GERMAN AND GERMAN DISUNITY: AN INVESTIGATION INTO THE

COGNITIVE PATTERNS AND PERCEPTIONS OF LANGUAGE IN POST-UNIFIED

GERMANY

by

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(Under the Direction of William A. Kretzschmar, Jr.)

ABSTRACT

This study investigates folk perceptions of speech in post-reunified Germany, exploring how such perceptions are cognitively created, organized, and maintained. Using a modified form of Tamasi's pile-sorting methodology (2003), this study specifically examines how German political disunity (i.e. "*Mauer in den Köpfen*" or "wall of the mind") is manifested in speech evaluations and further explores the cognitive factors involved in spatial perceptions of regional speech varieties.

A total of sixty-one informants from two locations (Dresden, Saxony, and Bamberg, Bavaria) took part in a four-part interview designed to elicit their perceptions of variation in German. Informants were given cards with the names of German cities printed on them. They were asked to sort and divide the cards into piles according to where they think people speak differently. They were then given a set of social and linguistic descriptors with which they could describe and evaluate the dialect piles they had made. The third task asked participants to recognize and evaluate female and male voices from three locations within Germany (Dresden, Bamberg, and Hanover) using the same descriptors they used in the pile-sorting task. Lastly, informants were asked to answer a series of brief questions to clarify and substantiate quantitative results obtained in the previous tasks.

Results from this study show that a "linguistic wall" clearly exists in the perceptions of West German respondents as revealed in their negative evaluation of eastern (Saxon) dialects. In contrast, Saxon informants do not maintain a perceptual 'wall' based on negative evaluations of western speech varieties; while they are aware of the negative linguistic stereotypes associated with their own dialect, Saxon informants

perceive Saxon German to be just as pleasant as other regional varieties. Additional data show that informants' spatial perceptions of speech are not only significantly influenced by non-speech information such as geographical or cultural knowledge but also by a lack of linguistic knowledge.

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INTRODUCTION

Ich glaube, wer kein Sachse ist, müss sich bemühen, so sprechen zu lernen, dass man wenigstens seine Landmannschaft nicht errate.[1]

(Hermes, 1782)

<u>Introduction</u>

While conducting the fieldwork required for this study, I passed a printed advertisement for an exhibit being held in Nuremberg that posed in big black bold lettering the question, "*Was ist deutsch?*" More interesting, however, was the answer someone had written in shaky handwriting underneath the poster: "*Deutsch ist eine Sprache und ein Land.*"[2] I found it intriguing that above all other possibilities "*Deutsch,*" or "German," was attributed to language, for it demonstrates the powerful role language can have in forming and galvanizing social identity. Behind the simple question and answer presented in the advertisement lies a very complex multi-layered relationship. Sociolinguists and other social scientists have shown language to play a key role in the establishment of social identity through language choice and variation within the language, and such findings resonate loudly in German-speaking areas of Europe.

Beginning with Luther's translations of the Bible, language has served to link German speakers together. It plays a central role in the cultural self-image of the Germans, creates an identity beyond political boundaries, and forms the intellectual basis

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[1] I think whoever is not a Saxon will have to try very hard to learn how to speak so that they do not give away where they come from.

[2] "German is a language and a country."

for the *Kulturnation*. Understanding its unifying power, many governments have used language, specifically the standardization of language, as a means to enforce claims of cultural and political unity. Nineteenth-century scholar George P. Marsh commented, "It is evident that unity of speech is essential to the unity of a people" (as qtd. in Milroy, 2001, p. 549). *Sprachvereine* and German grammarians such as the Grimm brothers and Justus Georg Schottel sought tirelessly to fashion a *Lingua ipsa Germanicus*. In the many centuries of political fragmentation in the region, the formal standard German language, scarcely a spoken language, came to represent national identity and was fostered in an often purist and prescriptive spirit to the neglect of other regional forms.[3] With the emergence of nation states in the 19th century, a vital rallying cry for European governments became the principle of "one country, one language, one people." Today, we are accustomed to thinking of most European countries as monolingual; few people these days would reject the proposition, for example, that "Germans speak German" (Trudgill, 2000, pp. 119-146).

In reality, however, the linguistic situation is often much more complicated than most people might believe or governments might acknowledge. Nearly all countries around the world contain both indigenous linguistic minorities and dialect speakers whose varieties can be quite different than the state-supported code. Issues of power and disfranchisement become intertwined with questions of exactly whose language should be elevated to the prestige variety of the land. Language *can* be employed to construct a common national identity, but it can also be decidedly divisive at the same time. German

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[3] There are many recent examples of attempts by governments to further political aims via language; e.g. the repression of Spain's regional languages during Franco's reign or China's insistence of referring to mutually unintelligible dialects as varieties of the same language. Language societies such as the "English Only" movement are just as active now as in the past and use similar visions of cultural and political unity to justify their push to make English the single "official" language of the United States.

is a language, as the anonymous writer above maintains; however, this statement implies that it is a single entity, ignoring not only other minority languages spoken by Germans, but also the diversity of the German language in all its forms. Today's German states do share a common written language known as "*Hochdeutsch*" – nonetheless, the mind-boggling linguistic variation found in spoken German mirrors the cultural differences that still set the German regions distinctly apart.[4] Clyne (1995, p.218) observes that "the German language is both a unifier and separator of people. … it reflects both cultural cohesion and socioeconomic and political division …" and much has been written about the tribal nature of German culture, with the German concept of *Heimat*[5] demonstrating a strong bond with one's region or locality (Radice,1995; Bausinger, 2002; Stern, 2002).

In the face of the overwhelming globalizing forces of the 20th and 21st centuries, it should be no surprise that large parts of Germany still use dialect to express regional identity. As Delpit (2002) points out, "Our home language is as viscerally tied to our beings as existence itself … [it] embraces us long before we are defined by any other medium of identity" (p. xvii). Regardless of where we are from, the manner in which we speak is inextricably tied to who we are and how we are perceived by others. After hearing just a few words, we start to form opinions concerning a speaker's background, including socially significant indicators such as class, region, personality, gender and ethnicity. Oftentimes we make positive or negative assessments based not so much on what people say but rather on how they say it. In this sense, language is not only a process of communication – it serves as a means of solidarity, resistance, and identity

[4] Oddly, as I found out later through a friend, the "Was ist deutsch?" exhibit included very little about the history of the German language.

[5] The word means roughly 'home region" but has a special meaning that denotes a feeling of "belonging" to a restricted area or community, encompassing unique cultural traditions such as regional dialect.

within a culture and reinforces other perceived social differences. We are constantly

shaping and defining categories to make sense of the world and the knowledge and

information around us: we may use man-made physical barriers such as the Berlin Wall

or invisible lines found on a map such as the Mason-Dixon Line. The barriers can also be

cultural divisions based on region, skin color or lifestyles, e.g. Bavarians and Saxons,

blacks and whites, or "burn-outs" and "jocks."[6]

  In terms of such boundaries, the relationship between 'self' and 'other' is

considered to be the basic mechanism of identity construction and the main indicator of

cultural diversity. Freud (1985) was first to postulate that collective identity is established

on the dual principle of 'own' –'alien.' The ambivalence of the human identification

process is inherent – the 'self' cannot have an image or face without the 'other,' and in

fact all his/her characteristics are perceived, analyzed and esteemed in comparison to the

characteristics of the 'other.' As pointed out in Delanty (1999), "Not only individuals but

also groups need the 'other' to affirm what they perceive is typically and uniquely theirs"

(p. 366). How we speak then also draws lines and sets us apart or brings us together and

seals allegiances. Language provides an important cue for such categorization and is

often considered to be the most important and valued dimensions of group identity

(LePage & Tabouret-Keller, 1985; Trask, 1996, p. 85; Lippi-Green, 1997 p. 5), used

simultaneously to assert our identity and also ascertain who belongs in an in-group and

who does not. As one of my respondents succinctly put it when asked to describe regional

language variation in Germany, "Well, it all comes down to us Catholics and those

Prussians, doesn't it?" Thus, language can be used to demonstrate solidarity within a

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[6] As in Eckert's (2000) study of two peer groups in Michigan public schools.

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defined group – the "we" – but can also be employed to express distance – the "them" – regardless of the nature of the criteria.

This study investigates the depth of one such opposition in post-reunified Germany by analyzing evaluations of regional dialects as an indicator of group identity. In the last months of 1989, the wall that divided West and East Germany was gradually dismantled and reunification was formally concluded on October 3, 1990. However, once the physical and political barriers were removed, social ones were quick to replace them (Barden & Grosskopf, 1997, pp. 36-42; Stevenson, 2002, pp.115-186). The initial euphoria of reunification quickly passed as the harsh economic realities of bringing together two countries with very different political and economic systems began to take hold. Stevenson (2002, pp. 172-185) asserts that after reunification "eastness" and "westness" became *the* criteria of identification in German society, more important than age, gender, or profession. By the early '90s many German magazines, journals and newspapers began using the term "Mauer in den Köpfen"[7] to describe the emerging social conflicts and barriers between East and West Germans.[8]

Citizens on both sides have blamed one another for the slow pace of social and economic advances, and this finger-pointing has led to mutual stereotyping. While daily life for West Germans remained relatively unaltered after the fall of the wall, life for East Germans changed so dramatically that equating reunified Germany with the country they grew up in can be problematic. Stripped of their socialist clothing, many older East Germans feel deprived of both their country and their identity. Even younger East

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[7] Literally,"The Wall of the Mind."

[8] As it is a contention throughout this work that despite reunification East and West Germans still exist as distinctive groups, I have chosen to capitalize them.

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Germans who never experienced life in the German Democratic Republic regard certain aspects of their former country with nostalgia, or *Ostlagie.*[9] Westerners, for their part, often question what the East brought to the West beyond enormous government expenditures, and many complain of *Ossis*[10] as being lazy, unmotivated and culturally backward; on the other hand, *Ossis* perceive *Wessis* as aggressive, materialistic, and far too arrogant for their own good.

Although the reunification was approved by popular consent in both countries, the two Germanys have never been seen as equals. Stevenson (2002) compares social relations in unified Germany to North-South post-Civil War divisions in the United States in a manner that I believe is accurate. He argues (2002, p. 184), "The dominant way in which reunified Germany has been constructed as a new nation depends heavily on casting the east in the role of 'evil tendencies overcome, mistakes atoned for, progress yet to be made'" (Ayers, 1996, as qtd. in Stevenson 2002, p.184). West Germans had received by far the better of the post-war deal: they had the advantages of a democratic society and a social market economy and therefore had more economic power, a larger land mass and population, a higher standard of living and education, and the freedom to travel; in contrast, East Germans lived in the most rigidly orthodox communist state in the Eastern Bloc. Moreover, when the Wall fell and reunification occurred, East Germany gave up its identity and took the name, constitution, and laws of the former West Germany. Political, social, and economic changes have almost always required East Germans to conform to established West German norms (Radice, 1995, pp.19-55;

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[9] Nostalgia for all things associated with the former GDR culture such as cars, music, traffic lights, and even dilled pickels.

[10] A nickname for former East Germans; conversely "Wessis" for former West Germans.

Stevenson, 2002, p. 115), and soon after unification many East Germans started to resent the "internal" colonization of their country.

Such conditions led many East Germans to feel socially inferior and indebted. Differences between East and West quickly became an issue that was closely watched and commented on by the media and layperson alike. Language was no exception. While few East Germans lamented the passing of the GDR's political system or the political language associated with it, East German speakers resented the way eastern terms for everyday life were replaced in the media by "more appropriate" western equivalents (Schönfeld 1993; Stevenson, 2002, pp.115-129; Mummert, 2006). Certain words used exclusively in the GDR such as *Broiler* or *Einraumwohnung*[11] became shibboleths in German society that immediately revealed the identity of the "East" German speaker. Clyne illustrates this point (1995, p.78):

> It is only the East Germans who are expected to make an adjustment [to their language]. There is virtually no convergence in the opposite direction, just as they have become part of the Federal Republic. The onus is on the East Germans to avoid miscommunication

Popular western German views of reunification of West and East German (and the unification process in general) can be summed up so: "*Die ha'm die Einheit jewollt un müssen sich nun unsren Jargon aneignen*" (Schönfeld & Schlobinski, 1997, p.132).[12] The displacement of everyday terms and linguistic discrimination fueled eastern perceptions of western "linguistic imperialism," and thereby simultaneously provided more evidence of the western sociopolitical colonization of the East.

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[11] "Broiler" refers to a roasted chicken; "Einraumwohnung" is a one room apartment.

[12] They are the ones who wanted the unification, so they have to get used to our language [in Berliner dialect].

The effects of the East/West divide and reunification on the German language also captured the attention of professionals. Social scientists had hotly debated[13] whether two distinct varieties of German had emerged as a product of a divided Germany long before the fall of the Berlin Wall. The general consensus was that at least according to linguistic criterion, political separation never resulted in two significantly different standard varieties of German (Stedje, 2001, p. 212; Kühn et al., 2001; Stevenson, 2002, p. 44.).[14] Instead, as Stevenson rightly surmises in his examination of the role of language in the unification of Germany, the real issue is:

> … one of social inequality that does not arise through linguistic or communicative differences: language is neither the problem nor the solution. But since language is perceived as a salient component of group identity especially strongly in the German context … and since communicative interaction is the primary site of self-representation and for the forming and developing perceptions of others, the burden of achieving social integration and of explaining the failure of this goal of unification is frequently transferred onto this [linguistic] level.

> (Stevenson, 2002 p.236)

Language became a metaphor for social difference as political, economic, and sociocultural problems, i.e. nonlinguistic differences, were projected onto linguistic differences. Despite the removal of physical barriers, Dailey-O'Cain (1999) supports Stevenson's conclusions, demonstrating a barrier of linguistic perceptions, or *Sprachmauer*, manifested through the evaluations of regional dialects along old East-West German political boundaries. She concluded her study with the observation: "It is obvious … that the much discussed German 'wall in the mind' is still evident not only in

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[13] Since the 1950s (Stedje, 2001).

[14] Recent studies such as Auer (1998) and Birkner & Kern (2000) conclude that there is some divergence on the level of discourse; however, minimal empirical evidence has been found to support claims of divergence in Standard German (Kühn et al., 2001).

terms of economic and social differences but also in terms of perceived language differences" (p. 239), meaning that, even if linguists have failed to find of linguistic differences for it, the general public perceives salient language differences between East and West German speakers.

Real or imagined, perceived differences can have a profound effect on society. Using examples drawn from the classroom, the court, the media, and corporate culture, Lippi-Green (1997) exposed the way in which discrimination based on language in the U.S. functions to support and perpetuate unequal social structures and power relations. Baugh (1996) examined how linguistic input is associated with social features and addressed the implications his results had for linguistic discrimination based on perceptions of race. In a hypothetical job interview, Dailey-O'Cain (1999, p. 240) notes strong western prejudices against eastern-speaking Germans, with the informant justifying his bias by stating Saxon accents are 'exotic' and 'strange' to western ears.

One can certainly argue that relations between East and West are at an all-time low, and this has made both sides look for differences. The eastern states of Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, Thuringia, Saxony-Anhalt, Saxony, and the city-state of Berlin are still plagued by lingering economic depression, high unemployment, and depopulation. The latest poll carried out by the *Sozialverband Volkssolidarität* shows record dissatisfaction among easterners with their lives (Meiritz, 2007). Unemployment, feelings of social discrimination and alienation, and loss of identity have all contributed to the perceptions of difference that many Germans thought would have disappeared within 10 years of reunification (Berg *et al.*, 2004, pp. 44-60). *Die Zeit* (Büscher, 2005, p.13) states that just such factors have led to a hardening of attitudes against the West and

strengthening of solidarity: "*So ostig wie heute war der Osten lange nicht mehr ... und es ist klar: Besonders fest halten diejenigen an ihrer beleidigten und erniedrigten Ost-Identität, die sonst nicht viel haben, woran sie festhalten könnten.*" [15] West Germans, on the other hand, look with envy to the neatly restored cities of the East that were renovated to a large extent with their tax money. There is an increased impatience with the east; many feel the new states have had enough time and enough money – they should be able to fend for themselves now. Westerners see the East as a never-ending "landscape of misery" populated by "miserable" people who are too caught up with their past to look ahead to the future.[16] Recent election results have fueled fears in the West of a reemergence of right-wing political groups and a new wave of violence directed at foreigners. One sign staked in front of the Reichstag after the 2004 state parliamentary elections summed up the sentiments for many in the West: "*9,2 % Sachsen haben 100% Deutschland geschadet.*"[17]

By investigating perceptions of a highly-stigmatized variety in present-day Germany, vz. the dialects of the eastern state of Saxony, this study will re-examine the question of a "wall in the mind" and investigate how social identity is maintained through language. Using a combination of methods developed by Susan Tamasi (2003) to study perceptions of language variation in the United States, this study re-examines in greater detail the validity and existence of a linguistic divide along an East/West axis by

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[15] "The East has never been more eastern than it is today … and one thing is clear: Those who have little to hold on to, hold on tightly to their degraded Eastern identity." (some of these translations are in quotes and others aren't, and I haven't found the best way to deal with them yet)

[16] Meritz (2007)

[17] "9.2% of Saxony has harmed 100% of Germany" – in reference to the percentage of Saxons who voted for the right-wing political party NPD, or National Party of Germany, during the 2004 state parliamentary elections (Kennetz, 2006).

comparing perceptions of language from two speech communities, one situated in Saxony (Dresden) and the other located in the former West Germany (Bamberg, Bavaria). Thus, the study intends to show how social identity is constructed and maintained through the evaluation of regional dialect.

In terms of German East /West identity, no dialect plays a more decisive role than Saxon German. Once a prestige variety, since the mid-18th century it has been one of the least popular and most salient of German dialects (Zimmermann, 1992). The partition and reunification of Germany in the 20th century have added a fresh socio-political dimension and even stronger stigmatization of the dialect (Dailey-O'Cain, 1997; Stevenson, 2002). For West Germans, Saxon is *the* dialect of the East (Stickel, 2002, p. 57; Auer, 2004, p.154), often assumed by many to be the only dialect in the former East German territories. For Germans on both sides of the Wall, Saxon German was the "voice of the ruling party" of East Germany for over 30 years due in large part to Saxon domination in many state organizations in the former GDR (Barbour & Stevenson, 1990, p.124; Stevenson, 2002, p.169).[18] Although arguably enjoying greater success than the other new federal states, Saxony is still plagued by lingering economic depression, high unemployment, and depopulation, and these socioeconomic factors have certainly not aided the already negative prestige of the Saxon dialects outside its home borders. These developments have led to Saxon German becoming a strong index of "easternness" that in turn is often associated with GDR border guards, an inferior way of life, the economic

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[18] Most notably Walter Ulbricht, who led the Socialist Unity Party in the German Democratic Republic (GDR) from 1950 to 1971 and was a native of Saxony.

and social challenges of reunification, and even right-wing extremism (Zimmerman, 1992; Stevenson, 2002, p. 175-182).[19]

The aim of this study is threefold. First, as mentioned above, this study employs recently-introduced methods adapted from Tamasi (2003) to elicit folk knowledge of language. With the intention of confirming or challenging previous findings and looking at patterns across cultures, results of this study are compared to the outcomes of an earlier study done on U.S. speech communities (Tamasi, 2003). In addition, perceptions of German language variation are compared to data from more traditional production-driven studies. Through the use of this new method, this work hopes to ontroduce a new cognitive line of inquiry within the field of perceptual dialectology and the study of language variation.

The second research question concerns barriers that still divide East and West. Namely, is the "*Mauer in den Köpfen*" still a major influence in today's evaluations and perceptions of regional German? This dissertation finds answers to this question by investigating laypersons' perceptions of language variation in two speech communities, each located on opposite sides of the former political border, and revealing how language can play a role in the political *disunity* of a nation despite the disintegration of political borders. In her study of national perceptions of German dialects, Dailey-O'Cain (1997) cited limited contact between East and West Germans as one possible source of western Germans' negative evaluation of eastern varieties of German, including Saxon. While such evaluations may have been the result of little or no contact with eastern dialect

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[19] As Woolard & Schifflein point out (1994, p. 61): "[L]anguage varieties that are regularly associated with particular speakers are often revalorized or misrecognized not as just symbols of group identity, but as emblems of political allegiance or of social, intellectual, and moral worth."

speakers, they could have also been used simply to justify biased views of the East.[20] Furthermore, Dailey-O'Cain's data was collected in 1994, only a few years after reunification. With the time that has elapsed since reunification, and the contact between the two peoples that has presumably occurred as a result, are eastern dialects (Saxon) less stigmatized in western speech communities than they were at the time of Dailey-O'Cain' study or are they still being used by westerners as a proxy for their social critiques of the East?

A further aim of this study is to examine in greater depth Saxon perceptions of Saxon German. Despite Saxon German being identified in various formal and informal studies as one of the least popular and most salient of dialects in present-day Germany (Bausinger, 1972; Hundt, 1996; Kennetz, 1999; Stickel & Volz, 1999; Hundt, 2006), there have been only a handful of studies (Barden & Grosskopf, 1998; Huesmann, 1998; Kennetz, 1999; Anders, 2004) that have investigated either directly or indirectly the status of Saxon varieties among Saxon speakers themselves. Have Saxons internalized the negative perceptions that outsiders have of their accent or is a new sense of eastern pride emerging in opposition to perceived social prejudice? In this sense I am contributing to a growing body of research on folk language attitudes conducted in Germany, and more generally, to the study of perceptions of speech and stigmatized varieties.

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[20] Stevenson (2002, p.155) quotes figures from the *Statistisches Bundesamt*. From 1990-1999 the overall numbers for population movements between 'old' and 'new' *Bundesländer* were: from West to East 1,238,780; from East to West 2,059,816. Eastern movement to the West far outweighs western movement to the East. Despite the large-scale migration of East Germans who left for political and economic reasons, one can make the reasonable assumption from these figures that many westerners still have had little or no prolonged contact with eastern varieties. And one must keep in mind too that not all East Germans are Saxon speakers.

In the chapters that follow, Chapter Two provides a detailed review of published literature on language attitudes. Chapter Three focuses on sociolinguistic work done on German. A discussion of the methodology used in this study is included in Chapter Four. Chapters Five, Six, and Seven present, report, and discuss the data collected for each of this study's tasks. Finally, concluding remarks are presented in Chapter Eight, and there is also a discussion of considerations and implications for further studies.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

There are many, many ways to skin a linguistic cat …

D. Preston, 2000 (p.xxiii)

The preceding chapter introduced the main elements of interest to this investigation,
primarily focusing on the divisive role language can play in society and how this
phenomenon is manifested in German society through the evaluations of regional
dialects. This chapter offers a brief outline of the study of language attitudes and lay
beliefs of language, beginning with the discussion of several terms central to this
investigation, proceeding to a brief review of relevant language research and innovation
in the fields of social psychology, perceptual dialectology, and cognitive anthropology,
and concluding with a discussion of German-directed investigations[21] of German
language variation and folk linguistics.

Folk Linguistics

The study of dialects has been mainly concerned with differences among speakers
of a language in terms of their performance with the hope that through the study of
variation in such performances linguists will better be able to understand language
change. Traditionally in the field of linguistics, the way to study language variation or
dialects has been to describe speaker performance. Traditional dialectology or dialect
geography has devoted itself to discovering the distribution of linguistic forms in

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[21] With *German* I am referring to linguistic research done by German-speaking scholars on German-speaking countries and regions.

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geographical space; the only way this could be done was by comparing the actual speech of speakers from different places. The rationale has been to provide an empirical basis for conclusions about linguistic variety (Chambers & Trudgill, 1998, pp.13-52). The nature of these studies was that of a third-party scientist interviewing or recording the speech of a subject (layperson) who did not know specifically what was being studied. The opinion of the layperson or nonlinguist was never of any interest to the linguist or trained professional.

In contrast, folk linguistics is specifically the study of the beliefs and opinions of lay people about their language, that is, the study of "language about language" (Niedzielski & Preston, 2000, p. 302). In Preston (1989b; 1999), and in other studies such as Kretzschmar (2003) and Tamasi (2003), it is argued that explicit folk notions that are not based on production forms provide a helpful inference to both the production and attitude studies of regional varieties of a language. It has also been argued that this branch of linguistics that measures such perceptions, known as "perceptual dialectology," can also provide important supplementary material in the study of production differences, and it should not be dismissed as meaningless stereotyping or generalizations.[22] Indeed investigations of this nature can identify the status of different varieties in a society and why people react to language as they do. After all, what linguists believe about standards seems to have little effect on the perceptions and attitudes felt by the speech community using the language. With or without legitimate linguistic evidence to support them,

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[22] See Niedzielski & Preston (2000) for a detailed justification of folk linguistic research. Initially, linguists like Grootaers (1959) and Labov (1966) found folk responses to language "poverty stricken" and inaccurate, i.e., i.e. they did not match production-driven research and were therefore considered of little relevance to ongoing work on language variation.

speech communities often have strong attitudes about language use in the community as well as about the language used in surrounding areas.

Traditionally, the study of folk beliefs is one of anthropology's approaches to examining culture (Duranti, 1997; Niedzielski & Preston, 2000). Anthropologists define a culture or an ethnic group by observing and also by directly asking the people about various aspects of their life (Dorian, 1999). Ethnobotany is, for example, the study of the importance of plants to people. In turn, ethnolinguistics is the study of a people's language, how they view it, and how they use it. Instead of defining a particular dialect or dialect area in the third-party manner typical to linguistics, this discipline aims to give insight into a group's linguistic identity, or what Giles & Ryan (1982, p.208) call "ethno-linguistic identity" by way of the groups' perceptions and attitudes about their own variety and other varieties of their language. Two cognitive constructs central to investigating and understanding such perceptions are 'attitude' and 'stereotype'; before the body of language attitude research is reviewed, a brief outline of these essential terms is required.

<u>Attitudes</u>

The term 'attitude' is central in psychological theory and research, and its value as an indicator of opinion in the community attests to the concept's usefulness. From the late 19th century onwards, the modern psychological conception of attitude has been an important one, and Jaspers (1978, p.256) describes the term as "one of the key concepts of social psychology or even as the most distinctive and indispensable concept in (American) social psychology." Measurements of attitudes provide access to current community thoughts and beliefs, preferences, and desires concerning almost any topic.

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They provide social indicators of changing beliefs and preferences; more importantly, consideration of how attitudes relate to their causes and effects may provide insights into human functioning in any discipline. In terms of linguistic research, investigations of attitudes toward language have covered a broad range of language-related topics that includes attitudes towards language, speakers, and language-associated behavior. Language attitudes may in a very general sense simply express feelings towards a language or language variety (e.g. whether it is "ugly" or "friendly"). They may also describe perceptions of the speakers of such varieties, whether, for example Low German speakers are "dependable" or "sophisticated." Other topics that encompass behavior include researching attitudes towards language preference and use, attitudes toward language groups, communities, and minorities, and attitudes toward learning a new language (Fasold, 1984, pp.146-147; Baker, 1992, pp.8-21).

Definitions of attitude are surrounded by semantic disagreements and differences about the generality and specificity of the term.[23] The two major theories concerning the nature of attitudes in social psychology are the mentalist perspective and the behaviorist perspective. Most language-attitude studies tend to take a mentalist approach towards attitudes, i.e. an attitude as a state of readiness and "an intervening variable between a stimulus affecting a person and that of a person's response" (Fasold, 1984, p.147). In this sense an attitude is an internal state that prepares a person to react a certain way in a certain situation. An alternate way of looking at attitudes is from a behaviorist perspective: this theory posits that attitudes can be observed directly by looking at the responses people make to social situations, meaning attitudes are simply a response to a

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[23] It is possible to make subtle distinctions between "attitude" and related terms such as "motive", "trait" or "ideology"; see Newcomb, 1950; Cooper & McGaugh, 1966; Shaw & Wright, 1967; Gardner, 1985)

stimulus. Each view has its strengths and drawbacks; the advantage to researching

attitudes from a mentalist perspective is that a researcher would be able to make

predictions about behavior related to the attitudes being studied even if it is difficult to

gain access to such attitudes. Using the more straightforward behaviorist approach allows

researchers easier access to the attitude being studied, even if the implications of such

studies may not be as far reaching. The working definition preferred for this study is

taken from Ajzen (1988) and takes a mentalist position. For Ajzen (1988, p.4) an attitude

is a "disposition to respond favorably or unfavorably to an object, person, institution or

event."

Another aspect that has been debated is whether or not attitudes have recognizable

subparts. Most social psychologists/scientists who subscribe to a behaviorist position

view attitudes as a single unit (Fasold, 1984, p.147). Mentalists on the other hand usually

divide attitudes into sub-parts and there are various models on how this can be done;

however, generally speaking, attitudes are divided into cognitive (knowledge), affective

(feeling), and conative (action) components[24] (Rosenberg & Hovland, 1960), and this

paradigm can be easily applied to language attitudes (Baker, 1992, pp.12-13; Bradac,

Cargile, & Hallett, 2001, p.147).[25] In terms of relevance for the present research, it is

acknowledged that attitudes may well have distinct components, but for this study,

attitudes are investigated at a level where these components merge into the single unit or

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[24] This distinction is derived from the classical explanation given by Plato.

[25] A cognitive component might entail a stated belief in the importance of local dialect, and that it be handed down to future generations. The affective component might concern feelings towards the attitude object (e.g. Low German dialect). Such a feeling would encompass a love or hate of the dialect, perhaps a passion for poetry written in Low German dialect or an anxiety about using the dialect in public. Lastly, the conative component concerns a readiness of action or behavioral intention, i.e. parents who have a favorable attitude towards Low German would send their children to Low German language lessons after school.

attitude (Rosenberg & Hovland, 1960; Ajzen & Fishbein, 1980; Ajzen, 1988). Ajzen (1988, pp.22-23) summarizes this position: "The actual or symbolic presence of an object elicits a generally favorable or unfavorable evaluative reactiontowards the object. The attitude, in turn, predisposes cognitive, affective, and conative responses to the object, responses whose evaluative tone is consistent with the overall attitude."

According to Bradac, Cargile, & Hallett (2001, pp.138-151), language attitudes arise from at least three sources: cultural factors, functional biases, and biology. Within any culture some languages, dialects, and styles are valued, while others are stigmatized (how this comes about is further explained below), and these preferences are learned at an early age. Some linguistic forms are perceived as 'standard' and 'high' in vitality, while others are 'nonstandard' and 'low' in vitality (Ryan, Giles, & Sebastian 1982, pp. 3-6).

In addition, attitudes can be functional for those who hold them. As Tajfel (1981) observes, individuals use stereotypes to make a complex world orderly and predictable and to explain group relations. Bradac, Cargile, & Hallett (2001) also point out that " language attitudes that function to explain a hearer's social world are more likely to endure than are those that serve some lesser function; for example, a negative evaluation of Black Vernacular English made by a committed racist has a high survival potential, whereas a positive evaluation of a trendy expression does not" (p.147).

Biological sources of language attitudes are least understood of the three elements, but should be mentioned. It can be argued that evolution has endowed humans with innate tendencies to evaluate particular vocal qualities such as pitch and loudness, as

positively or negatively (Montepare & Zebrowitz-McArthur, 1987; Tusing & Dillard

1996) but this phenomenon needs to be researched further.

<u>Stereotypes</u>

Another term that is essential to this work is the cognitive construct of

'stereotype,' as language attitudes have been shown to be closely related to social

evaluations of the groups who speak them (Giles & Ryan, 1982; Bradac, Cargile, &

Hallett, 2001, p.147; Preston, 2002, p.40). Social psychologists have done exhaustive

research on why stereotypes exist, how they are formed and transmitted, and the

functions they serve in society. In any society or culture, stereotypes are universally

recognized and although the specific stereotype may differ according to the situation,

stereotypes nonetheless permeate society (Oakes, Haslam, & Turner, 1994, p.1); while it

is beyond the scope of this work to give in-depth summary of the research on this

construct, the basic principles are outlined below.

The term "stereotype" was first coined by Lippmann (1922) and he describes

stereotyping as a simplification process since the environment "… is altogether too big,

too complex, and too fleeting for direct acquaintance" (p.16). A review of definitional

issues suggests three conclusions regarding the meaning of stereotype as a social

psychological construct. First, there is general agreement that stereotypes have to do with

group membership and often are defined as ideas or attributes held about members of

particular groups, based solely on membership in that group (Ashmore & DelBoca, 1981,

p.13; Quasthoff, 1987).[26] In this sense stereotypes play a central role in establishing and

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[26]Zinker's (2004) definition of stereotype goes farther than group membership: "… stereotyping is regarded as a general mechanism of organizing knowledge about entities (objects, acts, relations) in the world. Thus, stereotypes are viewed as a chiefly cognitive phenomenon with the evaluative function of enforcing in- and out-groups in the case of social stereotypes being secondary." Therefore, although stereotyping is

maintaining social identity by defining "self" and "other" via various criteria.[27] Second,

ideas or attributes that are used to form such beliefs are often operationally defined as

personality trait adjectives.[28] Third, stereotype elements can be divided into two broad

classes, "identifying" and "ascribed." "Identifying" elements are cues that a perceiver

uses to identify a person as a member of particular social category, whereas "ascribed"

attributes are those attributes most commonly associated with a group once a stereotype

has been identified or triggered. For example, a perceiver might view the use of the

second person plural "y'all" as a salient feature of southern American English and might

ascribe to users of this form such social traits as "dumb," "trustworthy," or "rustic." Such

linguistic features as the future modal "fixin to" might give rise to similar evaluations.

There is also a general consensus of the importance of stereotypes in society. The

social functions served by stereotypes have been discussed at length by Tajifel (1981),

and they include making sense of social causality, establishing justifications for group

differences, and accentuating and clarifying differences between groups in favor of

certain groups. McGarty, Yzerbyt, & Spears (2002, pp.2-7) recognize three guiding

principles that explain the existence of stereotypes and the functions they serve: first,

stereotypes are aids to explanations, meaning that they are an instantiation of the

categorization process of information. In this sense we cannot have an impression of a

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traditionally restricted to social groups (as per Quasthoff, 1987), it can also be seen as a way of organizing various types of information and experiences.

[27] It is important to note that stereotypes are not only beliefs about characteristics typical of 'other' social groups (e.g. hetro-stereotypes, out-groups) but also include beliefs about one's own community (auto-stereotype or in-groups). Schäfer & Six (1978, p.20, as cited in Hundt [1992, p.6]) also describe the existence of stereotypes that address the way a group is perceived by other groups ('they' think of us as …) and the way other groups think of themselves ('they' think that 'they' are …).

[28] However as Ashmore & Del Boca (1981) argue, these are certainly not the only elements of the 'pictures in our heads' concerning social categories.

group unless we can tell the difference between that group and some other group. Secondly, stereotypes are energy-saving devices – meaning that stereotypes function as "short-cuts to thinking," i.e. through stereotypes humans can ignore all of the diverse and detailed information that is associated with individuals. Lastly, stereotypes are shared group beliefs; therefore, they provide a basis for coordinating behavior toward in-groups and out-groups. In this sense, shared stereotypes are useful for predicting and understanding behavior of members of one group to another.

In forming stereotypes people bring two key resources to bear (Shepard, Giles, & LePoire, 2001, p.39; McGarty, Yzerbyt & Spears, 2002, pp. 9-12). The first includes naïve or everyday theories about different groups or categories, which might take the form of expectations of the coherence within groups, differences between the groups, beliefs about the essential qualities that underlie groups, or beliefs about the collective group qualities. A second resource that perceivers employ involves their perceptions of members of groups that allow judgments of similarities and differences. Although McGarty, Yzerbyt & Spears (2002) term these resources as 'theory' and 'data' and Shepard, Giles, & LePoire (2001) refer to 'group' and 'individuating' information, both contend that it is the interaction of these resources that allows for variable outcomes depending on the individual perceiver.

It has been this variability and the discrepancy between the group and the individual that have led researchers to question how truthful or accurate stereotypes really are. Societies often link stereotypes to prejudice or rigid thinking that is then used to justify certain discriminatory behaviors.[29] Certainly many aspects of stereotypes are not

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[29] Although there is considerable debate among researchers whether or not stereotypes are 'bad' by definition.

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negative at all, they can be evaluatively neutral or positive, e.g. the intelligent Asian or the efficient German.[30] However, widespread beliefs often assume that stereotypes are not truly accurate representations of individuals and should be avoided. As Abrams & Masser (1998, p. 60) observe, "the inappropriate expression of stereotypical judgments may be viewed as a 'social failure,' a source of embarrassment, and likely provoker of admonishment from others." However, Ottati & Lee (1995) argue human perceptions, including stereotypes, do possess "a kernel of truth" that should not be ignored and that "subjective confidence regarding stereotype accuracy should not be confused with genuine stereotype accuracy" (p.50).

Stereotypes can accurately reflect real differences and identities between cultures and groups. Allport (1963, p.514) observes: "A stereotype … is not necessarily a source of error. Knowledge of the generalized other is often helpful. To know universal or group norms is a good starting point – and especially so if the 'other' is typical of his culture or class, that is to say, if his qualities approach the basic personality of his group." Despite the cultural bias towards using them, research suggests that people often do not apply stereotypes carelessly but rather use them in meaningful and complex ways to make judgments (Abrams & Masser, 1998, pp.54-64; McGarty, Yzerbyt, & Spears, 2002, pp. 187-199). Oakes, Haslam, & Turner (1994, pp. 187-214) also show convincingly that the standard picture of stereotypes as being fixed, rigid, and insensitive to reality is mythical. As they put it, "Far from being rigid and unaccommodating, stereotypes appear to be fluid and variable and to change with social context" (p.192). Therefore stereotypes are not "hardwired" biases but are instead variable to context and social reality. Indeed, many

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[30] One can argue, however, that both positive and negative stereotypes can potentially be harmful (Jussim, McCauley, & Lee, 1995, pp.1-27).

social scientists make the distinction between the term 'stereotype' that applies to the beliefs of an individual, and 'cultural stereotype' that applies to group beliefs. The question whether stereotypes are socially desirable remains unanswered; nonetheless they allows us to distinguish ourselves or adapt to in/out group situations, and more importantly, they allow us to categorize information in order to make sense of the world.

Creation and Justification of Language Attitudes

Stereotypes have been especially important for linguists because of the influential role they have in the formation of language attitudes. Much of the resulting research has concentrated on the clues that language use provides a listener to a speaker's group membership and the triggering of the listener's beliefs about the group (see, among others, Preston, 2002, p. 40). Although the core work in the social psychology of language has generally supported this enterprise and investigated the subcomponents of these beliefs (Ryan & Giles, 1982; Robinson & Giles, 2001), it is also clear that understanding why people think about language the way they do is crucial to understanding the foundation of language itself. When discussing the evaluation of languages and language varieties, there are essentially two approaches that explain why certain languages and language varieties are evaluated the way they are (Trudgill, 1983; Giles, Hewstone, Ryan, & Johnson, 1987).

The "inherent value hypothesis" asserts that languages and dialects have inherent objective criteria; therefore, some varieties are more pleasant than other varieties based on their internal linguistic structure. This premise might contend, for example, that Saxon dialect is 'unpleasant' because Saxon pronunciations of the consonants /p/, /t/, /k/, which are often realized respectively as /b/, /d/, /g/, are deemed 'unpleasant.' And by extension,

judgments applied to the speakers of Saxon varieties are justified by the 'unpleasantness' of their dialect. In summarizing this correlation, Edwards (1982, p. 20) states that "people's reactions to language varieties reveal much of their perception of the speaker of these varieties." For non-linguists, such associations often go unquestioned and can extend down to the linguistic features of the language or variety itself: for example, justifying negative evaluations of New York English by citing 'lazy' pronunciations of the sound /θ/ as /t/, as in "tree" instead of "three," the use of 'aint' for "isn't," or the use of double negatives.

A second approach, the "social connotation hypothesis," contends that varieties obtain their value (prestige or stigma) from different social and historical influences and developments. By this argument, extra-linguistic rather than intra-linguistic factors are responsible for the prestige of a variety, e.g. the social stigma attached to the Saxon dialect in Germany is not due to the realizations of certain consonants but is instead derived largely from a shift of cultural prestige that occurred in the 18th century and more recently from the consequences of partition and reunification of Germany. Certain varieties become prestigious not because they are any "better" in terms of articulation or expression, but because the groups that speak them retain a high social prestige, often decreeing their variety to be the standard by which all other varieties are measured. A good example of this phenomenon is the varying prestige that 'dropping' of post-vocalic /r/ has in British and American dialects of English. In New York the dropping of post vocalic /r/ is now socially stigmatized, but in London it is a feature of upper-class speech. Although language experts and researchers have convincingly shown that languages and their respective varieties are equally expressive, articulate, and complex, for most

laypersons, this concept plays little or no role at all in the formation of their beliefs and attitudes towards language. In this sense, the beliefs of linguists and laypersons are at odds with one another, but no matter how indefensible group stereotyping on the basis of perceived language fact might be from a scientific viewpoint, it is still important to the understanding of the nature and maintenance of human social identity. Therefore a large and varied methodology has been developed to study it.

Methods

The major obstacle that researchers interested in studying language attitudes face is that they often do not have the opportunity to directly observe such attitudes. Other types of sociolinguistic research provide for direct observations of variation such as production studies of "R-lessness" across socioeconomic levels (Labov, 1966) or the effects of gender on a particular linguistic variable. However, beliefs, ideas, feelings, and prejudices are internal, and as mentioned above, are therefore hidden from view; these cannot be 'produced' and may even be purposely masked. Therefore, researchers interested in the study of language attitudes needed to develop a methodology that would somehow allow a researcher access to these internal concepts.

