*U* (2000: 2120). Spiekermann, however, points out that the deletion of /ə/ in first person singular of verbs is found in allegro speech, too, and also outside of Baden-Württemberg (2008: 78). The verbs *habe* (‘to have’) and *esse* (‘to eat’) realized as [haːbə] and [ɛsə] in their standard forms and as [hab] and [[ɛːs] in

their allegro forms are both instances of this phenomenon. Spiekermann employs a distinction between dialectal or regional occurrences and non-standard or non-regional occurrences (2008: 78). This distinction is based upon whether the verb itself is of dialect or standard origin, and/or whether the context in which the verb is realized can be considered to be regional or standard (Spiekermann 2008: 78). The deletion of /n/ in word final position will be dealt with below alongside the deletion of /ch/ in word final position. As for the deletion of /ə/ in word final position the word *müde* (‘tired’) is realized [miɛd] (with deletion of /ə/) in the SG*U* and [myːdə] in its standard form.

- <u>The syncope of prefixes</u>
  - In the entire South German dialect area the contraction of prefixes is quite common. Words like *gesagt* (‘said’), *Gemüse* (‘vegetable(s)’), *besonders* (‘especially’ or ‘particular(ly)’), and *zusammen* (‘together’) are examples of this. With contraction of the prefix they are realized [gsakt], [gmyːs], [bsɔndɐs], and [dsɑmə] (Mihm 2000: 2120), respectively, and without contraction of the prefix they are realized [gəzaːkt], [gəmyːzə], [bəzɔndɐs], and [tsuzamən] their standard form.
- <u>The aphaeresis and apocope of clitics</u>
  - In the SG*U* aphaeresis and apocope of cliticized forms are quite common, e.g. the standard constructions *das Auto* (‘the car’), *daß es* (‘that’ conj.), and *kommen Sie* (‘are you coming’ – polite form 3rd person plural) are reduced in the SG*U* to *’s Auto*, *daß ’s*, and *kommen S’* (Mihm 2000: 2120), realized [s‿aʊto], [das‿s], and [kɔmɛn‿s], respectively.
- <u>The reduction of small or short words (*Kleinwörter*)</u>
  - According to Mihm a lot of small or short words are reduced to all but a vowel sound in the *Umgangssprachen* in southern Germany (2000: 2120). Instances of this are the words *ich* (‘I’), *ein* (‘a’, ‘an’, ‘on’, or ‘any’), *ehe* (‘before’), and *auch* (‘also’), which are reduced to [iː], [ɑ], [eː], and [aː] in the SG*U* (Mihm 2000: 2120), and realized [ɪç], [ain], [eːə], and [aux] in standard without reduction.
- <u>Short tense vowels</u>
  - In the German standard the short vowels are all lax (*ungespannt*), whereas the use of short tense (*gespannt*) vowels is quite common in the Alemannic dialects (Spiekermann 2008: 66). Mihm regards this phenomenon as part of the Sw*U* and calls it the raising of short vowels in central position within closed syllables, and he mentions the words *Riss* (‘crack’ or ‘tear’) and *Locke* (‘curl’) as examples. In the Sw*U* they are realized [ʁis] and [lok] (Mihm 2000: 2121), and in standard they are realized [rɪs] and [lɔkə].