One method of study that has been used is to infer language attitudes based on behavior, the logic being that by studying behavior, one can make inferences about an informant's attitudes (Fasold, 1984, pp.46-47). The main difficulty in such studies is that a person's behavior may not always reveal his or her true attitudes, and a person's attitude may not always reflect his or her true behavior (Baker, 1992, p.16). An informant may be very aware of his or her personal biases and may choose not to reveal them for a

variety of reasons. Behavior as an indicator of linguistic attitudes is, therefore, very inconsistent.

Another method that has been adopted is to study language attitudes based on the respondent's report of his or her attitudes. This methodology is also in some respects problematic for the same reasoning listed above; informants can also distort or misrepresent their attitudes. A researcher may attempt to study a respondent's attitude without making him or her consciously aware of it, but this can be very difficult. With such methodology, a researcher must try to avoid what Labov (1972) terms the *observer's paradox*, i.e. the effect that awareness has on respondents' reactions as well as their performance of language. This concept addresses the fact that respondents often misrepresent information if they are conscious of being observed. Another method is to have respondents report on a topic that they would have no overt reason to misrepresent or distort. Respondents may consider such attitudes to be simple truths, or they may have motivation to report these attitudes accurately.

It can be surmised then that the data gathered by such research on language attitudes cannot be considered, by the nature of the topic, entirely accurate or perfect. However, if one takes these imperfections into account when designing such a sociolinguistic study, the chances of obtaining accurate results can be maximized. Researchers have used a number of instruments, some of which have already been mentioned, to investigate language attitudes, including direct observation, surveys, interviews, matched-guise tests, commitment tests, subjective reaction tests, and perceptual maps. While an outline of the strengths and weaknesses for each one of these methods is beyond the scope of this study, research relevant to this dissertation is

summarized and critiqued below. As Anglo-American and German linguists have developed different approaches and have paid differing amounts of attention to investigating perceptions of language variation, the rest of the chapter will be divided into separate sections. First a review of the development of methods in the fields of social psychology, perceptual dialectology, and cognitive anthropology will be presented, followed by a summary of relevant German research.

<u>Language Attitudes</u>

The first study to systematically research language attitudes was conducted by social psychologists. Lambert, Hodgson, Gardner, & Fillenbaum's (1960) study investigated the status of French and English in Quebec, Canada. Lambert, a Canadian social psychologist, designed a test called a *matched-guise technique* to measure attitudes of bilingual speakers in Quebec. Listeners were asked to judge particular speech samples recorded by bilingual or bidialectal speakers using one language or dialect (one guise) for one sample and another language or dialect (second guise) for another under identical circumstances. The voices and content of the samples was controlled by having four bilingual male speakers read the same passage, once in French and once in English. The speakers used for these samples spoke both French and English with native accents. Since the only factor that was varied was the language used, the responses provided evaluations that were able to tap into social stereotypes.

Informants used in this study included 64 Anglophone university students of both sexes and approximately 18 years of age, and 66 male Francophones of about the same age and level of education. Informants were told that they would be listening to different samples of different speakers and were asked to rate each of these speakers on a six-point

semantic differential scale. Informants rated these speakers for 14 qualities, including intelligence, leadership, religiousness, kindness, self-confidence, dependability, and likeability. The evaluation took place as informants listened to the samples and during a 90 second interval between samples. Afterwards, informants provided demographic information about themselves and their linguistic background.

The results showed some interesting patterns. Overall, English *and* French listeners reacted more positively to English guises than French guises. It seemed that French Canadians had a poor evaluation of themselves, apparently viewing their linguistic and cultural group as somewhat inferior. Cross-culturally, subsequent matched-guise studies have shown that speakers of stigmatized varieties tend to rate their variety lower than the 'standard' variety in areas which denote 'socio-status,' such as prestige, ambition, and intelligence. In contrast, in areas that denote 'solidarity,' such as friendliness, honesty, and likeability, the results are more varied. In some studies, speakers of less prestigious varieties rate their own group higher (c.f. Preston, 1989a, 1993) and in other studies they prefer the speakers of the more prestigious variety (c.f. Edwards, 1982; Moosmüller, 1995). Other researchers who have used the matched-guise technique report results which strongly indicating that listeners are affected by different varieties when they rate speech samples (Wardhaugh, 1998, p.112).

Although producing striking results, the original study had several drawbacks. Firstly, Lambert et al. used only male speakers for speech samples, and it might be the case that speakers react differently to men and women speaking the same variety. An additional problem was that the fourteen traits included in the study were arbitrarily chosen by the researchers themselves. Moreover, the speech communities of the subjects

might have very different stereotypes to which the traits chosen by the researchers don't apply. In other words, these subjective traits used by the researchers would not be able to access community stereotypes. Lambert later addressed these flaws in several follow-up studies (Lambert, 1967; Tucker & Lambert, 1969).

A major disadvantage to the matched-guise technique as it was used in the original study is that it restricts the number of language varieties that can be tested. Bilingual and bidialectal speakers who speak both varieties equally well are common enough; however, finding a speaker who is equally adept at speaking five, six or seven varieties of a language would be very difficult and perhaps impossible. Therefore, in studies involving three or more varieties, the researcher might find it necessary to involve different speakers for different varieties (Preston, 1989a, p.329; Hundt, 1992, pp. 31-40). In such cases it would be important to limit other variables as much as possible so that speakers sound closely similar to one another. So that no speaker stands out, the researcher should control age and social background of speakers, the speed of their speech, and the tone of their voice.

Another problem often encountered when using this method is instead of judging the language variety, informants often rate the 'performance' of speakers, e.g. how well they read the sample passage, or how well or clearly they communicated in the sample. Rather than having subjects read a passage, Wölck (1973) controlled for this by having speakers talk freely about a neutral topic. However, this also caused problems because although the content of recorded samples was the same, the samples themselves were not identical. Both approaches seem to have disadvantages that deserve attention in any methodology.

Also problematic is the sequencing of the samples when using this technique; respondents may consistently rate speakers at the end of a sequence of speakers differently than those at the beginning due to 'fatigue' or boredom. This, however, can be solved by scrambling the order of speakers randomly or by making recordings with varied sequencing.

In general, the matched-guise technique has been quite effective in revealing language attitudes and has been expanded and applied in a variety of projects, including those studies that measure attitudes toward varieties used within a single language (Agheysi & Fishman, 1970; Carranza, 1982; Edwards, 1982; Hundt, 1992). The technique has also been useful in investigating the public's assumptions about a person's race (Baugh 1996), the suitability of different language varieties in different areas of society and social interaction (Edwards, 1982; St. Clair, 1982), in rating the accentness of different speakers (Palmer, 1973; Ryan, 1973), and children's attitudes toward language (Day, 1982).

One of the most promising theories that have come directly from language attitude research has been Howard Giles' Accommodation Theory (Giles & Powesland, 1975; Shepard, Giles, & LePoire, 2001, pp.33-51), which attempts to explain language behavior through social comparison. Giles posits that humans continually evaluate themselves and others for the purpose of social comparison, and that this can be seen in an individual's language choices. In other words, in order to gain social approval, speakers will tend to subconsciously change their style of speech (accent, rate, types of words, etc.) towards the style used by the listener. Conversely, a more divergent form

may be chosen if the speaker has a low evaluation of his interlocutor. In this way, stylistic variation can be explicated through convergence and divergence.

Perceptual Dialectology

Even with the success and versatility of the matched-guise technique, it would seem the information it can provide is limited; it gives only specific information on a specific variety of language(s). Preston (1989b) pointed out that it fails to address several broader issues related to speech communities' attitudes toward language. Although studies that have informants rate a speaker may be accurate, they still do not measure whether the informant can identify the region of the speaker and secondly, nor whether the informant indeed possesses a mental speech area that could be assigned to a speech sample. In his investigation of attitudes towards Standard American English, Preston (1989 a & b) addressed the following areas: (1) descriptions of the structure of varieties regarded as standard, (2) ethnographic accounts of nonlinguists' opinions about standard language, (3) attitude surveys of nonlinguists' reactions to a variety of standard and nonstandard varieties, (4) determination of where informants believed taped samples are from, (5) determination of nonlinguists areal language distribution via perception, and (6) the use of the categories 'correctness' and 'pleasantness' to measure informants' attitudes towards these areas.

Partly in response to Hoenigwald's (1996) call for more work to be done in the area of folk linguistics and partly because his own work with language attitudes led him to it, Preston developed a methodology called *perceptual dialectology* that concentrated on points 4, 5, and 6 outlined above. Drawing on the work done by cultural geographers that measured people's perceptions of the world they live in (Ladd, 1967; Gould &

White, 1974), Preston asked informants to draw maps of the dialect boundaries of regions as they perceived them. By applying the concept of *mental maps* to the area of linguistics, this methodology could measure attitudes towards geographically-based variation, whereas the matched-guise technique measured only production-based variation.

However, Preston was not the first researcher who had attempted to develop an effective methodology for analyzing ordinary speakers' notions of regional distributions. Dutch dialectologist A. Weijnen (1946) developed a method to discover beliefs concerning the varieties of Dutch that informants in Holland perceived as similar or different. This methodology was referred to as the *Pfeilchenmethode* or 'little arrow method' because the researcher, based on responses from lists made by informants, drew a map of perceived dialect boundaries by connecting places as being similar with arrows. Areas with connecting arrows were contrasted with areas that were not connected. Rensink (1955) used this methodology to map traditional Dutch dialect boundaries. Kremer (1984) used a similar method to compare the national boundaries of Germany and Holland with perceived linguistic ones; however, it should be noted that in more dated research, this methodology was used only to support traditional dialect studies of the time.

This work , however, became the foundation for more extensive research done in Japan by W.A. Grootaers (1959). His informants were asked to rank surrounding areas in comparison to their own area on a scale from a four-point scale for difference with '1' indicating 'no difference,' '2' a 'slight difference,' '3' a noticeable difference, and '4' indicating that the variety was 'almost not intelligible.' His informants' perceptions tended to conform to current or historical political boundaries, rather than recognized

linguistic ones. This data was very disappointing for Grootaers, as he and Weijnen (and several others) believed that dialect perceptions should correspond to the linguistic evidence before they could be considered relevant by linguists.

But even if Grootaers was right in suggesting that researchers can discern little linguistic fact from informants' dialect perceptions, the usefulness of linguistic studies that provide information about the status of language varieties and provide the reasons for reactions of society to different language types did not go unnoticed by Preston. He felt that impressions and classifications of nonlinguists played an important role in understanding language attitudes within a speech community. Using the research of Grootaers and others as a starting point, Preston developed a systematic and quantifiable methodology that would measure such perceptions with the main goal of such work being to study perceptions of geographic language variation.

Preston began developing his methodology at the University of Hawaii in 1982. Applying a methodology similar to cultural geographers, Preston asked Hawaiian undergraduates to draw their perceptions of dialect boundaries of the United States on a map. The map was devoid of any geographical markers other than state boundaries (at first, he had used blank maps; but several respondents complained that they were unable to carry out the tasks unless given a map with greater detail).The respondents also provided labels for each region they drew. Results showed that the majority of the respondents frequently drew boundaries around four regional areas, three states, and two cities (these included respectively the areas 'Southern,' 'Northern,' 'Midwest,' and 'New England'; the states of California, Hawaii, and Texas; and the cities of Boston and New York City). The areas that were most frequently represented in the drawings were a

'Southern' region and Hawaii. This finding has been replicted in many similar studies as informants often will mark their own region in some detail and will additionally draw the more stigmatized varieties.

Preston noted that labels used by his informants frequently fell into two categories, which related to either the 'pleasantness' or 'correctness' of a particular variety (1989a, p.71). Based on these findings, Preston asked respondents in subsequent studies to directly assess these qualities of 'pleasantness,' 'correctness,' and 'similarness' in regional varieties. Using speakers from southeastern Michigan and southern Indiana, Preston (1989a) had respondents rate each of the 50 states as well as Washington D.C. and New York City on a scale from one through ten for 'correctness' and for 'pleasantness', ('10' being the most correct or pleasant, '1' being the least) without the aid of stimulus such as a map or speech sample. He also had them rate the states in terms of how similar each state's language variety is to their own. Lastly, he also included the map-drawing task that he had used in his Hawaiian study.

His results revealed several trends that supported work done with the match-guise techniques mentioned earlier. First, speakers from areas considered as having 'correct' or 'accentless' English often view their own varieties as highly correct. Secondly, respondents who speak more stigmatized varieties are more likely to find their varieties more pleasant. Furthermore, there were significant differences between which varieties people see as 'correct' and as 'pleasant.' Finally, people who believe they speak a standard form of a language are more likely to find stigmatized varieties unintelligible. The map task from Preston's study also revealed several patterns encountered in previous research: both the Michigan and Indiana informants frequently drew their own area and

marked stigmatized areas. Correspondingly, both groups found the 'south' to be a highly salient region; however, the Michigan respondents marked a southern area that extended further north than the 'South' regions marked by informants from Indiana.

Preston (2006) has expanded his field of study to include theoretical and methodological considerations and work that addresses the relationship between speaker production and perception via sociophonetic experiments. The most striking feature of Preston's methods has been their versatility and flexibility, which have allowed scholars from varied backgrounds to adapt his techniques to fit their research aims. Linguists have applied perceptual dialectology methods in varied forms to investigate other regions in the United States (Lance 1999; Tamasi, 2000; Benson, 2003; Hartley, 2005; Fridland & Bartlett, 2006) as well as in other countries, e.g. Brazil (Preston, 1985) Japan (Long, 1999), France (Kuiper, 1999), Hungary (Kontra, 2002), and Turkey (Demirci, 2002), among others. German applications of Preston's methods include Hundt (1996), which used similar techniques to investigate attitudes and reactions to Saxon and Swabian varieties and Dailey-O'Cain (1997), which used perceptual dialectology methodology to correlate language attitudes with East-West political affiliations. These studies will be looked at in greater detail below.

In summarizing the results of this body of research, there are three trends that I find especially worthy of attention. First is the tendency for respondents who speak stigmatized varieties to rate their varieties low for 'correctness' but high for 'pleasantness,' suggesting a trade off between competence and solidarity. Secondly, although respondents often identify similar dialect regions, for example, a 'Southern'-speaking region or a Midwest region in U.S., there is usually little consensus of exactly

where such regions are located.[31] Lastly, people's perceptions of language are often very different from what production studies have shown. Studies done in different parts of the country also tend to yield very different perceptions. Instead of dismissing folk responses outright as had been done earlier, this relatively new line of inquiry sheds light on the shared experience of language and exposes the dynamics of speech communities.

Cognitive Anthropology

As we have seen, perceptual dialectology came into its own in the 1990s and developed into a relatively large and varied body of ongoing research. Clear patterns became evident as to 'what' people thought about language variation, but little was known 'how' people thought of it. Tamasi (2003) employed an innovative cross-discipline approach that used elements of cognitive anthropology methods together with folk linguistic ones to answer 'how' respondents perceive language variation and where the information they need to evaluate language varieties comes from.

Cognitive anthropology is a subfield of anthropology (D'Andrade 1995, p.1) that not only focuses on discovering how different peoples organize culture in the mind but also how they utilize culture. It has helped reveal some of the inner workings of the human mind, and it has also given us a greater understanding of how people order and perceive the world around them. Contemporary questions within cognitive anthropology include the following (ibid.): (1) are cultural ideologies shared? (2) if they are shared, to what extent? (3) how are these units distributed across persons? and (4) which distribution of units are internalized? This discipline has undoubtedly shown the cultural-dependent nature of folk knowledge and has helped to provide a bridge between culture and the functioning of the mind (D'Andrade, 1995, pp.251-252).

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[31] For an in-depth treatment of this issue see Kretzschmar (2003).

Cognitive anthropology came to be regarded as a distinct theoretical and methodological approach within anthropology in the 1950s, following the publication of papers by Lounsbury (1956) and Goodenough (1956). Using methods borrowed from structural linguistics[32] and traditional ethnological studies that examined folk knowledge, Lounsbury and Goodenough examined the relationship of kinship terminologies. From these studies they formulated the notion that "culture is knowledge," a formulation that led to a radical shift in the field's methods and goals from a 'functional' approach to a more "structural" one (D'Andrade, 1995, p.244).

Subsequent research problematized how knowledge in different cultural domains might be structured and distributed within a society. Initial research focused on the categorization of objects and concepts (taxonomies). A large range of cultural domains were investigated; these included the significance of color terms (Berlin & Kay, 1969), folk classifications of ceramics (Kempton, 1981), the meaning of the term "bachelor" (Fillmore, 1977) and the taxonomies of plants and animals (Berlin, Breedlove, & Raven, 1974, 1976). Pushing the field forward, Eleanor Rosch (1975) demonstrated that not all categories were equal, and that some categories (prototypes) were more salient and influential in terms of the affect they had on reasoning and memory. Prototypes were shown to be determined by "a mixture of observation, cultural beliefs and personal interpretations" (Aitchison, 2003, p.72).

In addition to researching categories, considerable attention has been paid to the underlying criteria used by respondents to distinguish categories; for example, one may, consciously or subconsciously, divide up different species of birds based on their size,

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[32] Concepts first formally applied by linguists from The Prague Circle in the 1920s, who in turn had been influenced by Saussure and others.

shape, or whether they are wild or domesticated. Similarly, respondents might categorize

vehicles according to their function, how many wheels they have or how fast they can go.

Respondents' criteria for categorization can demonstrate which features are most salient

for a given domain if not predetermined by the researcher at the outset of the study.

Moreover, Dougherty & Keller (1985) in their study of blacksmiths show the importance

of allowing informants to determine the criterion used to make divisions within a domain.

By forcing respondents to use criterion that may seem logical to the researcher but

unreasonable to the informant, the researcher risks the danger of defeating the purpose of

study.

By the early 1980s, schema theory had replaced the prototype model and had

become the primary means of understanding the psychological aspect of culture. Schemas

are entirely abstract entities that are unconsciously enacted by individuals (D'Andrade

1995, p.246). They are models of the world that organize the experiences and

understandings shared by members of a group or society. Blount (2002, p.7) states that

schemas are "patterned information structures that are available to individuals, through

learning and experience that allow them to engage directly in events or episodes of

activity in relatively straightforward, predictable, and meaningful ways." These types of

mental structures include cultural and practical information that allow us to perform such

tasks as making a pot of coffee, ordering food at a restaurant, taking out the garbage etc.

Schema theory ended cognitive anthroplogy's linguistic preoccupation (e.g. with terms

used to describe kinship ties or drinking vessels) and gave way to a more psychological

approach that integrated schemas into even more abstract constructs, or 'connectionist

networks'.

As theories became more detailed, the methods used to research them also became more sophisticated. Borgatti (1994, 1996) and D'Andrade (1995), among others, have inventoried different techniques that have been employed to examine cultural domains. These include, but are not limited to, free listing, pile sorting, cluster analysis, consensus analysis, and multidimensional scaling, each of which has its own approach and intended use. Borgatti has been at the forefront in creating effective methods for data collection and analysis and to this end created a statistical software package ANTHROPAC, which creates and analyzes questionnaires.

Several points surface from this body literature that are important for the study of the cognitive organization of cultural knowledge. One is that folk knowledge structures are not static, but rather, they are flexible and constantly being revised and analyzed as we experience and engage the world. Blount (2002) remarks that "as the scope of behavioral encounters with the world expands and becomes more complex, the mental construction of the engagement also becomes more complex, and the levels of a cultural model expand through addition, linkage, and, embedding producing hierarchical structures".

Second, it would seem that although a certain consensus may arise among respondents for any given cultural domain, there also tends to be quite an amount of intracultural variation in classifying, meaning that while a core group of responses often emerges, their also tends to be a large number of responses given only by one or two individuals (Borgatti, 1994).[33] This re-occurring pattern has led some anthropologists to posit that a certain amount of cognitive variation is in fact necessary for the functioning of society (Dougherty, 1985, p.5, as cited in Tamasi, 2003, p.59). These findings also

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[33] Tamasi (2003) had similar results in her consensus analysis of language variation in the U.S.

demonstrate that not all cultural knowledge is distributed equally throughout society, as Lave & Wenger (1991) also show in their investigation of various communities of practice around the world. Duranti (1997) makes a similar point concerning this phenomenon: "People from different parts of the country, different households within the same community, or sometimes even individuals within the same family may have quite different ideas about fundamental beliefs …"(p.32).

Lastly, the results of these cognitive studies have shed light on limits of human memory and perception. Miller (1956) and Wallace (1964) both established that the number of discriminations that respondents can formulate falls off sharply at approximately seven bits of information. Surveying classifications of folk biology, Berlin, Breedlove, & Raven (1973) reported that results seldom exceeded five discriminations. This line of research was significant as "… it gave evidence of the inbuilt constraints and structure of cognitive processing" (D'Andrade 1995, p. 43). It strongly suggested that there are limits to short-term memory, that folk classifications are influenced by the inherent capacity of the human cognitive system and that this principle strongly influenced subsequent cognitive models of the mind.

In 2003, Tamasi, recognizing the value of combining classic cognitive anthropology methods together with the latest innovations from perceptual dialectology, used a cross-discipline approach to investigate folk knowledge classifications of language variation in the U.S. She asked 60 informants from two different locations (North Georgia and Central New Jersey) to participate in a survey that consisted of several parts. Using pile-sort methods from cognitive anthropology, informants were given a set of index cards with state names written on them and were asked to divide them into piles

according to where people speak differently. They were then given another stack of cards that listed social traits and linguistic traits; they then used these cards to describe the speech of the dialect communities they created in the first task. Next, informants listened to four speech samples from four different locations around the U. S. (New Jersey, Illinois, Georgia, and Missouri) and were asked to use the cards from the first two tasks to describe the speech samples geographically, socially, and linguistically. At the end of the interview participants were asked a short series of questions to confirm their previous responses.

The study produced interesting and valuable results. Overall, respondents view language variation through a large number of categories that stem from a complex network of information: there was not any one systematic algorithm that places all linguistic perceptions into organized, homogenous patterns, but rather, individuals build and organize attitudes through individual experiences that are "filtered through the same general sets of information – social, regional, personal and linguistic" (2003, p.172). This confirmed earlier findings about the distribution of folk knowledge. Tamasi's findings also suggest that geographic regions do not factor much in individual mental maps of the different ways people in the United States speak. Regions far from each other, like New York, Florida, and California, for example, were grouped together by many participants. Moreover, when asked to sort states represented by index cards into piles representing areas where people speak similarly, subjects tended to distinguish an average of thirteen distinct dialects. As mentioned above studies of other kinds of cognitive domains show that people usually classify knowledge into seven categories, plus or minus two (see

above). This suggests that the degree of discrimination between different speech types is far greater than for other cognitive domains that have been studied with this method.

This study makes a powerful statement, revealing the way knowledge of language is patterned across a culture and both disputing and confirming previous cognitive and linguistic studies. As impressive as the results of her study are, Tamasi (2003, p.173) admits, however, that if linguistic attitudes are indeed culturally determined, categorization patterns of linguistic perceptions may find a different form in every culture. This study aims then, at least in part, to confirm Tamasi's results by replicating her study (albeit in a modified form) using German informants instead of American ones.

Relevant German Studies

In order to better understand the object under investigation, a brief review of the German-sponsored enterprise to investigate folk linguistic beliefs and perceptions is reviewed, with particular attention paid to research done on the Saxon dialects.

At its beginnings, German dialect research primarily focused on describing regional and local dialects and was marked by the appearance of Johann Andreas Schmeller's Bavarian grammar in 1821. By the late 19th century a major work was undertaken that intended to construct an accurate authoritative linguistic map of the country.[34] In the 1870s Georg Wenker, a German linguist, sent out postal questionnaires to schoolteachers in cities and villages throughout Germany, requesting that they translate 40 sentences into their local dialect and return the completed work. Wenker received over 52,000 completed questionnaires that would eventually lead to the publication of the

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[34] It is often assumed that Wenker was out to collect additional evidence of the Neogrammarian principle that hypothesizes that linguistic change is regular and systematic (Chambers & Trudgill, 1998, p.37); however, Barbour & Stevenson (1990, p.62) suggest otherwise:"In fact there is no evidence for this assertion and indeed Wenker was probably aware before he started his research that this hypothesis was not valid."

Linguistic Atlas of German (*Deutscher Sprachatlas*). The project focused primarily on uncovering phonological patterns although lexical items were also documented later. This landmark study laid the foundations of traditional dialectology in terms of methodology and purpose, and Wenker's work, as well as the subsequent work of his successors (the Marburg school), has strongly influenced the German inquiry into language variation, so much so that study of local dialects forms a very large part of linguistic research in German-speaking countries to date (Barbour & Stevenson, 1990, pp.61-75).

Mirroring the transformation of German society from a largely rural society to an increasingly industrial one,[35] German dialect research also switched its focus from rural dialect studies to urban inquiries. By the mid-20th century dialects clearly became subordinate to the spread of standard German, and dialects became more and more associated with evaluative functions within society. After almost a century of focusing on 'typical speakers'[36] from what were thought to be uniform dialect zones, dialect research became less concerned with 'traditional' dialects, and, following the lead of American sociolinguists (Weinreich, Labov, & Herzog, 1968), began studying the full complexity of speech forms in rural and urban settings. German linguists responded to these new theoretical challenges by launching inquiries using social variables such as age, class, gender and nativeness that would account for variation; the resulting body of research not only described variation but designed models that explained it.[37]

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[35] Mattheier (1980) reviews the transformations of modern German society and cites two events that had particularly profound effects on German society - the Industrial Revolution, which came relatively late to Germany, and the Second World War, which led to large scale movements of refugees and also resulted in the partition of Germany.

[36] Or NORM – non-mobile, older, rural male-speaker (Chambers & Trudgill 1983, p.33)

[37] Also known as the 'pragmatische Wende' in German academic circles (Clyne, 1995)

One of the first empirical studies of this kind that looked at social and linguistic patterns in a German urban setting was conducted by Hoffmann (1963) in Nauborn.[38] Using variables such as age, gender, and attitude towards lifestyles (rural/urban), Hoffman attempted to account for the variability of linguistic behavior found in the village. She uncovered conflicting attitudes often associated with dialect studies: dialect is a means of preserving local identity but at the same time a hindrance to social mobility. Since the 1970s studies have been conducted across Germany-speaking Europe in small towns and large cities such as Berlin, Vienna, and Basel. Günther (1967), Stellmacher (1977), and Braverman (1984), among others, examined the importance (or irrelevance) of class and social status on language behavior. Keller (1976), Senft (1982), and Von Schneidmesser (1984) examined lexical and phonological variation across successive generations and attitudes associated with language change in Regensburg, Kaiserslautern, and Giessen, respectively. Dittmar, Schlobinski, & Wachs (1986) conducted an ambitious urban project that examined the Berlin vernacular in several neighborhoods (in both East and West Berlin) from a multi-faceted approach that included lexical, phonological, pragmatic and attitudinal dimensions. Among other findings, this research showed how political partition had resulted in two distinct speech communities with different practices and beliefs. Research that looked at the effects of urbanization on a suburban community was carried out in the town of Erp near the city of Cologne (Besch, Hufschimdt, Kall-Holland, Klein, & Mattheier, 1981; Hufschimdt, Mattheier, & Mickartz, 1983). Additional projects ascertained the functions and domains of dialect in different regions (Hoffmeister, 1977; Gal, 1979; Stellmacher, 1987), and still others investigated attitudes

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[38] Near Frankfurt am Main

towards dialects (among others Besch & Mattheier 1977; Schlobinski, 1987; Moosmüller, 1995).

Even as German-authored investigations of language variation expanded their focus in the latter half of the 20th century, they still tended to be production-driven studies that largely neglected the folk linguistic agenda as had been laid out by Preston and others in Anglo-American linguistics. Despite several notable exceptions that have used perceptual methods to examine issues of covert prestige (Mihm 1985), linguistic-geographic concepts of mental maps over successive generations (Diercks, 1988), lay perceptions of dialect borders (Ruoff, 1992), and the status of dialect in Switzerland in rural and urban settings (Siebenhaar, 2000; Hofer, 2002), laypersons' perceptions of language remain by and large understudied in German-speaking Europe.[39] Especially neglected areas of research include folk perceptions of the types and areal distribution of dialects, the levels of prestige and stigmatization associated with such dialects, the identification of the individual dialect features responsible for triggering such evaluations, and what the causes (i.e. extralinguistic factors) of such evaluations might be (Hundt, 2004). By the mid-1990s Hundt (1992, 1996) and Dailey-O'Cain (1999, 2000) had published some of the first folk linguistic-centered material that began providing much needed coverage of such topics. What follows is a brief outline and critique of the studies that have advanced or significantly influenced folk linguistic research in German-speaking Europe.

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[39] Strangely enough it would appear that popular culture has been ahead of the game: Popular magazines such as *Bunte* (1979) and *Playboy* (2003) and have published informal surveys, asking readers in the case of *Playboy* to evaluate regional dialects, e.g. "Welcher Dialekt macht sexy?" The methods of such surveys are questionable at best, however, and the results themselves cannot be taken as seriously as other more formal inquiries.

<u>Studies In German Folk Linguistics</u>

One of the earliest and most oft-mentioned studies that attempted to measure attitudes towards various regional German varieties was carried out by Bausinger (1972). Major German cities were used to represent regional dialects, and respondents were asked to rate the language spoken in these cities. Results showed positive attitudes toward Austrian-German (Viennese), Munich, Hamburg, and Cologne varieties, and relatively negative evaluations of Frankfurt and Leipzig varieties. However, due to the inconsistent methodology, it is difficult to draw any concrete conclusions from these results. Foremost among these inconsistencies, East Germans were not surveyed in this study (which may in fact explain why Leipzig [Saxon] did so poorly) because of political divisions at the time. In addition, both ratings for home dialects and distant dialects were evaluated together as one source of data. Moreover, Hundt (1996, 2004) points out that due to the many subvarieties of German (e.g. Leipzig Saxon, Chemnitz Saxon, Meissen Saxon, etc.), it is questionable whether using one city to represent an entire variety or dialect region (e.g. Leipzig for Saxon) is really permissible in a large-scale study.

Challenging Bausinger's findings, Hundt conducted two empirical perceptional studies; the first explored the connection between concrete dialect features and dialect stereotypes (1992), and the second investigated folk geographical delimitations of dialects and general and non-specific lay classifications of German dialects (1996). Both produced significant results and had important methodological ramifications.

The 1992 study focused on the extent to which dialectal accent affects the perception of persons in public life.[40] Using a modified matched-guise technique, Hundt

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[40] Hundt (1992) provides an exhaustive review of terms, methods, and research relevant to the study of language attitudes.

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selected four varieties of spoken German (*Hamburgisch, Bairisch, Pfälzisch*, and *Schäwbisch*) to elicit assessments of regional dialect, assuming that each differed in relative social prestige. Hundt's informants easily distinguished and identified the four dialects, but they evinced widely varying amounts of sympathy towards them (with *Pfälzisch* being heavily disfavored). An unexpected outcome was that informants rated the dialects consistently, in spite of their regional background or gender. For instance, *Bairisch* was evaluated similarly by respondents from both northern and southern Germany, whether men or women.[41]

Perhaps more important than the results, Hundt's study addressed two methodological issues that have plagued language researchers. One major obstacle in terms of recording suitable speech samples was the lack of individual speakers who were fluent in all four dialects. In order to limit bias, traditional matched-guise tests employ bidialectal speakers or technologically modified samples. Although Hundt did end up using different speakers for each of the tested dialects, the final selection of samples was contingent on mutual similarity of their vocal quality.[42] Another consideration is how Hundt interpreted his informants' evaluations. His respondents evaluated the speech samples, using a universal seven-point semantic differential that consisted of opposed adjective pairs. Hundt expected the statistical analysis to group responses into standard categories, or factor bundles.[43] His results did not break down that way, leading him to suspect that these universal categories do not apply to the evaluation of speech varieties.

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[41] This may be attributed to the fact that informant groups were made up entirely of university students.

[42] As Hundt hypothesized that only a few dialectal features would be needed to identify and trigger stereotypes, speakers read a common text devoid of grammar and lexical variants; thus the experiment focused solely on phonological variants associated with these dialects.

[43] These are generally denominated 'evaluation,' 'activity,' and 'potency' and are used by psychologists to evaluate concepts.

He concluded that development of a semantic differential specifically for speech varieties would be an important contribution.

In his 1996 study, which employed a questionnaire designed to elicit folk perceptions of specific regional varieties, Hundt questioned Saxon informants about Swabian varieties and Baden-Württemberg informants about Saxon dialects. The study generated a large amount of data and produced interesting results. Taken as a whole the findings led Hundt to propose that speakers have at least two sets of perceptions when it comes to language. One is a smaller but more detailed "linguistic map" of their home area (micro), and the other is a more general and incomplete map for areas outside their region (macro). In other words, lay persons may have an intimate understanding of the linguistic layout of their home areas, while having rather flawed linguistic knowledge outside of it. This may be the case for speakers of all languages, but it is especially valid for speakers where the language varies significantly over shorter geographical distances. Furthermore, while he shows that cities can be used to represent regional dialects in perceptual studies (e.g. Stuttgart for *Schäwbisch* or Leipzig for *Sächsisch*) he warns against misinterpreting the results. One must keep in mind that if "macro" or national sets of perceptions are being investigated, simplifications arise such that finer and perhaps more telling details of informants' perceptions are lost.

In 1999 a broader and more ambitious linguistic survey was launched by the *Institut für deutsche Sprache* in Mannheim that investigated lay perceptions of the German language within Germany and its relationship to other languages abroad (Stickel & Volz 1999). This survey did not solely focus on the prestige or stigmatization of certain dialects (only 3 out of 53 questions focused on regional variation); rather, it asked

the German public for their general impressions and perceptions of their language. It did, however, include questions designed to uncover possible differences of opinion between East and West respondents. The sampling pool consisted of 2025 informants: 1056 from eastern Germany and 969 from western regions. The survey produced interesting, if somewhat inconclusive results. In responding to open-ended questions that asked them to name unpleasant/pleasant varieties, informants consistently named a small group of dialects (Bavarian, Swabian, Hessian, Saxon, North German, Low German, and Berlin and Cologne varieties).[44] Nevertheless, there was little consensus that could be discerned from the results, i.e. there was no one single dialect that was consistently singled out as being the "best" or the "worse"; even when informants were grouped according to regions, the wide range of results failed to produce a coherent pattern. In sum, the results of the poll reveal that a fairly small set of dialect categories were used by the respondents and that these categories polarized the perceptions of the informants.[45]

In a somewhat similar study, Dailey-O'Cain (1997) employed perceptual dialectology and qualitative methodologies in an effort to obtain a better understanding of how geographic and sociopolitical factors can affect post-unification language attitudes in Germany. The data was collected in 44 different towns all over Germany, and 218 informants were interviewed. The data was obtained by asking informants what they thought of the language varieties spoken in 34 different regions/cities in terms of pleasantness and correctness. Respondents were also asked to outline dialect boundaries where they thought them to be and to label the areas they marked. Dailey-O'Cain also

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[44] It is interesting to note that this result seems to be consistent with folk knowledge limitations of 7 discriminations, plus or minus 2.

[45] The same results were obtained in a survey conducted by the Institut für Demoskopie Allensbach (2008).

obtained qualitative data by recording conversations about language attitudes in group settings. Results showed that Westerners deem western varieties both more correct and more pleasant than eastern varieties. Conversely, Easterners do not perceive a difference in terms of correctness, although they consistently rated eastern varieties less pleasant than western varieties. Westerners and Easterners alike tended to draw pronounced boundaries along the former East-West political borders. Dailey-O'Cain (1999) concludes, "It is obvious from this study that the much discussed 'wall in the mind' is still evident not only in terms of economic and social differences but also in terms of perceived language differences" (p. 239). Dailey-O'Cain's study also attempted to link political affiliations with language attitudes, although the results were less conclusive.

Dailey-O'Cain's project had several limitations. First, she does not use actual speech samples of regional dialects to support the mental perceptual findings of the map tasks. Furthermore, by asking respondents to rate language in the various regions that were devised for the study, Dailey O'Cain assumes that the respondents are able to actually associate or assign a dialect to each region. Hundt (2004) argues that this is just not the case for most Germans and that Dailey-O'Cain's results may in fact reflect a simple desire on part of the respondents to do what was asked of them. Finally, the sampling technique employed for this study is also questionable. In an attempt to capture a sample of the entire population of Germany, she interviewed a total 218 people from 44 different towns, meaning that only five informants were surveyed from each community. Although such sampling techniques have certain advantages, they also can have significant drawbacks in terms of representativeness (Chambers, 1995, pp.36-41; Gordon

& Milroy, 2003, pp.24-30). Thus, this study offers geographic breadth but does not offer in-depth of coverage for any one location adequately.

In a more focused study designed to investigate the status of two types of Saxon German within one dialect region, Anders (2004) utilized a detailed questionnaire and speech samples of the Saxon dialects, *Meissenisch* and *Ostländisch*,[46] to elicit responses from 334 informants. The informants themselves were divided into 3 groups: a *Meissen* group made up of informants born or who grew up in and around Dresden, an *Osterland* group made up of informants born or who grew up in and around Leipzig, and a third group of consisting of non-Saxons. The researcher played recordings of both female and male speakers and asked respondents to identify the geographical location of the speaker and to rate the recordings using a combination of status and social attributes. Anders then asked respondents to pick out concrete features from the speech samples that respondents felt played a role in their evaluations and answers; she also requested that respondents evaluate their own dialect as well as how they thought this dialect was perceived by outsiders, and asked informants to state the Saxon city in which the most 'typical' Saxon was spoken. This study was unique in that it asked Saxons and non-Saxons alike to rate two subdialects of the Saxon dialect.

The results were surprising. In terms of evaluation, Saxon respondents exhibited intra-regional solidarity, rating the speakers of their own dialects higher than speakers of the other variety and likewise evaluating their own manner of speaking in the self-evaluative task more positively than that of their neighbors. The self-evaluative section also showed that while Saxons were overwhelmingly aware of the stigmatization attached to their varieties outside of Saxony, almost just as many rated their own variety positively

[46] The two main varieties that make up the 'core' of Saxon-speaking Germany.

as negatively. Displaying the high linguistic security normally associated with northern areas of Germany, northern Germans from the third (non-Saxon) sample group were the most comfortable with their own dialect. Saxons and non-Saxons alike found it difficult to locate speakers geographically and oftentimes named dialect features that were not present in the samples to justify their answers.

More revealingly, although overall respondents had trouble highlighting dialect features, Saxons could often name some typical features associated with their own varieties but then associated these with the other negatively-evaluated Saxon variety. Furthermore, in regards to where the most 'typical' Saxon accent is spoken, the two Saxon groups tended to associate the other's city with the most typical Saxon accent, i.e. the Meissen group (Dresden) claimed Leipzig and the Osterland group (Leipzig) asserted Dresden. According to Anders, if one assumes that Saxon informants associate a negative prestige with Saxon dialects,[47] these results suggest that both sides are deflecting this prestige towards one another (e.g.. knowing how stigmatized Saxon varieties are outside the region, neither side wants to be associated with the "most stereotypical" Saxon accent and therefore the most stigmatized variety).

Even though great care was taken in its design, the sampling procedures limits what could be said about the conclusions. The sample was collected almost exclusively from college students aged 20-25, consisted mostly of females (264 of the 334 original informants), and were mostly non-Saxons (only 80 from 236 informants were native Saxons). Moreover, judging from the number of answers omitted in some of the results tables and the number of incomplete surveys, the time needed to fill out the complete

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[47] This would be a questionable assumption, however, as it has been shown that stigmatized dialects often retain covert prestige by their speakers (Labov 1972, Trudgill, 1983, Mihm 1985, Eckert 2000 among others), and Anders' results clearly show that not all Saxon respondents evaluate their dialect negatively.

questionnaire appeared too demanding and the length seems to have resulted in informant fatigue (data from only 236 surveys were used out of 334 total).

Summary

The current study combines innovations from the several disciplines reviewed above to answer a series of research questions. Since Hundt's (1992, pp.3-4, 1996, pp. 224-226) call for further research in German folk linguistics, an increasing amount of additional research has been conducted. There still remains much to be done, however, particularly in micro-perceptual studies of German dialects. Although Saxon German is a popular topic among the folk, e.g. German urban myth has it that Saxon is often singled out as the "the worst" German, it has also been among the most neglected by researchers. This study investigates the status of Saxon German by comparing data collected inside (Dresden) and outside (Bamberg) its home area, as doing so provides much needed in-depth regional coverage of one of Germany's most salient dialects.

This study also aims to update previous research that revealed a "linguistic" wall in the mind that divided Germany along old political borders in 1997. Dailey-O'Cain (1999, p. 241) reports in her study:

> Over and over again Westerners cited eastern varieties being so unfamiliar to them as the main reasons they found them less correct, less pleasant and more different from western varieties. Perhaps if my informants' descriptions of why they feel the way they do is true, these attitudes will change over time as Westerners become more familiar … with various eastern varieties.

The data for the present study was collected almost 10 years after Dailey-O'Cain conducted her study and should give a good indication whether her suppositions have in fact come true.

Finally, by employing similar methods, this study will assist in confirming or challenging Tamasi's (2003) findings. She cautiously states, "We must recognize that linguistic attitudes are … culturally determined. This also means that the different categorization patterns of linguistic perceptions may find a different form in every culture" (2003, p.173). Although German and American cultures share many common cultural practices and beliefs, there are differences. Historically, Germans are still much more regionally oriented in terms of language and culture, and the German language is itself in many ways much more varied than American English (Barbour & Stevenson, 1990, pp. 137-139; Hundt 2004). A comparison of production-driven maps and perception-driven mental maps in addition to a comparison of categorization patterns from both studies will help to reveal further cognitive patterns across cultures.

CHAPTER 3

GERMAN LANGUAGE PAST AND PRESENT

"… die Leute in 30 Meilen Weges einander nicht wol koennen verstehen" [48]

Martin Luther, (1523)

The contemporary language situation in Europe is influenced by two opposing

processes termed by Fishman (1971) as 'massification' and 'diversification.'[49] According

to Clyne (1995, p.3) 'massification' can be seen in the founding and development of the

European Union, which today includes many of the continent's countries and has led to

the opening of political and economic borders. This unification process has had, to a

certain degree, a homogenizing effect on the general population and threatens to

minimize minority languages and cultures (Clyne, 1995, p.3). In contrast, Clyne (1995,

p.3) observes language 'diversification' through the resurrection of smaller nation states

such as Croatia, the Baltic States and the Ukraine. These language and ethnic-based states

have re-emerged after the dissolution of the multinational empires known respectively as

the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia. In addition, the Charter of Regional and

MinorityLanguages, ratified in 1993 by the European Union, has been a driving force

working towards retaining language diversity. This document affords minorities and

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[48] "… even the people within 30 miles cannot understand one another."

[49] 'Massification" is used here to describe the loss of diversity of an object; conversely, through 'diversification' an object becomes more varied.

regional groups certain language rights, although it has only had limited success in achieving its goals[50] (Eichhoff, 2000, p. 86).

These language patterns mirror the current language situation in *Bundesrepublik* of Germany, albeit in a somewhat modified form. On the one hand, the forces of 'massification,' e.g. federal government, standardized education, mass media, and social changes have all caused a general decline of the *Mundarten* (or traditional local dialects) and a shift towards Standard German by the general population in the 20th century (Mattheier, 1983; Barbour & Stevenson, 1990). A form of 'diversification' is illustrated by a recent resurgence of ethnic and regional awareness which has led to a renewed interest in dialects and languages in Germany (Barbour & Stevenson, 1990, p.146; Clyne, 1995, pp.111-112, Eichoff, 2000 p.87). This movement may in fact be a reaction to state-sponsored attempts to assimilate European languages and cultures and has had the effect of amplifying regional sentiments not just in Germany but throughout the European Union. As Clyne (1995) observes, "The nineteenth-century nation-state is declining in importance. There is a 'higher' level at which there is a tendency towards internationalization … But at a 'lower' level people, want to identify, not so much a nation-state, but with their own region, or ethnic minority" (p.111).

This chapter introduces the concepts of *Mundart*, *Umgangsprache* and *Hochdeutsch* and outlines the theoretical framework linguists have used to study spoken German; it also looks at general patterns of laypersons' perceptions of language variation in Germany and how these attitudes and beliefs are influenced by such factors as prescriptive manuals, social and linguistic stereotypes, and issues of regional identity.

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[50] At least in Germany (Eichhoff, 2000).

<u>Traditional German Dialects (*Mundart*)</u>

    The traditional local German dialects (*Dialekte* or *Mundarten*) are divided into roughly three major 'families': Low German in the northern regions of the country, Middle German in the central areas, and High German in the southern regions. Low and High German correspond with the geography of the regions in which they are spoken; Low German is spoken in the lowland German plains, and High German is spoken in the more mountainous regions (with Middle German varieties, as the name implies, being spoken in between). The most important linguistic feature in the history of these dialects was a series of consonant shifts and vowel changes that happened in various forms and stages throughout the dialects starting around 600 A.D. (Noble, 1983, p.21-37). This included the Second Germanic Consonant Sound Shift[51] and the New High German Diphthongization[52] (Noble, 1983). Because standardization occurred relatively late, German varieties not only have distinctive phonological features but significant variations in syntax, morphology, and lexical items. The shifts described above as well as lexical and syntactic variation can be seen in the examples below for the sentence, 'We spoke some German at home yesterday.'

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[51] The Old High German Consonant shift. This shift altered a number of consonants in the Southern German dialects that remained unaltered in other related languages and dialects. The three Germanic voiceless stops became fricatives in certain phonetic environments in the Upper German dialects (e.g. English 'sleep' maps to German 'Schlaf'); The same sounds became affricates in other positions (e.g. English 'apple': German 'Apfel'); three voiced stops became voiceless (e.g. English 'door': German 'Tür'). The shift took place only partially in the Middle German dialects with the Low German dialects of the north remaining largely unshifted.

[52] The shift transformed the three long closed vowels of Middle High German (MHG) /iː/, /yː/, and /uː/ into diphthongs /aɪ/, /ɔɪ/, and /aʊ/ respectively in Early Modern German (EMG); e.g. MHG 'mîn niuwez Huus' → EMG 'mein neues Haus'.

- (Standard German)

'*Wir sprachen gestern zu Hause ein bißchen Deutsch*'

- (Low German Dialect, Hamburger Platt, Hamburg, Germany)

'*Wi snakten gistern to hus een beten Düütsch*'

- (Middle German Dialect, Rhenish-Franconian, Palatinate, Germany)

'*Mir hänn geschdaan daheem e bissl Deitsch gsproche*'

- (Middle German Dialect, Lower East Franconian, Oberbessenbach, Germany)

'*Mi honn gästän dehom a bissje Deutsch gebabbeld*'

- (High German Dialect, Low Allemanic, Vorarlberg, Austria)

'*Mia händ geschtan dahuam a klälä Dütsch gschwätzt*'

Informal interest in German dialects goes back at least to the Middle Ages; one of the more famous examples comes from Hugo von Trimberg's poem *Der Renner* that documents various regional speech forms. Throughout history the German language has prompted much discussion and commentary from writers, thinkers and politicians. Then as now, attitudes to diversity varied. The widespread diversity prevalent in Luther's time forced him to write his Bible translations in a compromise variety based on East Central German with influences from both Low and Upper German dialects. Among many others, important intellectuals such as Goethe and Leibniz relished local varieties of the German-speaking regions but also saw the need for a standard for intellectual reasons or the *Kulturnation*.

But even before the emergence of regional and national standards, dialects were evaluated along social class lines and rural and urban dimensions; speech associated with the peasantry often held a negative prestige with the upper strata of German society

(Barbour & Stevenson, 1990, p.58). This stigmatization grew stronger in the 18th and nineteeth centuries as the support for a national standard gained momentum.[53]

This trend away from local dialect has generally persisted into the 21st century, and there are three key reasons for this. First, as mentioned above dialects have been much derided since the 19th century due to the higher prestige increasingly afforded to standard usage.[54] Second, mass migration[55] and urbanization in the 19th and 20th centuries meant that many people have moved away from traditional dialect-speaking areas (typically from villages or towns). Third, the influence of the media, education, and tourism has meant that all speakers are now more or less in continuous contact with the standard language. However, despite the decline of local *Mundarten,* as will be explained below, language variation continues to function as an extremely important marker of regional and social identity in Germany in the form of *regionale Umgangsprachen.*

Regional Colloquial Languages (*Umgangsprache*)
As a result of the changes listed above, new forms of language have gradually increased in importance during the 20th century. These are often referred to as regional colloquial languages or *regionale Umgangsprachen.* These varieties are closer to forms of spoken standard German (*Hochdeutsch*) than to traditional dialects, but they still

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[53] With one notable exception: In the ninteenth century dialect literature in Germany experienced a short but intense period of popularity as the Romantic Movement took hold. Writing in the local idiom was used as a stylistic device for home awareness and authenticity in the era of realism and naturalism literature.

[54] A reoccurring belief among the folk and even among some linguists is the claim that '*dialekt*' is disppearing (Eichhoff, 2000; Hundt, 2004). There is often a discrepancy between what the folk deems '*dialekt*' (any variety or feature that deviates from perceived standard language) and what linguists would define as '*dialek*t' (localized varieties of speech as defined by late nineteenth century and early 20th century research). One should keep in mind that '*dialekt*' as linguists would use it, still exists, albeit in a modified form through the natural processes of language change and is, as mentioned above, especially strong in southern and central areas of Germany and throughout Austria and Switzerland.

[55] This also includes the forced post-WWII migrations, most notably ethnic Germans from areas in East Prussia, Silesia, and the Sudatenland.

contain various features of vocabulary and pronunciation (especially intonation) that are recognizably typical of certain areas. *Umgangsprachen* can be termed as a sort of compromise between dialect and standard and are especially strong and noticeable in central and southern German regions, but it can be found in various forms across the entire country.

German Standard Language

The realization of a fully codified German language, in terms of both grammar and pronunciation (*Hochsprache*), is relatively novel in nature and came into being approximately 100 years ago.[56] Although the origins of the modern written standard came from Luther's East Central Germany, norms for the spoken language came first in the 19th century in Prussia. Originally, the northern regions spoke Low German[57] and the upper classes from these regions used High German as a second language, pronouncing words as they were spelled. Hence, the High German spoken in these areas exhibited little difference between the spoken and written word thereby giving the impression of being more 'correct.' Under the growing political influence of Prussia, North German pronunciation became the norm for Standard German pronunciation at a conference held in Cologne in 1899 (Clyne, 1995, p.29). Therefore what is perceived today as standard German is a hybrid derived mainly from two distinct varieties: a predominance of lexicon and grammar features of one region (Saxony) and a prestige pronunciation from another (Northern Germany) (Clyne, 1995, p.29).

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[56] Grammarians such as Adelung had standardized German grammar by the end of the 18th century; however, pronunciation standardization and the first spelling reforms would come at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century.

[57] The Low German dialects being arguably the furthest from standardized German, and they are often considered a separate language by linguists and speakers alike (König,1978 p.135).

Even though it is possible to talk about *Mundart*, *Umgangsprachen* and standard *Hochdeutsch* as though they were discrete varieties, it is important to emphasize that they are not separate forms of German. On the contrary, most speakers vary their usage between these different styles of German in quite subtle and sometimes less subtle ways. The most accepted model linguists have used to describe and analyze spoken German is to employ a continuum model – they place formal *Standardsprache* or *Hochdeutsch* and traditional *Dialekt* or *Mundart* on opposite ends of this continuum; the term *Umgangsprache* is then used to describe the varying language in-between the two extremes, which can be further divided into *standardnahe* or *dialektnahe* *Umgangsprache*.[58] The reasons why speakers move up and down this continuum are not simply a question of regional origin, but include numerous factors such as age, relation to interlocutor, socio-economic status, gender, and situation or context of the encounter.

Most German speakers have a varying competence in *Dialekt* and *Hochdeutsch*, but few are fully competent in either. Use of *Dialekt* by the public is much more prevalent in Upper German dialect areas and decreases as one moves northward into urban Low German dialect areas. In terms of *Hochdeutsch*, nowadays virtually every adult has at least a passive command of the standard language and the overwhelming majority has an active, albeit limited, command of it. The situation is not a clearly defined a case of "classic" diglossia as outlined by Fishman (1972, p.92) and Fasold (1984) because the *Umgangsprachen* forms an intermediate variety between dialect and standard. Nonetheless, in the areas where dialect is strongest, the linguistic situation is bilingual (dialect and standard) in nature as varieties are assigned functions or "domains"

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[58] For further explanation and critique of this view see Barbour & Stevenson (1992, pp. 136-144). For alternative views to languages and language varieties as discrete systems see LePage & Tabouret-Keller (1985) and Kretzschmar (2004).

by their speakers that may or may not overlap (Keller, 1978, p.516). These domains are often assigned according to attitudes prevalent in the speech communities that speak these varieties.

Patterns in Attitudes Towards Language Variation

There are several general patterns that have emerged from dialect studies done in Germany and Austria (Barbour & Stevenson, 1990, pp.129-133; Moosmuller, 1995) although not all speakers would consciously or unconsciously agree with these generalizations. First, informants are generally aware of two types of varieties, usually in the shape of a "standard" vs. "dialect" dichotomy or "correct" vs. "careless," with dialect almost always seen as "careless" (although informants' concepts of "standard" and "dialect" rarely, if ever, coincide with linguists' description of these terms). Secondly, dialects tend to be evaluated negatively in formal studies, regardless of whether they are rural or urban varieties, as they are associated with the language behavior of the lower classes. Moreover, the perceived standard varieties are often associated geographically with Northern Germany (specifically, the city of Hanover) and socially with the middle and upper middle classes, despite the fact that the language of these speakers often contains dialect features (Barbour & Stevenson, 1992, p.50; Clyne, 1995, p. 29).

Keeping these general trends in mind, there are also clear differences of social attitude to nonstandard speech between northern and southern areas (and more recently, on an East-West axis since reunification). In the Upper German dialect areas (Southern regions), the status of dialects is relatively high; in the Low German-speaking areas (Northern regions) the prestige of dialects is relatively low. As mentioned in the previous chapter, there have been numerous studies done researching German speakers' attitudes

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towards dialects and sociolects in both urban and rural settings (among others Hundt, 1996; Moosmüller, 1995; Schlobinski, 1987; Besch & Mattheier, 1977), and a collective analysis indicates that while dialects are socially stigmatized in many situations, they serve as instruments of regional pride and group identification.

Influences on Attitudes

There are two powerful forces that shape general beliefs and attitudes towards language in Germany. First, there is strong awareness of the spoken and written national standard (*Hochdeutsch*) as taught in schools and promoted in the media and of the *standard language ideology* that has grown around it. Second, in many areas a strong sense of regional and local identity exists that encourages the preservation of other local cultural practices and the use of regional speech (*Dialekt* and/or *regionale Umgangsprachen*).

Today's German speech communities have definite ideas about what Standard German is and who speaks it; language can be a delicate topic. Clyne (1995) asserts, "Germans, but not Austrians, tend to take a more prescriptive attitude to language than do English speakers. To Germans, language is a serious matter, related to ideology" (p.129). Pop writer Bastian Sick (2004) touches on this belief when he describes the "typical dilemma" confronting "every" German speaker (p.11):

> *Die große Verunsicherung darüber, was richtiges und gutes Deutsch ist, hat viele verschiedene Ursachen. Eine lautet, daß wir, egal ob Nord- oder Süddeutsche, Rheinländer oder Sachsen, Österreicher oder Schweizer, allesamt Dialektsprecher sind. Die meisten Dialekte greifen nicht nur in die Aussprache ein, sondern auch in die Grammatik, und jede Mundart hat ihr eigenes Vokabular.*[59]

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[59] The great uncertainty about what is correct and good German has many different causes. One is that no matter whether North or South German, Rheinlander or Saxon, Austrian or Swiss, all are dialect speakers.

This describes values commonly held by laypersons in speech communities across the world in which a perceived standardized language exists (Milroy, 2001). First, language is often characterized as "good" or "bad." Secondly, it is assumed by the writer that dialect cannot be "good" or "correct" language. Moreover, it is subtly indicated that dialect is one of the causes of "corrupted" or "incorrect" German.

This folk approach towards language is largely the result of prescriptive manuals that prescribe 'correct' or standardized language, and there are several well-known, formal manuals that prescribe grammar usage and pronunciation. Theodore Siebs's *Bühnenaussprache*, written in 1898, was written primarily as a prescriptive pronunciation guide for actors working in German-speaking theater and secondly as a guide for teachers of 'proper' German. It has since grown in influence to become the main authority in Germany for correct pronunciation of standard German. In 1901, Konrad Duden wrote a manual intended to promote a standard German orthography. It has become arguably the best known and respected authority of written German. Today the original work has grown into a collection of manuals known as the *Duden* whose content is now decided by an entire committee. Specific volumes outline proper uses of grammar, spelling, style, foreign words, pronunciation, and etymology. Up until German reunification in 1990, the West published its own version of the *Duden* in Mannheim, and the East had its own in Leipzig. These two works at one time differed from each other (mostly in their lexical inventories) but have been reconciled in recent editions. Additionally, due to the pluralistic nature of the German language, Austrian and Swiss authorities have both

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Most dialects not only vary in their pronunciation and grammar, but every dialect also has its own vocabulary.

published similar works prescribing their own national variety of standard German, Swiss Standard German and Austrian Standard German.

There also exist other less formal, although no less influential, sources of language authority.. As is often the case in the U.S., the spoken language of the media in Germany often acts as a model for correct grammar and pronunciation with some tolerance for regionally-marked language. And as mentioned above, the regions themselves may also exert a certain amount of linguistic authority in the form of the *regionale Umgangsprache* – regional standards that include "acceptable" phonological, lexical, and grammatical variations that differ from prescribed national standards (Stevenson & Barbour, 1990, pp. 133-180; Russ, 1994).

Another form of prescriptiveness is the folk manifestation of a standard language ideology. If the popularity of Bastian Sick's (2004) book is any indication,[60] perceptions of "good," i.e. *richtiges Deutsch,* and "bad," i.e. *Dialekt,* are prominent in the minds of Germans. This view not only affects perceptions of standard/nonstandard language, it also affects the evaluations of nonstandard regional speech forms. As mentioned earlier, some forms of regional speech are perceived to be closer to apparent standards and held in higher regard than others. In Germany it is commonly believed that the "best," i.e. the German that is most *dialektfrei* is spoken in the northern regions, specifically in Hanover, a medium-sized town in northwestern Germany (Mattheier, 1980, p.166; Stellmacher 1981; Clyne 1995; Dailey-O'Cain, 2000; Kennetz, 2007) and is most closely associated with a spoken standard. Associating geographical place with a spoken standard is a fairly widespread phenomenon in countries whose language has undergone standardization. For

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[60] This book has been on the *Spiegel's* bestseller lists for a couple of years and a sequel has already been published.

example, Paris, London, Tokyo, and Istanbul are all perceived as loci for respective spoken standards in their countries (Preston, 1999). What is unusual about Hanover is that outside of its reputation for *Hochdeutsch*, it is famous, at least on a national level, for little else; it is not a prestigious economic powerhouse, capital, or cultural center.[61] Conversely, southern and eastern German varieties are considered in the folk consciousness farther from a perceived standard. Frequently perceptions of "inferior" language or the "worst" German are specifically associated with Saxon varieties, explicitly centered on the Saxon cities of Leipzig and Dresden (Hundt, 1996; Huesmann 1998, p. 251; Dailey-O'Cain, 2000).

Although there are interesting linguistic and extra-linguistic factors that explain how and why these two different beliefs emerged, these notions are generally taken as a "fact to know" in German society and the folk never really considers the accuracy of such statements (among others Hundt, 1992, pp. 69-71; Clyne, 1995, p.29; Dailey-O'Cain, 2000; Kennetz, 2007). Thus, there is a general tendency among people in German society to assume the worst German is spoken in and around the city of Leipzig and the best in and around the city of Hanover without having been to either of these places. In this sense Standard Language Ideology operates on at least two levels: it prescribes written and spoken standards as per the formal language authorities, and through these institutions an ideology also shapes perceptions of regional speech.

German Regional Identity

Regional identity in Germany provides a stark counterbalance to the forces of national language prescriptivism. The regional quality of German character has been

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[61] This fact may actually help explain the durability of the Hanover Urban myth: the inhabitants of Hanover are viewed as average or an otherwise nondescript people, and their language is viewed through the same prism. Perceptions of U.S. Midwest speech as "standard" are similar for the same reasons.

much commented on – there are "… many different types of Germans and many Germanies" (Radice 1995, p.60). Kiellinger (1992) observes, "There is something in the nature of Germans that thrives under the tutelage of regionalism and that has in turn, fared less well under the auspices of the nation and nationalism. Essentially, the German character can best be described as 'tribal,' a state of mind and outlook on life …" (p.55). The word *Heimat*, [62] or "home," is a prominent theme in German history and still resonates with the German public. In discourse and literature, *Heimat* can be found wherever there is an attachment to certain landscapes, customs, or art (Radice, 1995, pp. 59-71). Expressed in general terms, *Heimat* can be described as "the place where one is understood without having to explain who one is" (Germanisches Nationalmuseum, 2006, p.46).

This attachment to localities goes back at least to the *Kleinstaaterei* of the 17th and 18th centuries (Radice, 1995; Stevenson, 1997) and has its roots in the 14th century when the German-speaking territories gained power at the expense of the Holy Roman Empire[63]. After the Reformation and the Thirty Years War (1618-1648), Germany dissolved into many individual kingdoms and territories, devoid of any central governing entity. Religious and cultural differences and sheer geographical size had the effect of isolating the general populace from one another. This in turn strengthened regional identities and delayed the establishment of a standard spoken language (Barbour & Stevenson, 1992, p.50). Although in the latter half of the 19th century Germany became one nation under a centralized government, many powers are today still delegated to the

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[62] Also known as "Ortsloyalität," or "loyalty to the locality."

[63] Indeed, several historical scholars are mystified that the diverse German-speaking territories eventually became one nation (Barbour & Stevenson, 1992).

individual states, or *Länder*. Considering these historical developments and political structures, it is not surprising that many Germans identify first with their *Land* (state) or city within their country.

This deep sense of regional solidarity has also generated long-lasting stereotypes and caricatures. A northern German comic strip refers to southern Germans as "*ein kleines diebisches Bergvolk*" (a mountain race of scoundrels), with Southerners referring to Northerners as "*Fischköpfe*" (fishheads). Northerners generally view Southerners as rustic, somewhat lazy, easy-going, and simple people who talk funny, whereas southerners view northerners as overly sophisticated, arrogant, and cold. As a result of the various power struggles and conflicts that swept over central Europe in the 18th and 19th centuries, strong stereotypes of the Bavarians, Saxons and Prussians still persist. Bavarians, for example, still use the term "*Saubraissn*" or "Prussian swine" to refer to all sorts of outsiders. As previously mentioned, more recently as a consequence of Germany's reunification, 'East' Germans are now often referred to colloquially as '*Ossies*' or the '*Ostgoten*' and 'West' Germans as '*Wessis*' from '*Wessiland*'[64]. Stereotypes extend to other German-speaking countries. The Austrians and the Swiss, for example, are considered distant "cousins" but are often thought of as curious mountain people who eat strange food and speak an even stranger form of German.[65]

Individual regions and states also stand out for certain qualities and characteristics. In the South there are the beer-swilling and socially conservative

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[64] This is not to downplay the fact that there are also many Germans who feel at home more or less anywhere and regard the bond to the region or city where they grew up in to be of secondary importance (see Keller, 1976, pp.42-44 for a Bavarian perspective on this point).

[65] "*Die Piefkesager,*" a popular movie in the early '90s, gives insights into current German-Austrian relations and perceptions. The Austrians call the Germans "*Piefkes,*" and the Austrians are dubbed "*Schluchtenscheißer,*" or 'valley shitters'.Seite: 70

Bavarians, and the austere, hard-working Swabians. Midland regions are home to the hard-drinking working class of the industrial Ruhr, and the standoffish, reserved Westphalians. In the east there is the contrast of the rural, slow-moving Mecklenburgers on the one hand and bustling industrial and cultural might of the Saxons on the other. Prominent stereotypes of the north include the arrogant directness of Hansa city-dwellers and the aggressive, witty Berliners among others. As anywhere where there are long-standing settlement histories, and intra-regional stereotypes are plentiful as demonstrated in an old Saxon proverb: *"Was in Chemnitz erarbeitet wird, wird in Leipzig gehandelt, und in Dresden verprasst."*[66] Smaller regional competitions between neighboring cities also exist; for example, in the Rhineland, Dusseldorf and Cologne have an ancient rivalry that reaches its climax during annual *Fasching* celebrations. Stereotypes and suspicions extend right down to the next village "over the hill" in some areas: Stickel observes, "Bekanntlich gibt es die stabilsten Vorurteile negativer Art zwischen Menschen gleicher Sprache in benachbarten Dörfern. Vom Nachbardorf ist man fast überzeugt, dass dort alle Tagdiebe und Faulenzer und schlechten Menschen wohnen ... "[67] (2001, p. 123).

Of course there are linguistic stereotypes that co-exist and sometimes go beyond regional labels (Hundt, 1992, p.78; Clyne, 1995, p.117). There is a high level of public consciousness towards local and regional varieties that results in certain language features being mapped onto places such as "*Ike*" for Berlin, the "S*cht-laut"* for Swabian, or trilled /r/ for Bavarian – even if the features are no longer present in or typical of these varieties. Jokes highlighting certain features that ridicule yokel Hessian, Saxon, Swabian,

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[66] Chemnitz toils, Leipzig wheels and deals, and Dresden parties.

[67] It is generally known that long-standing prejudices exist between people who speak the same dialect in neighboring villages. One is utterly convinced that all kinds of cheats, low lifes and bad people live in the village next-door …

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or Bavarian speakers abound in German culture. Prominent urban varieties also have well-established reputations for dubious forms of German such as the enigmatic Cologne dialect, the caustic Berliner *Schnauze*, or the much ridiculed Leipzig accent (or *Läbisch* as it is known to locals). Even northern German cities that are considered to be the most *dialektfrei* are ridiculed for their (albeit archaic) pronunciations of /ʃp/ and /ʃt/ as /sp/ and /st/ resepectively, as demonstrated by the well-known proverb "*… über einen spitzen Stein stolpern*" (Barbour & Stevenson, 1990, p.151; Hundt, 1992, p.70).

On the other hand, there also positive associations with dialects, even by German who don't speak them. Although they may not be understandable to many Germans, Bavarian dialects are often considered stereotypically "quaint" and "*gemütlich*" (Hundt, 1992, Clyne, 1995). Hamburgers are considered intelligent even if they lack emotion, and Swabian and Palatinate dialects can be 'sociable' and 'down to earth.' Similarly, Austrian and Swiss varieties also have a fairly high profile in the German media and are often perceived positively despite being subtitled in Standard German for German television audiences.

Taken as a whole, such cultural and linguistic stereotypes do not tell the whole story of German identity. Instead, they illustrate the diversity of German culture and may give a "starting point" as to how different groups perceive "outsiders" and how these views may influence language behavior and language attitudes.

Regional Identity & Language

People want a way in which they can express their own existence and individuality, and demonstrate solidarity. Although regional identity can be expressed through other mediums such as dress, food, and customs, language is an extremely useful

and immediate resource for accomplishing this. This need helps to explain the recent

Dialektwelle, or "dialect wave," that has led to more positive attitudes toward dialects

and a greater tolerance of their uses in public circles. In addition, linguistic variation can

be seized upon by speakers to reinforce other social and political differences. For

example, linguistic divisions mirror traditional religious divides: the Upper German

dialect zones are generally Catholic, with significant Protestant enclaves, the Low

German areas mainly Protestant and the Middle German dialects a complex patchwork of

mixed territories. In this sense, geographic variation is still important and noticeable as it

allows for the construction and maintenance of the "other" (Barbour & Stevenson, 1992,

p.81; Stickel, 2001, p.123); language functions to keep insiders in and outsiders out.

Similarly, pressure to conform to social, political, and language standards may

have actually helped the status of locally varieties as other more noticeable regional

differences melt away. Eichhoff (2000) observes:

> *…wo die menschlichen Behausungen überall gleich aussehen und das dörfliche Umfeld zur Siedlung geworden ist, wo Feuerwehr, Lehrer, und Pfarrer nicht mehr in der Nachbarschaft, sondern in der Großgemeinde ihren Platz gefunden haben, wo der Computer, und der Spielautomat Englisch sprechen, erfüllt eine örtliche gebundene Sprachform Funktionen, die nur schwer zu ersetzen sind.[68]*

An emphasis on local language does not mean that more people have become speakers of

Mundart, but rather attitudes towards dialect features have changed in the public

consciousness; speakers using regional or local features are no longer automatically

deemed unrefined or uneducated (Barbour & Stevenson, 1992, p.146; Eichhoff, 2000, p.

87). Many researchers have demonstrated that regional *Umgangsprache* is replacing

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[68] "Where housing looks all the same everywhere and the rural landscape has been developed into homes, where the fire department, teacher, and pastor are no longer located in the community but rather in larger municipalities, where computers and gaming machines speak English, locally tied forms of language fulfill functions that are difficult to replace."

Mundarten as a marker of social and local identity as regional features replace local forms of speech (Stellmacher 1977, p.102; Barbour & Stevenson, 1992, p.145; Eichhoff, 2000, p. 84; Renn & König, 2005, p.21). Bartsch (1989, p.199) explains that nonstandard varieties in southern regions of Germany retain prestige, in part because they are used by the populace to distinguish themselves from their northern neighbors 'the Prussians'. Describing the function of dialect in the city of Mannheim, Durell & Davies (1990) capture similar sentiments observing: "To be a native of Mannheim is synonymous with being able to speak the local variety. When people are asked what they speak with their friends the answer is very often '*de sinn jo aus Mannem*' … the local variety is the only adequate choice" (p.211). That regional speech still strikes a chord with younger Germans is demonstrated by the many bands such as *die Söhne Mannheims* or *Fettes Brot* that sing songs in the local dialect.

It is also important to note that, as is the case with all spoken varieties, the features that make up *regionale Umgangssprache* themselves are in a state of constant flux, even if traditional dialect zones remain constant. Just as some features associated with older forms of speech experience a drop in frequency, new ones are picked up by speakers. Girnth (2006) shows how *Pfälzisch* speakers from the Mosel River Valley are shifting away from locally stigmatized pronunciations, although they are not conforming to *Hochdeutsch* standards. Rather, they are choosing non-overtly stigmatized forms that are neither local in a traditional sense nor standard. Thereby, we see a process that demonstrates a compromise: the variety shifts away from stigmatized features typically associated with it but also keeps its regional uniqueness.[69] This demonstrates that

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[69] Roberts (2006) has observed a similar phenomenon in the Vermont dialects of the U.S.

although certain features historically associated with local dialect become less frequent, the dialect boundaries themselves stay intact by adopting new features.

Due to modern communication and standardized education, we might assume that there would be a spread of a uniform standard, but due to strong regional traditions, nonstandard speech forms not only survive but play an important role in constructing identity in modern Germany. Eichoff (2000, p.87) admits that even the Standard German spoken in the northern parts of the country is different than standard forms in the South. On one hand, regional and local forms of speech are socially stigmatized, but on the other hand are also instruments of regional pride and collective identity. Thus, the *Umgangsprache* has become the "center of linguistic gravity" in modern-day Germany. It allows speakers to "have their cake and eat it too" by providing speakers with the opportunity to express regional identity, while at the same time allowing a speaker to avoid being perceived as "uneducated" or "backward."

CHAPTER 4

METHODOLOGY

In our time many have studied the arts of language long and with great effort, and still become so tangled up in this great pursuit that they are of service or use neither to it, nor anything else … studied persons are so wayward that in general the old adage applies to them: the more educated the more backwards.

<div align="right">Valentin Ickelsamer
Teütsche Grammatica (1534)</div>

In this chapter I describe the methods in detail used to elicit the data for this study. First, I introduce the initial research that contributed to the conceptualization and overall shape of this dissertation. Next, I describe the speech communities and the people I interviewed for this study. Finally, a description of the techniques and materials used to obtain my data is provided along with explanations of how the results were analyzed.

Beginnings

This dissertation draws its original inspirations from Preston's early perceptual work (1989a,b). Using a modified form of Preston's draw-a-map methodology of perceptual dialectology, I collected data in the summer of 1999 that would eventually result in my Master Thesis entitled "Meet Me in Hanover: A Comparison of College Students' Perceptions of their Language from Three Different Regions" (Kennetz, 1999). Forty-five college students from universities in Chemnitz, Berlin, and Stuttgart were asked to identify and rate varieties of spoken German for 'pleasantness' and 'correctness' and 'difference from the standard language'; tasks included drawing maps and labeling varieties, rating spoken German in various cities, and rating and identifying recorded speech samples. Fifteen native students from each region participated in the study. The

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survey produced an enormous amount of data, and there were several general trends. Although all regions marginally evaluated their own variety positively in terms of 'pleasantness,' the most prestigious variety for all categories was found around the city of Hanover. The data also revealed a deep dislike of eastern varieties from both non-Saxon communities, especially from the Swabian sample group. East Berlin students exhibited a surprisingly strong sense of linguistic *security,* rating their own German almost as positively as the esteemed Hanover variety. The Saxon sample group scored their own dialect much lower in comparison to the other groups, demonstrating a certain degree of linguistic *insecurity*. An example of the maps generated using this methodology is shown below:

Figure 4.1: Map Generated Using Draw-a-map Methodology (Kennetz, 1999)

As I conducted my research in Berlin and Stuttgart, I was constantly told by informants something similar to, "Well we don't exactly speak standard German here, but if you really want to hear dialect you need to go to Saxony. They speak the *worst* German!" By the time I arrived in Chemnitz, I expected a strong, regional dialect; instead, although I found the locals' speech distinctly different from perceived standard German, it was almost as far removed from that as I had heard in areas outside of Stuttgart or in villages in the Mosel River Valley. I realized quickly that perceptions of these informants had had less to do with Saxon German than they did with their perceptions of speakers of Saxon dialect. The strong emotion that this linguistic stereotype evoked in my informants piqued my curiosity and encouraged me to make modern perceptions of Saxon German (and the reasons for them) the central focus of my dissertation.

Between the years 1999 and 2004 great advances were made in the field of perceptual dialectology, not only in terms of refined elicitation techniques but also in terms of variety and scope of the research and the results it produced. Although my dissertation topic was relatively clear, I had several options available to me on how best to examine it. Folk linguistics research in German-speaking areas has had a slow start (Hundt, 2004) and there are numerous gaps in the literature. Despite there being no known published perceptual research done with Preston's "draw–a–map" techniques[70] that quantitatively examine German perceptions of regional languages, I decided to take advantage of the latest research methods and employed a modified form of Tamasi's pile-sorting techniques (2003) to elicit my data. There were three key reasons for doing

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[70] At least of which I am aware at this time. Unpublished work includes Kennetz (1999), Hundt (2006),and Anders & Hundt (2006).

so: first, the methods seemed suited to answering my primary research questions, i.e. revealing the status of Saxon German within and outside of its home territory. Secondly, Tamasi (2003) had shown her method was an effective means to elicit perceptions of language, producing striking findings; lastly, no research had yet been conducted by German-speaking scholars employing these techniques.

Communities

I selected two communities based on the criteria that would best serve to answer my research questions.[71] Thus, the dissertation consists of two sets of interviews that focus on perceptions from two sites located in the Federal Republic of Germany. These locations were chosen because they are both in regions that are of primary interest to this study (a Saxon-speaking community and a non-Saxon speaking community located in western Germany), and the areas in question were places where it was financially and physically feasible to conduct the research. The city of Dresden was chosen as an obvious site because of its reputation as a well-known center of Saxon culture and language among Germans (Hundt, 1996; Huesmann, 1998; Bendixen & Werner, 1999, p.13). For the academic year 2004-2005, I received a Fulbright scholarship to the *Technische Universität Dresde*n, which made a detailed, long-term project in the city feasible. The smaller, more rural town of Bamberg was selected as the non-Saxon site primarily because of its location in the West and the researcher's preexisting ties to the university there.

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[71] For this study, my speech communities are primarily constrained geographically, however, I am also acknowledging Fasold's description that defines a speech community as a community that "… at least shares rules for speaking" (1984b, p.41) and Milroy & Gordon's remarks (2003) that communities can be both a cultural and/or a physical entity (p. 133-135).

Despite their different histories and dialects, these two communities are comparable in several ways in terms of the way folk perceive them. They both belong to well-known distinct cultural areas. *Lonely Planet* has this to say about both regions (2004, p.164): "Saxony is a densely populated, highly industrialized, and along with Bavaria[72], is somehow the most German of German states, taking great pride in its unique identity." *Deutsche-Welle* (2007), one of Germany's leading media outlets describes the people living in this eastern region as "*Helle, höflich und heimtückisch - die Mentalität ist so eigen wie ihr Dialekt"*[73] Bavarian Franconia stands out as being arguably *the* region that best matches the stereotypical beer-swilling, bratwurst-eating and lederhosen-wearing reputation of Germany abroad.

Both communities are also commonly identified dialect areas in empirical studies (Hundt, 1996; Kennetz, 1999; Anders & Hundt, 2006); both Bavaria and Saxony are regions that are considered to have the least correct, most salient German (Dailey-O'Cain, 1997; Stickel & Volz, 1999, pp.31-32; Institut für Demoskopie Allensbach, 2008).[74] I collected strong anecdotal evidence for these perceptions while doing field work outside the two communities. One Rhinelander I interviewed in a pilot study asserted that Bavaria and Saxony were areas of exceptionally 'bad' German and that the

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[72] Franconians are members of a larger pan-Bavarian culture and have been part of Bavaria for over 200 years; many Germans (non-Bavarians) and outsiders stereotypically perceive Bavaria as one dialect/cultural region, however Franconians see themselves as a cultural and linguistic entity separate from Bavaria. Important differences will be addressed below.

[73] Bright, polite, and sneaky - the mentality of the Saxons is as unique as their dialect.

[74] It is interesting to note that while both Franconian and Saxon dialects are currently salient, stigmatized varieties in the minds of most Germans; from a historical point of view both varieties contributed to the creation of the written standard language. This is a little known fact to most members from these communities, although I did encounter several informants from both communities who claimed "Unser Dialekt ist kein richtiger Dialekt" that "Our dialect is not a proper dialect."

people from these areas could not speak *Hochdeutsch* even if they wanted to. He continued by pointing out that both groups of speakers consider themselves peoples apart from the rest of Germany, drawing attention to the official names of the two states as proof of perceived independence, *Freistaat Sachsen* and *Freistaat Bayern.*[75] The linguistic saliency of these varieties is also well-known to their speakers. Wagner (1987, p. 108) reports that over 94% of Franconians felt themselves to have at least some proficiency in the regional dialect compared with the national (West German) average of 69%. Huesmann (1998, p.250) found that Dresden informants judged themselves to be stronger dialect speakers than other urban inhabitants from other major German cities she surveyed.

As mentioned earlier one of the aims of this study is to investigate the "wall in the mind," i.e. the perceptual dichotomy between East and West, and therefore I chose both a western and eastern community. However, in choosing Bamberg, I was also able to work with a western community that is geographically and in some ways linguistically closer to Saxony than in previous studies. Dailey-O'Cain's (1997) informants were drawn from 34 different regions Germany, and in her study she suggests that her western informants' lack of contact with eastern varieties as a possible reason for why these respondents rated eastern varieties so negatively: they simply weren't used to them (1999, p. 241). Bamberg is relatively close to the former borders of the GDR, and certainly the population there has had opportunity for more contact with easterners including Saxons. In the early days after the fall of the Wall, the West was inundated with waves of East Germans eager to

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[75] Independent or free states of Saxony and Bavaria; these titles refer to trading and political privileges granted to these states once the German nation was established in 1870. There is also an interesting Franconian slogan that plays on the state's official name "Freistaat Bayern" that reads "Frei statt Bayern" meaning "Free instead of Bavaria."

explore the world beyond the Iron Curtain (Barden & Grosskopf, 1998, p. 187) – one might be tempted to hypothesize that the language contact that occurred after reunification has made some westerners (especially those living closer to the former borders) more tolerant of eastern varieties, and for them Saxon German has lost its exoticness. Sampling this community's attitudes towards Saxon German will provide a new dimension to the linguistic "wall in the mind" of Germans identified by Dailey-O'Cain (1997) and others and ascertain whether perceptions have changed to any great degree.

In order to get a more comprehensive view of folk attitudes toward regional variation in German, it is crucial to conduct research in as many different dialectal regions as possible. As has been mentioned earlier, only a limited amount of perceptual work has been done in German-speaking Europe, and there remains much to do. Although there has been a significant amount of recent research that has either directly or indirectly investigated perceptions of Saxon German (Hundt, 1996; Dailey-O'Cain, 1997; Huesmann, 1998; Barden & Großkopf, 1998; Kennetz, 1999; Anders, 2004), in choosing Dresden I intend to provide in-depth coverage that brings in more data and produces stronger results. Moreover, the current study is the first to be carried out in Franconia, an area that has often been overshadowed by dialect research done in other parts of Bavaria (with the exception of Ruoff, 1992). Finally, by using the latest methods of elicitation, I aim to provide a more comprehensive view of German perceptions of language and more generally contribute to understanding how language variation is perceived across different cultures. What follows are brief historical and linguistic sketches of the two

communities with the majority of attention given to Saxon German, as it is the principal object of investigation of this work.

<u>Dresden</u>

Dresden (pop.504,635) is the capital city of the state of Saxony and is situated on both banks of the river Elbe in the Dresden Elbe Valley Basin with the Ore Mountains to the south, the slopes of the Lusatian crust to the north, and the Elbe Sandstone Mountains to the east. Together with a mild climate and ideal location on the Elbe, as well as Baroque-style architecture, Dresden has been called the *Elbflorenz,* or "Florence of the Elbe River."

The Dresden conurbation is part of the Saxon Triangle metropolitan area (Leipzig, Chemnitz and Dresden). The incorporation of neighboring rural communities over the past 60 years has made Dresden the fourth largest urban district in Germany after Berlin, Hamburg, and Cologne. The city has a long history as the capital city and the residence of Saxon royalty, who for centuries furnished the city with cultural and artistic brilliance. The controversial bombing of Dresden in World War II, plus 40 years in the Soviet bloc state of East Germany, changed the face of the city dramatically; however, since German reunification, Dresden has reemerged as a cultural, political, and economic center in the eastern part of the Federal Republic of Germany.

<u>Saxon German</u>

The Saxon-speaking regions are located in central-eastern Germany, and the varieties spoken there are a product of dialect mixing and leveling brought on by several waves of German-speaking settlers who took over territories from Slavic-speaking inhabitants. The first of these waves began in tenth century and the last ended around the

middle of the fourteeth century (Bergmann, 1990, p.291). As the settlers themselves came

from diverse locations, Saxon German dialects were influenced by all three of the major

dialect groups: Upper German, Middle German and Low German. The Saxon-speaking

areas extend outside the state of Saxony, stretching from Plauen in the South and

Lutherstadt-Wittenberg in the North and reaching Halle in the West and the town of

Gorlitz to the east. The core area of the Upper Saxon dialect, however, consists

linguistically of the *Meißnisch* and *Osterländisch* varieties and geographically is bounded

by Leipzig in the north, Dresden in the east, and Chemnitz in the south (Noble, 1983).