- The lowering of /eː/ to /ɛː/
  - The lowering of the German standard /eː/ to /ɛː/ is considered to be typical of Swabian (Spiekermann 2008: 67, Auer & Spiekermann 2011: 168). This is for instance the case with the word *Lehrer* (‘teacher’), which is realized [lɛːʁɐ] in Swabian and [leːrɐ] in standard. Mihm refers to the phenomenon as the lowering of the MHG *ë* in open syllables in the Sw*U* and presents the words *Fehler* (‘mistake’) and *lesen* (‘read’), realized [fɛːlɐ] and [lɛːsə] (with deletion of /n/ in the case of lesen) in the Sw*U* (2000: 2121), and as [feːlɐ] and [leːzn̩] in standard, as instances of this phenomenon.
- The palatalization of /s/ to /ʃ/
  - The palatalization of /s/ is typical of the entire Alemannic area (Spiekermann 2008: 69) “and is often associated with the state of Baden-Württemberg by outsiders” (Auer & Spiekermann 2011: 169). This can be observed in the word *ist* (‘is’) which is realized [ɪʃ] with /ʃ/ (and deletion of /t/) in Alemannic and [ɪst] in standard. Mihm (2000) points out that the palatalization of /s/ in the Sw*U* occurs in /sp/ and /st/ constructions in medial or word final position and with deletion of /t/ in second person singular of verbs. He refers to *machst* (‘do’), *wirst* (‘become’), and *bist* (‘are’), realized [maxʃ], [vɪʁʃ], and [bɪʃ] in the Swabian *Umgangssprachen* and [maxst], [vɪʁst], and [bɪst] in standard, as examples of this (Mihm 2000: 2121). Spiekermann (2008) points to the palatalization of /s/ in the /sp/ and /st/ constructions in syllabic onset, for instances in words like *Verständnis* (‘sympathy’ or ‘appreciation’) and *Spaß* (‘fun’ or ‘amusement’) realized [ʃɛ̯ʃtɛntnɪs] and [ʃpaːs], as being an occurrence of standard, which means that the palatalization of /s/ in these cases are not exclusively Swabian. When the phenomenon occurs in all other positions than syllabic onset, however, it is not an instance of standard, and these non-standard palatalizations of /s/ are quite frequent in the language use in Baden-Württemberg (Spiekermann 2008: 69). Furthermore, he argues that the deletion of /t/ in the second person singular, as described by Mihm (2000), is a phenomenon found in the Sw*U* but not in the Swabian dialects (Spiekermann 2008: 70).
- The deletion of /ch/ and /n/ in word final position
  - According to Mihm the deletion on /ch/ and /n/ in word final position is typical of the Sw*U* (Mihm 2000: 2121). However, Auer (1990) and Streck (2012) both emphasize that the deletion of /n/ from the ending /-en/ in words with secondary stress (Auer 1990: 52; Streck 2012: 135) is very common in the entire Alemannic dialect area and even in language use that is quite close to the German standard (Streck 2012: 135). As examples of the deletion of /n/ in word final position Mihm mentions the words *eben* (‘level’ or ‘just’) and *Garten* (‘garden’), which are realized [ɛːbə], and [gɑʁdə] with deletion of /n/ (2000:

2121) and [eːbn̩], and [gartn̩] in standard without deletion. Regarding the deletion of /ch/ in word final position Mihm (2000) names the words *ich* ('I') and *noch* ('still' or 'else') as examples. With deletion they are realized [iː] and [no] (Mihm 2000: 2121) and in standard, without deletion, they are realized [ɪç] and [nɔx].

- <u>The after-effects of former nasalizations</u>
  - The loss of former nasalizations and their after-effects is presented as being typical of the Sw*U* by Mihm and he lists the words *anbinden* ('to tether' or 'to tie'), *dran* ('off', 'turn', or 'stay'[42]), *ganz* ('entire' or 'whole'), and *hin* ('there' or 'lost') as examples of this phenomenon (2000: 2121). In the Sw*U* these words are realized [əːbɪndə], [drəː], [gãnts], and [hiː] (Mihm 2000: 2121), and in standard they are realized [anbɪndn̩], [dran], [gants], and [hɪn].
- <u>The reduction of vowels with secondary stress</u>
  - Another phenomenon typical of the Sw*U* is the reduction of vowels with secondary stress (Mihm 2000: 2121). The words *heute* ('today'), *Gemüse*, *gewesen* ('was' or 'were'), and the construction *ich sage* ('I say'), realized as [hɔit], [gmyːs], [gvɛːsə], and [iː sɑk] in the Sw*U* (Mihm 2000: 2121) and [hɔytə], [gəmyːzə], [gəveːzn̩], [ɪç zaːgə] in standard, are put forth as instances of this. The phenomenon is partly consistent with the deletion of /ə/ in word final position (the words *heute* and *Gemüse*, and the construction *ich sage*), and with the syncope of prefixes (the words *Gemüse* and *gewesen*), both mentioned earlier.
- <u>The raising of /ai/</u>
  - Spiekermann proffers the raising of /ai/ as typically Swabian (2008: 65). The diphthong stems from the MGH long vowel *î* and the phenomenon is part of the NHG diphthongization, which distinguishes Swabian from the other Alemannic dialects, where the *î* is generally preserved (Schwarz 2015: 51). In the standard the diphthong is realized /ai/, but in Swabian it is raised to /ɛi/, /əi/ (Spiekermann 2008: 65), or /eɪ/, /ei/ (Schwarz 2015). Examples of the raising of /ai/ are the words *Zeit* ('time') and *bleiben* ('stay' or 'remain') realized as [tsəit] (Spiekermann 2008: 65) and [bleib(n̩)] (Schwarz 2015: 57-61). However, Schwarz's study also reveal occurrences of non-raised forms in the Swabian area, which corresponds with the standard forms of the two word: [tsait] (2015: 84-88) and [blaibn̩] (Schwarz 2015: 57-61). In the other Alemannic dialects these two words are realized with the MHG *î*: [tsit]/[tsiːt] and [bli(ː)b(n̩)] (Schwarz 2015: 57-61, 84-88).