Bergmann (1990) has suggested that there are at least 21 dialects in Saxon-speaking

areas. Generally speaking, however, most dialectologists recognize at least three major

dialect groupings: *Meißnisch,* which includes mainly Main-Franconian characteristics;

Osterländisch, which shows Low German influence; and *Vorerzgebirgisch,* which shares

features with Upper Franconian and North Bavarian dialects.

As Hermes's comments about the prestige of Saxon German at the beginning of

Chapter One clearly illustrate, the dialect was not always as derided as it is today. Four

factors contributed to the early prestige of Saxon German in the 16th and 17th centuries:

(1) Martin Luther's translation of the Bible into the German of the Saxon Chancellery in

1517, (2) the geographical and financial importance of Saxony's trade connections (as a

bridge between the northern and southern regions), and (3) Saxon cultural and political

supremacy during the reign of August the Strong (1670-1733), and (4) its linguistic

position as a compromise between Low and Upper German dialects (Zimmermann,

1992). From the early 16th century to well into the 18th century, Saxon German as

spoken by the upper and ruling classes was one of the most respected accents throughout

German-speaking Europe (Waterman, 1976, p. 144). Saxon was so prestigious during this time that one grammarian complained, "*Es gibt Leute, welche alle Wörter, die der Gebrauch in Sachsen nicht gestempelt hat, von hochdeutschen Schriften ausgemärzt haben wollen*"[76] (Hildebrand,1888, p.X). While the grammarians Adelung and Gottsched worked to shape a standard grammar for written German, they both promoted the accent of the Saxon electorate and upper classes as the model for the spoken language (Stedje, 2001, p. 147).[77] Students from all over Germany flocked to Saxony to be educated and learn 'pure' *Hochdeutsch* (Bergmann, 1990, p.309-310).

As Saxon political fortunes started to wane so did the prestige of their dialect. The decisive defeat by the Prussians in the Seven Years War in 1763 not only put an end to Saxony's political supremacy in Europe, but its linguistic authority came to end as well. Because of Saxon military defeats, Saxon German was dubbed the "*Verlierersprache*" or "language of the losers". By the early 19th century, the geographical gravity for Standard German had shifted northward towards Prussia, namely Berlin and Potsdam, and away from the Saxon courts and cities; thus, northern Germany became more and more associated with the prestigious varieties of spoken German (Stedje, 2001, p.155).

Any standing the Saxon accent retained was further diminished by events in the last half of the 20th century. For West Germans and East Germans alike, the Saxon dialect became the voice of the opposition/oppressor as many officials of the ruling party of the GDR (the SED, *die Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschland* or Socialist Unity Party of Germany) were from Saxony. The best example, Walter Ulbricht, a Leipzig-

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[76] There are people who want to rid the standard language of anything the Saxons haven't stamped personally with their seal of approval.

[77] It should be noted that one of Germany's most famous writers, Goethe, studied at the university in Leipzig.

native and leader of the Socialist Unity Party from 1950 to 1971, was known for his fiery speeches criticizing West Germany and the West, albeit with a pronounced Saxon accent. This resulted in the Saxon dialects being associated with the former regime in the eastern regions of Germany (Barbour & Stevenson, 1990, p. 124) and the former states of West Germany (Stickel, 2001, p.56) being more widely associated with the GDR in general. Moreover, due to its geographic location, Dresden, the capital of Saxony, was unable to receive West German radio transmissions and was dubbed the *"Tal der Ahnungslosen."*[78] This also contributed to the perceived backwardness of the area, and by association, of the accent as well. Lastly and probably most importantly, the slow economic progress of reunification has contributed to the unrelenting (western) stigmatization of the dialect, as it is a convenient way of pinning down the abstract quality of 'easterness' (Huesmann, 1998, p.251; Barden & Grosskopf, 1998, p. 241; Auer, 2004).

Bamberg

Bamberg (pop. 70,063) is medium-sized city located in the Upper Franconian region of the state of Bavaria. The city lies north of Nuremberg and east of Wurzburg on the Regnitz River, close to its confluence with the Main River. The town's surroundings are shaped by the Regnitz and by the foothills of the *Steigerwald*, part of the German uplands. From northeast to southwest, the town can be divided into three parts: the Regnitz plain (*Gartenstadt*), several islands formed by two arms of the Regnitz (*Inselstadt*), and the neighborhoods located on the hills (*Bergstadt*). Like Rome, Bamberg extends over seven hills, each crowned by a church, and this has led to Bamberg being called the "Franconian Rome."

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[78] Valley of the clueless

East Franconian dialects are spoken in southern central and southeastern Germany in much of Lower Franconia and Upper Franconia; in and around Meiningen to the north of the former border between East and West Germany and in communities north of Hof; and in parts of Central Franconia (Ansbach to the west, Nürnberg to the east) and Baden Wurttemberg (Crailsheim, Schwäbisch Hall and Heilbronn) (Wagner, 1987, p.15).

In 531 A.D. the Franks conquered present-day territory in central Germany with the defeat of the Thuringians. After Charlemagne's death in 843 A.D., the Frankish empire was divided into three parts governed by his grandsons, which hastened the splintering of Western Europe into smaller kingdoms. As a result, these territories all developed separate and distinctive linguistic and cultural traditions. The Rhine, Mosel, and East Franconian dialect groups are the cultural and linguistic legacy of the Frankish empire in modern-day Germany. In the early Middle Ages, the East Franconian-speaking cities emerged as important centers of trade, culture, and political power (Rowley, 1990, p.397). The Catholic Church established bishopric principalities in Ansbach, Bayreuth, Bamberg, Würzburg, and Coburg. Consequently, the area was split into innumerable small principalities, each with its own government center and this led to small, fragmented dialect areas, denominational conflicts after the Reformation, and a strong sense of local identity. Nürnberg, Bamberg, and Würzburg became important economic centers along well-established medieval trading routes because of their intermediate position between southern and eastern central Germany. As another consequence of geography, Franconian varieties also played a mediating role between southern and eastern central Germany, transmitting southern German linguistic traditions northward

into Saxony. Rowley (1990, p. 397) suggests that the Franconian written norms, like Saxon norms, strongly influenced what would become a widely recognized written standard form of German.[79]

By the end of the 19th century, Bavaria and Württemberg had absorbed most of the East Franconian territories; however, as mentioned above, most Franconians still consider themselves a people apart from the rest of Bavaria despite their 200-year "occupation" at the hands of the Bavarians. One pamphlet I found in Bamberg advertising Franconia to other German-speaking tourists warned them, "Bezeichnen Sie also bitte die Bewohner Frankens nicht als Bayern, das gilt als unhöflich"[80] (Fränkischer Bund, 2006). Factors such as unique culinary traditions, separate histories and distinctive dialects all contribute to a sense of the Franconian regional identity. Differences can even be seen in different styles of *Lederhosen* and loyalties to the regional Franconian soccer team, FC-Nürnberg, instead of the state team, FC Bayern-München (Sobisch, 2005, p.37).

The People

Sixty-one informants participated in this study: thirty were from Dresden and thirty-one were from Bamberg. There were two basic qualifications that respondents needed in order to take part in the study. First, each informant had to have grown up and spent their formative years in the target communities. They also needed to consider themselves members of the target communities (see *Heimat*). At the time of the study all informants resided in Dresden and Bamberg or the immediate surrounding countryside.

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[79] e.g. East Franconian features were incorporated into the German of the Saxon Chancellory before Luther translated the Bible.

[80]"So don't call the people of Franconia Bavarians; it would be very rude."

Participants were still considered satisfactory if they had spent a substantial amount of time outside of their speech communities (e,g. due to jobs, college, or vacation). Secondly, because I was interested in naïve folk perceptions, informants could not be language specialists.

Interviews were conducted from June to September 2005 and in September 2006 in the target communities. Informants were not selected at random due to the length of the interview, time constraints, and the availability of other resources; instead respondents were recruited through a combination of convenience and snowball sampling techniques (Gordon & Milroy, 2003, pp. 23-48). As a relative outsider in both communities, I started with interviewing people I already knew and who fit the informant profile; at the end of the interview I then asked for referrals for additional participants.[81] Potential informants were told that the topic of the interview had to do with *Alltagssprache* or everyday language. Being interested in capturing as many different perceptions as possible, I used a variety of social contacts, including members from my ultimate Frisbee team in Dresden and the parents of my former students in Bamberg. Therefore, some informants were friends, or friends of friends, while others came completely from outside my network of acquaintances. Overall, informants represented a fairly broad spectrum of the population in both speech communities – teachers, engineers, students, housewives mothers, self-employed business owners, law-enforcement agents, and artists.

The data was collected as a paired sample: 30 respondents were from Dresden, and 31 were from Bamberg. In the planning stages of the project a quota sheet was established, and in order to compare results with Tamasi's work (2003), I initially sought

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[81] I am grateful to Christina Anders for conducting two additional Dresden interviews in the fall of 2005.

to interview 15 females and 15 males in each community. I further divided sex groupings into three age groupings: 18-30, 31-60, and 61+, based on the discussion of life phases in Milroy & Gordon (2003, pp. 38-39). Once again due to practical considerations, I was not able to fill my quota for every criterion, but rather used the quota sheet as a guide to obtaining a diverse sample group in both communities. The Dresden sample group consisted of 18 men and 12 women while the Bamberg sample group had 11 men and 20 women. Participant ages ranged from 18 to 85, with the median age for the Bamberg group being 30, while the Dresden group's median age was 29. The average ages (36.9 vs. 31.6) were not greatly different. Demographic information such as sex and educational level of the respondents was collected.

In terms of numbers, the sample size was limited to 61 due to practical considerations (time, length of task) and also purposely chosen in order to compare results with Tamasi (2003). Although I cannot make the claim that the sample group is truly random and is representative of all members in both communities, there is no reason to think the techniques I employed introduced any harmful bias into the study. Thus, the speakers recruited for this study reveal perceptions that do exist in each city and may be indicative of perceptions held by others in their respective communities.

Participants will be referenced in subsequent chapters using a respondent code that includes their city of membership and the interview number. Participants discussed in this study have been labeled B1-B40 and D1-D31. Please note that due to several incomplete interviews, although only 31 people in Bamberg and 30 Dresden were interviewed, respondent control numbers exceed the actual number of interviews conducted.

Table 4.1 Franconian Informants

C#	Sex[82]	Age	Birthplace	Home Area [Heimat]	Education	Profession
B1	w	30	Bayreuth	Oberfranken	Abitur	Landschaftsarchitektur
B2	w	31	Erlangen	Oberfranken	Uni-Abschluss	Lehrerin
B3	w	23	Nürnberg	Bamberg	Abitur	Studentin
B4	m	28	Kronach	Franken	Abitur	Student
B5	m	26	Bamberg	Franken	Abitur	Student
B6	m	31	Bamberg	Franken	Hochschulabschluss	Lehrer
B7	w	26	Nürnberg	*[not given]*	Abitur	Studentin
B8	w	26	Schweinfurt	Münnerstadt	Abitur	Studentin
B9	w	31	Würzburg	Bamberg	Diplom	Dozentin
B10	m	27	Coburg	Oberfranken	Abitur	Student
B11	w	27	Bamberg	Bamberg	Hochschulabschluss	Studentin
B12	w	81	Bamberg	Bamberg	Mittlere Reife	Geschäftsfrau/Hausfrau
B13	w	27	Emmerich	Dinkelsbühl	Abitur	Studentin
B14	w	22	Werneck	Ansbach	Abitur	Studentin
B15	w	42	Bamberg	Bamberg	Abitur	Promotion Manager
B16	w	27	Aschaffenburg	Aschaffenburg	Abitur	Studentin
B31	m	51	Bischberg	Bamberg	Mittlere Reife	*[not given]*
B33	m	25	Bamberg	Bamberg	Mittlere Reife	Fliesenleger
B34	m	28	Bamberg	Bamberg	Hauptabschluss	Machinenbediener
B20	w	25	Werneck	Bamberg	Abitur	Studentin
B21	m	48	Bamberg	Bamberg	Fachhochschule	Polizei/Beamter
B22	w	18	Bamberg	Bamberg	Mittlere Reife	Schülerin
B35	m	55	Bamberg	Bamberg	Hauptschule	Senior Service Ingenieur (IT-Technik)
B36	w	52	Bischberg	Bamberg	Mittlere Reife	Beamtin, Sekretärin
B25	w	21	Bamberg	Oberfranken	Mittlere Reife	Kauffrau im Groß- u. Außenhandel /Schülerin
B26	w	44	Zapfendorf	Franken	Mittlere Reife	Sekretärin
B27	w	50	Bayern	Bamberg	Mittlere Reife	Sekretärin
B30	w	85	Hotzenplatz, Sudentenland	Hotzenplatz	Mittlere Reife	Gastgewerbe, Schneiderin
B37	w	61	Bamberg	Bamberg	Hauptschule	Sekretärin
B39	m	44	Schesslitz	Bamberg	Hauptschule	Bäckermeister
B40	m	31	Werneck	Franken	Abitur	Grafiker

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[82] w = female, m = male.

Table 4.2 Dresden Informants

C#	Sex	Age	Birthplace	Home Area [Heimat]	Education	Profession
D1	w	26	Dresden	Dresden	Mittelschule	Bürokauffrau
D2	w	37	Dresden	Sachsen	Realschule	Bauzeichnerin
D3	m	25	Meißen	Dresden	Abitur	Student
D4	m	31	Dresden	Dresden	Abitur	Student
D5	m	22	Dresden	Dresden	Abitur	Student
D6	w	31	Berlin	Sachsen	Abitur	Grundschullehrerin
D7	w	26	Dresden	Dresden	Abitur	Studentin
D8	w	32	Schwedt	Brandenburg	Fachabitur	Kartographin
D9	m	54	Mühlberg	Meißen	Fachabitur	Diplom-Ingenieur
D10	w	50	Meißen	Meißen	10 Klasse-POS	Elektromechanikerin
D11	m	51	Meißen	Elbtal	Hochschule	Diplom-Ingenieur
D12	w	20	Freital	Dresden	Hochschulreife	Studentin
D13	m	41	Dresden	Dresden	Uni-Abschluss	Kaufmann
D14	m	25	Radebeul	Offendorf-Okrilla	Hochschule	Softwarearchitekt
D15	m	49	Dresden	Sachsen	Uni-Abschluss	Lehrer
D16	m	27	Räckelheitz	Sachsen	Abitur	Student
D17	w	24	Dresden	Berlin	Abitur	Werkstoffwissenschaftlerin
D18	m	30	Dresden	Dresden	Fachhochschulreife	Chemieingenieur
D19	w	24	Stollberg-Erzgebirge	Erzgebirge	Abitur	Studentin
D20	m	28	Rochlitz	Köttwitzoh	Abitur	Student
D21	m	26	Werdau	Sachsen	Abitur	Student
D22	m	25	Dresden	Dresden	Abitur	Wissenschaftsinformatik Kaufmann im Groß- u. Außenhandel
D23	m	25	Dresden	Dresden	Abitur	Handelsassistent
D24	m	29	Dresden	Dresden	Fachhochschulreife	Handelsassistent
D25	w	28	Dresden	Dresden	Abitur	Diplom Geographin
D26	m	32	Radelwitz	Lausitz bis Sachsen	Hochschulabschluss	Umwelttechniker / Wissenschaftler
D27	m	33	Meißen	Dresden	10 Klasse POS	Rechtsanwaltsfachangestellter
D28	m	43	Radebeul	Sachsen	Realschule	Hauswart
D29	w	29	Dresden	Dresden	Hochschulreife	Selbstständig
D31	w	24	Dresden	Dresden	Abitur	Auszubildende, Sozialassistentin

Table 4.3 Level of Education of Informants

Level of Education	Bamberg	Dresden	Combined
some high school	4	2	6
high school	2	3	5
high school + some college	13	8	21
vocational degree	9	7	16
college degree	3	10	13
Total	**31**	**30**	**61**

Although I did not stratify the sample according to these variables, the table above also shows the level of education and the profession of the participants. In terms of education, most respondents had some college and/or vocational training (50/61). Five had only the equivalent of a high school diploma, and six had some high school. It should be noted that in several respects the German school system is more diverse than the American school system; degrees and programs can vary according to specific state laws (including GDR degrees from before reunification). However, for the purposes of this study. these levels have been simplified into the table above.

According to the *Statistisches Bundesamt* (2003), in a nationwide study that randomly surveyed Germans between 15-74 years of age, 33% of the population had either a high school diploma or some high school education, 38% had vocational degree, and 28% had passed college entrance exams (*Abitur* or equivalent). My sample group includes 18% with a high school diploma or some high school education, 26% with vocational training, and 55% who had either a college degree or had completed the *Abitur*. Therefore, although all groups are represented in my sample group, it is slightly more formally educated than German society as a whole.

The Interview

A modified form of Tamasi's (2003) methodology was employed to elicit perceptions the folk have about spoken German and the cognitive organization of these perceptions. The interview was divided into four separate tasks/sections that were derived from reliable methods used in cognitive anthropology, perceptual dialectology, and social psychology. The survey tools for this investigation consisted of a four-page informant questionnaire, a three-page form used by the researcher to record the pile sorting results,

a basic map of Germany and the surrounding countries, 55 index cards with city names printed on them, 12 sets of smaller attribute cards, a CD Walkman with headphones, and a CD with six speech samples. In the sections that follow I will describe each task and explain the development of each.

Task 1 Pile-sorting

The first task was aimed at revealing the perceptions of areal distribution and number of dialects in German-speaking Europe, focusing on the dialects spoken in Germany. Instead of using Preston's "Draw–a–Map"[83] method, I selected a method developed by cognitive anthropologists to examine folk knowledge and used by Tamasi to investigate linguistic folk knowledge. As Tamasi states, "The pile sort method was developed in cognitive anthropology to investigate how societies organize their thoughts regarding cultural domains. It has been found to be quite reliable and have a high degree of stability with samples of at least 20 participants" (2003, p.24). The interesting facet of this technique is that it removes the spatial component of Preston's methodology and relies only on informants' thoughts and beliefs about language and place in organizing the piles.

For this task, participants were given a stack of 55 index cards, each with a city printed on it. They were then asked to organize the cards into piles based on where people speak similarly versus where they speak differently. While making their dialect regions, participants were allowed to make as many piles as they liked and were allowed to place as many cards in each as they deemed necessary. Moreover, as with Tamasi (2003), participants were encouraged to "think out loud," so as they organized their piles

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[83] As described in Chapter Two.

conversational data could be collected and insights into their decision-making processes might be revealed. Potentially confusing or contradictory elements of the piles could then be commented on and clarified during the task.

Generally speaking, the pile-sort technique asks participants "to sort cards each containing the name of an item, into piles so that items in a pile are more similar to each other than they are to items in separate piles" (Weller & Romney 1988, as qtd. in Tamasi, 2003, p.25). There are two versions of this technique, unconstrained and constrained, that refer to the number of piles the participants are allowed to make. Both Tamasi and I used the unconstrained version, meaning that respondents were allowed to make as many piles as they felt necessary to complete the task. A constrained technique would dictate that participants distributed the cards to a fixed number of piles. Furthermore, as pointed out in Chapter Two, other versions of pile sorting techniques allow the informant to decide the criteria used in determining similarity or difference. However, as with Tamasi (2003, p.25), informants were told to base their discriminations on the predetermined criterion of speech, e.g. where, in the opinion of the informant, people speak the same and where they speak differently.

One important modification was made to Tamasi's methods for this task. Tamasi (2003) originally used the 50 U.S. states, such as Illinois and Georgia, to elicit perceptions in this task. It was decided that due to the large amount of variation perceived to be present in spoken German, the federal states of Germany would not provide adequate coverage. Although Hundt initially questioned the practice, his results (1996, p.245) strongly suggested that cities might be used in triggering linguistic stereotypes. He

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observes, "Die Gleichsetzung von Stadtzentrum wie Leipzig mit typischen Sächsisch und Stuttgart mit typischen Schwäbisch ist zulässig."[84] However he also points out that:

> *Es muss allerdings bei solchen Vereinfachungen bedacht werden, dass signifikante Unterschiede in den Ortszuweisungen bei Gruppen mit unterschiedlicher Nähe zum betreffenden Dialekt bestehen können. Zudem verlieren starke Vereinfachungen wie „Stadtsprache Leipzigs = Sächsisch" leicht aus dem Blick, dass auch andere Orte im Bewusstsein einer ganzen Reihe linguistischer Laien als Repräsentanten in Frage kommen.[85]*

Even if in reality there may be strong linguistic differences between the dialect of a city and the dialects in the surrounding countryside, German informants in Anders (2004, p. 53) made strong connections between cities and language variety. Social scientists studying cultural geography, such as Zelinsky (1992) and Gould & White (1986), also show cities as representatives of cultural centers or hearths and find them to be important in understanding the spatial perceptions of laypersons. Therefore, although cities may not be a completely accurate linguistic representative for the surrounding region, they are still useful in triggering stereotypes associated with the kind of language spoken in and around the respective city.

Cities were selected that would give a maximum amount of geographical, cultural, and linguistic coverage in Germany. Swiss and Austrian cities, as well as the city of Luxembourg, were added to give additional depth to the study as I wanted to see how influential national borders were on perceptions of language. Moreover, Austrian varieties (the Vienna dialect in particular) had been found to have a high prestige among

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[84] "Equating cities like Leipzig with typical Saxon and Stuttgart with typical Swabian is permissible."

[85] "However with such simplifications it should be considered that significant differences can exist in groups with different proximities to the dialect concerned. Moreover, gross simplifications like 'City dialect Leipzig = Saxon' quickly hide the fact that laypersons from other areas also have in mind different locations as representatives for Saxon dialect."

Germans in at least one national survey (Bausinger, 1972). See below for the complete

list of cities, the states they are located in and the dialect they represent.

Table 4.4 Cities and their Respective States and Dialects

City & Abbreviation	State	Dialect [86]
München- M	Bayern	Mittelbayerisch
Passau-P	Bayern	Mittelbayerisch
Regensburg-RE	Bayern	Nordbayersich
Augsburg-A	Bayern	Schwäbisch
Nürnberg-N	Bayern	Ostfränkisch
Würzburg- W	Bayern	Ostfränkisch
Bamberg- BA	Bayern	Ostfränkisch
Freiburg-F	Baden-Würtemberg	Niederalemannisch (Badisch)
Stuttgart-S	Baden-Würtemberg	Schwäbisch
Ulm-U	Baden-Würtemberg	Schwäbisch
Mannheim-MA	Baden-Würtemberg	Hessisch
Kaiserslautern-KS	Rheinland-Pfalz	Pfälzisch
Mainz-MA	Rheinland-Pfalz	Pfälzisch
Koblenz-KB	Rheinland-Pfalz	Moselfränkisch
Saarbrücken- SB	Saarland	Rheinfränkisch
Kassel-KA	Hessen	Niederhessisch
Frankfurt-FK	Hessen	Hessisch
Darmstadt-D	Hessen	Hessisch
Aachen-AA	Nordrhein-Westfalen	Mittelfränksich
Köln-K	Nordrhein-Westfalen	Mittelfränksich
Düsseldorf-DD	Nordrhein-Westfalen	Westfälisch
Essen-E	Nordrhein-Westfalen	Westfälisch
Bielefeld-BF	Nordrhein-Westfalen	Westfälisch
Münster-MS	Nordrhein-Westfalen	Westfälisch
Braunschweig-BS	Niedersachsen	Ostfälisch
Hannover-HN	Niedersachsen	Ostfälisch
Oldenburg-OB	Niedersachsen	Nordniedersächsisch
Osnabrück-OS	Niedersachsen	Westfälisch
Göttingen-GT	Niedersachsen	Ostfälisch
Bremen-BR	Bremen	Nordniedersächsisch
Hamburg-HH	Hamburg	Nordniedersächsisch
Kiel – KL	Schleswig-Holstein	Nordniedersächsisch
Flensburg- FB	Schleswig-Holstein	Nordniedersächsisch
Lübeck –LB	Schleswig-Holstein	Nordniedersächsisch
Berlin-BL	Berlin	Südbrandenburgisch
Schwerin- SW	Mecklenburg-Vorpommern	Mecklenburg-Vorpommerisch

[86] According to König (1978).

Rostock-RS	Mecklenburg-Vorpommern	Mecklenburg-Vorpommerisch
Greifswald-GW	Mecklenburg-Vorpommern	Mecklenburg-Vorpommerisch
Cottbus- CO	Brandenburg	Südbrandenburgisch
Neuruppin-NR	Brandenburg	Nordbrandenburgisch
Halle-H	Sachsen-Anhalt	Sächsisch
Erfurt-EF	Sachsen-Anhalt	Thüringisch
Jena-J	Sachsen-Anhalt	Thüringisch
Magdeburg-MG	Sachsen-Anhalt	Mittelbrandenburgisch
Dresden-DD	Sachsen	Sächsisch
Leipzig-L	Sachsen	Sächsisch
Chemnitz-CM	Sachsen	Sächsisch
Zwickau-ZW	Sachsen	Sächsisch
Wien –AW	Österreich	Mittelbayerisch
Salzburg –AS	Österreich	Mittelbayerisch
Innsbruck-AI	Österreich	Südbayerisch
Zürich- SZ	Schweiz	Hochalemannisch
Basel-SB	Schweiz	Hochalemannisch
Bern- SE	Schweiz	Höchstalemannisch
Luxemburg- LL	Luxemburg	Mittelfränkisch

While completing this task, a basic map with national borders and the cities involved in the study was provided to participants. This was done because several cities with a lower cultural profile such as Neuruppin or Oldenburg (and sometimes even major cities such as Magdeburg or Stuttgart!) were not immediately recognizable to participants in pilot studies[87]. Therefore, in order to make sure the task did not become a geography test for participants, a map was on hand during this task.

[87] This problem will be addressed in greater depth in Chapter Five.

Table 4.5 German Terms Employed and their English Translations

German Terms Employed		English Translation	
freundlich	unfreundlich	friendly	unfriendly
angenehm	unangenehm	pleasant	unpleasant
arrogant	schüchtern	arrogant	shy
fleißig	faul	hard-working	lazy
gebildet	ungebildet	educated	uneducated
sauber	schmutzig	clean (proper)[88]	dirty (incorrect)
schnell	langsam	fast	slow
gemütlich	hektisch	cozy / laid back	rushed
fein	grob	sophisticated	rough
hart	weich	hard	soft
melodisch	unmelodisch	melodic	unmelodic
verständlich	unverständlich	understandable	incomprehensible

In order to examine social attitudes that are associated with spoken German, once they finished making their piles, participants were asked to further describe the German represented in their piles by using predetermined descriptors. To this end, a second set of index cards was used that had the descriptive terms printed on them. The terms were handed out to the participants two at a time in oppositional pairs (e.g. *freundlich / unfreundlich*).

Respondents were asked to place the cards only on the piles where they felt the term was applicable. Theoretically respondents could use a term as often or as little as they wanted. They could place a card on every pile, no pile, or any combination in-between. Again participants were encouraged to talk out their answers and were reminded to use their own personal opinions in completing this task. This was important as sometimes participants could be inhibited from categorizing speech communities via

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[88] In terms of describing language these terms express perceived correctness and are best translated as "proper" and "incorrect."

the "politically correct" effect and participants sometimes approached this task as a puzzle with only one "correct" solution.

Participants had four choices per dialect pile (grouping) for each set of terms. They could, for example, when deciding the pleasantness of the Augsburg, Munich, and Nuremberg dialect areas, label the pile with the card *angenehm* or *unangenehm*. A third option was that a participant could choose to use neither term, meaning that they did not have an opinion or that neither term applied to that particular dialect area. A final option was that participants could place both terms of a particular set on the pile, e.g. both *angenehm* and *unangenehm*; although I did not explicitly make participants aware of this option at the onset of the task because it allows for a non-committal decision, this option was allowed if the participants demonstrated that this was their preferred response.[89]

Choosing the 24 descriptors for this task was a multi-step process. It became apparent when consulting the literature on language attitudes in folk linguistics and social psychology that there is little consensus as to which specific terms or labels should be used in language attitude research. In searching for an adequate set of labels, Hundt (1992, p.30) used descriptors employed by sociologists to measure attitudes[90]. Preston originally used "correct" and "pleasant" ratings but also expanded on these terms and employed the most frequent labels collected from his "Draw-a-Map" studies in subsequent research (1999, pp. 361-363). Giles & Howard (1982) measured a language's "vitality." Still other studies relied on the researcher's "intuition" and used labels that were chosen according to "the sociolinguistic situation of the [Pennsylvania German]

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[89] This response occurred very rarely, and when it did, I asked participants to explain why they thought both responses were appropriate.

[90] Adapted from Kerlinger (1979), Hundt (1992) used four pairs of descriptors each to measure three dimensions or factors, including *Macht* (power), *Aktivität* (vitality), and *Bewertung* (status-stressing).

speech community encountered during pilot interviews and in numerous preparatory conversations" (Kopp, 1999, p. 219). Obviously this last technique is better than "intuitive thinking," but it can hardly be considered a completely adequate method for finding labels.

In the end, I approached this challenge of choosing adjectives in several different ways. First, I researched previous studies to get an idea of what terms had been used and how they were chosen. In some cases, labels that had been used successfully in Anglo-American studies could not be used in a German language study as the adjective in question is not associated with language. For example, Preston uses the pair *Twang /No Twang* as descriptors for American English, but this is not a characteristic that is typically associated with German. On the other hand, the German terms *sauber* and *schmutzig* (clean/dirty) are applicable to German but are not typically associated with American English. In this sense it was important to find appropriate terms *in German* to describe the German language that matched German perceptions of language and terms suited that could be useful to my research aims. Using Preston's approach (1999, p. 327), I consulted my maps from an earlier study (Kennetz, 1999) and tallied the most frequent labels informants used when describing the dialect areas they had drawn on their maps and formatted these into a questionnaire.

In a pilot study conducted in March, 2005, I asked 30 informants from Dresden to choose the labels they found most applicable to describe regional speech in Germany; if there were additional labels they might use but were missing from the list, they could also write them in. After evaluating the results and ranking them according to frequency, I

consulted with two language specialists[91] and a final set of labels was chosen based on the pilot test results and the focus of the study. The final list included social and linguistic descriptors that describe the dimension of pleasantness (*freundlich/unfreundlich, angenehm/unangenehm, fleißig/faul, gemütlich/hektisch, fein/grob*), correctness (*sauber/schmutzig, gebildet/ungebildet, verständlich/unverständlich*), and other language-related qualities (*schnell/langsam, hart/weich, melodisch/unmelodisch*). The pair *arrogant* and *schüchtern* was initially used in this task. However since this pair was only very rarely used and did not measure any of the dimensions mentioned above, it was not used in the final evaluation of the data collected for this task. I recorded the results generated by this tasking using a sheet especially developed for the task (see Appendix A).

As pointed out in Tamasi (2003, p.28), each response can be charted on a scale between two semantic differentials (e.g. *freundlich* and *unfreundlich*).This task and the next task are actually a variation of a rating-scales method. It should be noted that unlike traditional rating scales that focus on the degree to which the descriptor is applied (e.g. very friendly, friendly, somewhat friendly, somewhat unfriendly, unfriendly, very unfriendly), the choice here focuses on whether individual participants would apply the term to the dialect region. In this sense this technique is useful in revealing not so much to what degree a variety is *freundlich*, but whether it is *freundlich* at all. Participants seemed comfortable with this technique, and there were only a few occasions where informants wanted to use degrees of a certain descriptor. Although using this variation of the rating scales technique resulted in a many neutral responses, the approach was extremely useful for two key reasons: First I was able to capture the strongest and most

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[91] Christina Anders and Markus Hundt from the Technische Universität Dresden.

salient perceptions associated with the dialect areas, and secondly, I avoided 'forcing' the participants to respond to the study's preconceived descriptors.

Task 2 Voice Identification

The second task of interviews focuses on participants' reactions to real linguistic input, vz. speech samples that acted as "prompts" to trigger stereotypes and other associations to the dialect varieties. This was useful for several reasons: First, I could get beyond general stereotypes collected in the first task that rely on memory or personal beliefs and examine attitudes to real speech; secondly, I could be sure both participant and researcher were referring to the same phenomenon (e.g. Hanover speech samples, or Dresden Saxon samples as opposed to one from the Lausitz or Leipzig). Moreover, I could compare data from both tasks and ascertain whether there were significant differences in the evaluations of the varieties without a prompt or with one. Lastly, it is obvious that this task tests participants' ability to identify varieties of regional speech; however, it also reveals what types of linguistic input non-linguists associate with their perceptions. If Saxon respondents perceived Franconian speech to be *unfreundlich* or *schmutzig,* it would be helpful to know what they recognize as Franconian speech.

Informants were handed a questionnaire (see Appendix D) and asked to listen to six speech samples in random order (male and female speakers from Dresden, Hanover and Bamberg) from a CD Walkman, and while listening to the samples they were asked to identify as specifically as possible the geographical location of each speaker. Next, participants justified their answers by annotating any specific features they had used to identify the speaker.[92] Lastly, participants evaluated the voice by applying the same 12

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[92] An analysis of the features participants used to base their identifications was not included in this work.

pairs of attributes used in the first task. Once again the participants could mark all or none of the attributes in the respective pairs as they saw fit.

This task is a modified matched-guise task created by Lambert et al. (1960). One of the advantages of the matched-guise technique is that it represents a relatively objective device for measuring language attitudes. Unlike direct questioning, the fieldworkers avoid guiding their informants' responses by the manner in which their questions are phrased. Moreover, it is more exciting for informants to listen to short pieces of language from a CD and afterwards rate them than it is to be asked a list of rather abstract questions. The most common criticism of this technique is that it is artificial and too far removed from a genuine language situation (Giles & Bourhis, 1976; Bourhis & Giles, 1976). People do not normally judge their interlocutors by their voices only. However, other general weaknesses, such as tiresome and unnatural reading styles (Fasold, 1984, p.153), were avoided in this particular test.

In determining which varieties to use, I selected vernaculars from both communities (Saxon and Franconian varieties) in order to pursue answers to my stated research questions. I also chose to use samples from the city of Hanover for several reasons. First, as mentioned in Chapters Two and Three, Hanover, at least in the minds of many Germans, is where the "best" and most correct German is spoken. I thought it would be interesting to test whether participants necessarily associate Hanover speech samples with the city of Hanover, and if they do not, where they would place it. Secondly, this variety represents a northern prestige variety (i.e. German that is perceived to be the most *dialektfrei*, as per Hundt 1992, p. 43), and the evaluations of this variety can be compared with attitudes to the two stigmatized varieties of the target communities.

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This not only made good sense in terms of revealing how participants rated local and non-local speech, it also covers the linguistic map of German very well; the samples represent eastern, southern, and northern varieties that are well known within German society. I used male and female samples of all three varieties to give this task the added dimension of gender.

The dialect samples were obtained from six different speakers. It was impossible to find speakers who had equal competence in all three dialects, and consequently the method of comparison of different dialects from the mouth of one speaker could not be applied. The speakers are of a similar age, all within 25-31 years old, and university students at the time of the recording. In addition, I used only speakers who had a positive outlook towards both their dialect and their community in order to overcome any unnatural linguistic behavior or cues. Confirmation of this criterion was accomplished by asking a number of warm-up questions before proceeding to the recording session.

For the reasons listed above, I decided not to use a prepared text that would be read out loud and recorded; rather, I employed samples consisting of free speech. Originally I had speakers respond to the prompt, "*Wie komme ich von hier am besten zum Bahnhof?*"[93] but as this did not generate enough natural speech in several cases, I had speakers describe their apartment or living space (*Wohnungsbeschreibung*)[94]. In terms of content, the speech samples are similar and before recording the speakers were given advice on speed, intonation, and volume in order to produce comparable recordings.

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[93] What is the best way to get to the train station from here?

[94] I am thankful to Christina Anders for suggesting this.

The speech samples were each approximately one minute long and approximately 200 words in length; all speakers were natives of their home areas, having spent all or most of their lives in the respective city – great care was taken in editing the samples, making sure they were of equal length, were the same topic and included features associated with their region's vernacular. Samples were tested in several pilot studies and approved by German-speaking linguists[95] before being accepted as authentic representations of speech from Dresden, Bamberg, and Hanover.

The speech samples are examples of German as spoken by college-educated speakers between 25-31 years of age whose speech contain features commonly used in their locations. In order to analyze the "dialectness" of regional German, Jakob's (1985) approach is often used; it categorizes German into the three tiers of language already discussed (*Dialekt, Umgangsprache, Hochdeutsch*) based on the presence of primary, secondary and tertiary features. This study, however, uses an alternative framework derived from LePage & Tabouret-Keller (1985). This approach posits that communities have a range of language variation at their disposal, and the variants are capable of symbolizing social identity. Speakers attempt to project who they are relative to the community and relative to other participants using particular features or speech acts. In this sense, I chose speech samples that feature a comparable number of linguistic features (phonological, lexical, morphological, and syntactical) associated with a particular place or region as identified in sociolinguistic and dialectological research. Intonation was not analyzed in this study.

After choosing regional varieties, I still needed to decide which specific varieties of Saxon and Franconian German I wished to use. Within their home regions, there is an

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[95] Christina Anders and Markus Hundt from the Technische Universität Dresden.

enormous amount of variety and no one variety can be said to be "typical" of the whole region (Wagner, 1987, pp.17-18; Bergmann, 1990, pp. 290-292). Therefore, I chose to use the varieties of the target communities, i.e. Bamberg Franconian and Dresden Saxon as spoken by natives from these areas. In choosing a north German variety, I had the opposite problem; many of the features heard in Hanover speech (and other northern German cities) are often not perceived as "dialect" features but rather are perceived as features belonging to "standard" German and are associated with northern Germany in general (Hundt, 1992, p.71). Therefore samples from Hanover might be perceived as coming from any city in northern Germany or simply evaluated as regionless *Hochdeutsch,* or Standard German. Nonetheless, as will be described below, the Hanover samples exhibit a comparable number of features of northern (west) German speakers.

Saxon Samples

Probably one of the most surprising aspects of the perceptions of typical Saxon German is that what is now perceived as typical Saxon German, i.e. Saxon as spoken in the major urban areas such as Leipzig, Meissen, and Dresden, actually had very little to do with the region's original local dialects. The Saxon German as spoken by the upper classes in these cities was a spoken approximation of the written standard, albeit with a Saxon pronunciation. Already in the 18th century the grammarian Bödiker made distinctions between the original Meissen dialect and the super-regional, Saxon-accented variety of High German (Keller, 1978, p. 494). Dresden Saxon belongs to the Meissen dialect zone and samples included features associated with this dialect (as per Noble,

1983, pp. 53-54; Bergmann, 1990; Bendixen & Werner, 1999). Bergmann (1990) gives

the following account:

> "when one speaks of Saxon, then it is this colloquial variety which is meant: It is characterized by the loss of almost all the most localizable dialect features and the retention of the features which are more widespread, e.g. the monothongization of the old Middle High German ei, öu to [e:], ou to [o]; derounding New High German ü to [i], NHG to [e] and eu to [ei]; the merger of the two series of plosives, the voiced lenes b,d, and the voiceless fortes p,t, become voiceless lenes, voicelessness of fricatives; intonation and individual lexemes" (p. 309).[96]

These samples exhibit several of these general features:

Table 4.6 Saxon Features

Phonological	Feature	Example	male	female
variant vowels	/aɪ̯/ →/e/	kleiner → kl/e/ner		X
	/aʊ̯/ → /o/	auch → /o:/ch	X	X
	/a/ → /ɔ/	kann→ k/ɔ/nn	X	X
	/o/, /u/ → /ø/ /œ/	Wohnung → W/ø/hnung, und → /ø/nd	X	X
variant consonants	/z/→/s/	also → al/s/o sechsten → /s/echsten	X	X
	/g/, /x/, /ç/ → /ʃ/ in syllable final	Küche → Kü/ʃ/e richtig → ri/ʃ/tig		X
	/r/ is velarized, sometimes resulting in /ʁ/ and velarized vowels	erste → äs/ʁ/te Finderprogram → Finde/ʁ/program	X	X
	syncope	gerufen → g'rufen		X
Lexical & Morphological	diminutive - el for - chen	een biss/el/		X
	1st person pl. pronoun mir for wir			X
	ni for nicht		X	X
	nu for ja		X	
	Einraumwohnung for Ein-Zimmer-Wohnung		X	

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[96] Rather than change these sounds to IPA, I have left them in their original form.

As mentioned above, because of the role Upper Franconian varieties played in the establishment of a standard written German, the phrase "*Weder Hochdeutsch noch Mundart*"[97] is often used to describe them. Rowley (1990, p.325) writes, "It has been said that East Franconian is merely that part of the new High German dialect area left over when the quite obviously Bavarian and Alemannic-Swabian dialects have been subtracted". There are, however, some features characteristic of most East Franconian dialects; typically they have no phonological fortis consonants /p/ and /t/ and mainly display a monothong /a: / in words like standard German *klein*, *heiß*, or *Teig*. The well-known saying "*Wou di Hasn Hosn un di Hosn Husn hassn*"[98] also displays other typical Franconian vowel features: */o/→/u/*, /a/ → / ɔ/, and /aɪ̯/ →*/ a:/*. The features present in the Franconian speech samples used for this study are listed below.