[42] *Gut dran* ('well off'), *jemand kommt dran* ('it is somebody's turn'), *an etwas dran bleiben* ('to stay tuned to something') (https://dict.leo.org/ende/index_en.html#/search=dran&searchLoc=0&resultOrder=basic&multiwordShowSingle=on)

- Mihm mentions this phenomenon as part of the distinction between the old diphthong /ɑi/ (2000:2121) or /ai/ (Spiekermann 2008: 65) and the new diphthong /əi/, derived from the MHG *î,* in the Sw*U* (2000: 2121). He refers to the words *heiß* (‘hot’) and *laufen* (‘to run’), realized [hɑis] and [lɔufə], as examples of the former, and to the words *Zeit* (‘time’) and *saufen* (‘to swig’ or ‘to quaff’), realized [tsəit] and [səufə], as examples of the latter (Mihm 2000: 2121). In standard these words are realized [hais], [laufn̩], [tsait], and [zaufn̩].

- The raising of /au/ to /ɔu/
  - In Swabian the MHG long vowel *û* is diphthongized and is realized as /ɔu/ (Spiekermann 2008: 65). The raising of the diphthong sets Swabian apart from the standard where it is realized /au/. An example of this is the word *Haus* (‘house’), which is realized [haus] in standard and [hɔʊs] (Schwarz 2015: 91) in Swabian. Schwarz, however, points out that there are also occurrences of non-raised forms in Swabian (2015: 91), which means that the realization of these forms are very close to the standard realization of this diphthong. The diphthong is part of the NHG diphthongization mentioned earlier, and in the other Alemannic dialects the MHG *û* is preserved: [huːs]/[hus] (Schwarz 2015: 91).

- The spirantization of /r/
  - Spiekermann emphasizes that this phenomenon is not very
  - frequent in Swabian and the Alemannic dialects in general (2008: 73). However he does point to occurrences found in the northern part of the Upper Rhine Alemannic dialect area and the Lake Constance Alemannic area (spirantization of /r/ in final position), and occurrences found in Swabian (spirantization of /r/ as a post-vowel consonant) (Spiekermann 2008: 73). The latter he considers to be more of a Franconian phenomenon but mentions the word *gern* (‘willingly’ or ‘gladly’) as an example that is found in Swabian where it is realized as [gɛʁn] or [gɛχn] (Spiekermann 2008: 73), whereas it is realized as [gɛrn] in standard. As for the former he points to the word *Tür* (‘door’) as an example. In Swabian *Tür* is realized [tyːʁ] or [tyːχ] (Spiekermann 2008: 73) and in standard [tyːɐ̯].

- *Das* is realized with /ɛ/
  - This phenomenon is found in entire Baden-Württemberg and concerns the pronoun and article *das* (‘this’ or ‘the’) but not the conjunction *dass* (‘that’) (Spiekermann 2008: 74). According to Spiekermann there is quite some variation in the use of both the German standard *das,* [das], and the regional realization [dɛs] in the Swabian dialect area (2008: 75).

- The preservation of MHG diphthongs
  - This phenomenon Mihm counts among those typical of Central Swabian (2000: 2121). Schwarz points out that (on the base dialectal level) this phenomenon is

found in all of southern Germany alongside the German speaking parts of Switzerland and Austria – the Upper German dialect area (2015: 343). Mihm identifies the cases of *lieb* (‘dear’ or ‘nice’), *gut* (‘sound’ or ‘good’), and *müssen* (‘must’ or ‘have to’), realized as [liːəb], [guːət], and [miːəsə], respectively, as examples of the preservation of MGH diphthongs (2000: 2121). In standard their realizations are [liːp], [guːt], and [mʏsn̩].

- The lowering of high short vowels
  - The lowering of high short vowels before nasals are also considered typical of Central Swabian by Mihm (2000), and he mentions the words *finden*, realized with /e/ (and deletion of /n/), [fendə], and *gebunden*, realized with /o/ (and deletion of /ge/ and /n/), [bondə], as examples of this (: 2121). In standard they are realized [fɪndn̩] and [gəbʊndn̩].
- Particular forms of verbs
  - Mihm (2000) also calls attention to a number of forms of verbs that are realized in a particular way typical of Central Swabian. These are the verbs *habe* (‘to have’), *gehe* (‘to walk’ or ‘to go’), and *stehe* (‘to stand’) (all 1. person singular), as well as *sagt* (‘to say’ – 3. person singular), and *gewesen* (past participle of *sein* = ‘to be’), realized as [hən], [gɑŋ], [ʃtɑnt], [seχt], and [gvɛː], respectively, (: 2121). These are realized [haːbə], [geː(ə)] (red.), [ʃteː(ə)] (red.), [zaːkt], and [gəveːzn̩] in standard.

Appendix 5: The SEE evaluations: females vs. females and males vs. males

SEE: Female Groups

Grp.	Mean	Sign.	Grp.	Mean	Sign.	Grp.	Mean	Sign.	Grp.	Mean	Sign.
Intelligent			**Serious**			**Ambitious**			**Trustworthy**		
BE_f	2.46	0.028	BE_f	2.97	n.s.	BE_f	2.83	n.s.	BE_f	2.62	0.013
ST_f	2.70		ST_f	3.16		ST_f	3.01		ST_f	2.87	
BE_f	2.46	0.000	BE_f	2.97	0.000	BE_f	2.83	0.000	BE_f	2.62	0.000
RE_f	3.26		RE_f	3.70		RE_f	3.78		RE_f	3.28	
ST_f	2.70	0.000	ST_f	3.16	0.000	ST_f	3.01	0.000	ST_f	2.87	0.000
RE_f	3.26		RE_f	3.70		RE_f	3.78		RE_f	3.28	
Self-assured			**Fascinating**			**Cool**			**Nice**		
BE_f	2.41	0.002	BE_f	3.01	n.s.	BE_f	3.41	n.s.	BE_f	2.26	0.000
ST_f	2.78		ST_f	3.07		ST_f	3.45		ST_f	2.59	
BE_f	2.41	0.000	BE_f	3.01	0.000	BE_f	3.41	0.000	BE_f	2.26	0.000
RE_f	3.51		RE_f	4.10		RE_f	4.14		RE_f	3.07	
ST_f	2.78	0.000	ST_f	3.07	0.000	ST_f	3.45	0.000	ST_f	2.59	0.001
RE_f	3.51		RE_f	4.10		RE_f	4.14		RE_f	3.07	

Friedman test (multiple related samples) w. Bonferroni correction for multiple tests , N = 235, BE = Berlin, ST = Stuttgart, RE = Reutlingen, f = female, m = male, n.s. = no significance, p<.05.