Table 4.7 Franconian Features

Phonological	Feature	Example	male	female
variant vowels	*/o/→/u/*	kommst → k/u/mmst	X	X
	/aɪ̯/ →*/a:/*	ein → /a:/n, zwei → zw/a:/	X	X
	/aʊ̯/ → */a:/*	laufen → l/a:/f, Frau → Fr/a:/	X	X
	/ø/ → /e/	schön → sch/e:/		X
	/a/ → /ɔ/	gesagt → gs/ɔ/cht	X	X
variant consonants	trilled /r/ in initial and medial syllables	d/r/ei, /r/echt	X	X
	/t/→/d/ lention	Seiten → Sei/d/en	X	X
	/p/→ /b/ lention	Poster → /b/oster	X	
	Apocope	Leute → Leut', Seite → Seit'	X	X

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[97] Neither High German nor dialect .

[98] "Wo die Hasen Hosen, und die Hosen ‚Husen' heißen." - Where the rabbits are called pants, and pants are called ‚Husen.'

	/g/→ /x/ in word final	mag → ma/x/, liegt → lie/x/t	X	X
	/z/ → /s/	sagen → s/ɔ/gen	X	X
	syncope	Geschirr → G'schirr, gesagt → g'sagt	X	X
Lexical & Morphological	dropping ge- prefix for verbs with initial /k/ and /g/	gekauft → kaaft		X
	preposition variation	hinein → nei	X	
	1st person pl. pronoun *mia* for *wir*		X	X
	ein wenig → aa weng			X
	absence of case endings	mei Hund → mein Hund	X	X
	other contractions	schon → scho; auch→ aa; ein → aa		X

Hanover German

Hanover German is not only believed to be dialect free by the public at large but also by the *Hannoveraner*. This is clearly demonstrated below by the quote taken from a language school website advertising German courses in Hanover:

> *Deutsch lernen, wo **es dialektfrei gesprochen wird**: Deutsch-Intensivkurse in Hannover. Warum unser Angebot für Sie das Richtige ist: **In Hannover wird Hochdeutsch gesprochen, also so, wie es in allen Schulen dieser Welt gelehrt wird**. Deshalb ist es die beste Umgebung, um die Sprache leicht und schnell zu erlernen.*[99]

From: http://www.deutsch-in-hannover.de/index.php?lang=de

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[99] [the emphasized phrases are mine] Learn German, where it is spoken without any dialect: Intensive German courses in Hanover. Why is our offer exactly the right one for you? In Hanover, High German is spoken exactly as it is taught in schools around the world. Therefore it is the best setting in which to acquire the language quickly and easily.

As widespread as this myth may be in the public, it has still received little scholarly

attention. Features associated with northern German speakers[100] are listed below (as per

Hundt, 1992, p.53; Stevenson & Barbour, 1990, pp.265-271; Johnson, 1998, pp. 255-

256).

Table 4.8 Hanover Features

Phonological	Feature	Example	male	female
variant vowels	/ɪ/ → /y/	dazwischen → dazw/**y**/schen, Tisch → T/**y**/sch	X	X
	Umlauts pronounced as standard	Tür, spät	X	X
	open central lax vowel /a/	/a/ber, V/a/ter	X	X
	long vowels often pronounced as short vowels in monosyllabic words /a:/ → /a/	gr/o/b, T/a/g	X	X
variant consonants	uvular /r/ → /ɐ/ in syllable final	Zimmer → Zimm/ɐ/, Flur→ Flu/ɐ/	X	X
	/s/ and /z/ opposition	sich (zɪç)	X	X
	word final /g/ → /x/	genug → genu/x/	X	X
	/p/, /t/, /k/ all as fortis in syllable initial and medial positions		X	X
Lexical & Morphological	all adjective endings present according to written German		X	X
	use of the word "*super*" (typical of "west" German under influence of English[101])	superschwierig		X
	kucken for *sehen*			X
	the expletive "*zack*" (perceived as "western" by eastern informants)		X	
	nich' for *nicht*		X	

<u>Task 3 Demographic Information</u>

The third task collected information about the informants. The survey asks for information concerning age, sex, and education as well as where the informants were born and which area or city they regarded as their "home" area. This information was used to make sure participants met the qualifications for participation. All information was kept anonymous and names were not recorded.

In order to confirm the results collected in the two previous tasks, several questions were added to this part of the survey that asked participants to (1) describe which dialect respondents speak and evaluate how much dialect they use in everyday speech, (2) choose what level of regional identity they associate with most, and (3) evaluate their home dialect from their own perspective, a local's perspective, and an outsider's perspective. These questions were designed to examine the link between language and identity. The first set of questions gather information concerning the types of dialect spoken and the level of perceived dialectness present in the community; the second and third question sets examine attitudes connected to identity and language using a modified Likert scale.

<u>Task 4 Short Questions</u>

As per Tamasi (2003) a short qualitative interview section was included in the last stage of the methodology. Participants were free to answer the question any way they liked and sometimes provided lengthy answers. This was a useful method to confirm and

clarify results collected in the previous parts of the survey and served as suitable means

to conclude the interview. The questions asked included: [102]

> 1. *Was halten Sie von den Aufgaben, die Sie vorhin erledigt haben?*
> *(schwer/leicht, mögliche Quellen?)*

> 2. *Wo wird das beste Deutsch gesprochen? (angenehmste für das Ohr) Wie ist*
> *Ihre Meinung über das aktuelle Deutsch, das in Deutschland gesprochen wird?*

> 3. *Können Sie ein Beispiel nennen, wo Sprache für Sie eine entschiedene Rolle*
> *gespielt hat?*

The first question sheds light on the cognitive process and obtains responses that aid in

understanding how easily knowledge about language is retrieved. The question is a

relevant one, as Tamasi (2003, p.35) points out, "This line of questioning is key in

revealing whether or not there is really a distinctive cognitive pattern to how we

understand the concepts of language and language variation." I followed this question up

by asking what types of sources participants consciously used to aid them with these

tasks. This inquiry aids in identifying the resources that participants use to help form

opinions and exposure to the regional varieties of German. The second question asks

directly where the "best" German is geographically located in minds of respondents; this

question was designed to refute or confirm the Hanover linguistic urban myth that has

been identified by researchers. Most respondents automatically assumed that "best"

meant "most correct," therefore I included the "most pleasant for your ears" to avoid any

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[102] 1. What do you think about the tasks you just performed? 2. In your opinion where is the best German spoken in Germany? (most pleasant) What do you generally think about the way people speak German in Germany today? 3. Can you think of a time where language played a decisive role for you?

confusion. The follow-up question here allows participants to comment on folk subjects; this information allows the research to identify which subjects are most salient in the minds of lay persons. The last question is included in order to "… elicit each respondent's personal experience with language" (Tamasi, 2003, p.35). The question gives additional information concerning attitudes toward language as well as revealing the level of linguistic security or insecurity of the respondent.

Implementation

Once the individual tasks had been selected, constructed and refined, a complete questionnaire protocol including a set of directions and a cover letter still needed to be written up. Collaborating with colleagues from the University of Dresden,[103] I drafted a set of directions and brief cover letter. With the help of several native speakers and feedback from pilot interviews, I developed a final draft of the questionnaire. In revising, I rephrased and edited passages and several questions that test respondents found ambiguous. In this way I was able to minimize the possibility that unclear directions and misleading vocabulary would compromise the objectives of the survey.

The interview was conducted in various informal settings in the target communities, and most were done either in the participants' homes or in cafes and coffee houses. Conducting interviews in such settings had the advantage of decreasing the level of participant inhibition and the formality of the interview. I conducted all but two of the 61 interviews[104] myself. This was advantageous for several reasons: I was able to ensure each interview was done in exactly the same manner and was personally on hand to answer any questions concerning the interview or the survey. Moreover, as a non-

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[103] Christina Anders & Markus Hundt

[104] Christina Anders conducted Dresden interviews D28 & D29.

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German, participants could express whatever opinions they had about other dialect regions/speakers, i.e. I was not perceived as an 'East' or 'West' German, which might have had led to participants masking their true feelings or attitudes towards certain varieties of German and/or their speakers.

As a first step in selecting informants, I used a number of pre-interview questions that confirmed their nativeness and their willingness to participate. If participants qualified for the study and they expressed a willingness to be interviewed, I gave them a copy of the cover letter/permission form to read. A copy of the consent form can be found in Appendix A. If the respondents agreed to the terms of the study, the interview proceeded.

At this point, before the interview officially started, I emphasized to participants that there were no 'right' answers or opinions; the survey was intended to measure their subjective opinion only. I stressed that subjects were free to answer in any way they felt appropriate. This was important as I felt that due to the format of the study, several of the respondents felt that they were completing an exam with a set of correct answers.

When completing the dialect identification portion of the survey, participants were given a Walkman with a CD of the speech samples. Participants were told to listen to the CD only once and to rate the speech samples based on their first impression.

In most cases the survey required about 75 minutes to complete, although some participants took considerably longer to finish. The majority of the respondents completed the questionnaires fully with some exceptions; a small number of respondents refused to answer certain questions in the demographic portion of the survey, while others said that they couldn't rate or categorize certain regions because they hadn't been

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there; respondent D31 didn't agree with the principle of rating people's voices and left

the attribute portion of Task 2 blank. Overall, however, participants found the survey's

directions understandable and easily completed the tasks asked of them.

CHAPTER 5

REGIONAL VIEWS OF SPOKEN GERMAN

The Germans? A disparate folk if ever there was one.

Susan Stern (2002, p.7)

 Introduction

The body of research that perceptual dialectology has produced has shown that, irrespective of the language or dialects being investigated, two patterns have consistently emerged. On the one hand, people often have highly individualized views concerning language variation. Laypersons' opinions can vary widely concerning the number and placement of regional dialects and the manner in which they evaluate them. However, despite such differences, perceptions do often follow certain general patterns across communities with respect to such things as the saliency of certain dialects and their degree of correctness in relation to the perceived prestige variant.

A two-part task was design to elicit such perceptions from my German informants. For Task 1 participants were asked to sort fifty-five cards, each with a city name written on it. Each respondent was then asked to group the flashcards into piles where similarly-spoken German could be found. No restriction was made on the number of piles, and they could thus range from 1 to 55 for each respondent. The resulting piles represented the participant's perceived dialect regions. For Task 2 the respondent was then asked to qualify each of their piles of flashcards they made, describing them in terms of 12 pairs of linguistic characteristics. I address the two different data sets collected in

Task 1 (dialect groupings) and Task 2 (attributes) in two separate analyses. The first half

of the chapter reports on regional views of language from Franconian and Saxon

respondents, reviewing the findings from the pile sorting task of my survey; I discuss

what these findings say about a German understanding of regional variation and how

language perceptions are influenced by regional identity. The second half of the chapter

is devoted to describing the results from the attributive task; here I specifically address

what the data tell us concerning the linguistic "*Mauer in Kopf*" and the status of Saxon

German on both sides of this wall. Throughout the chapter I use qualitative data obtained

during informants' interviews to support my interpretations and conclusions

Data

The data from the pile-sorting task was put into an Excel sheet in the following

(abbreviated) form:

Table 5.1 Excerpt of Pile-sorting Data

	city#		36	51	50	52	53	54	55	47	44	48	46	49	43	45	35	38
	G	Age	LL	SE	SB	SZ	AI	AS	AW	F	S	U	A	M	RE	P	W	BA
D1	W	26	5	5	5	5	4	4	4	6	5	5	14	14	14	4	1	14
D2	W	37	3	8	8	8	8	8	8	1	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8
D3	M	25	14	1	22	24	23	2	27	5	8	9	6	6	6	6	19	19

The first column is the code for each respondent. "D" indicates a resident of Dresden,

while "B" refers to residents of Bamberg. Respondent codes range from 1 to 31. In the

next column, "G" refers to the gender of the respondent: "m" for male and "w" for

female. Respondents' age, in years, is shown next, followed by 55 city columns (the first

16 are shown here). The lettered code (1-3 letters) and the number (1-55) above it

uniquely identify the 55 cities which were to be sorted into piles. The value found

beneath the city code refers to the number of the pile that a particular respondent placed the city in. Thus, respondent D1 placed the first 4 cities (LL, SE, SB, and SZ) as well as cities S and U all in pile 5. The number 5 serves only as an identifier, and has no meaning in terms of perception, ranking, rating, etc. Furthermore, pile #5 for one respondent has absolutely no meaning in relation to any other respondent's pile #5.

Analysis of Pile-sorting

In order to determine how the respondents perceive the dialect "boundaries" within Germany, I decided as per Tamasi (2003) to analyze the piles of cities using Johnson's Hierarchical Clustering.[105] This type of proximity analysis views the data sets and determines which items are most similar to each other; adoptedin this case which cities are most often represented or clustered in the same dialect regions. Clustering analysis, as explained by Borgatti (1996, p.23), works in the following manner:

"Given a set of N items to be clustered, and an N x N distance matrix, the basic process of Johnson's (1967) hierarchical clustering is listed below, with specific details to follow:

1. Start by assigning each item to its own cluster, so that if you have N items, you now have N clusters, each containing just one item. Let the distances between the clusters equal the distances between the items they contain.

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[105] I wholeheartedly thank Dr. Jax Reeves from the UGA Statistics Department and his assistants Brian Claggett and Gabriel Tonsil for their assistance with the statistical analysis of the data presented in this chapter and in Chapter 6.

2. Find the closest (most similar) pair of clusters and merge them into a single cluster, so that now you have one less cluster.

3. Compute distances between the new cluster and each of the old clusters.

4. Repeat steps 2 and 3 until all items are clustered into a single cluster of size N."

In reference to the numbered steps above, for my dataset, I proceeded as follows:

1. I began with k=N=55 clusters, each cluster representing a single city. I created a 55x55 matrix where the "distance" between any pair of cities ranged from 0 to 61. Because there were sixty-one participants, a value of zero would be obtained if they all paired the cities in one pile and a value of sixty-one would occur if none did. Each respondent who failed to put the two cities into the same pile increased the distance measure by one.[106] This measure of distance is known as Hamming Distance. The upper right corner of this distance matrix is shown below:

Table 5.2 Excerpt of Hamming Distance Matrix

	[,1]	[,2]	[,3]	[,4]	[,5]	[,6]	[,7]
[1,]	0	58	58	58	61	61	61
[2,]	58	0	12	8	59	59	59
[3,]	58	12	0	13	58	58	58
[4,]	58	8	13	0	59	59	59
[5,]	61	59	58	59	0	15	24
[6,]	61	59	58	59	15	0	19
[7,]	61	59	58	59	24	19	0

A histogram showing the values in the distance matrix is shown below:

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[106] In 3 cases (D6, B4 and B30) the respondents made a pile of cities that they declared to be "unknown," i.e. they had no idea how to categorize the German spoken in these cities. I interpreted this to mean that the respondent did not truly believe that the dialect spoken at these cities were all similar to each other, but rather, when producing the distance matrix, proceeded as if each of the cities involved had been placed in a pile containing only itself.
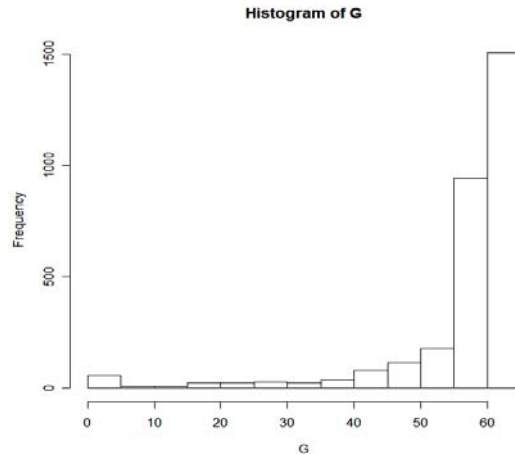
Figure 5.1 Histogram of Hamming Distance Values

The first bar on the left shows the 55 occurrences of 0 that occur along the diagonal of the distance matrix, when each city is paired with itself. Ignoring those values, over 50% of the distance values are 61, meaning that, of all possible pairs of cities, greater than half of them were not paired by a single respondent. The smallest distance was 6, which occurred once (Kiel and Lubeck in northern Germany), followed by 8, which occurred twice (Kiel/Flensburg in northern Germany and Bern/Zurich in Switzerland). Over 75% of the distance matrix comprises values from 58-61.

2. Since Kiel and Lubeck were found to be the closest pair of cities, they represent the first merger, thus reducing our number of clusters to k=54.

3. This step can be done in a number of ways, and the decision for how to do so is a subjective one, but we choose one of the most simple, straightforward methods, known as "average-link" clustering, which defines the distance from Cluster A to

Cluster B as the average distance from any member of Cluster A to any member

of Cluster B.

4. In practice, it is of little use to continue clustering until k=1. One can stop the

clustering process at any k between 1 and N.

 Results of Pile-sorting – Dendrograms

In order to analyze and interpret the results, I first created dendrograms that

display the data on a hierarchical similarity continuum. I then used cluster maps

generated from the data to comment more specifically on the differences and similarities

between the two respondent groups.

The cluster dendrograms from the Dresden respondents and Bamberg respondents

are shown in Figure A and Figure B respectively (please see Appendix B). In Figure C

we see the data combined for a shared view. The levels presented in each cluster diagram,

indicated in the far left column, show the average degree of similarity among items

within the clusters. The numbers range between 0 - 100; these numbers are not

percentages but rather are derived from the data matrices analyzed by the statistical

software. At the bottom one sees the city codes (as described above) that represent that

various cities.

As the cluster analysis I applied is an agglomerative method, the program begins

with small closely-linked clusters and gradually merges them into one large cluster.

Therefore, in these dendograms the higher the level, the more similarly perceived the

cities. A cluster level of 100.00 would mean the cities were perceived to be exactly the

same. As the level approaches zero, there is less and less similarity within the individual

clusters. For example, the value "66.76" in Figure 5.3 represents a high degree of

similarity between items in a cluster, but ".28" displays a low degree of similarity and is primarily an abstraction of earlier clusters. Nonetheless, that is not to say that clusters at higher levels are more valid than lower ones; clusters at high levels reveal strong perceived similarities between cities, while divisions at lower levels portray differences between clusters that are equally as strong.

The representations in Figures A., B., and C., in Appendix B clearly show specific dialect regions, and I again follow Tamasi's methods (2003) and interpret results at the 25.00, 50.00 and 75.00 levels. As she states (p.65), "While the exact numbers are somewhat arbitrary, they are basic, equal increments that show an interesting range of proximities among and within clusters." Each level represents the same perceptions grouped into areas of increasing abstraction, starting with major dialect regions (25.00), more concentrated regions (50.00), and smaller clusters of cities (75.00 and higher). The cluster analysis lists the data on a continuum from most different (0) to most similar (100). Therefore, at the 25.00 level end of the continuum, the clusters are derived more from difference rather than similarity but still show salient regions of language. At the 50.00 level clusters are derived from both difference and similarity and cities that are remotely similar are no longer included in these areas. These clusters represent subregions; they are no longer as abstract as regions at the 25.00 level and give clues to the perceived core areas of spoken German. Finally at the 75.00 level, we see the strongest clusters that are derived from high scores of similarity. Theoretically these clusters should reveal the absolute or core areas of spoken German.

The results largely mirror what Tamasi found, but there were several interesting differences. Below I summarize the results, discuss their significance and comment

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briefly on how the results differed from her findings. Looking at Figures A., B., and C. at the 25.00 level we see, just as Tamasi observed in her study of American dialects, there are regions that are weakly perceived by the folk as being different from one another in terms of the German spoken there. Looking at Figure A at the 25.00 level, Dresden participants perceive seven major dialect regions that cluster together. These regions include a South (including Bavarian, Swabian, Austrian, and Swiss cities), Rhineland/Ruhr, Hessian, Northwest, mid-North/Northeast, East Central, and Saxon region. Luxembourg appears to be distinct from other varieties as it is the only city that stands alone at this level.

Franconian respondents had similar perceptions of the major dialect regions with some differences (Fig A). Bambergers exhibit similar views of the North and West, Saarbrucken and Kaiserslautern were grouped into a Saarland region and we see a West Central cluster that encompasses Rhineland/Ruhr and Hessian-speaking cities, a Northwest cluster running from Kassel up to Flensburg. However, perceptions of the East and South are significantly different. An eastern region includes all eastern cities of the former GDR and perceptions of a southern region, even at a relatively low degree of similarity, reveal subregions: Bamberg respondents distinguished between a Swiss/Alemanic group, a pan-Bavarian cluster and a Franconian cluster. Again Luxembourg, and this time Berlin as well, stand out as cities that tend not to cluster with other cities.

The results at this level are consistent with the number of dialect regions that Tamasi observed at the 25.00 level. Her respondents recognized 7 major dialect regions with some variation across her two samples groups in terms of the makeup of these

clusters. Moreover, these results also closely resemble the results of previous "draw a map" perceptual work done in Germany. Perceptual maps drawn by respondents from Kennetz (1999) showed that, on average, respondents drew seven dialect regions and the most frequently marked regions included the "usual suspects" of this study, i.e. Bavaria, Saxony, Swabia, Hessia, and areas around Berlin and around Hanover (as the "non-dialect" dialect). Preliminary results from map work conducted by Hundt (2006) also list Bavarian, Swabian, Swiss, Austrian (Viennese), East German (Saxon), the Cologne dialect, Low German, and North German as the most often-named dialects. Not only do these results match previous perception studies they also match well with production driven maps. Figure 5.2 is an adapted version of König (1978) that displays conventional divisions of traditional German dialects at its extent in 1940. This map features seven major dialect areas covering Germany, Austria and Switzerland. They include a North that is divided into eastern and western regions, and a Midland area also divided into east and west regions. The south is divided into Franconian, Alemanic, and Bavarian regions. Interesingly, this arrangement is very similar to the views seen at the 25.00 level for both sets of respondents; however, we have to remember that 25.00 is only a weak level of association. Therefore, this data would appear to undercut the importance of production on the participants' perceptions. When we compare perception-driven data with production-driven data, we see that participants only weakly perceived areas as identified by production studies. A more detailed discussion of perception driven maps in contrast to production maps is continued below.
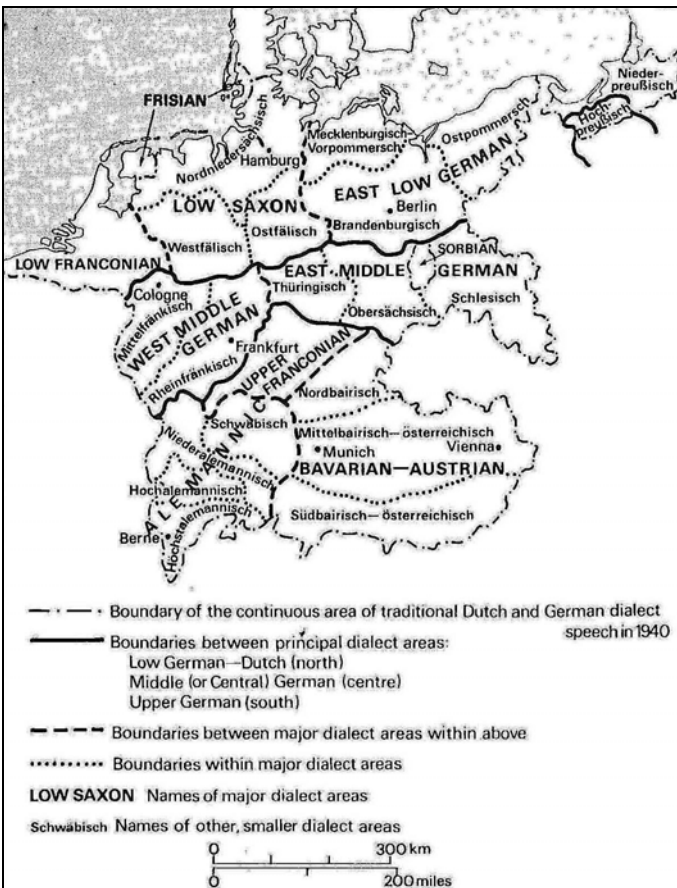
Fig 5.2 Conventional Divisions of Traditional German and Dutch Dialects
(adapted from König (1978))

Next we observe the piles at the 50.00 level. As we move up the continuum,

increasing the level of similarity, we see the emergence of more concentrated regions that

not only identify more specific dialect areas but also reveal that the folk are aware of

variation within more weakly associated dialect areas.[107] Dresden respondents made 14

clusters, and the Bambergers made 16 clusters at this level. This result is higher than the

piles made in typical folk knowledge studies and is also higher than the pile count

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[107] It should be noted that subregions exist not just at this level but various levels across the similarity
continuum and therefore give different perspectives of participant perceptions.

Tamasi (2003) observed in her data sets; her respondents made 12 (Georgia) and 13 (New Jersey) piles. Again although there were some minor differences the results at the 50.00 level were generally similar.

At 50.00, Dresden respondents split the South further into a Swabian cluster around Stuttgart and Ulm, and a Bavarian-Franconian cluster in the Southeast. Moving northward, Midwest groups emerge consisting of the cities of Gottingen, Kassel, and Bielefeld and a Saarland cluster centered on Saarbrucken and Kaiserslautern. There are an additional two clusters in the North at the 50.00 level, a cluster of northeastern cities along the coast a second one that includes and Berlin and Cottbus. Viewing Franconian city groupings at the 50.00 level, Bambergers group the Hessian cities of Mannheim, Frankfurt, and Darmstadt together. Hanover, Braunschweig, and Kassel form a Midwest group, and in the Northwest we see a hanseatic cluster of Lubeck, Hamburg, Kiel, Flensburg, and Bremen. Magdeburg is separated from the Saxon-speaking cities of Dresden, Leipzig, Chemnitz and Zwickau. And in the south, Freiburg, Stuttgart, and Ulm form a southwest region, while Austrian cities break off from the South, forming another smaller region.

To summarize, the perceptual dialects made by both informant groups are similar. Both sets of perceptions show dialect areas that remain distinct from one another even at low iterations of the cluster analysis, showing that there are perceptual boundaries that are shared across respondents. Moreover these areas appear in generally the same locations. Both sets of informants included a North, Rhineland/Ruhr region, and Hessian-speaking region. While both communities also had South and East regions they differed slightly in their views of these areas, emphasizing that regional knowledge of variation

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affects dialect perceptions. Franconians split the South into three regions while lumping Mid-east and North-east into one pile. Saxons, on the other hand, see their region distinct from other eastern dialects but place southern dialects together. Lastly, Luxembourg and Berlin were often perceived as distinct dialect regions.

So far we have looked at supraregional and subregional dialects of respondents. By looking at the strongest results for similarity on our similarity continuum (75.00 and above) we can determine what the core or most identifiable dialect regions should be for our respondents. In reality, however, as will be argued in further detail below, I suspect that participants made these clusters based on the cities' close proximity to each other rather than the dialects spoken in these areas. It is important to note that just as in Tamasi's experiment, the farther up the similarity continuum we go, the more we see cohesive regions weaken, and we are left with the areas (often times pairs of cities) that are perceived as the most salient.

Looking at the 75.00 level, Dresden respondents perceive several salient areas: 1) the Saxon cities of Zwickau and Chemnitz; 2) the northwest coastal cities of Hamburg, Kiel, Lubeck, and Flensburg; 3) Dusseldorf and Cologne; 4) the Hessian cities of Darmstadt and Frankfurt 5) Bamberg and Nurnberg are paired with one another. Moreover, foreign cities of Austria and Switzerland both exhibit high degrees of similarity, clustering respectively at the 75.00 level. For these respondents, two pairs - Rostock and Greifswald and Lubeck and Kiel, scored some of the highest ratings for similarity, both being above the 90.00 level.

Franconian clusters at the 75.00 level again were relatively similar. Cologne and Dusseldorf were found to be highly similar; the northern cities of Kiel, Lubeck and

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Flensburg clustered together in a high correlation, Swiss cities clustered with a high degree of similarity as well. Differences occur when we look at how Saxony and Austria were viewed by the Bambergers. Leipzig, Dresden and Chemnitz were found to be highly similar while lesser-known Zwickau is separated from the Saxon-speaking region. Bambergers acknowledge southern regional variation by clustering the Swabian-speaking cities of Ulm and Stuttgart together and perceiving Vienna as separate from Salzburg and Innsbruck. Bamberg and Nurnberg also were found to be highly alike. Some of the strongest similarities occurred with Dresden and Leipzig, Bern and Zurich, and Kiel and Flensburg.

At first glance it would appear then that there is some consensus among our respondents concerning what may be considered the most salient areas of spoken German. Both communities have at a high level of similarity a Northern pile, a Rhineland pile, a Saxon pile and Swiss and Austrian piles. It needs to be noted that although these may be the core regions of dialect they are not really "regions" any longer at higher levels. As we start with low levels of similarity we see cohesive regions and clusters with many cities; however, the higher the level of similarity, the smaller the makeup of the clusters –.until the regions become single cities or pairs of cities. However, I would argue that it is certainly not a coincidence that cities with the strongest associations (northern, Austrian, and Swiss) represent dialects that the respondents would have had little contact with. At the highest levels, therefore, we can posit that language is probably not the driving force behind these associations, rather it is the geography and the "exoticness" of these places that account for the results. This will be discussed further below.

Differences at this level occur again in how the respondents view their respective

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home regions. Dresdeners spilt their region into three dialects – Leipzig, Dresden, and a combination of Zwickau and Chemnitz at a high degree of similarity. Conversely, Bambergers view Leipzig and Dresden as highly similar but view the South differently – a Franconian region and a Swabian region cluster at high levels, and we see Swiss and Austrian cities perceived as having more variation than perceived by Dresden respondents. These differences can be explained by respondents' familiarity with spoken varieties closer to home influencing their perceptions.

Looking at the data sets as a whole, we find they mirror the results of Tamasi's experiment with few exceptions. In the data sets (Figures A., B., and C., in Appendix B) we start with seven clusters that weakly cluster at the 25.00 level. These groupings feature cohesive large dialect regions that coincide with the production-driven map (Fig. 5.2). As we move up the similarity continuum, cohesive dialect regions fade and the clusters increase in number (14-16) but decrease in size. Finally, at the highest degrees of similarity we are left with very few clusters (4) which are often pairs of cities rather than regions.

Discussion of Dendrograms

At this point I would like to comment on what the data says about perceptions of spoken German. The results at the "core" level tell us quite a bit about how language is perceived by the respondents. In fact they are not "areas" at all; rather they tend to be pairs of cities rather than regions. Tamasi (2003) questioned whether her results at high levels of similarity were really core dialects of American English or in fact were the fault of the methodology and were just "indistinguishable neighbors." Tamasi (2003, p. 84) concluded that in many instances piles from her respondents were as much a result of

speech perceptions as they were from non-speech (or lack of) information (she

specifically mentions examples of North and South Dakota and North and South Carolina

being respectively grouped together). I suspect that this might have influenced my results

as well. Kiel and Lubeck were the two cities perceived to be the most similar overall;

however, it is worth asking if respondents feel that people from these cities speak a

similar German that is highly salient, or as inhabitants from very distant communities,

was it a lack of linguistic knowledge or experience with the North that led them to group

the two cities together?[108] The same could be said about the strong similarity of Swiss

and Austrian clusters.

Cultural geographers Gould & White (1986) studied the distribution of spatial

knowledge among laypersons and found that informants tend to know a lot about their

immediate surroundings but that spatial and cultural knowledge tends to diminish rapidly

the farther the distance from the home area. Kretzschmar (2009, p.287) extends this

finding to language perceptions:[109]

> At levels beyond the local, relative similarity of perceptions may arise from a lack
> of information that people have about other places, rather than shared perceptions.
> Thus an overall average is likely to fail to capture actual similarities and
> differences in aggregated evidence of perceptions.

This phenomenon would be an alternative explanation as to why core areas above

clustered: not because they are perceived as truly salient and similar, but rather, there is a

lack of sufficient linguistic knowledge that resulted in the tendency to group such distant

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[108] Similarly, one could apply the same amount of skepticism to the high level of similarity found in the
Swiss and Austrian clusters.

[109] Although Gould & White see this as an explainable scientific phenomenon, lack of geographical
knowledge that extends outside one's locale is often portrayed in the media as a cause for alarm (e.g.
"Young Americans shaky on geographic smarts" [APA 2006]).

areas together. Reinforcing the role local knowledge plays in the German perceptions of

language is the concept of *Heimat.* As I talked to respondents it became evident to me

just how restricted their linguistic knowledge of areas outside their home areas really

was. Most had lived the majority of their lives in their home regions and had only a

limited amount contact with the rest of Germany. Often respondents admitted to making

guesses about certain areas, not having been to many of the cities I used in the card set.[110]

Typical of commentaries given while completing this task, informant D30

explained to me after the interview,"*Des kann ich glei sagen* [pointing to a pile of eastern

cities], *un des kann ich glei sagen* [pointing to a southern city pile] ... *Die anderen, da*

war ich noch ni so oft, hab ich noch ni so oft mit ihenen geredet. Des is eben mei

Problem."[111] It became apparent to me that a limited degree of mobility within Germany

was the norm rather than the exception. Several respondents from both sample groups

never left their communities for any significant amount of time and we see the

consequences of this not just in the quantitative data but also in individual commentaries

as well. D17 told me:

> *Also die [the interview tasks] waren schon schwierig, weil ... aus dem Grund, da*
> *ich halt, mich nicht so gut auskenne in unserem Sprachraum ... wo ich mich gut*
> *auskenne, ist es kein Problem. Also im sächsischen Raum. Oder sagen wir*
> *Ostdeutschland. Kenne ich mich noch ganz gut aus. Aber was dann Richtung*
> *Westen geht, da ... da hapert's dann een bissl.*"[112]

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[110] However except for respondents D6, B4, and B30 who made "unknown" piles, interviewees had no other difficulties finishing the task.

[111] That I can talk about [pointing to a pile of eastern cities], and that one I can talk about [pointing to a southern city pile] ... the others though, I haven't been there so often, I haven't talked with them much. So that's my problem.

[112] The interview tasks were pretty difficult because I'm not entirely sure about all our dialect regions. Where I am sure, it's not a problem, for example in Saxony. Or let's say in East Germany. That I know really well. But out West, well then that's where I really don't know, I guess.

Two Bambergers (B33 and 34) asked me with astonishment why I had included the "Polish city" of Magdeburg in my set of German cities; a Saxon respondent (D23) knew Stuttgart was "somewhere in the West" but wasn't sure if that was in the North or South.[113] So we see a lack of knowledge was not just limited to "minor" cities but in several instances respondents also had problems placing major cities outside their home areas. For some respondents this task could easily have turned into a geography test if I hadn't had a map nearby that respondents could consult. I will return to this point further below.

A second pattern that corroborates Tamasi's results relates to the level of agreement concerning dialect regions. Although we did see clusters that occurred at the highest levels (75.00 and above), these piles consisted mostly of pairs of cities, not large cohesive regions (with the exception of Austrian and Swiss cities) like those displayed in Fig. 5.5. We only see larger regions at very low levels of similarity. We can surmise then, as Tamasi did, that the respondents have very individual views concerning the makeup of German dialect regions. Kretzschmar (2009, p. 291) points out that in perceptual experiments of language it is often the case that, "When means and averages are applied to ratings by individuals, the result does not describe a shared mental image but instead a picture that few individuals and no localities possess." Figure 5.1 backs up this claim, showing that over 50% of the distance values in the histogram are 61, meaning that, of all possible pairs of cities, greater than half of them were not paired by a single respondent. Actually the fact that half the pairs *were* made (though most at low frequencies) further

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[113] On the other hand, however, I also interviewed two respondents who claimed to be "dialect experts." One was a traveling salesman, the other answered service calls for a cable company; both of these respondents had extensive exposure to regional German both in and outside of Germany.

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supports this point, as non-pairs should have been higher if large regions were consistently perceived. So while respondents may perceive dialect regions such as an "East" "South" or "Ruhr" or "Rhineland," the exact extent and content of such areas is highly variable across individuals and communities.

 The results of the pile task differed in two related respects from Tamasi's findings. First, respondents made piles that were consistently spatially-constrained. Although city piles sometimes crossed regional or national borders, they were never geographically distant from another. In examining individual views, Tamasi (2003) found that respondents sometimes made piles that were geographically inconsistent at 50.00 and 75.00 levels, for example, a pile that consisted of Wisconsin and Montana or Tennessee and Ohio. This was not the case for my respondents. As stated earlier three respondents made "unknown" piles, but according to the clustering analysis no respondents ever placed cities together with cities from distant regions, i.e. placing Berlin with Stuttgart or Dresden with Hamburg.

 Secondly, my respondents also made on average six piles more than Tamasi's American respondents (the average number for her respondents was 13). My data yielded a range from 8 to 39 piles across both communities, with the overall median number being 19 piles per person. While I did use an additional number of cards (55 instead of 50) it is fair to say that this alone doesn't account for the increased amount of piles. Acknowledging that 5-7 divisions is the norm in most folk taxonomies, Tamasi (2003) points out that the trend in perceptual dialectology studies shows higher numbers, making language an atypical cultural domain (p. 93). Even when adjusting averages for outliers

in her study, commonly called "lumpers" and "splitters,"[114] the mean numbers did not

significantly change for her sample groups. She surmised that (2003, p.92):

> Generally in cognitive research, the responses from "lumpers" and "splitters" go against the cultural norm. However when applied to the seven-plus-or-minus categorization of folk knowledge, we find that our "lumpers" are the only ones who fit into this "regular" pattern. Therefore because these lumped responses are so different from others in this study, they can only reinforce the significance of language as an atypical domain. In other words what would usually be considered as a normal sorting a pattern is quite an abnormal response for this particular research. Additionally, the splitters reaffirm that people (i.e. non-linguists) do notice variation in language and show the amount of regional variation that they can and do perceive.

She also hypothesized that regardless of the types of cards given (states, cities, counties,

etc.), it would not affect the overall process of the categorization of speech. This appears

to be borne out in my data sets; indeed, the perceptions of regional variation appeared

even more pronounced.

A possible explanation that might account for both the higher number of piles

and the spatially-confined nature of them is the strength of the distinct cultural regions

and the dialectal diversity found throughout German-speaking Europe. Many of these

regions were established culturally and linguistically since at least the Middle Ages

(Barbour & Stevenson, 1990, p. 76), some for much longer. Even if my respondents were

unsure of regional linguistic variation they could make reasonable decisions based on

familiar regions/state boundaries of their country, e.g. the Hanseatic cities of the North,

the Ruhr region, or Swabia. Informant D3 explained, "*Allerdings hab' ich die erst mal*

nach Gebieten, also ein bisschen territorial, sortiert. Weil Dialekt ja- ist ... territorial

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[114] "Lumpers" being those who make a minimum of piles, lumping information together; "splitters" being those respondents who make more piles than the mean, using a large number of piles to categorize information.

bezogen."[115] Statements like these doesn't necessarily contradict my earlier statement concerning local knowledge – many respondents may in fact agree that there is a Bavarian region of speech or a "southern-speaking" area in Germany; however; there is, as we have seen, very little agreement about what cities belong in it.

These well-established regions of Germany may also explain why respondents made spatially-constrained piles. These are significantly older and in many ways more distinctive than traditionally-recognized American regions, especially the American West; while it may be true that a fairly regionless form of spoken German is in use in many areas of Germany,[116] the data seems to support that in fact many Germans see not just language but other cultural artifacts (political boundaries, geography, religion, for example) as strong mitigating factors in perceptions of their spoken language. In discussing their answers, fifteen respondents told me outright that they had used cultural as well as geographical information to help complete this task. Tamasi cited factors such as "immigrant populations" or "shared cowboy culture" across American western states when accounting for non-spatially constrained piles in her data sets. Although there are well-established immigrant populations and shared cultures throughout Germany, it appears such factors were overshadowed by older cultural and geographical traditions.

The diversity documented by linguists in spoken German may also help explain the increased average of piles. It is difficult to know how respondents understood the term "*Alltagssprache*"[117] whether they were thinking of traditional dialect forms or more

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[115] "Of course I sorted the cards according to regions, according to territories. Because dialect is related to territories."

[116] And therefore good justification for piling together cities that are geographically and dialectically distant from another, for example, Dresden with Cologne.

[117] The term used in the initial set of survey instructions.

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colloquial forms of German, but I was repeatedly told by respondents that my survey design was "inadequate" as their dialects changed from "village to village," and it was impossible to show this with just cities. The methods employed here could have easily been adapted to regional or even local studies, substituting towns and villages for cities (especially in the South and East). But I would also posit, as Tamasi did, that this would not affect the overall process of categorization. The large number of piles tells us that despite the current linguistic trends sociolinguists have claimed are occurring in Germany – that there is a shift from localized language to more regional forms – the populace still has perceptions of extensive language diversity in Germany.[118]

Cluster Maps

As we have seen, using hierarchical dendograms to analyze the data has told us quite a bit about how laypersons perceive spoken German in the two target communities. Another useful method to analyze the data is to construct maps displaying clusters at various levels and to compare visual summaries of respondent perceptions. This allows us not only to compare similarities and differences, but it also allows us to compare the results with production-driven isoglosses and political boundaries.

The default map I selected for this analysis displays several kinds of information (**see Appendix D**).[119] First, the cities used in the pile task are displayed using various shapes and numbers to help identify how the cities were clustered. National borders with

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[118] At least when compared with results from the U.S. These methods will have to be used in other countries in order to confirm whether this is a common trend or a German (European) phenomenon.

[119] Please note the cluster maps I use in this chapter are the "old" maps – see Appendix D for the latest maps. I chose to keep the old maps as they provide a quick visual summary of the data.