SEE: Male Groups

Grp.	Mean	Sign.	Grp.	Mean	Sign.	Grp.	Mean	Sign.	Grp.	Mean	Sign.
Intelligent			**Serious**			**Ambitious**			**Trustworthy**		
BE_m	2.57	0.004	BE_m	3.12	0.008	BE_m	3.18	0.000	BE_m	3.09	0.045
ST_m	2.93		ST_m	3.36		ST_m	3.69		ST_m	3.34	
BE_m	2.57	0.000	BE_m	3.12	0.000	BE_m	3.18	0.000	BE_m	3.09	0.001
RE_m	3.54		RE_m	3.62		RE_m	3.78		RE_m	3.44	
ST_m	2.93	0.000	ST_m	3.36	n.s.	ST_m	3.69	n.s.	ST_m	3.34	n.s.
RE_m	3.54		RE_m	3.62		RE_m	3.78		RE_m	3.44	
Self-assured			**Fascinating**			**Cool**			**Nice**		
ST_m	3.23	n.s.	RE_m	3.58	n.s.	RE_m	3.36	n.s.	RE_m	2.85	n.s.
BE_m	3.30		ST_m	3.77		ST_m	3.75		BE_m	3.02	
ST_m	3.23	n.s.	RE_m	3.58	n.s.	RE_m	3.36	0.000	RE_m	2.85	n.s.
RE_m	3.31		BE_m	3.82		BE_m	4.25		ST_m	3.07	
BE_m	3.30	n.s.	ST_m	3.77	n.s.	ST_m	3.75	0.001	BE_m	3.02	n.s.
RE_m	3.31		BE_m	3.82		BE_m	4.25		ST_m	3.07	

Friedman test (multiple related samples) w. Bonferroni correction for multiple tests , N = 235, BE = Berlin, ST = Stuttgart, RE = Reutlingen, f = female, m = male, n.s. = no significance, p<.05.

Appendix 6: Factor analyses

Total Variance Explained

Component	Initial Eigenvalues			Extraction Sums of Squared Loadings		
	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %
1	5,175	64,685	64,685	5,175	64,685	64,685
2	,648	8,103	72,788			
3	,573	7,168	79,956			
4	,452	5,648	85,604			
5	,413	5,158	90,761			
6	,290	3,629	94,390			
7	,234	2,927	97,317			
8	,215	2,683	100,000			

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

Factor analysis of the results of the adjective scales

Total Variance Explained

Component	Initial Eigenvalues			Extraction Sums of Squared Loadings			Rotation Sums of Squared Loadings		
	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %
1	5,175	64,685	64,685	5,175	64,685	64,685	2,247	28,089	28,089
2	,648	8,103	72,788	,648	8,103	72,788	1,855	23,185	51,273
3	,573	7,168	79,956	,573	7,168	79,956	1,544	19,298	70,571
4	,452	5,648	85,604	,452	5,648	85,604	1,203	15,033	85,604
5	,413	5,158	90,761						
6	,290	3,629	94,390						
7	,234	2,927	97,317						
8	,215	2,683	100,000						

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

Factor analysis of the results of the adjective scales: four components extracted

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Total Variance Explained

Component	Initial Eigenvalues			Extraction Sums of Squared Loadings			Rotation Sums of Squared Loadings		
	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %
1	5,175	64,685	64,685	5,175	64,685	64,685	2,632	32,894	32,894
2	,648	8,103	72,788	,648	8,103	72,788	2,409	30,114	63,009
3	,573	7,168	79,956	,573	7,168	79,956	1,356	16,947	79,956
4	,452	5,648	85,604						
5	,413	5,158	90,761						
6	,290	3,629	94,390						
7	,234	2,927	97,317						
8	,215	2,683	100,000						

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

Factor analysis of the results of the adjective scales: three components extracted

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Total Variance Explained

Component	Initial Eigenvalues			Extraction Sums of Squared Loadings			Rotation Sums of Squared Loadings		
	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %
1	5,175	64,685	64,685	5,175	64,685	64,685	3,173	39,662	39,662
2	,648	8,103	72,788	,648	8,103	72,788	2,650	33,126	72,788
3	,573	7,168	79,956						
4	,452	5,648	85,604						
5	,413	5,158	90,761						
6	,290	3,629	94,390						
7	,234	2,927	97,317						
8	,215	2,683	100,000						

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

Factor analysis of the results of the adjective scales: two components extracted

Appendix 7: The standardness of B045m, B051m and R014m

Test Statistics[a]