Switzerland, Austria, and Luxembourg, as well as German state boundaries, are also shown. I have also included two major isoglosses that are traditionally recognized as the principle divisions between the three major dialect families: the Benerath Line that divides Low German (northern) dialects from the Middle dialects, and the Speyer Line that separates the Middle dialects from the High German (southern) dialects.

In order to choose which maps which might be the most interesting and most helpful in analyzing our respondents' perceptions, several statistical analyses were conducted using SAS. This is again a subjective decision, as there is no "correct" answer as to how these cities should be clustered, but SAS provides some useful statistics for choosing a reasonable stopping value for k. See table below:

Table 5.3 Excerpt of Clustering Algorithm Output for Combined Groups

```
                  Cluster History – Average - Global
                                                     Norm   T
                                                     RMS    i
 NCL   -Clusters Joined--    FREQ   SPRSQ   RSQ   PSF  PST2  Dist   e

 16   OB         CL31         6    0.0159   .781   9.3   6.1   0.7550
 15   AA         CL34         4    0.0153   .765   9.3   5.0   0.7784
 14   CL22       CL39         7    0.0293   .736   8.8   5.8   0.8023
 13   CL28       KB           5    0.0184   .718   8.9   4.0   0.8451
 12   CL32       CL20         6    0.0267   .691   8.7   5.5   0.8561
 11   LL         CL24         3    0.0173   .674   9.1   2.4   0.8927
 10   CL13       CL15         9    0.0419   .632   8.6   5.5   0.9095
  9   CL12       CL16        12    0.0612   .571   7.6   8.4   0.9365
  8   CL11       CL10        12    0.0327   .538   7.8   2.7   0.9482
  7   CL8        CL18        19    0.0664   .472   7.1   5.6   0.9701
  6   CL21       CL14        10    0.0499   .422   7.1   5.8   0.9870
  5   CL17       CL9         20    0.0940   .328   6.1   9.1   1.0025
  4   CL50       CL40         6    0.0544   .273   6.4  38.3   1.0146
  3   CL4        CL6         16    0.0621   .211   7.0   4.9   1.0178
  2   CL7        CL5         39    0.1132   .098   5.8   7.6   1.0360
  1   CL2        CL3         55    0.0980   .000    .    5.8   1.0473
```

The clustering output (excerpt shown above) gives the following information:

1st col.: # of clusters (k) remaining at this step in the algorithm

2nd and 3rd col.: names of the last two clusters joined together in order to reduce to current value of k.

4th col.: size (# of the original 55 cities) of the cluster created in this step.

5th col.: reduction in R-Squared (variation explained by the model) that results from reducing k to its current value. Note: R-Sq will always be reduced as k is reduced, because each subsequent step reflects further generalization of the data. A relatively low value indicates a potentially "good" stopping point for the clustering algorithm.

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6th col.: observed R-Squared value at the current step.

7th col.: pseudo-F statistic, which reflects the ratio of variation between clusters to the variance within clusters. A relatively high value indicates a potentially "good" stopping point for the clustering algorithm.

8th col.: pseudo-t^2 statistic, which is difficult to explain completely in the space provided here, but the general idea is that a higher value indicates that the two clusters being combined are more likely to come from different distributions. Thus, a "good" stopping point could be chosen by finding low values or by finding the step preceding a high value.

9th col.: shows the distance (as we defined it in step 3; see p.120) between the clusters being combined in this step divided by the average pair-wise distance between all (55) observations. This value will increase with each subsequent step.

The output above, with extreme values highlighted, indicate no definite cutoff point, but it seems to suggest that k=5, k=8, and k=11 would be reasonable values. Since k=5 clusters seems to explain only around 32.8% of the data, and k=11 appears to outperform k=8 by any criterion, k=11 (with R-Sq = 0.674) is shown below as to our "best" graphical display of the dialect perceptions of our 61 respondents as a whole. It must be noted, though, that this is by no means a definitive answer, as k could be chosen to be any value, resulting in a different map. This map (Fig. 5.3) should be used only as visual summary, not a definitive solution. Once again our 11 regions also make good spatial sense, as

there are no cases of two cities in the same cluster being separated by cities in a different cluster.

Figure 5.3 Clustering Results, Combined Groups (k=11)

At first glance our k=11 map matches up fairly well with the production-driven map (Fig. 5.2). We see the North divided into an East and West cluster. In the midsection of Germany we can observe a Ruhr/Rhineland region, a Midwest and Mideast cluster. A bit further south, the Saarland clusters with Luxembourg, and Hessian and Palatinate cities are grouped together. Finally in the South, one sees Swabian, Bavarian, Austrian, and Swiss clusters. We can also observe that the clusters for the most part respect both the Benerath and Speyer lines in the sense that the clusters do not often cross over. The Speyer line remains completely intact, and the Benerath line is compromised in only few instances (Kassel, Magdeburg, Berlin, and Cottbus). Even the North/South axis present in Fig 5.2 that follows state boundaries can be seen clearly on this map. National boundaries also play a strong role as Austrian and Swiss cities are perceived as separate from

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southern German regions (Luxembourg, however, at this k-level does cluster with the German Saarland region). In some cases state boundaries also have an influential role on respondent perceptions, for example, the cities of Bavaria and Baden-Württemberg cluster together. This map provides strong evidence that traditional regional boundaries play a considerable role in the formation informant perceptions. Using the same basic map, it is also of interest to separate the responses into a Bamberg group and a Dresden group and to compare the resulting maps that each group would generate, so as to visualize the similarities and differences between the two groups of respondents. As difficult as it is to determine a stopping value for a single clustering algorithm, the decision as to how to display two simultaneous maps is even more subjective. Therefore, in the interest of amplifying the differences between the two groups, I had devised a measure of similarity, given any two sets of maps. First, given any map and any two cities, those cities will be grouped in one of two ways: in the same cluster or in separate clusters.

Restricting the cutoff value k to be the same for both groups, the similarity between the Dresden respondents' map and Bamberg respondents' map, $S[k]$ = proportion of all pairs of cities that were grouped similarly by the two maps. $S[1]$ must equal 1, since all cities will be found in the same single cluster in both maps. $S[55]$ must also equal 1, since all pairs of cities will be found to reside in separate clusters in both maps. The full range of possible k values is plotted below.
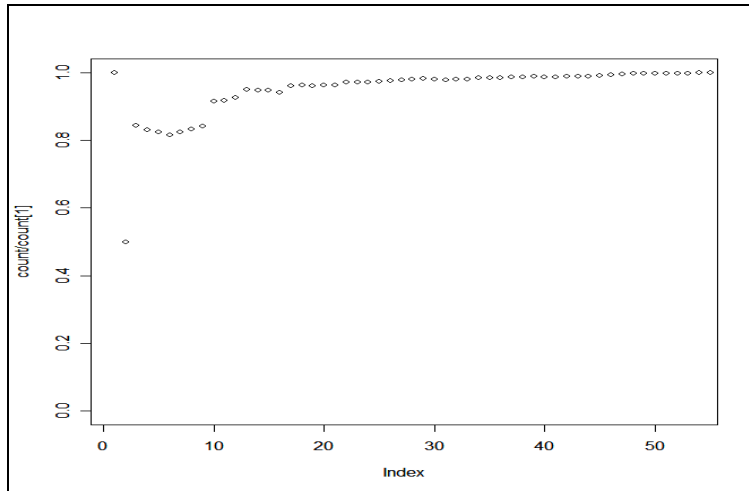
Figure 5.4 Similarity Values between Bamberg and Dresden Clustering Results

We see similarity plotted on the y-axis ranging from 0 to 1, and note that, for the most part, the two groups' maps are fairly similar, with at least 80% similarity at all but one point. We find S[2] = 0.499, the global minimum, to be at interesting point, as well as S[6] = 0.815, the next lowest value. Both of those cases are shown below.
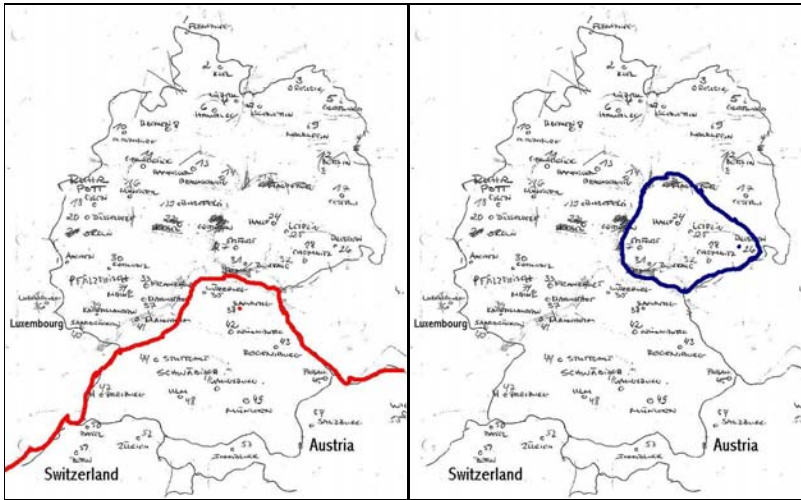
Figure 5.5: Clustering results, Bamberg; Figure 5.6: Clustering results, Dresden

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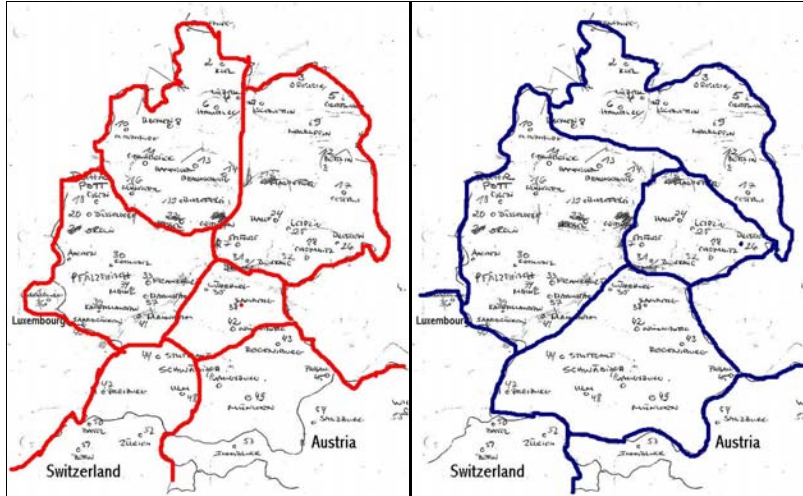
Figure: 5.7 Clustering results, Bamberg; Figure 5.8: Clustering results, Dresden

With k=2 clusters, we observe a noticeable difference between the maps, a testament to the "Them vs. Us" mentality often identified by social scientists and highlights the influence of local knowledge on perceptions. We see that each region has essentially clustered itself and its neighboring cities (i.e. "us") and separated them from the rest (i.e. "them"). Dresden respondents (Fig. 5.6) not only cluster Saxon cities but also include the neighboring cities of Sachsen-Anhalt (Magdeburg and Halle) and Thuringia together to form a Mideast[120] region. The Franconian respondents do something very similar in Fig 5.5, but from their own southern perspective: they include all cities south of the Speyer isogloss, forming a large southern region including both Switzerland and Austria. These maps show how influential regional identity and local

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[120] Bergmann (1990) points out that (according to his criteria) Saxon dialects are spoken outside of Saxony; certainly the overlap of shared features found throughout the neighboring regions would lead respondents to group these cities together.

knowledge can be in forming perceptions with both respondents' groups initially clustering a home region.

With k=6 clusters, the two maps are not drastically different, but once again some notable differences become apparent. The Bamberg group (Fig.5.7) clustered all of Eastern Germany into a single cluster showing evidence of the *Mauer in den Köpfen*. For the rest of western Germany, they perceive a Northwest and Midwest and then divide the South into three separate sections: a Franconian cluster that is separate from the rest of Bavaria as well as an Alemanic-speaking region that includes Swabia and Switzerland. The Dresden group in Fig. 5.8 again partitioned off Saxon cities as well as neighboring eastern cities to form their own Mideast region, but grouped the rest of eastern Germany together with other northern cities in western Germany to form a general North. It is also interesting to observe that while the Dresden map shows no clusters that contain both German and non-German cities, the Bamberg map groups all the non-German cities into clusters with other German cities, showing evidence of a shared "southernness" of Bavarian and Alemanic dialects that indeed stretch into Switzerland and Austria.

It is of interest also to display what we believe to be the most "correct" maps, those whose k values have been chosen by the same statistical criteria used above for the global map (Fig.5.3). Excerpts from the clustering output are shown below.

Table 5.4: Excerpts of Clustering Algorithm Output for Bamberg

```
                    Cluster History – Bamberg
                                               Norm  T
                                               RMS   i
   NCL   -Clusters Joined--   FREQ   SPRSQ   RSQ   PSF   PST2   Dist  e

    18  KA         CL26          5  0.0116  .818   9.8   1.9   0.7172
    17  CL23       CL27          5  0.0154  .802   9.6   2.6   0.7365
    16  AA         CL35          4  0.0145  .788   9.7   4.8   0.7590
    15  CL18       CL21          8  0.0213  .767   9.4   3.0   0.7662
    14  CL20       CL40          4  0.0180  .749   9.4   3.1   0.8023
    13  CL22       BL            6  0.0181  .730   9.5   3.5   0.8374
    12  CL25       CL13         14  0.0598  .671   8.0  10.1   0.8690
    11  LL         CL19          3  0.0156  .655   8.4   1.7   0.8706
    10  CL17       CL16          9  0.0408  .614   8.0   5.3   0.9022
     9  CL15       CL29         13  0.0654  .549   7.0   9.0   0.9350
     8  CL11       CL10         12  0.0342  .515   7.1   2.9   0.9589
     7  CL31       CL14          7  0.0416  .473   7.2   5.5   0.9636
     6  CL49       CL24          6  0.0484  .425   7.2  15.7   0.9910
     5  CL8        CL9          25  0.0808  .344   6.5   6.2   0.9987
     4  CL6        CL7          13  0.0542  .290   6.9   4.3   1.0160
     3  CL4        CL41         16  0.0561  .233   7.9   3.9   1.0355
     2  CL5        CL12         39  0.1406  .093   5.4  10.2   1.0421
     1  CL2        CL3          55  0.0929  .000    .    5.4   1.0505
```

Table 5.5: Excerpts of Clustering Algorithm Output for Dresden

```
                    Cluster History – Dresden
                                               Norm  T
                                               RMS   i
   NCL   -Clusters Joined--   FREQ   SPRSQ   RSQ   PSF   PST2   Dist  e

    18  F          CL23          3  0.0109  .852  12.5   1.9   0.7224
    17  AA         KB            2  0.0101  .841  12.6    .    0.7380
    16  CL25       CL35          9  0.0382  .803  10.6  14.7   0.7601
    15  CL24       CL20          7  0.0250  .778  10.0   4.7   0.7713
    14  CL26       CL17          4  0.0177  .761  10.0   2.3   0.8276
    13  CL30       CL33          6  0.0321  .728   9.4  10.0   0.8732
    12  CL13       CL51          8  0.0329  .696   8.9   4.4   0.8939
    11  CL14       CL19          8  0.0344  .661   8.6   4.0   0.9022
    10  CL11       CL31         12  0.0497  .611   7.9   5.2   0.9243
     9  CL18       CL21         10  0.0507  .561   7.3   8.3   0.9623
     8  CL10       CL15         19  0.0658  .495   6.6   5.7   0.9628
     7  LL         CL48          4  0.0266  .468   7.0  39.6   0.9841
     6  CL16       CL22         11  0.0477  .421   7.1   6.9   1.0176
     5  CL46       CL9          13  0.0644  .356   6.9   7.0   1.0182
     4  CL7        CL5          17  0.0579  .298   7.2   4.5   1.0215
     3  CL8        CL6          30  0.1070  .191   6.2   8.0   1.0282
     2  CL4        CL3          47  0.1002  .091   5.3   6.2   1.0391
     1  CL2        CL12         55  0.0911  .000    .    5.3   1.0493
```

From this, we find potential stopping points for the Bamberg group at k = 8, 11, and 13. The output from the Dresden group yields potential stopping values of k = 4, 7, 14, and 17.

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Based on this information we choose (again, arbitrarily) k=13 for the Bamberg group and k=14 for the Dresden group. The maps are shown below, and they exhibit a 0.945 similarity.
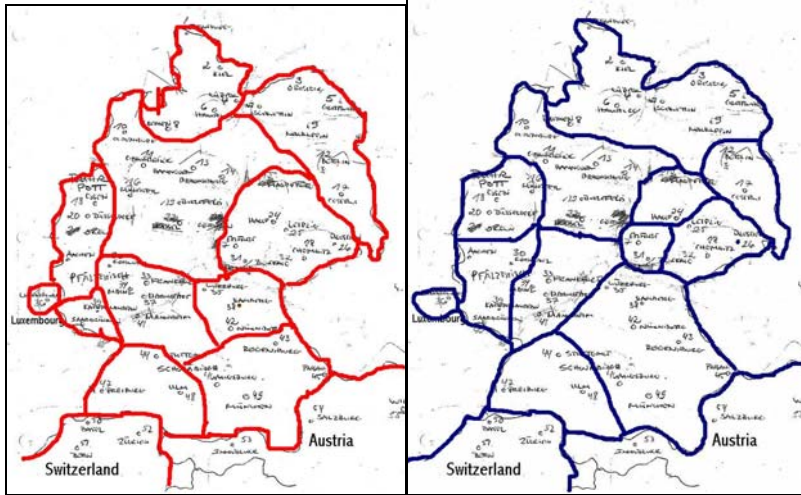
Figure 5.9: Clustering results, Bamberg; Figure 5.10: Clustering results, Dresden

It is immediately clear that although there are very similar shared sets of perceptions in Figure A and Figure B, there are striking local differences, again showing how important the role of local identity and knowledge can be in forming perceptions. We see both sets of informants perceive their home and neighboring regions differently. The Dresden respondents split the Mideast into four distinct regions – Franconians view the same area as one cluster. Conversely, Saxons split the South into just two clusters, whereas the Franconians perceive more variation and split into a Franconian, Swabian, and Bavarian-speaking south. In addition, we see that Easterners perceive a common North that stretches from West to East, while our southerners still perceive a Northwest and Northeast, once again reinforcing the notion of westerners seeing the East as one

East-speaking region. I would posit that we see again the influence of political borders in the Bamberger map, dividing eastern Germany into a non-Saxon cluster and Saxon cluster.

Discussion and Conclusions

Result from the dendrograms and maps confirm that while perceptions of both groups are similar especially at weaker levels of association, the disparity between Dresden and Bamberg views occurs primarily in how the two communities view their home region and their neighbors. This emphasizes the saliency of viewing themselves as different from others and emphasizes the "we vs. them" phenomenon identified by sociologists. These results are not surprising: in previous research, folk linguistic responses have generally been more sensitive to local and regional variation (Preston, 1986a, 1986b; Hundt, 1996; Niedzielski & Preston, 2000' Tamasi, 2003; Kretzschmar 2009, among others), with knowledge of more distant areas diminishing according distance from the home area. My "Draw-a-Map" results (Kennetz, 1999) also showed that German informants tended to draw more detailed dialect regions around home areas, and less-specific dialect regions or no dialect regions at all in more distant areas of their maps.

The analysis above, however, does provide further evidence of how perceptions are constructed and created. As we have seen, not only is local knowledge important, but a lack of it also plays a significant role in the makeup of perceptions. Because respondents could still complete the task despite lacking linguistic knowledge about certain cities, those areas that were unknown to respondents were in all probability evaluated employing additional criteria such as political boundaries, cultural areas,

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geographical proximity or just plain guesswork. Therefore, despite this lack of knowledge, some levels of similarity were obtained among respondents – we observe clusters that tend not be exactly the same in higher levels of similarity but they are not radically different at lower levels either.

An additional finding of interest concerns the effect of the linguistic "*Mauer in den Köpfen*" on westerners. First formally studied by Dailey-O'Cain (1999), this sociocultural phenomenon appears to be contributing to the Bamberger (western) view of putting anything from the East into one linguistic "basket," ignoring distinct cultural and geographic boundaries (even more so as Bamberg is geographically and linguistically not far from Thuringia and, to a lesser extent, Saxony). The influence of the "wall in the mind" seemed limited to just the western respondents, as we have seen Dresden respondents were willing to make dialect areas that include both western (BDR) and eastern cities (GDR). That the "wall of the mind" is still an influential factor in categorizing dialects for at least several respondents was directly observed when several Franconian respondents grimaced while making their eastern piles. B15 asserted that he "understood all the German dialects besides Saxon." Expressing how different she perceived eastern dialects to be from western ones, B7 made clear, "*Die sprechen alle den gleichen Dialekt drüben.*"[121] The most telling example occurred while B40 started the pile sorting task. Forgetting briefly that she was to pile the cities according to spoken language, B40, a Bamberger in her 80s, categorized the cities according to her own criteria: she had made two piles, one of West (BDR) cities and one of the East (GDR)

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[121] They all speak the same over there (in the East).

cities, stating "*So passt mir am besten.*"[122] Obviously this was an extreme instance, but it illustrates that 40 years of division has not been easily undone in 15. Most likely a certain amount of social bias against the East coupled with a lack familiarity explains the Franconian results. Certainly for respondents who grew up with two Germanys, there may have been a greater likelihood to perceive Germany as still divided as it had been so for much of their lives. As we will see in the evaluative components of the pile task, western bias towards the East will be much clearer.

Attribute Data

At this point we move on to the second data set for this task, the attribute data. In this portion of the pile sorting task, I asked participants to describe the spoken German of each of their dialect piles created in Task 1 using a predetermined set of attributes. As explained in Chapter Four, informants were given 12 sets of terms, each set having a positive and negative term. The placement of neither card was deemed a "neutral" response.

The data are analyzed in three separate ways that are presented throughout the chapter. First heat maps are used to display group perceptions of spoken German in the 55 cities used in Figure 5.12. Secondly, the map data is reanalyzed and displayed in polygon maps. Lastly, regional score means and standard errors are used to corroborate significant differences between group perceptions. As shown above, the attributes (in English) used are listed below:

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[122] That (i.e. the cards in two piles) is just the way I like it.

Table 5.6: Initial List of Attribute Pairs

Fast / slow
Understandable / Not Understandable
Industrious / Lazy
Comfortable / Rushed
Timid / Arrogant
Fine / Unrefined
Hard / Soft
Friendly / Unfriendly
Melodic / Unmelodic
Clean / Dirty
Pleasant / Unpleasant
Educated / Uneducated

The data for the second part of this project also as appears in an Excel sheet, the first few rows of which are shown below:

Table 5.7: Excerpt of Attribute Data

D1	A-B	C-D	F-E	G-H	I-J	L-K	M-N	O-P	R-Q	T-S	U-V	W-X
pile #	shn-lang	ver-unver	fleis-fau	gemüt-hek	shuc-arr	fei-gro	har-weich	freu-unfr	mel-unmel	sau-schm	ang-unan	Geb-unge
1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
3	-1	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0
4	1	-1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	-1	1	1
5	0	1	0	0	0	0	-1	1	1	1	0	1
6	-1	-1	1	1	1	1	-1	1	-1	-1	1	1
7	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	-1

Each column refers to the attribute pairs, in the same order as listed in the Introduction, with the German attribute heading the columns. The rows shown here refer to Piles 1-7 of the first respondent, D1. For each pile, the respondent's perception of the dialect spoken in the contained cities is measured by the +1,0,-1 scale given to each attribute. Rows 1-18 correspond to D1's 18 piles, followed by D2's piles in rows 19-26, and so on. In total, there are 1195 rows (61 respondents x 19.6 piles per respondent). In seven cases, a respondent indicated that neither (or both) attribute(s) in the pair was applicable to the

dialect in question, and so I decided to code these as neutral, or 0, since the respondent did not appear to prefer one attribute over the other.

Table 5.8 below shows the distribution of attribute ratings for each of the pairs evaluated. There are 3,355 ratings (61 respondents x 55 cities) for each attribute pair and there were 61*55*21= 40,260 total scores: [123]

Table 5.8: Distribution of Attribute Variables

Attribute Pair	+1	0	-1	Mean	D. Mean	B. Mean
Friendly / Unfriendly	1115	1729	513	.179	.238	.123
Pleasant / Unpleasant	1131	1598	626	.151	.192	.111
Comfortable / Rushed	929	1859	567	.108	.178	.040
Understandable / Unintelligible	1206	1186	963	.072	.010	.046
Industrious / Lazy	583	2396	376	.062	.047	.076
Melodic / Unmelodic	858	1819	678	.054	.103	.006
Educated / Uneducated	710	2103	542	.050	.039	.060
Hard / Soft	825	1798	732	.028	-.015	.069
Fast / Slow	751	1888	716	.010	.012	.009
Clean / Dirty	756	1878	721	.010	.005	.016
Fine / Unrefined	629	2111	615	.004	.004	.005
Timid / Arrogant	229	2619	507	-.083	-.074	-.091
Total:	**9722** **(24.1%)**	**22982** **(57.1%)**	**7556** **(18.8%)**	**.054**	**.069**	**.039**

Note that the 12 attributes shown in Table 5.8 are not listed in the same order as originally presented in the study, but rather, are listed in descending order by mean score. The most striking feature of this table is the predominance of "neutral" ratings, which make up approximately 57% of the data.[124] "Timid / Arrogant" and "Industrious / Lazy" were the most common examples, each receiving over 70% neutral scores. In research

[123] Separate group scores were similar: Dresden sample group +1, 0, -1 at 26%, 54%, and 20% and the Bamberg sample group at 22%, 60%, and 18% respectively.
[124] Tamasi (2003, p.124) reported that informants gave the positive responses as the default response +1, 0, -1 at 46%, 34%, and 19% respectively. A direct comparison isn't possible because, although I used comparable methods, the descriptors I employed were different.

that measure attitudes, neutral responses are not uncommon, as informants can be reluctant to give decisive answers in either direction. Many neutral responses may be also an indication that informants found at least some of the descriptors as inappropriate for describing spoken speech. However, as I was interested in capturing the strongest perceptions, the overall distribution provides a reasonable amount of data for further analysis. The most divisive attribute appeared to be "Understandable / Unintelligible", as only 35% of responses were neutral. Overall, the Dresden group appeared slightly more likely to give "positive" ratings, with the greatest difference appearing in their increased propensity to give "Friendly," "Comfortable," and "Melodic" ratings, when compared to their Bamberg counterparts.

After looking at several types of possible statistical analyses, I decided to separate the attributes into 3 separate groups: Correctness, Pleasantness, and Linguistic descriptors. Although perceptual research on language has shown that the folk use a broad, and often, complex range of characteristics in describing speech, it has also been shown that "Correctness" and "Pleasantness" do address the basic overarching themes associated with speech. Moreover, these terms also allow us to examine the issues of status and solidarity attached to language. Therefore these three groupings organize the data in such a way that allows us to shed light on the research questions central to this study[125] and make some general comparisons with Tamasi's findings. The groups and their respective attributes are listed below.

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[125] Is a linguistic "wall" in the form of a strong bias against eastern (former GDR) dialects still present in the mind of westerners (Bambergers)? (2) What is the status of Saxon German dialects among Saxon (Dresden) respondents?

Table: 5.9 Separation of Attribute Pairs by Category

Correctness	Pleasantness	Descriptors
Understandable / Not Understandable	Industrious / Lazy	Fast / Slow
Clean / Dirty	Comfortable / Rushed	Hard / Soft
Educated / Uneducated	Timid / Arrogant*	Melodic / Unmelodic
	Fine / Unrefined	
	Friendly / Unfriendly	
	Pleasant / Unpleasant	

Using these groupings, two new variables, "Correctness" and "Pleasantness" were created by condensing the above lists of measures into a single value, using principal components analysis (PCA). The PCA process took the entire matrix of 1195 respondent piles x 12 columns of attributes, and determined, for the attributes specified, the direction of maximal variation in the data. This data reduction technique preserved 54.1% of the variation in the Correctness data and 40.9% of the variation in the Pleasantness data. For the Correctness variables, the principal eigenvector, and thus the value of the "Correctness" variable was found to be:

$$C = (0.467 * \text{Understandable/ Not Understandable}) + (0.323 * \text{Clean/ Dirty}) + (0.210 * \text{Educated/ Uneducated}),$$

after scaling. The "Pleasantness" variable, after scaling, was found to be:

$$P = (0.314 * \text{Pleasant/ Unpleasant}) + (0.304 * \text{Friendly/ Unfriendly}) + (0.209 * \text{Comfortable/ Rushed}) + (0.117 * \text{Fine/Unrefined}) + (0.056 * \text{Industrious/ Lazy}).$$

We now have two new variables for each respondent, each of which can range from -1 to +1, as with the original attribute scale. I elected to remove "Timid/Arrogant" from the Pleasantness rating, because it was unclear which of the two options would be considered pleasant; this was confirmed by the PCA output, which gave the variable little weight. PCA did show the attributes Fast/Slow, Hard/Soft, and Melodic/Unmelodic to be related, but I decided to analyze the three linguistic descriptors separately.

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Having created our variables of interest, P and C, we can now use each

respondent's pile attributes to determine a P and C value for each city for each

respondent. We can then separate our respondents according to city of residence (B for

Bamberg or D for Dresden), and find for each of the 55 cities, 4 attribute values: BP, BC,

DP, and DC referring to average Pleasantness score given by Bamberg residents for the

city, Correctness score given by Bamberg residents for the city, etc. These values for the

first several cities are shown below:

Table 5.10: Values of Newly Created Variables for Cities 1-12

```
          BP      BC      DP      DC
[1,]    0.030 -0.178  0.201   0.047
[2,]    0.318 -0.267  0.503 -0.296
[3,]    0.400 -0.196  0.519 -0.264
[4,]    0.310 -0.245  0.532 -0.285
[5,]    0.397 -0.081  0.408 -0.347
[6,]    0.438 -0.090  0.371 -0.330
[7,]    0.493 -0.142  0.432 -0.292
[8,]    0.302 -0.152  0.146 -0.039
[9,]    0.360 -0.086  0.035 -0.345
[10,] 0.383 -0.071  0.100 -0.306
[11,] 0.327  0.064  0.103 -0.464
[12,] 0.377  0.084  0.098 -0.533
```

Many of the cities at the beginning of the list are located in Switzerland and

Austria and are thought to have pleasant-sounding but nonstandard German spoken there,

hence the positive P scores and negative C scores. Since these values are all averages of

variables that range from (-1, 1), they can also theoretically range from (-1, 1). Looking

at these values as well as the map revealed that considerably high and low values were

not confined to a single city, but rather came in groups, and so, using latitude and

longitude values for each of the 55 cities, which were readily available on the internet,

maps of the region were plotted using a process known in spatial statistics as *Kriging*.

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This procedure acknowledges the fact that the values observed at each of the 55 cities do not occur independently of each other, but rather are related by distance. Once this relationship has been determined, it is then possible to predict the value of these variables at any unobserved point on the map. There are several ways to model the dependence between sites on their distance from each other. Common methods include exponential, Gaussian, and spherical models. For most maps produced, an exponential model gave the best fit, and in no instance did it perform significantly worse than the best model. Thus, for consistency, all Kriging results are shown using an exponential smoothing curve. The same coloring scale was used for all maps produced, ranging from (-0.65, 0.65). In reality, Pleasantness scores observed ranged from approximately -0.4 to +0.5, and Correctness scores from -0.5 to + 0.6. The complete list of city scores can be found in below in Tables 5.11 and 5.12.[126]

Table 5.11: List of Attribute Results for the Bamberg Sample Group
(listed in descending order by city)

RANK	Name	BP		Name	BC
1	AW	0.493		BR	0.62
2	AS	0.438		HN	0.597
3	SB	0.4		HH	0.579
4	AI	0.397		FB	0.55
5	U	0.383		OB	0.545
6	M	0.377		LB	0.54
7	RE	0.362		KL	0.535
8	S	0.36		OS	0.482
9	A	0.327		BF	0.398
10	P	0.322		GT	0.373
11	SE	0.318		BS	0.354
12	SZ	0.31		MS	0.315
13	F	0.302		KA	0.239
14	BA	0.228		DD	0.159
15	KS	0.21		N	0.141
16	W	0.208		AA	0.139

[126] For city abbreviations please refer to Chapter 4.

17	**HH**	0.191		**W**	0.109
18	**N**	0.173		**KS**	0.089
19	**SA**	0.17		**E**	0.087
20	**FB**	0.16		**M**	0.084
21	**AA**	0.159		**BA**	0.075
22	**HN**	0.157		**KB**	0.072
23	**KL**	0.156		**A**	0.064
24	**MAZ**	0.153		**K**	0.058
25	**KB**	0.151		**MAZ**	0.049
26	**LB**	0.15		**RS**	0.047
27	**E**	0.138		**FK**	0.023
28	**GT**	0.127		**DS**	0.02
29	**BR**	0.127		**MA**	0.002
30	**DS**	0.126		**RE**	-0.019
31	**MA**	0.117		**SW**	-0.022
32	**OS**	0.117		**SA**	-0.031
33	**OB**	0.115		**U**	-0.071
34	**BF**	0.1		**AI**	-0.081
35	**FK**	0.097		**NR**	-0.085
36	**KA**	0.087		**S**	-0.086
37	**K**	0.08		**AS**	-0.09
38	**BS**	0.08		**BL**	-0.09
39	**DD**	0.075		**P**	-0.105
40	**MS**	0.075		**AW**	-0.142
41	**LL**	0.03		**F**	-0.152
42	**RS**	-0.153		**LL**	-0.178
43	**NR**	-0.162		**GW**	-0.189
44	**GW**	-0.18		**SB**	-0.196
45	**SW**	-0.19		**CO**	-0.219
46	**J**	-0.235		**MG**	-0.229
47	**H**	-0.243		**SZ**	-0.245
48	**BL**	-0.304		**SE**	-0.267
49	**EF**	-0.307		**H**	-0.293
50	**ZW**	-0.321		**J**	-0.298
51	**CO**	-0.326		**EF**	-0.352
52	**MG**	-0.33		**ZW**	-0.415
53	**CM**	-0.343		**CM**	-0.43
54	**L**	-0.359		**D**	-0.447
55	**D**	-0.386		**L**	-0.459

Table 5.12: List of Attribute Results for the Dresden Sample Group
(listed in descending order by city)

RANK	Name	DP		Name	DC
1	SZ	0.532		HN	0.644
2	SB	0.519		OS	0.581
3	SE	0.503		BS	0.509
4	AW	0.432		MS	0.432
5	AI	0.408		GT	0.431
6	AS	0.371		BF	0.392
7	J	0.358		EF	0.36
8	GW	0.349		GW	0.357
9	EF	0.344		KS	0.348
10	LB	0.34		RS	0.298
11	RS	0.318		KA	0.266
12	FB	0.312		J	0.261
13	KL	0.302		OB	0.261
14	SW	0.256		BR	0.25
15	HH	0.25		CO	0.226
16	D	0.233		HH	0.226
17	BR	0.209		KB	0.22
18	LL	0.201		SW	0.209
19	CM	0.2		E	0.196
20	ZW	0.195		NR	0.194
21	RE	0.185		AA	0.188
22	OS	0.185		H	0.18
23	BS	0.184		KL	0.173
24	HN	0.178		FB	0.163
25	KB	0.175		FK	0.162
26	P	0.16		SA	0.159
27	BA	0.159		LB	0.159
28	GT	0.156		DS	0.148
29	L	0.151		MAZ	0.147
30	F	0.146		DD	0.141
31	H	0.141		MG	0.119
32	MS	0.138		MA	0.08
33	N	0.134		BL	0.068
34	OB	0.134		LL	0.047
35	SA	0.133		K	0.002
36	KS	0.125		F	-0.039
37	A	0.103		D	-0.075
38	U	0.1		L	-0.129
39	M	0.098		W	-0.135
40	NR	0.092		BA	-0.19
41	W	0.085		CM	-0.19
42	AA	0.085		ZW	-0.2
43	MAZ	0.068		N	-0.263
44	CO	0.064		SB	-0.264

45	**MG**	0.038		**SZ**	-0.285
46	**S**	0.035		**AW**	-0.292
47	**KA**	0.031		**SE**	-0.296
48	**BF**	0.022		**U**	-0.306
49	**DD**	0.006		**AS**	-0.33
50	**DS**	-0.012		**S**	-0.345
51	**FK**	-0.048		**AI**	-0.347
52	**E**	-0.049		**RE**	-0.396
53	**MA**	-0.057		**P**	-0.409
54	**K**	-0.059		**A**	-0.464
55	**BL**	-0.234		**M**	-0.533

Heat Maps

The heat maps generated from these scores are shown below, but before

proceeding to the maps, it is best to review just what kind of information these maps give

us. First, darker shades denote more positive perceptions while lighter shades denote

more negative perceptions. While all cities are represented with a dot, in order to avoid

confusing clutter, names of all the cities are not displayed. In general, the "heat maps" use

the given data (the cities) to create data for areas around the cities.[127] I have quantitative

measures recorded at 55 individual points spread across an area with infinitely many

potential points on it. So in the absence of perfect information, these maps apply what we

do know (the values at these specific points) to estimate what we do not know (every

other point on the map). The maps then can tell us what the data seems to suggest about

the quality of speech, say, in rural southwestern Germany, but that is just the best guess

based on what we have observed. We shouldn't conclude anything definite about the

speech quality of these unobserved (estimated) points, since we don't have any data for

them. Also when looking at these maps one must keep in mind the the actual mean range

between the lightest and darkest shades displayed does not represent the span between +1

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[127] It should be noted that the lack of sharp transitions comes from the smoothing process rather than from the obtained values for each city. Sharper contrasts can be better viewed in the polygon maps below.

and -1. Due to so many neutral responses, the range is much smaller, although the actual shades used to represent the mean values remains the same for all maps, i.e. the gray used to code the mean value of 0.2, for example, is the same shade of gray for all maps.

With a quick first glance, we observe that the two groups definitely had different ideas about where the most pleasant and most correct spoken German is located (with the groups agreeing with each other more with respect to Correctness [correlation=0.47] than Pleasantness [correlation=0.20]. Below using both the heat maps and raw scores I discuss in detail the results for Pleasantness and Correctness examining intra and intergroup patterns for the two sample groups.
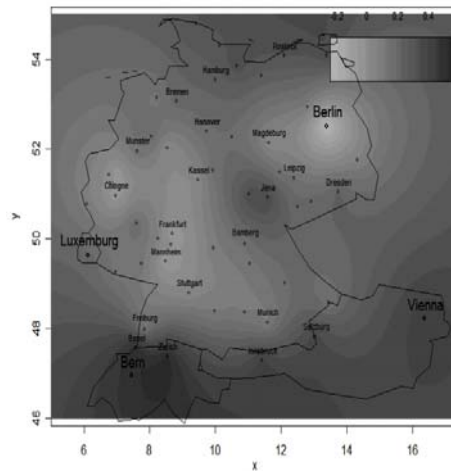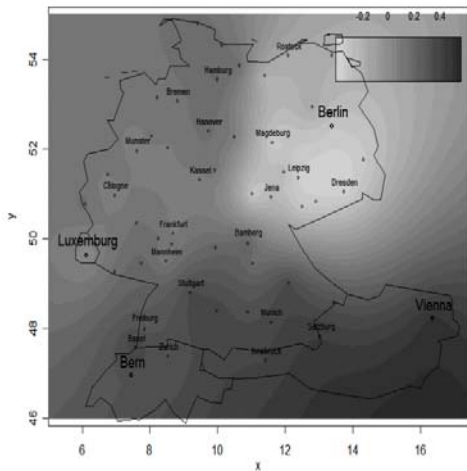

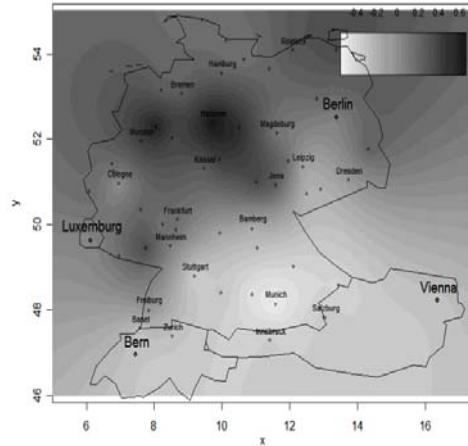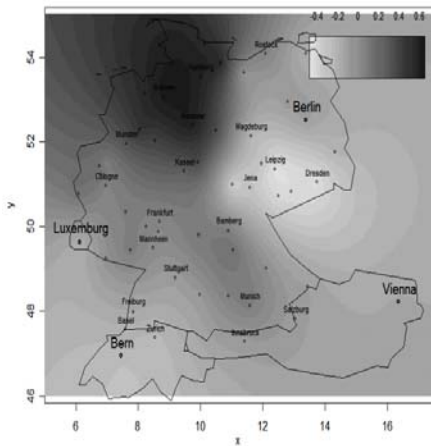Figure 5.11: Kriging Bamberg Pleasantness; Figure 5.12: Kriging Dresden Pleasantness

Figure 5.13: Kriging Bamberg Correctness; Figure 5.14: Kriging Dresden Correctness

Looking first at the Bamberg map for Pleasantness (Fig.5.11), the most striking feature of this map is the pool of Unpleasantness (indicated here with a strong shade of white) located over the former GDR cities in the East. Indeed looking at the list of scores in table 5.8 we see that eastern cities occupy lowest positions in the Pleasantness rankings. Moreover the data from both the scores and the map clearly demonstrate that the Saxon-speaking cities – Chemnitz, Leipzig, and Dresden – bear the brunt of this Unpleasantness. Some degree of Pleasantness is associated with northwestern cities including Hamburg, Flensburg, Hanover, Kiel, and Lubeck but in general the farther south one goes, the more pleasant the speech, with the top 14 cities all located south of the Speyer line. Franconian cities were all ranked in the top 20: Bamberg was ranked 14th, Nuremberg 16th, and Wurzburg 18th, but the most pleasant cities were perceived to be in southeast and southwest Germany, Switzerland, and Austria, with Vienna ranked the highest.

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The Dresden map (Fig. 5.12) for Pleasantness shows significantly different and slightly less decisive perceptions. Some areas of Pleasantness are located in north/north east and in Erfurt, Jena. Surprisingly the most pleasant varieties of German again are found outside the country in Austria and in Switzerland, with highest score going to the Swiss cities. One sees some lower scores in the Hessian cities and Cologne and Dusseldorf; however, the lowest scores are reserved for Berlin, perhaps hinting at the age-old rivalry between Saxony and Prussia or the more recent rivalry between Berlin and Saxony during the existence of the GDR.

The scores for Correctness from both maps are just as striking as the results for Pleasantness: for Bamberg respondents (Fig 5.13) we see that the highest Correctness scores are dramatically concentrated in the north-northwest. Bremen received the highest score, with Hanover and Hamburg not far behind. There also appears to be island of some degree of Correctness centered on Nuremberg. Although Swiss German is perceived as less correct than other varieties, again Bambergers reserved their harshest evaluations for mideastern cities, specifically the Saxon-speaking cities.

Saxons perceptions of Correctness were not as concentrated or centralized, as Fig. 5.14 shows. The respondents felt that areas of Correctness existed in the Northwest (Hanover, Osnabruck, Braunschweig, Munster, and Gottingen) and stretched into the Mideast (Jena, Erfurt), but stopped short of Saxony. A trough of incorrectness is located in the south (i.e. cities located south of Speyer line including Austrian and Swiss cities) centered on the cities of Munich, Passau, and Regensburg. Munich, in particular, is given a low score and is most likely perceived as the hearth of Pan-Bavarian culture, tapping into stereotypes of the fun-loving but incorrect-speaking southerner.

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The figures below display the data for the linguistic descriptors "fast," "hard," and "melodic."
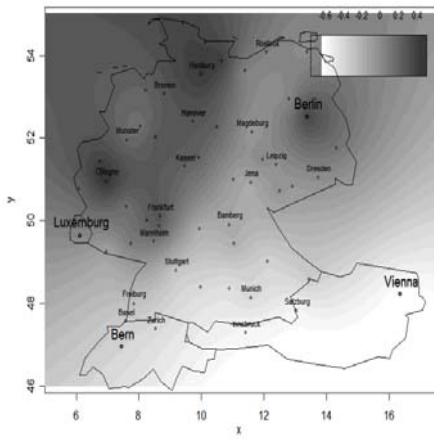

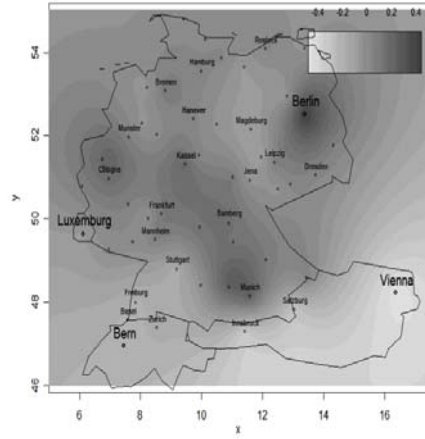Figure 5.15 Kriging Est. Bamberg Fast
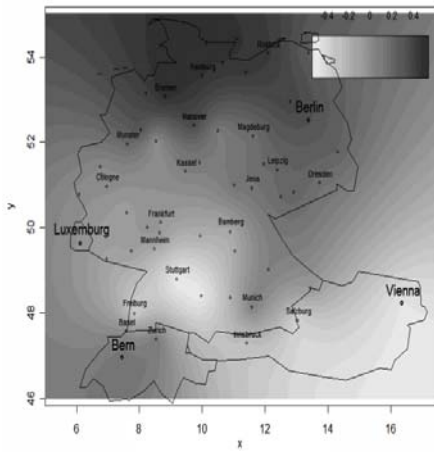

Figure 5.16 Kriging Est. Dresden Fast
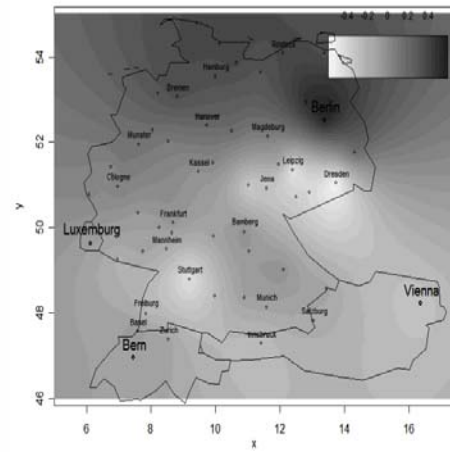

Figure 5.17 Kriging Est. Bamberg Hard

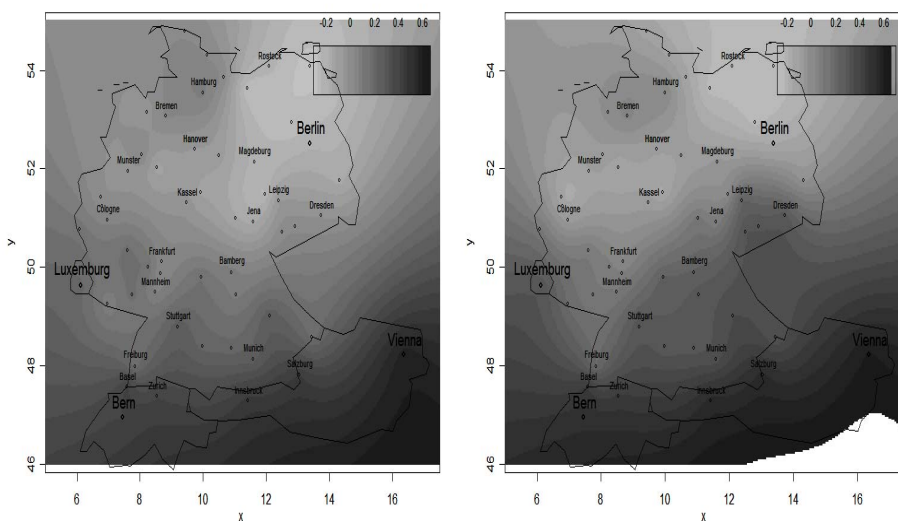Figure 5.18 Kriging Est. Dresden Hard

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Figure 5.19: Kriging Est. Bamberg Melodic; Figure 5.20: Kriging Est. Dresden Melodic

Although the results here are not directly applicable to ascertaining the status of the various regional dialects, they are worth briefly discussing. Generally speaking, southern speech is slower, softer, and more melodic than northern forms. Berlin is singled out by both groups of informants as having especially fast speech (Fig.5.15-5.16). Bambergers also found Hamburg and Cologne dialects faster than other varieties. The results for the Hard/Soft descriptor pair (Fig. 5.17-5.18) were also similar with some significant differences. Again Berlin holds the attention of Saxon respondents and considered hands down the "hardest" variety in all of Germany. For Bamberger respondents "hard" varieties are concentrated in the northern coastal cities such as Hamburg, Bremen and Kiel. Both groups found Swabian speech (Stuttgart) to be especially "soft." Additionally, Saxon respondents also perceived Dresden and Leipzig varieties to be softer than other dialects, perhaps tapping into well-known auto-

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stereotypes about Saxon varieties (Zimmermann, 1992). The data for "melodic" was somewhat less dramatic than the other descriptors with a neutral rating for the majority of Germany cities. Nonetheless, the most melodic speech varieties were clearly located in Austria and Switzerland (Fig. 5.19-5.20). Applying what we know about perceptions of correctness, "melodic" can probably be interpreted to mean "nonstandard" or "foreign" accent, i.e. intonations that differ from perceived standard German speech and/or speech forms found outside of Germany. Both groups also agreed that Northeast Germany was less melodic than other regions and Dresdeners found some Saxon varieties to be somewhat more melodic than other areas.

To summarize, it can clearly be seen that the Bambergers' dislike of eastern German speech is far stronger than any negative perceptions that the Dresden group expressed. Both groups expressed a fondness for foreign dialects giving high scores of pleasantness to Swiss and Austrian cities. In terms of correctness, eastern German for Bambergers and southern German for Dresdeners tend to be perceived as incorrect. Hanover definitely appears in each group's northern German "hot spot"for correctness, but the Bamberg group actually preferred Bremen, and found several northern cities to speak "correctly", while the Dresden group found "correctness" in Jena, Erfurt, and Gottingen, cities on the border between East and West Germany, which the Bamberg group most certainly did not. Southern dialects tended to be perceived by both groups of respondents as slower, softer and more melodic than northern forms.

<u>Polygon Maps</u>

In order to crosscheck the results displayed by the heat maps to find out if the smoothing distorts to the data in a misleading way two further analyses were conducted. The first alternative analysis conducted was to create a new set of maps that avoided using the smoothing technique described above. After reviewing online production-driven dialect research (Linguistic Atlas of the Mid-Atlantic States, 2005) this was done by representing each city with a polygon, such that the entire map would be covered by these polygons. Each city's polygonal region would then be shaded according to the value of the variable observed at that city. The shape of each city's region would be the area of the map that was closer to that observed city than any of the other 54 cities in the study. For this reason, the polygonal regions for all boundary cities unfortunately extend beyond the borders of the map but they do not distort the overall impression made by the data. The polygon maps for Pleasantness and Correctness for both sample groups are shown below and clearly confirm what previous patterns identified in earlier heat maps.

In total, 30 maps were produced, representing the Bamberg respondents, Dresden respondents, and the combination of the two groups evaluating each of the five attributes, displayed in the two styles of map described above. A complete set of heat and polygon maps can be found in the Appendix C and D.
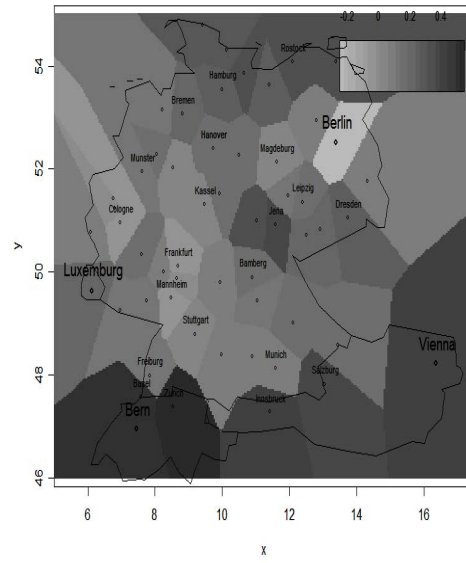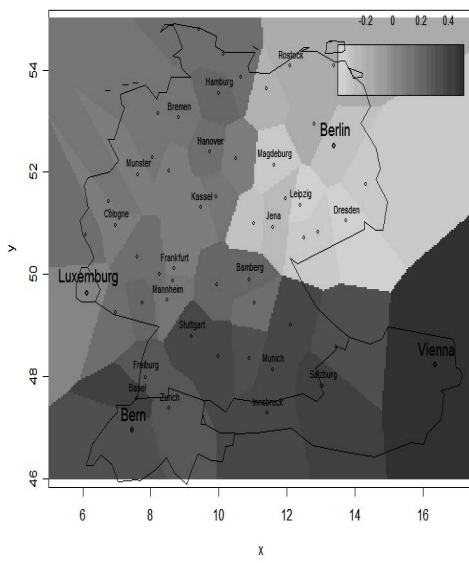
Figure 5.21 Polygon Map Bamberg Pleasant; Figure 5.22 Polygon Map Dresden Pleasant
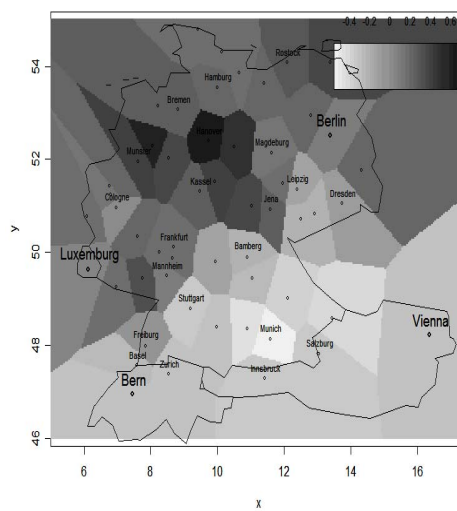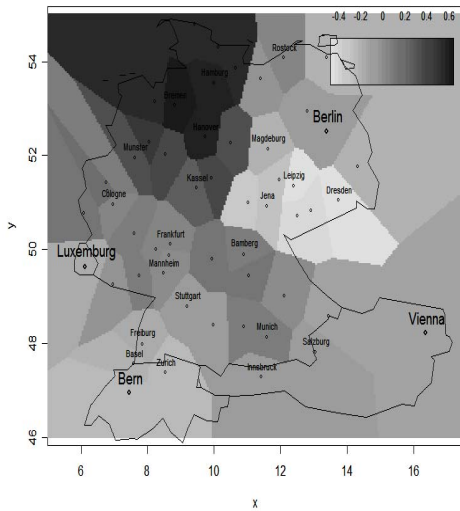

Figure 5.23 Polygon Map Bamberg Correct; Figure 5.24 Polygon Map Dresden Correct

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Reanalysis of Attributive Scores

Again the bias against Eastern Germany (and Saxony in particular) by the Bamberg
group is quite obvious in both sets of maps. To statistically confirm the difference in
opinions of and by these two groups, I separated the 48 German cities involved into 4
disjoint groups: (1) Franconia: Bamberg, Nurnberg, Wurzburg, (2) Saxony: Dresden,
Leipzig, Chemnitz, Zwickau, (3) western Germany, including the 31 non-Franconian
cities located in former West Germany, and (4) eastern Germany, including the 10 non-
Saxon cities located in former East Germany. For each variable in each region, the mean,
as well as the standard error of the mean (*se(mean)=sd/sqrt(n)*) is shown in Table 5.13
below:

Table 5.13: Regional Means and St. Errors by Region, Attribute, and Respondent Group

Variable	B	D	B	D	B	D	B	D
Pleasantness	Fran		Sax		W		E	
Mean	0.203	0.126	-0.352	0.195	0.179	0.117	-0.243	0.173
se(mean)	0.016	0.022	0.014	0.017	0.018	0.019	0.022	0.06
N	3	3	4	4	31	31	10	10

Variable	B	D	B	D	B	D	B	D
Correctness	Fran		Sax		W		E	
Mean	0.108	-0.196	-0.438	-0.148	0.21	0.122	-0.173	0.227
se(mean)	0.019	0.037	0.01	0.029	0.044	0.055	0.041	0.03
N	3	3	4	4	31	31	10	10

Variable	B	D	B	D	B	D	B	D
Fast	Fran		Sax		W		E	
Mean	-0.183	0.144	-0.032	0.025	0.12	0.052	0.039	0.027
Se(mean)	0.011	0.011	0.013	0.021	0.053	0.019	0.047	0.05
N	3	3	4	4	31	31	10	10

Variable	B	D	B	D	B	D	B	D
Hard	Fran		Sax		W		E	
Mean	-0.172	-0.078	0.194	-0.45	0.058	0.027	0.271	0.154
se(mean)	0.011	0.029	0.013	0.044	0.05	0.038	0.04	0.101
N	3	3	4	4	31	31	10	10

Variable	B	D	B	D	B	D	B	D
Melodic	Fran		Sax		W		E	
Mean	-0.054	0.267	-0.355	0.316	0.09	0.039	-0.31	-0.117
Se(mean)	0.047	0.019	0.029	0.01	0.018	0.03	0.027	0.047
N	3	3	4	4	31	31	10	10

Acknowledging that the comparison of any two groups means to determine significant difference may be of interest, tables appear in the Appendix showing significance of all pair-wise comparisons within each attribute. The highlights are summarized below. In rating their local dialect, Bambergers perceived Franconian dialect to be less correct, slower, softer, and less melodic than the speech of the rest of western Germany and considered themselves equally as pleasant. Dresdeners perceived the Saxon dialect to be less correct, softer, and more melodic than the speech of the rest of eastern Germany and considered themselves equally as pleasant and moderately paced. In evaluating each other's dialect, Bambergers perceived Saxon dialect to be less pleasant and less correct than the rest of eastern Germany, but considered them to be comparably hard, unmelodic, and moderately paced, in comparison to the rest of eastern Germany. Dresdeners perceived the Franconian dialect to be less correct, faster, softer, and more melodic than the speech of the rest of western Germany, but considered it to be comparably pleasant compared to the speech of the rest of western Germany. Such results are not surprising as both dialects are strongly stigmatized outside their home regions.

Looking at comparisons of eastern and western divisions we see confirmations of previous conclusions: Bambergers perceived eastern German varieties to be less pleasant, less correct, harder, and less melodic than western German, while finding them to be comparably moderately paced. Dresdeners perceived eastern varieties to be less melodic

than western ones, but otherwise found them to be equally pleasant, correct, moderately paced, and neither particularly hard nor soft.

Discussion and Conclusions

In terms of answering the research questions posed in the beginning of this study we can conclude the following based on the analyses conducted: Western bias (at least among Bambergers) against former East German (GDR) dialects exists, particularly against Saxon dialects. Both maps displaying Bamberg's perceptions of Pleasantness and Correctness show stark differences between opposing sides of the former West German/East German border. Speakers of both of these "stigmatized" dialects acknowledged the incorrectness of their local dialect, but they still found their respective varieties at least equally as pleasant as the dialects spoken in the rest of Germany.

From the results it appears that the linguistic "wall in the mind" examined by Dailey-O'Cain (1999, p.239) has not abated at all. Scores for western Correctness and Pleasantness clearly were the lowest for eastern (specifically Saxon) cities. Informant B19 told me straight out, "*Ich weiss schon, es gibt schöne und gebildete Leute im Osten, aber wenn ich diesen furchtbaren Akzent höre, … finde ich ihn einfach lächerlich.*" [128] Whether or not these results from Bamberger respondents are indicative of overall western sentiment cannot be proved here; nonetheless, referencing data from other perceptual studies that investigated perceptions of German speech (Dailey-O'Cain, 1999; Kennetz, 1999; Hundt, 2004) would lead one to suspect that the perceptions displayed here are not unusual for western communities. That Saxon German is evaluated by

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[128] "I know that people in the East are nice and educated but every time I hear that accent, I find? it just ridiculous."

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outsiders as the most unpopular German dialect is nothing new – as we have seen in Chapter Four, Saxon dialects have been overtly stigmatized since at least the end of the 18th century. Rather it is interesting to see that *all* eastern German dialects are rated extremely unfavorably precisely at the former political borders of West and East Germany. This would lead us to believe that western respondents are using linguistic judgments as a proxy for more deep-rooted socioeconomic prejudices, i.e. westerners are linking linguistic evaluations to socioeconomic issues associated with reunification.

It is interesting to note that no corresponding "wall" (East vs. West) exists among eastern respondents – one does not see any dramatic negative evaluations of western varieties – in fact the most negatively evaluated variety for Dresdeners is located in the East, vz. Berlin. Respondent D18 put in plain words his disdain for the variety: "*Und bei mir ist es halt so, dass ich den Berliner Dialekt halt so gut wie gar nich mag, weil der halt sehr hart ist und fast schon provokativ.*"[129] I have to admit I was somewhat surprised by this result and these result may be interpreted in several ways. The lack of negative scores in the West may point to an overall tolerance of other varieties or may mean that Saxons lack the linguistic security to be highly critical of other varieties. This has been noted in other perceptual studies (c.f. Preston, 1989a; Niedzielski & Preston, 2000). The negative perception of Berliner speech by Saxon respondents has at least several possible causes. First, as noted in Chapter Four, regional rivalries are not uncommon in Germany, and respondents may be tapping into the historical rivalry of Prussia and Saxony that has existed for centuries. In more modern times, Berliners resented the Saxon invasion of the city after the establishment of the GDR, and East Berlin and Saxon cities both competed

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[129] "And as far as I'm concerned, I can't stand the Berliner dialect, because it is hard and really almost provocative."

for the scant resources of the GDR (Zimmermann, 1992). Also the national reputation of the Berliner dialect among Germans (Barbour & Stevenson, 1990, p. 123) is overwhelmingly negative. Tellingly, the Saxons don't yield to the negative western, indeed national, stereotypes concerning their speech and rate it just as favorably, sometimes even more positively, than other regional dialects in their country. They showing that despite the lowly status assigned to outside Saxon borders, it still has currency within its home region among its speakers. This development contrasts with Dailey-O'Cain (1999, p. 238), whose Mideast respondents found mideastern dialects to be the most unpleasant varieties in all of Germany, suggesting perhaps a reversal of linguistic perceptions among Saxons.[130]

Next we turn our attention to what was considered "good" speech. As expected, the west-central city of Hanover turned out to be the highest-rated city when combining correctness scores from both respondent groups. This was not surprising considering the urban myth surrounding the correctness of Hanoverian speech. It was interesting to note that although both groups shared perceptions of correctness, they were different in significant ways. The western "cloud" of correctness in the North stops cold at the former East-West political border giving further evidence for a linguistic wall in the mind. For Saxons although some the most correct forms of speech are located in northwest cities, several mideast cities are also deemed correct, disputing the myth that the most correct German is located solely in western Germany (Hanover). We also see our respondents confirm the stigmatized status of their home dialects by not associating any high degree of correctness to their own varieties.

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[130] It is difficult to make a stronger assertion here as the description of the sampling methods in Dailey-O'Cain (1999) is vague regarding the number of mideastern respondents and their exact residences.

The most surprising finding was to observe both sets of respondents assigning the

highest scores of Pleasantness to cities outside German borders. D18 even singles out

Viennese German as exceptional while denouncing other dialects of German: "*Und es*

gibt auch keinen deutschen Dialekt so richtig, wie kann man sagen … der vornehm klingt.

Also das Wienerische, das klingt ja halt sehr vornehm. Aber der deutsche Dialekt an sich

ist ungebildet."[131] Vienna and Bern were the big "winners" in terms of Pleasantness, and

it is worth investigating why, especially since many of these varieties would be

unintelligible to many German speakers (and also received some of the lowest scores for

Correctness).[132] One plausible reason might be the hesitancy of Germans to be too

patriotic concerning anything associated with their country (Bausinger, 2002, pp. 96-

111); given a choice these respondents located the most pleasant varieties of German

outside their country. I believe, however, that this explanation doesn't go far enough;

rather, at play are certainly the strong positive stereotypes associated with speakers of the

varieties, e.g., the high-status of Austrian culture and the historical traditions of the

Austrian-Hungarian Empire or the business acumen of the Swiss and economic power of

the Swiss Franc and the perceived easy-going, rustic way of life of both countries. It is

interesting to note that the city with the highest scores for Correctness, Hanover,

perceived as the spoken standard and belonging to an otherwise unremarkable central

west region, is not as "charming" as more exotic nonstandard dialects. Here we can

directly observe what sociolinguists have known for some time: one of the strongest

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[131] "There isn't any German dialect that one can say sounds cultivated. Viennese [dialect] sounds very cultured. But German dialects in general sound uneducated."

[132] See Leffers & Soulkup (2007) for public perceptions of Swiss German as a "*Sprachbarrie,r*" or language barrier, for German speakers of Germany.

indicators in determining the status of a dialect is not based on any objective linguistic criterion; rather it is the subjective social baggage of the dialect speakers that really counts.

I would also hypothesize that respondents found Swiss and Austrian dialects are not so much "pleasant" as they are "amusing," especially since many Germans would have a hard time making sense of these dialects in their spoken forms. Unfortunately, I have no qualitative evidence to support this as I was not aware of this trend until after the interviews were conducted.[133] I have found some modern evidence of a German tendency to view Austrian German eloquent yet substandard (c.f. Pollack, 1992, p.7), but to the best of my knowledge this phenomenon and its causes have not been formally studied and warrant further investigation.[134]

So far the tasks of my interview used the names of cities to trigger associations to various dialects, and the results were limited to the types of dialects respondents had in their minds (i.e. *Alltagswissen,* or lay knowledge). Therefore, it was difficult to know what specific varieties informants had in mind while they completed these tasks. In order to confirm and clarify the status of regional dialects of our two respondent groups, a modified matched-guise task was constructed using real linguistic input, the results of which are presented in the next chapter.

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[133] Bausinger (1972) also reported that the Viennese dialect was the top-rated variety in a survey conducted in Germany in 1958. (Vienna 19%, Hamburg 18%, Cologne 16%, Munich 15%, Berlin 13%, Stuttgart 9%, Frankfurt 8%, Leipzig 2%); however, as has already been discussed, his sampling methods were questionable, thereby casting doubt on the validity of the results.

[134] There is a long tradition beginning in the 17th century of grammarians and other prominent figures campaigning against Austro-Bavarian written forms (Stedje, 2001, p. 123); however, I have found little concerning the status of Austrian dialects among today's Germans.

CHAPTER 6

PERCEPTIONS OF SPEECH SAMPLES

Deine Oma hat wirklich schoene Augen aber ihre Sprache![135]

(Hanover, 2005)

Introduction

The third task used in this study was designed to obtain data prompted by authentic

linguistic input. As detailed in Chapter Four, I asked informants to listen to and give their

opinion on six short speech samples from three different areas of Germany (a male and

female speaker, respectively, from Bamberg, Dresden, and Hanover). This task takes a

methodological approach different than the first two tasks, but it adds additional depth in

answering my research questions. In this chapter, I present the findings of this task and

use it to aid in interpreting earlier responses.

Task three consisted of two parts: a dialect recognition component together with a

dialect evaluation component. As detailed in Williams, Garret, & Coupland (1999) there

are different ways to define language "recognition." I am defining the term here as the

cognitive mapping of audible speech features onto individuals records of norms of

particular communities. Seen in this light, the process of dialect recognition therefore

entails identifying values of variable features and then failing or succeeding to make the

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[135] "Your grandmother has really nice eyes but her language [is horrible]!" From a conversation I overheard in a street café in Hanover, Germany, while conducting the field recordings used in this chapter.

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appropriate mapping[136]. The second part of this task asked respondents to evaluate

samples of regional speech using a given set of attributes. Research on the evaluation of

dialects has produced a large body of literature, and this task makes use of a modified

form of the matched-guise technique as outlined in Chapter Two.

There are two key reasons to include such a task in this study. First, testing the

accuracy of respondent identification is necessary to uncover the actual speech

laypersons associate with their perceptions as argued by Preston (1989b, p.3) and others

(e.g. Williams, Garret, & Coupland, 1999, p.346). The main reason for doing so is to

reveal whether linguistic perceptions match linguistic reality. In other words, if

respondents find Saxon German to be unpleasant and unrefined, are they reacting to

linguistic features or "triggers" that are actually associated with Saxon dialect? It is well-

known that linguistic accuracy does not necessarily play a dominant role in either

linguistic attitudes or their applications in everyday situations. As Tamasi remarks (2003,

p.129), "Folk perceptions are no less valid or powerful if the set of linguistic features that

the person has in the mind are not actually found in the location he believes."

In addition, this task also allows the researcher to ascertain whether perceptions

correlate to the availability of linguistic input. The basic premise here is whether the

inclusion of input effects participants' perceptions or allows for the same results to be

obtained. For example, if participants identified Franconian German as sounding

"arrogant" in Task 1 and 2, did they also evaluate speakers from this region in a similar

manner? Will they, when prompted with speech samples from this region, behave in a

more reserved manner (e.g. "politically correct") or will the results be similar?

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[136] According to Preston's research, attention to variation and the recognition of dialect forms is a matter of 'awareness'. He defines (2000, p.360) four dimensions of awareness for folk linguistics: *Availability, Accuracy, Detail,* and *Control.*

Before reviewing the data sets, there are several important methodological issues that should be addressed. First, while a task of this nature is useful, it is rather problematic to compare perceptions toward the speech of whole communities to those of the speech of just one person. It is hoped that features associated with a certain community or region that are present in the samples trigger associations connected to the speakers themselves. It is, however, quite possible that the informants associated characteristics with the individual voices that they would not necessarily associate with people from Hanover, Bamberg, or Dresden. Therefore, the interpretation of the data presented in this chapter is dependent on how adequate the speaker was perceived to be as being representative of the regions in question. Through careful interviewing, editing, and testing in pilot studies, the samples were confirmed to be representative of their respective area, and therefore the findings will be viewed in this way.

Secondly, one should be cautious about generalizing the results from this study to all Bamberg and Dresden residents. As mentioned in Chapter Four, the respondents were not randomly selected from all residents of the two cities. Despite this, I did attempt, to the extent of my financial and time constraints, to select a random sample, especially with respect to the respondents. Therefore, these results are somewhat generalizable to the population as a whole. However, in a strict statistical sense, most of the tests and p-values reported below would only be valid if true randomization had occurred with respect to selecting the speakers and respondents.

It was also essential for the validity of the results that participants kept *speech* and *speaker* separate. As much as it was possible, participants were directed to focus solely

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on the speech of the speakers and not on the speakers themselves (see Appendix).[137] Whether or not they thought the *speaker* was 'friendly' should not have been played any role in how they evaluated the *speech* of a speaker. Several participants made comments to the effect that they could not negatively rate *speakers* even if they had evaluated the dialect region negatively in Task 2. It would seem that at least some respondents when responding to real linguistic input, did not use the same descriptors they had use for the dialect groupings from Task 1 and 2. As will be mentioned again below, several Saxon respondents commented that the speaker sounded 'friendly' but that the language was "unpleasant.' This qualitative evidence leads me to believe that my participants were not in fact always able to distinguish between speech and speaker in their evaluations and judgments.

Lastly, the design of Task 3 may have had an unintended effect on the results. Initially, I wanted six different dialects for this task, but as mentioned earlier, I settled on three regional varieties, with a male and a female for each. When explaining to participants that they would be asked to identify the speech of six different speakers, I believe that some respondents assumed that they would be hearing 6 different dialects; therefore, even if participants initially might have identified the speech correctly, they might have been reluctant to give their answer since they had already used the same answer previously for another speaker. Telling the participants beforehand that they would be hearing only three dialects might have avoided this bias but then such directions would have introduced another form of bias as well.

The data was analyzed in order to investigate the following research questions:

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[137] Reinforcing this notion, respondents were also directed to annotate any features of the speaker's speech that helped them identify the dialect in the speech samples as they were listening to them.

1. Where do the respondents think these speakers are from?

2. In terms of the given set of characteristics, how did the participants describe the regional speech featured in the samples?

3. What is the effect (if any) of the "Mauer in den Köpfen" on regional variation evaluations.

<u>Experimental Design</u>

A repeated-measures design was used to answer the research questions posed in the previous section. There were three speaker cities, two speaker genders, and two respondent cities making this a 3X2X2 design. For the first part of the task, each respondent listened to six speech samples in which the speaker described the items in his or her apartment. The order in which the respondents listened to the samples was randomized. After listening to each sample, the respondent was asked to identify where the speaker was from and to rate the speaker's dialect as positive, negative, or neutral on 12 attribute pairs divided into three categories: pleasantness, correctness, and linguistic descriptors. The participants were not told in advance that the speakers were from Bamberg, Dresden, or Hanover, merely that they were German speakers. Finally, each respondent was asked for his or her biographical information, such as gender and age. Overall, there were (31+30)*6 = 366 total sets (attribute pairs and city identification) of observations, one for each respondent for each speaker. These 366 observations were not independent because each respondent rated all six of the speakers. Each respondent has six sets of dependent observations, one for each speaker. The data were compiled into an Excel spreadsheet and separated by the respondent's city and the speech sample he or she

heard. A sample of the data is presented below (Table 6.1). The title indicates that these are Dresden respondents identifying and rating the dialect of the Dresden male speaker.

Table 6.1: Example of Initial Data Format

	GeS.	Alt	freu-unfr	fei-gro	ang-una-n	shuc-arr	fleis-fau	geb-ung-e	sau-sch-m	gemüt-hek	shn-lang	mel-unme-l	har-weich	ver-unver	Zuord 1	Zuord 2	Zuord 3
Dresden Probanten gegen Dresdenerhoerbeispiel (männlich)																	
D1	w	26	0	0	-1	0	0	-1	-1	0	0	-1	0	0	sächsisch	sachsen	1
D2	w	37	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	Dresden	dresden	2
D3	m	25	0	0	0	0	-1	-1	0	0	0	0	0	1	sächsisch-anhältisch (magdeburg)	magdeburg	-1
D4	m	31	1	-1	-1	1	1	-1	-1	1	1	1	-1	-1	Ost=sachsen= freiberg	freiberg	1
D5	m	22	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	1	Dresden	dresden	2

Table 6.2 identifies the variables in the data set and describes them. The first three variables identify the respondent and his or her characteristics. The next 12 variables are the respondent's rating of the speaker's dialect by attribute pair. For the pleasantness and correctness attribute pairs, the more positive attribute is listed first followed by the more negative attribute. The exception to this is the Timid/Arrogant attribute where Timid is not considered positive, but Arrogant is negative. The linguistic descriptors were seen as neither positive nor negative. A rating of 1 indicates that the respondent chose the first attribute in the pair, a -1 indicates that he or she chose the second attribute, and a 0 indicates that neither was chosen. In five cases, the respondent chose both attributes in the pair to describe the speaker. These responses were recorded as 0. The Zuord 3 variable was created to indicate how correct or incorrect the respondent was in identifying the speaker's city. These categories were created by using dialect criteria of how similar or dissimilar the dialects of the German cities are. In

general, a Zuord 3 score of +2 indicated that the respondent chose the correct city while a +1 score meant that the respondent chose the correct region or a city in the same region as the speaker's city. A Zuord 3 score of 0 indicated that the speaker chose the correct geographical region of Germany, for example East or South, or gave no answer. Zuord 3 scores of -1 and -2 indicated 'wrong' and 'really wrong' answers, respectively. The key used to classify the responses is listed in Appendix E1.

Table 6.2: Name and Description of the Variables in the Initial Data Set

Column/Label in the Data Set	Variable Name	Description
1 – Blank	Respondent ID	Identifies the respondent's city and gives him/her an ID number
2 – Ges.	Respondent's Gender	Identifies the respondent's gender: male (M) or female (W)
3 – Alt	Respondent's Age	Identifies the respondent's age in years
4 – freu-unfr	Friendly-Unfriendly	Respondent's rating of the speaker as friendly (1), unfriendly (-1), or neither (0)
5 – fei-gro	Refined-Rough	Respondent's rating of the speaker as refined (1), rough (-1), or neither (0)
6 – ang-unan	Pleasant-Unpleasant	Respondent's rating of the speaker as pleasant (1), unpleasant (-1), or neither (0)
7 – schuc-arr	Timid-Arrogant	Respondent's rating of the speaker as timid (1), arrogant (-1), or neither (0)
8 – fleis-fau	Industrious-Lazy	Respondent's rating of the speaker as industrious (1), lazy (-1), or neither (0)
9 – geb-unge	Educated-Uneducated	Respondent's rating of the speaker as educated (1), uneducated (-1), or neither (0)
10 – sau-schm	Clean-Dirty	Respondent's rating of the speaker as clean (1), dirty (-1), or neither (0)
11 – gamut-hek	Comfortable-Rushed	Respondent's rating of the speaker as comfortable (1), rushed (-1), or neither (0)
12 – shn-lang	Fast-Slow	Respondent's rating of the speaker as fast (1), slow (-1), or neither (0)
13 – mel-unmel	Melodic-Unmelodic	Respondent's rating of the speaker as melodic (1), unmelodic (-1), or neither (0)
14 – har-weich	Hard-Soft	Respondent's rating of the speaker as hard (1), soft (-1), or neither (0)
15 – ver-unver	Understandable-Unintelligible	Respondent's rating of the speaker as understandable (1), unintelligible (-1), or neither (0)

16 – Zuord 1	Zuord 1	Respondent's guess of the speaker's location
17 – Zuord 2	Zuord 2	A "cleaned-up" version of the respondent's guess
18 – Zuord 3	Zuord 3	Categorical variable that indicates how correct the respondent was at identifying the speaker's location: very incorrect (-2), incorrect (-1), neither (0), almost correct (1), correct (2)

Data Analysis

Because being timid was not considered to be positive and arrogant was

considered negative, the 'arrogant' variable was created. If a respondent rated the speaker

as being arrogant (-1) for the timid/arrogant attribute pair, the 'arrogant' variable took the

value -1. The variable has a value of 0 if the respondent rated the speaker as timid or

neutral on the attribute pair. The 'pleasantness' variable was created to indicate the

overall mean pleasantness rating for the speaker. This was done by finding the average of

the scores for the attribute pairs in the pleasantness category. However, the 'arrogant'

variable was used instead of the timid/arrogant pair. Because of this, the 'pleasantness'

variable ranged from -1 to 0.8333. Similarly, the 'correctness' variable was created to

indicate the overall correctness rating for the speaker by calculating the average of the

scores for the attribute pairs in the correctness category. This variable ranged from -1 to

1.The data was loaded into SAS, and the data analyses were conducted. The response

variables are the city identification, pleasantness, and correctness variables and the 12

attribute pairs.

Speaker Identification

Frequency Analysis and Chi-Square Tests - A frequency analysis was conducted

using the city identification variable to determine how many respondents correctly,

incorrectly, or neither correctly nor incorrectly identified where the speaker was from. A

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second frequency analysis was done to determine the breakdown of these responses by

the speaker's city. To determine if there was a relationship between the speaker's city

and correct identification by the respondent, a chi-square test of independence was used.

This allowed for a comparison of the probabilities of correctly identifying the speakers

from each city. Finally, the frequency of correct responses by the speaker's city was

found for Bamberg respondents and Dresden respondents separately. Once again, chi-

square tests for independence were conducted to demonstrate whether there was a

relationship between the speaker's city and the respondent identifying his or her city

correctly. The probabilities of correctly identifying each speaker were compared across

the Bamberg and Dresden groups.

Speech Attributes

Frequency Analysis - A frequency analysis was used to determined to how many

respondents rated the speakers' dialects as positive (1), negative (-1), or neutral (0) for

each attribute pair. This was done for the data set as a whole.

Cumulative Logistic Regression - Cumulative logistic regression models will be

developed to determine which predictor variables and their interactions are significant

predictors of the probability of a respondent rating the speaker's dialect as positive,

negative, or neutral for a particular attribute pair. Once the best model was obtained and

the parameter estimates calculated, the predicted probabilities of these three outcomes

were calculated.

Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) - The ANOVA procedure was used to determine if

the mean Pleasantness ratings and Correctness ratings differed by the speaker's city, the

respondent's city and age category, and any interactions between these variables. This procedure's validity is slightly questionable because the response variables, Pleasantness and Correctness, were calculated from integer scores (-1, 0, +1) rather than from normally distributed data as is theoretically required. However, these two variables are generally in normal distribution throughout the data sets.

Results

Speaker Identification

Generally speaking, the respondents were able to easily give informed guesses as to where they thought the speakers came from based on their knowledge and ideas of language in Germany. Only when attempting to identify the Hanover samples did respondents encounter some trouble placing the speakers. From 122 possible responses from the Hanover speakers, 10 responses were left blank, 8 participants gave the answer "kein" or no dialect, and 6 responses included answers that did not specify a region – these included 5 instances of *Hochdeutsch* and one instance of *Studentendialekt.*[138] Overall, however, the responses show beyond doubt that laypersons associate language with region.

Respondents were allowed to choose one or several locations for their answers. In pilot studies respondents were encouraged to use only the cities from Task 1; however, many participants were reluctant to give such specific answers and preferred to give more general answers. Therefore, in the actual study respondents were allowed to give

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[138] *Hochdeutsch* –layperson's term used to describe standard German; *Studentendialekt* – dialect used by students; the respondent here meant to say that the speaker was highly educated and was using a formal register.

whatever type of answer (open response) they felt most comfortable with. Answers

ranged in specificity and scope and in many instances two answers, sometimes three were

given. Respondents used minor and major cities (e.g. Kronach, Dresden), states (e.g.

Niedersächsisch), minor regions (e.g. *Ostfränkisch, Ruhrgebiet*), and major regions

(*Süddeutschland*), even using the moniker "*DDR*"[139] several times to identify the origins

of the speakers they heard. Those who gave multiple answers often gave a more specific

answer followed by a more general one. As stated earlier, when conducting statistical

analyses of answers listed, the first answer was used to calculate the results; therefore, the

following analysis focuses on the first impressions of the respondents. For a complete list

of respondent answers, please see Appendix E2.

General Description Of Responses By Speaker

Respondents were generally accurate in their answers in the sense that they often

placed speakers in the correct overarching regions. If they did guess incorrectly, the

respondents still tended to place Saxon speakers in central-eastern Germany, Hanover

speakers in northern (West) Germany, and Franconian speakers in southeastern Germany.

Seldom were answers given that were completely incorrect (with greatest variation in

answers occurring for the Hanover samples); even then, answers were usually located in

the same dialect region (e.g. *Niederdeutsch, Mitteldeutsch, Oberdeutsch*) or a

neighboring one. Overall laypersons felt they could place these speakers and complete

the task even if it was done incorrectly (see below).

However, in order to get a more focused picture of respondent accuracy, an

analysis was done using a more stringent criteria (i.e. Dresden samples as Saxon or

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[139] DDR, or "deutsches demokratisches Republik," German Democratic Repbulic.

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Dresden-Saxon varieties, Hanover samples as northwest German or Hanover varieties, and Franconian samples as southeast German or Bamberg varieties) to investigate microperceptions of respondents. Please refer to Appendix 6A and 6B for lists of respondents' answers and how they were coded.