	S_029_m_hoch deutsch - B_045_m_hoch hdeutsch	B_048_f_hoch deutsch - B_045_m_hoch hdeutsch	R_013_m_hoch hdeutsch - B_045_m_hoch hdeutsch	S_032_f_hoch deutsch - B_045_m_hoch hdeutsch	R_017_f_hoch deutsch - B_045_m_hoch hdeutsch	S_035_m_hoch deutsch - B_045_m_hoch hdeutsch	B_053_f_hoch deutsch - B_045_m_hoch hdeutsch	R_014_m_hoch hdeutsch - B_045_m_hoch hdeutsch
Z	-7,952[b]	-3,839[b]	-9,732[b]	-6,909[b]	-7,717[b]	-8,688[b]	-5,554[b]	-10,473[b]
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	,000	,000	,000	,000	,000	,000	,000	,000

Test Statistics[a]

	S_041_f_hoch deutsch - B_045_m_hoch hdeutsch	B_051_m_hoch hdeutsch - B_045_m_hoch hdeutsch	R_018_f_hoch deutsch - B_045_m_hoch hdeutsch
Z	-5,749[b]	-9,130[b]	-10,278[b]
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	,000	,000	,000

a. Wilcoxon Signed Ranks Test

b. Based on negative ranks.

The standardness of B045m compared to the other voices

Test Statistics[a]

	B_051_m_hoch hdeutsch - S_029_m_hoch deutsch	B_051_m_hoch hdeutsch - B_048_f_hoch deutsch	B_051_m_hoch hdeutsch - R_013_m_hoch hdeutsch	B_051_m_hoch hdeutsch - S_032_f_hoch deutsch	B_051_m_hoch hdeutsch - B_045_m_hoch hdeutsch	B_051_m_hoch hdeutsch - R_017_f_hoch deutsch	B_051_m_hoch hdeutsch - S_035_m_hoch deutsch	B_051_m_hoch hdeutsch - B_053_f_hoch deutsch
Z	-4,070[b]	-7,767[b]	-5,432[c]	-6,315[b]	-9,130[b]	-3,956[b]	-,165[b]	-6,292[b]
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	,000	,000	,000	,000	,000	,000	,869	,000

Test Statistics[a]

	B_051_m_hoch hdeutsch - R_014_m_hoch hdeutsch	B_051_m_hoch hdeutsch - S_041_f_hoch deutsch	B_051_m_hoch hdeutsch - R_018_f_hoch deutsch
Z	-6,792[c]	-7,041[b]	-5,836[c]
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	,000	,000	,000

a. Wilcoxon Signed Ranks Test

b. Based on negative ranks.

c. Based on positive ranks.

The standardness of B051m compared to the other voices

Test Statistics[a]

	S_029_m_hoch deutsch - R_014_m_hoch hdeutsch	B_048_f_hoch deutsch - R_014_m_hoch hdeutsch	R_013_m_hoch hdeutsch - R_014_m_hoch hdeutsch	S_032_f_hoch deutsch - R_014_m_location_1_S_2_R_3_B	B_045_m_hoch hdeutsch - R_014_m_hoch hdeutsch	R_017_f_hoch deutsch - R_014_m_hoch hdeutsch	S_035_m_hoch deutsch - R_014_m_hoch hdeutsch	B_053_f_hoch deutsch - R_014_m_hoch hdeutsch
Z	-8,424[b]	-10,185[b]	-3,020[b]	-9,837[c]	-10,473[b]	-8,597[b]	-7,518[b]	-9,677[b]
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	,000	,000	,003	,000	,000	,000	,000	,000

Test Statistics[a]

	S_041_f_hoch deutsch - R_014_m_hoch hdeutsch	B_051_m_hoch hdeutsch - R_014_m_hoch hdeutsch	R_018_f_hoch deutsch - R_014_m_hoch hdeutsch
Z	-9,774[b]	-6,792[b]	-2,074[b]
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	,000	,000	,038

a. Wilcoxon Signed Ranks Test

b. Based on positive ranks.

c. Based on negative ranks.

The standardness of R014m compared to the other voices