Frequency of Correct/Incorrect Responses

Using the converted scores, overall, the respondents correctly identify the speaker's city 51.91% of the time and incorrectly identify it 37.70% of the time (Table 6.3). A neutral classification is given about 10% of the time.

Table 6.3: Overall Frequency of Correct, Incorrect, or Neutral by Speaker's City

Response	Frequency
Incorrect (-1)	138 (37.70%)
Neutral (0)	38 (10.38%)
Correct (1)	190 (51.91%)
Total	366

When the speakers are stratified by city, the proportion of respondents who correctly identify the speakers differs from the overall proportion (Table 6.4). Speakers from Bamberg are correctly identified 70.49% of the time (as coming from Franconia rather than Bavaria), while speakers from Dresden are identified correctly 57.38% of the time (as Saxon rather than Thuringian).[140] Respondents identify the speakers from Hanover correctly only 27.87% of the time, indicating that this is the hardest dialect to identify from the speech samples (see Table 6.5). The chi-square test indicates that there is a relationship between the city identification variable and the speaker's city because the p-value is less than 0.05 (Table 6.6). Bamberg speakers are more likely to be

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[140] Please refer to Appendix 6A for a full breakdown of answers and how they were scored.

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identified correctly followed by the Dresden speakers. Hanover speakers are most likely to be incorrectly identified. These results strongly suggest that participants perceive Hanover speech as being "regionless" or associate the accent with many northern cities and regions.

Table 6.4: Frequency of Correct, Incorrect, or Neutral Stratified by Speaker's City

		City Identification			Total
		Correct (1)	Neutral (0)	Incorrect (-1)	
Speaker's City	Bamberg	86 (70.49%)	5 (4.10%)	31 (25.41%)	122
	Dresden	70 (57.38%)	9 (7.38%)	43 (35.25%)	122
	Hannover	34 (27.87%)	24 (19.67%)	64 (52.46%)	122
	Total	190	38	138	366

Table 6.5: Respondents Correctly, Incorrectly, or Neutrally Identifying Speakers
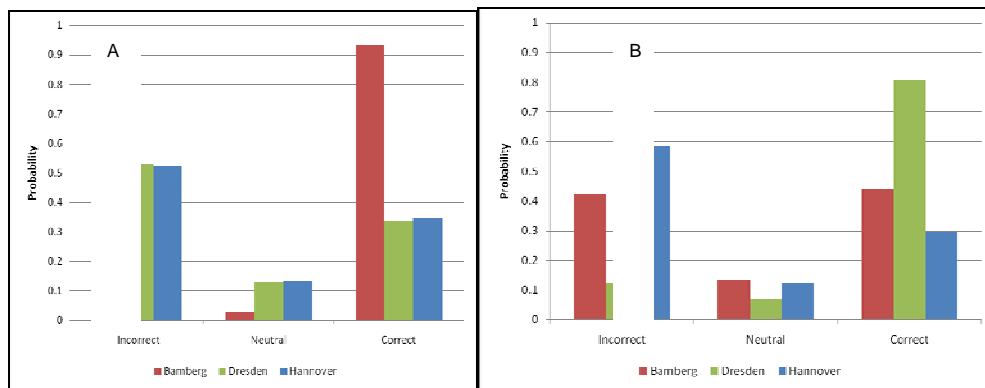

Table 6.6: Chi-square Test of Independence between City ID Variable and Speaker's City

```
            Statistics for Table of correct by Scity

        Statistic              DF      Value      Prob
        Chi-Square              4     50.3725    <.0001
```

Next, the frequency of correct responses for each speaker's city was determined separately for the Bamberg and Dresden respondents (Tables 6.7 and 6.8). Not surprisingly, both groups are better at identifying local accents. Bamberg respondents

identify the Bamberg speakers correctly 93.55% of the time, and Dresden respondents are correct 81.67% of the time. Bamberg respondents incorrectly identify the Dresden and Hanover speakers 53.23% and 48.39% of the time, respectively. Dresden respondents are better at identifying the Bamberg speakers than they are at identifying the Hanover speakers (46.67% and 26.67% correct, respectively). For both Bamberg and Dresden respondents, the chi-square tests of independence indicate that there is a significant relationship between the city identification variable and the speaker's city (p-values for the tests are less than 0.05, see Figure 6.9).

Table 6.7: Frequency of Bamberg Respondents' ID of Speakers Separated by Cities

| | | City Identification | | | |
		Right (1)	Neutral (0)	Wrong (-1)	Total
Speaker's City	Bamberg	58 (93.55%)	0 (0.00%)	4 (6.45%)	62
	Dresden	21 (33.87%)	8 (12.90%)	33 (53.23%)	62
	Hannover	18 (29.03%)	14 (22.58%)	30 (48.39%)	62
Total		97	22	67	186

Table 6.8: Frequency of Dresden Respondents' ID of Speakers Separated by Cities

| | | City Identification | | | |
		Right (1)	Neutral (0)	Wrong (-1)	Total
Speaker's City	Bamberg	28 (46.67%)	5 (8.33%)	27 (45.00%)	60
	Dresden	49 (81.67%)	1 (1.67%)	10 (16.67%)	60
	Hannover	16 (26.67%)	10 (16.67%)	34 (56.67%)	60
Total		93	16	71	180

Table 6.9: Chi-square Test of Independence between Correct variable and Speaker's City

```
        A. Statistics for Table of correct by Scity (Bamberg Respondents)

              Statistic                    DF      Value      Prob
              Chi-Square                    4     66.9317    <.0001

        B. Statistics for Table of correct by Scity (Dresden Respondents)

              Statistic                    DF      Value      Prob
              Chi-Square                    4     38.4982    <.0001
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Based on these results local speech plays a major factor in the perceptions of respondents; laypersons have fairly accurate microperception of local accent but a much less accurate (but not necessarily incorrect in terms of region) perception of spoken-speech outside their home areas.

Taking a closer look at western perceptions of Saxon German reveals some interesting findings. Table 6.10 shows a summarized version of the results of the identification of Saxon speakers. These results provide additional evidence that for these western respondents, Saxon German is often perceived as a dialect of many locations in the east. Frequently the dialect is perceived as *Ostdeutsch* (eastern German) or Thüringen (Thuringia) with lesser occurrences of Saxon German. Interestingly specific cities are rarely mentioned, emphasizing the fact that these respondents do not associate Saxon German with a specific city or groups of cities (Leipzig, Dresden, Zwickau, etc.) but rather larger areas. These results seen through the lens of the "*Mauer in den Köpfen*" point to western respondents being less aware of language variation in eastern areas with likelihood that Saxon German is associated not just with Saxony or Saxon cities but with East Germany as a whole.

Table 6.10: Frequency of Bamberg Responses to Dresden Speakers (male and female)

Male Speaker		Female Speaker	
Ostdeutsch	9	Thüringen	8
Sächsisch	9	Ostdeutsch	5
Thüringen	3	Sächsisch	4
Dresden	2	Berlin	3
Leipzig	2	Schwäbisch	2
Magdeburg	2	Leipzig	2
Halle	1	Dresden	1
Schwerin	1	Zwickau	1
Hof/Sudthüringen	1	Jena	1
Nordost	1	Erfurt	1
		Koblenz	1
		Hamburg	1
		Aschaffenburg	1

Attributes

Overall Frequencies

Looking at the descriptions of the speakers does show agreement among respondents as well as agreement with previous tasks for some terms. The highest frequencies are used to describe Hanover speakers, but agreement levels are rarely over 50% (.i.e. >30 from 61). Table 6.11 shows the overall frequencies of positive (1), negative (-1), and neutral (0) ratings and the mean rating of the speakers' dialects for each attribute pair. Overall, 61.6% of the ratings are neutral, 25.8% are positive, and only 12.6% are negative. Thus, respondents are more likely to give neutral ratings and are least likely to rate a speaker's dialect negatively. This is also evident because many of the mean ratings are close to zero. Overall these results are similar to those Tamasi (2003) obtained for this task. The Understandable/Unintelligible attribute pair has the highest mean rating (0.462) indicating that the respondents give the speakers the most positive ratings, Understandable, for this pair. Friendly/Unfriendly has the next highest mean

Table 6.12 Number of Respondents Describing Franconian Male Speaker by Attribute

	Dresden	Bamberg	total		Dresden	Bamberg	total
friendly	17	20	37	unfriendly	1	2	3
refined	1	0	1	rough	5	7	12
Pleasant	10	11	21	unpleasant	5	4	9
Timid	2	1	3	arrogant	1	1	2
industrious	1	2	3	lazy	1	2	3
comfortable	13	15	28	rushed	1	4	5
educated	0	3	3	uneducated	5	12	17
clean	1	0	1	dirty	9	6	15
understandable	6	14	20	unintelligible	8	3	11
fast	6	9	15	slow	4	6	10
melodic	12	5	17	non-melodic	3	5	8
hard	2	4	6	soft	9	6	15

rating (0.456). The Hard/Soft attribute pair has the lowest mean rating, which is slightly

negative (-0.055).

Table 6.11: Frequency of Positive, Neutral, and Negative Ratings for each Attribute Pair

Attribute Pair	# of +1s	# of 0s	# of -1s	Sum	Total	Mean Rating
understandable/unintelligible	198	139	29	169	366	0.462
friendly/unfriendly	189	155	22	167	366	0.456
fast/slow	125	195	46	79	366	0.216
pleasant/unpleasant	133	173	60	73	366	0.199
comfortable/rushed	98	207	61	37	366	0.101
melodic/unmelodic	83	231	52	31	366	0.085
educated/uneducated	85	222	59	26	366	0.071
industrious/lazy	44	303	19	25	366	0.068
clean/dirty	69	241	56	13	366	0.036
refined/rough	35	285	46	-11	366	-0.030
timid/arrogant	21	312	33	-12	366	-0.033
hard/soft	52	242	72	-20	366	-0.055
Total	1132	2705	555	577	4392	0.131

As mentioned above, respondents did use positive terms to describe the speech

they heard, but nevertheless, there are some major differences in their descriptions. My

participants characterized the Franconian male voice on one hand positively as shown by

higher frequencies of Comfortable, Friendly, and Pleasant and on the other hand

negatively, using higher frequencies of Uneducated, Dirty, and Rough. There are higher

frequencies of Understandable for Bamberg respondents indicating familiarity with the

local speech. Dresden respondents used the term Melodic more often, perhaps pointing to

the perceived unfamiliarity of the intonation. Although in lower frequencies, respondents

also described the speech as uneducated, rough, and dirty.

Table 6.13: Number of Respondents Describing Franconian Female Speaker by Attribute

	Dres	Bam	tot		Dres	Bamb	tot
friendly	19	15	34	unfriendly	1	1	2
refined	0	1	1	rough	6	8	14
pleasant	13	14	27	unpleasant	3	3	6
timid	4	3	7	arrogant	3	0	3
industrious	3	2	5	lazy	1	5	6
comfortable	14	16	30	rushed	0	1	1
educated	1	1	2	uneducated	4	6	10
clean	1	0	1	dirty	7	7	14
understandable	10	10	20	unintelligible	6	3	9
fast	2	4	6	slow	10	10	20
melodic	12	8	20	non-melodic	3	6	9
hard	4	6	10	soft	10	7	17

Almost the same pattern is repeated in the descriptions of Speaker 2 (Bamberg

Female). We see higher totals for the positive terms Friendly, Pleasant, and Comfortable

and negative terms Dirty, Rough, and, to a lesser extent, Uneducated. In addition, the

speech tends to be described as 'slow' and 'soft' by both groups. Interestingly, one sees

equal levels of Understandable by both sets of participants, and Dresden respondents

actually describe the Franconian more favorably in terms of Friendliness than the

Bamberg respondents.

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Table 6.14: Number of Respondents Describing Saxon Male Speaker by Attribute

	Dres	Bam	total		Dres	Bam	total
friendly	13	13	26	unfriendly	3	4	7
refined	1	1	2	rough	4	4	8
pleasant	13	4	17	unpleasant	5	7	12
rimid	3	2	5	arrogant	0	3	3
industrious	3	2	5	lazy	3	5	8
comfortable	15	6	21	rushed	0	5	5
educated	3	1	4	uneducated	6	8	14
clean	3	1	4	dirty	5	6	11
understandable	15	15	30	unintelligible	1	1	2
fast	10	4	14	slow	2	11	13
melodic	8	4	12	non-melodic	2	7	9
hard	3	6	9	soft	9	7	16

Next we look at the descriptions of both Saxon speakers. Respondents tended to describe Speaker 3 overall as understandable, friendly and comfortable. Saxons describe Speaker 3 as more comfortable and more pleasant than Bambergers do, perhaps expressing regional solidarity and local identity through these descriptors. One also observes higher frequencies of Unpleasantness, Uneducated, Slow, and Soft in the totals, but there does not? appear to be any salient trends.

Table 6.15 Number of respondents describing Saxon female speaker by attribute

	Dres	Bam	total		Dres	Bam	total
friendly	13	13	26	unfriendly	3	4	7
refined	1	1	2	rough	4	4	8
pleasant	13	4	17	unpleasant	5	7	12
timid	3	2	5	arrogant	0	3	3
industrious	3	2	5	lazy	3	5	8
comfortable	15	6	21	rushed	0	5	5
educated	3	1	4	uneducated	6	8	14
clean	3	1	4	dirty	5	6	11
understandable	15	15	30	unintelligible	1	1	2
fast	10	4	14	slow	2	11	13
melodic	8	4	12	non-melodic	2	7	9
hard	3	6	9	soft	9	7	16

The descriptions of Speaker 4 are somewhat different and are very interesting. Dresden respondents describe the speaker's Saxon accent much more favorably than Bamberg respondents do, especially in terms of friendliness, but also describe it much more negatively as well. There seem to be two trends at play here. On one hand, the speaker is Friendly, Comfortable, Understandable, and, to a lesser extent, Pleasant, but he is also described as uneducated, dirty, and unpleasant. These paradoxical results may point to a certain sense linguistic insecurity that works against a sense of regional solidarity. Driving home this point, several Saxon respondents specifically commented here that they described the speaker as friendly but the language as unpleasant. Bambergers do not so much describe Speaker 4 negatively as they do not describe it positively. Looking at the term 'unpleasant' we see that they used this term as often as Dresdeners (10 times) and many Franconian respondents described the speaker's speech as fast and rushed, which may be due to the perceived speed of speaker's speech, or they may be using this term as a negative (albeit more mild) descriptor.

Table 6.16: Number of Respondents Describing Hanover Male Speaker by Attribute

	Dres	Bam	total		Dres	Bam	total
friendly	12	14	26	unfriendly	2	3	5
refined	6	7	13	rough	0	0	0
pleasant	14	9	23	unpleasant	3	5	5
timid	0	1	1	arrogant	5	4	9
industrious	6	12	18	lazy	0	0	0
comfortable	2	2	4	rushed	9	9	8
educated	17	22	39	uneducated	0	1	1
clean	16	19	35	dirty	0	0	0
understandable	24	29	53	unintelligible	0	0	0
fast	15	16	31	slow	2	1	3
melodic	4	3	7	non-melodic	5	4	9
hard	6	7	13	soft	4	1	5

Table 6.17: Number of Respondents Describing Hanover Female Speaker by Attribute

	Dres	Bam	total		Dres	Bam	total
friendly	12	14	26	unfriendly	2	3	5
refined	6	7	13	rough	0	0	0
pleasant	14	9	23	unpleasant	3	5	5
timid	0	1	1	arrogant	5	4	9
industrious	6	12	18	lazy	0	0	0
comfortable	2	2	4	rushed	9	9	18
educated	17	22	39	uneducated	0	1	1
clean	16	19	35	dirty	0	0	0
understandable	24	29	53	unintelligible	0	0	0
fast	15	16	31	slow	2	1	3
melodic	4	3	7	non-melodic	5	4	9
hard	6	7	13	soft	4	1	5

Lastly, we turn now to the two Hanover speakers. As they were described in a similar manner by both sets of participants, I will discuss them simultaneously. Respondents overwhelmingly described these speakers positively, and here we see the highest totals for several descriptors. Foremost, there is a high level in agreement for the term Understandable. Fifty-three respondents described the male speaker as understandable, while fifty-one found the female voice Understandable. There are also high totals for Educated, Clean, Friendly, and Pleasant. The Hanover male had the highest total of industrious descriptors of all six speakers. Although these Hanover speakers were described positively, these also had the highest totals for the descriptor Arrogant for all the speakers. The content of the female speech sample maybe responsible for this; in the recording she remarks twice how satisfied she is with her fashionable apartment. This may have been perceived as bragging, which may have resulted in her being described as arrogant. Lastly, it is worth noting that Comfortable, while used especially for Franconian speakers, and to lesser extent Saxon speakers, is seldom used to describe Hanover speech.

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Summary of Results

Looking at the totals for all six speakers, there are several clear patterns. First, generally speaking, respondents often gave neutral responses, i.e. they often chose not to describe the samples at all (at least using the given set of descriptors). When they did use descriptors they tended to be positive with some exceptions. This pattern coincides with what we have seen in Chapter Five with informants taking a more neutral stance when describing their dialect piles and dialect speakers.

Secondly, perceived nonstandard dialects (Dresden Saxon German and Bamberger Franconian) tend to be described as slow, soft, uneducated, dirty, and rough, but they are often just as friendly and oftentimes as pleasant as the perceived standard (Hanover) speakers. Franconian German had the highest counts of the descriptor 'comfortable' by both respondent sets; however, Bambergers did always find Saxon German as comfortable as their own variety. That non-prestigious dialects were described more often as 'comfortable' than the Hanover speakers may be due to regional stereotyping and the sense that nonstandard dialects are oftentimes considered more laid back and less formal than prestigious, standard varieties.

Lastly, it would appear as well that at least in the case of Dresden respondents, results from Task 3 are comparable to responses they gave in Task 2. That is to say they tend to describe all sets of speakers relatively positively, especially Hanover speakers. In the case of Bambergers, it seems that linguistic input did have an effect on their judgments. Comparing values from the pile sorting tasks with linguistic input, Bambergers described Hanover German much more positively than Franconian (Bamberg) German which was not the case in Task 2 in which Franconian German was

slightly more pleasant. Moreover, although Franconians described the Saxon German

speech samples least favorably from the six samples, they were not described as

negatively as they were in Task 2. One would suspect that one possible reason for this

outcome is that when make judgments about an individual (one speaker), participants are

less likely to draw conclusions based on group stereotypes (the Saxon-speaking

community as a whole).

As outlined above, cumulative logistic regression models were developed to

determine which predictor variables (e.g. participants' city, speaker's city, etc.) and their

interactions are significant predictors of the probability of a respondent rating the

speaker's dialect as positive, negative, or neutral for a particular attribute pairs and for

overall correctness and pleasantness. As I was less interested in individual sets of

attribute pairs and in the results for the linguistic descriptors (Fast/Slow, Melodic/Nnon-

melodic, and Hard/Soft), and since these analyses often replicated results found above, I

have not listed them here. Instead, in the following section, I report the findings for

overall descriptors of pleasantness and correctness and significant predictors.

Overall Pleasantness

Backward selection was used to determine the best model for overall pleasantness

(Table 6.18). The final model contains three predictor variables: the speaker's city, the

respondent's city, and the interaction between them.

Table 6.18: Summary of Model Selection for the Mean Overall Pleasantness Rating

Model	Predictors in the Model	p	SSE	RMSE	SBC
A (Full Model)	Scity, Rcity, Ragecat, Scity*Rcity, Scity*Ragecat, Rcity*Ragecat, Scity*Rcity*Racecat	12	27.596	0.279	-875.265
B	Scity, Rcity, Ragecat, Scity*Rcity, Scity*Ragecat, Rcity*Ragecat	10	27.650	0.279	-886.354
C	Scity, Rcity, Ragecat, Scity*Rcity, Scity*Ragecat	9	27.663	0.278	-892.085
D	Scity, Rcity, Ragecat, Scity*Rcity	7	27.884	0.279	-900.978
E (Final Model)	Scity, Rcity, Scity*Rcity	6	27.895	0.278	-906.736

Of the three predictor variables included in the final model, the speaker's city and the interaction between the speaker's city and the respondent's city are significant predictors of the overall pleasantness rating of a speaker's dialect at the 5% significant level (Table 6.19). The respondent's city is marginally significant at this level because the p-value, 0.0602, is slightly higher than 0.05. The p-value for the model is less than 0.0001, which means that the overall model is significant in predicting the means overall pleasantness rating.

Table 6.19: Analysis of Variance Table for the Mean Overall Pleasantness Rating

Source	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F Value	Pr > F
Model	5	2.60855637	0.52171127	6.73	<.0001
Error	360	27.89508662	0.07748635		
Corrected Total	365	30.50364299			

Source	DF	Type III SS	Mean Square	F Value	Pr > F
Scity	2	1.45641848	0.72820924	9.40	0.0001
Rcity	1	0.27539229	0.27539229	3.55	0.0602
Scity*Rcity	2	0.84136080	0.42068040	5.43	0.0048

The overall mean Pleasantness ratings are listed in Table 6.20. The Hanover speakers rated by the Bamberg respondents have the highest mean Pleasantness rating (0.1774) while the Dresden speakers rated by the Bamberg respondents have the lowest mean Pleasantness rating (-0.0645). The Dresden respondents rate all of the speakers as being pleasant overall. Of the ratings by these respondents, the Bamberg speakers have

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the highest rating while the Dresden speakers have the lowest. The Bamberg respondents

rate the Bamberg and Hanover speakers as being pleasant overall while the Dresden

speakers are rated as unpleasant overall. However, the overall mean Pleasantness rating

for the Dresden speakers could be largely affected by the female speaker, who was more

likely to be described as unpleasant rather than pleasant for the Pleasant/Unpleasant

attribute pair.

Table 6.20: Mean Pleasantness Ratings Listed by Speaker's City and Respondent's city

Speaker's City	Respondent's City	Mean Rating
Bamberg	Bamberg	0.1586
Bamberg	Dresden	0.1750
Dresden	Bamberg	-0.0645
Dresden	Dresden	0.1222
Hannover	Bamberg	0.1774
Hannover	Dresden	0.1389

Table 6.21 lists the pairs of overall mean pleasantness ratings that are

significantly different at the 5% significance level by the speaker's and the respondent's

cities. The table shows that all of the mean ratings are significant when compared to the

mean rating for the Dresden speakers rated by the Bamberg respondents. All of the

speakers were rated as pleasant overall except for these speakers, who were rated as

unpleasant overall.

Table 6.21: Significant Differences between Pairs of Mean Pleasantness Ratings
(speaker's city/respondent's city)

Mean 1	Mean 2	Difference (Mean 1 – Mean 2)	p-value
Bamberg/Bamberg	Dresden/Bamberg	0.2231	0.0002
Bamberg/Dresden	Dresden/Bamberg	0.2395	<0.0001
Dresden/Dresden	Dresden/Bamberg	0.1867	0.0033
Hannover/Bamberg	Dresden/Bamberg	0.2419	<0.0001
Hannover/Dresden	Dresden/Bamberg	0.2034	0.0009
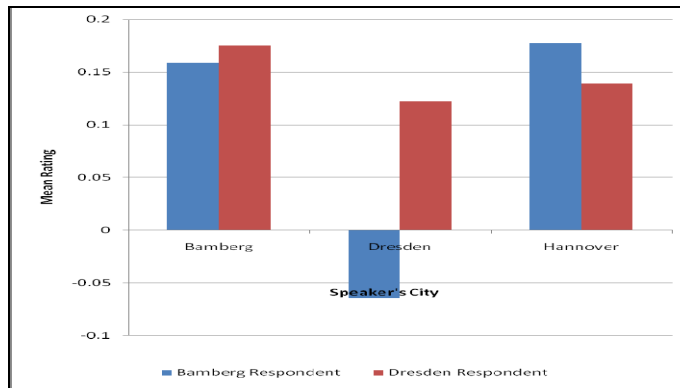
Figure 6.1: Plot of Mean Pleasantness Ratings by Speaker's City and Respondent's City

Overall Correctness

Table 6.22 summarizes the steps taken to find the model for the mean overall correctness rating of a speaker's dialect. The final model contains three predictor variables:

Table 6.22: Summary of Model Selection for the Mean Overall Correctness Rating

Model	Predictors in the Model	p	SSE	RMSE	SBC
A (Full Model)	Scity, Rcity, Ragecat, Scity*Rcity Scity*Ragecat, Rcity*Ragecat, Scity*Rcity*Ragecat	12	45.322	0.358	-693.684
B	Scity, Rcity, Ragecat, Scity*Rcity Scity*Ragecat, Rcity*Ragecat	10	45.921	0.359	-700.684
C	Scity, Rcity, Ragecat, Scity*Ragecat, Rcity*Ragecat	8	45.992	0.358	-711.924
D	Scity, Rcity, Ragecat, Rcity*Ragecat	6	47.463	0.363	-712.206
E (Final Model)	Scity, Ragecat, Scity*Ragecat	6	46.894	0.361	-716.620

The predictor variables included in the final model are the speaker's city, the respondent's age, and the interaction between the two variables. Each of these variables is significant at the 5% level of significance (Table 6.23). The p-value for the overall model is less than 0.001 indicating that the model is significant in predicting the mean overall correctness rating.

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Table 6.23: Analysis of Variance Table for the Mean Overall Correctness Rating

```
                                  Sum of
    Source              DF       Squares    Mean Square   F Value   Pr > F
    Model                5   41.97211867     8.39442373     64.44   <.0001
    Error              360   46.89369796     0.13026027
    Corrected Total    365   88.86581664

    Source              DF    Type III SS   Mean Square   F Value   Pr > F
    Scity                2   27.89040209    13.94520105    107.06   <.0001
    age                  1    0.56198373     0.56198373      4.31   0.0385
    Scity*age            2    1.47145856     0.73572928      5.65   0.0038
```

The overall mean Correctness ratings for each combination of the speaker's city
and the respondent's age are listed in Table 6.24. The speakers from Hanover have the
highest mean Correctness rating for both age groups. The respondent's under 37 years of
age give the lowest overall Correctness ratings to the Bamberg and Dresden speakers
rating them as incorrect on average. In contrast, the speakers 37 years old or older rate the
Bamberg and Dresden speakers as correct overall, though not nearly as correct as the
Hanover speakers.

Table 6.24: Mean Correctness Ratings Listed by Speaker's city and Respondent's Age

Speaker's City	Respondent's Age	Mean Rating
Bamberg	Under 37	-0.1357
Bamberg	37 or older	0.0926
Dresden	Under 37	-0.0581
Dresden	37 or Older	0.0741
Hannover	Under 37	0.6860
Hannover	37 or Older	0.5833

Table 6.25 lists the pairs of means that are significantly different from each other
at the 5% level of significance. Overall, the mean correctness ratings for the Hanover
speakers are significantly higher than the ratings for the Dresden and Bamberg speakers
for both age groups. Also, one observes the mean correctness ratings of the Dresden and
Bamberg speakers given by the respondents 37 or older are significantly higher than the
ratings the respondents under 37 gave these speakers.

Table 6.25: Significant Differences between Pairs of Mean Correctness Ratings
(speaker's city/respondent's age)

Mean 1	Mean 2	Difference (Mean 1 – Mean 2)	p-value
Bamberg/37 or Older	Bamberg/Under 37	0.2283	0.0194
Dresden/37 or Older	Bamberg/Under 37	0.2098	0.0420
Hannover/Under 37	Bamberg/Under 37	0.8217	<0.001
Hannover/Under 37	Dresden/Under 37	0.7441	<0.001
Hannover/Under 37	Bamberg/37 or Older	0.5934	<0.001
Hannover/Under 37	Dresden/37 or Older	0.6119	<0.001
Hannover/37 or Older	Bamberg/Under 37	0.7190	<0.001
Hannover/37 or Older	Dresden/Under 37	0.6414	<0.001
Hannover/37 or Older	Bamberg/37 or Older	0.4907	<0.001
Hannover/37 or Older	Dresden/37 or Older	0.5092	<0.001
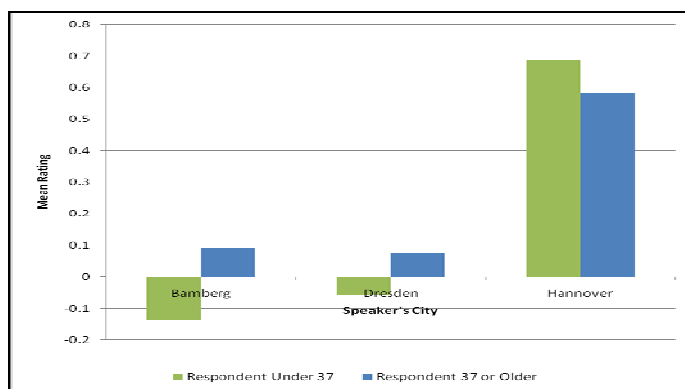
Figure 6.2 Plot of Mean Correctness Ratings by Speaker's City and Respondent's Age

Discussion and Conclusions

The probability that a respondent will correctly identify the speaker's city depends on both the speaker's city and the respondent's city. The respondents are very good at identifying speakers from their own cities but do not do as well when identifying speakers from different cities. This is not surprising considering how we have already seen how the access to knowledge influenced the results in Chapter Five. Human perception is categorical; therefore, we have a hard time placing an accent we have never heard before, at least until we find out what to associate with that accent. This may

explain why the Hanover dialect was the hardest dialect to identify (see Figure 6.4).

Hanover is culturally and geographically distant from the respondent communities and

the dialect is not comparable in terms of saliency to either Bavarian or Saxon German. As

Hundt has pointed out (1992, p. 43), it is difficult for informants in perceptual studies to

localize north German speakers, especially if they are speaking High German and not

using their distinct Low German varieties. I suspect that in many instances linguistic

reality did not match up with linguistic stereotypes for informants. Respondent D3

expressed surprise when I revealed that I included two speakers from Hanover in this task

commenting that: "*Das hab' ich nämlich geschrieben, ein norddeutscher [Dialekt] und

dann hab' ich das durchgestrichen, weil die Hannoveranner, dachte ich, die reden noch

nämlich anders, die reden noch sauberer.*"[141] This comment suggests that informants felt

the Hanover speech samples did contain features of perceived nonstandard speech, and as

a result they did not necessarily associate these speakers with the perceived *dialektfrei*

speech of the Hanover stereotype they had in their minds. It was also interesting to note

that although eastern informants did just as poorly as western speakers in identifying the

Hanover speakers, many specifically mentioned the female Hanover speaker's use of

"super" and knew right away that she had to be from somewhere in "the West" as no

eastern German would use such a word.[142]

    The model developed using the same city/different city variable also shows that

the speaker and the respondent being from the same city is a significant predictor of the

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[141] "Yeah, I wrote that - a north German [dialect]. And then I crossed it out, because I thought the Hanover people, that they talk differently, that they speak more cleanly."

[142] One eastern informant told me that even the way the female Hanover speaker described her apartment was very "western," e.g. that by using the word "super" she was bragging about how nice her apartment was.

respondent correctly identifying the speaker's city. This is consistent with the data and cumulative logistic regression models, although it has to be said that informants are not infallible in indentifying local speech either, with the Bambergers being slightly better than the Dresdeners (91% vs. 80.5%).

Overall, the respondents are mostly neutral when rating the speakers' dialects (see Table 6.11). As this task did not use a forced choice design this is not surprising, and one could posit that the data displays more salient perceptions as participants did not have to mark any of the attributes. The respondents appear to rate the speakers as mostly neutral in terms of pleasantness but were more decisive when rating how correct the speakers are, particularly when rating the speaker as either uneducated or educated.

Tables 6.28 and 6.29 provide a summary of Pleasantness and Correctness linguistic descriptors. Because the speaker's city is significant in 12 of the 14 models, the predicted mean rating for each of the three cities was calculated. The speakers from Hanover are described as being the most correct overall. This agrees with previous studies in which Germans often identify this city with the most correct spoken variety of German. The respondents from Dresden rate the speakers' dialects as being pleasant overall, including their own local accents. They do, however, exhibit some linguistic insecurity, rating Saxon speakers lower in terms of correctness and pleasantness. These findings, while not as strong, do match up well with eastern perceptions of Saxon German featured in Chapter Five.

Western views were significantly different. Bambergers only rate the Hanover and Bamberg speakers' dialects as being pleasant while describing the Dresden speakers' dialect as unpleasant or at least not as pleasant as the other dialects. When looking at the

combined rating from both Saxon speakers, this could partially be due to the female

Dresden speaker, who has a higher probability of being viewed as more unpleasant than

pleasant for that attribute pair. One reason that might explain the discrepancy in the

ratings is that Bambergers were responding to the content of the speech sample rather

than to the regional speech of the speaker, but I would posit that it is more likely due to

the regional linguistic features themselves. I suspect that the female speaker used more

stereotypical features associated with Saxon German such as /ç/ → /ʃ/ in *Küche* or /aɪ͡/

→/e/ in *klein,* but because both my speakers used somewhat different sets of linguistic

features associated with Saxon German (as per Chapter Four), it is difficult to make a

comparison. However, the results do show a certain degree of bias towards the Saxon

variety, i.e. the "*Mauer in den Köpfen*" also influences perceptions of real linguistic input

although the results were not as strong as in Chapter Five.

Table 6.26: Summary of Pleasant Attributes

Attribute	Observed Mean	Significant Predictors	Predicted Mean by Speaker's City		
			Bamberg	Dresden	Hanover
a. Friendly/Unfriendly	+0.456	None	+0.456	+0.456	+0.456
b. Refined/Rough	-0.030	Scity	-0.198	-0.139	+0.215
c. Pleasant/Unpleasant	+0.199	Scity, Sgender, Scity*Sgender	+0.269	-0.041	+0.372
d. Timid/Arrogant	-0.033	Scity	+0.041	+0.008	-0.148
e. Industrious/Lazy	+0.068	Scity	-0.008	-0.008	+0.218
f. Comfortable/Rushed	+0.101	Scity, Rcity, Scity*Rcity	+0.434	+0.035	-0.156
g. Overall Mean Pleasantness	+0.117	Scity, Rcity, Scity*Rcity	+0.167	+0.027	+0.158

Table 6.27: Summary of Correctness Attributes

Attribute	Observed Mean	Significant Predictors	Predicted Mean by Speaker's City		
			Bamberg	Dresden	Hanover
a. Educated/Uneducated	+0.071	Scity	-0.186	-0.214	+0.607
b. Clean/Dirty	+0.036	Scity, Ragecat, Scity*Ragecat	-0.222	-0.183	+0.505
c. Understandable/Unintelligible	+0.462	Scity	+0.200	+0.335	+0.842
d. Overall Mean Correctness	+0.189	Scity, Ragecat, Scity*Ragecat	-0.068	-0.019	+0.656

CHAPTER 7

ADDITIONAL VIEWS

Ich liebe meinen Dialekt, obwohl er nicht schön ist ...[143]

Dresden Respondent #23 (2005)

For this chapter of this study, I used a set of short questions and a mini-questionnaire to elicit supplementary information. This section was originally intended to confirm and interpret patterns uncovered in previous chapters but provided interesting answers in its own right. I asked respondents four questions and below I discuss each of them individually.[144] This portion of the survey often amounted to an interview in itself, sometimes lasting longer than 30 minutes. It not only provided me with an opportunity to confirm informant responses, but it also allowed respondents a chance to also talk freely about the topic and express their opinions. In the discussion below I detail the general patterns of responses the informants gave and use this to support results reviewed in previous chapters.

The first question (*Was halten Sie von Ihrem Dialekt?*) is in essence three questions built into one that was designed to shed light directly on the respondents' linguistic security. It illustrates informant perceptions of local speech from three different perspectives: from the point of a view of an outsider (i.e. general perception from anyone outside the respondent's region), a local (i.e. general perception from people living in the

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[143] I love my dialect even if it is not nice …

[144] These questions were adapted from Tamasi's "Easy Bake Interview" (2003). She calls it that "because like its namesake the Easy Bake Oven … it is quick and easy to use, anyone can do it, and the results are just as satisfying" (p.155), and I would agree. I modified the questions as per my research topic, taking into account the translation into German.

area) and their own "self" point of view. In evaluating the local speech, respondents were asked to give their answer using a five-point Likert scale of "goodness," with the scale ranging from 5 (*sehr schön)*, 4 (*okay), 3 (gleichgültig)*, 2 (*nicht so schön)*, and 1 (*furchtbar)*[145]. The results listed as group means are shown below in Graph 7.1.

Figure 7.1: Respondent Evaluations of Local Speech

A quick glance at the results shows that Dresden respondents scored their dialect lower than their Bamberger counterparts in every category. This outcome is most likely the result of a strong sense of linguistic insecurity and the perceived "dialectness" of their variety (Huesmann, 1998, p.142). Looking specifically at "outsiders" perceptions we observe that Dresdeners feel that their speech is negatively evaluated by outsiders (m=2.1 or *nicht so schön*), while the Bamberg community score, although slightly negative, almost reaches a neutral score of 3.0. In terms of local perceptions, both communities felt that natives have a positive view of their community's speech: m=3.6 for Saxons and

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[145] In English: 5 (very nice), 4 (agreeable), 3 (indifferent), 2 (not so nice), and 1 (horrible). Please note that "okay" in German has a slightly more positive meaning than it does in English (i.e. somewhat better than satisfactory).

slightly higher for Franconians (m=4.0). Lastly, Bambergers had a positive self-evaluation of their dialect (m=3.7), whereas the Dresden community had a slightly negative one (m=2.7).

Although the Franconian dialect of Bamberg is by no means a prestigious dialect outside its area (or even in Bavaria), Bambergers rate their speech higher than Dresden respondents in all categories, displaying a stronger sense of local linguistic pride overall. It appears that, although Bavarians are often chided for speaking nonstandard German, there are many positive stereotypes associated with the Bavarian character and this might account for the more positive perceptions of their dialect. D24, a Saxon, stressed the positive stereotypes associated with Bavarians:

> *Sachsen ist fast ein Bundesland zweiter Klasse. Weil es halt ein ostdeutsches Bundesland ist. Und wenn wir uns dann mit den Bayern vegleichen würden, halt wirtschaftlich gesehen, stehen die halt besser da. Insofern werden die Bayern nicht so viel gehänselt wie die Sachsen.*[146]

The results also show, however, that although Saxons are aware of national perceptions of their dialect, they don't accept them completely. They feel Dresden locals have a positive view of their dialect. And self-perceptions of Saxon, while somewhat negative, are not far from a neutral "3" score. So while much of Germany finds Saxon German to be one of the most unpopular forms of regional speech, the variety still retains a degree of solidarity status within its borders. D23's comment, "I love my dialect, even if it's not nice" expresses these sentiments (felt by many speakers of stigmatized varieties

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[146] "Saxony is almost a second-class state within Germany because it's a [former] East German state. And if we would compare ourselves with the Bavarians in regards to the economy, they would come off looking much better. As far as that is concerned, the Bavarians don't nearly catch as much flak as the Saxons."

from all over the world), and these positive perceptions are also corroborated by the results we have seen in Chapters Five and Six.

The next three questions were open-ended and used to informally end the interview. In some cases informants had very little to say and this section took only minutes to complete. Oftentimes, however, informants talked for an extended period of time (20-30 minutes) covering a wide range of topics. Despite the different ways participants chose to give their answers, overall, views across both communities were very similar.

For Question #2, *"Was halten Sie von die Aufgaben, die Sie vorhin erledigt haben?"*[147] In response to this question about a third of the respondents from both sample groups found the tasks easy, a third found them difficult, and the last third found them somewhere in the middle. When talking about difficulty, respondents often mentioned not having adequate knowledge or information to make accurate decisions about dialect regions or speakers. Frequently, they pointed out that they had not been to specific cities or didn't know anyone from certain areas. Others, even if they had visited or traveled to certain areas, expressed that they were unfamiliar with the specific features of many dialects; of those who found the tasks difficult, many specifically mentioned the dialect identification task as the most problematic. The pile sorting could be done *"nach Gefühl,"*[148] or according to their instincts, guessing where they needed to and plugging in geographical or cultural information to place cities they were unfamiliar with. However, in order to identify the dialect of speakers, informants felt this task required more specific

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[147] What do you think of the tasks you just finished?

[148] "According to their gut feeling."

knowledge that many respondents confessed to not having, as D22 expressed by commenting, *"Die Dialekte habe ich nicht so genau im Ohr"*[149] and therefore this often led them to more general (i.e. South, North or East German) answers.

In addition, not having the "tools" to complete the tasks also brought a sense of fear of not being able to complete the tasks "correctly;" for example, despite my reassurances, B17, B40 and D23, all felt like the questionnaire was a "puzzle" with one correct "solution." One respondent, D18, even wrote in German *"cooler Test*!" at the end of survey. It was interesting that so many respondents felt the survey was testing rather than collecting their perceptions, and this might have been a natural reaction when to trying to complete a task you feel unprepared for. In sum, this qualitative data helps to confirm the quantitative results in Chapters Five and Six: that a partial lack of knowledge is often a significant factor in influencing the perceptions of laypersons in experiments of this kind.

For those respondents who found the tasks easy, most made clear they had traveled extensively throughout Germany or had personal contacts outside their home regions. D12 explained, *"Leicht, denn wer schon ganz Deutschland bereist hat, so wie ich, dem fällt es relativ leicht zuzuordnen, was wo gesprochen wird."*[150] Jobs, college life "abroad" in other regions, and contact with family members and friends all contributed to a greater knowledge of regional variation. B40 specifically mentioned the linguistic value of gas stations as ways of "sampling" local speech in her travels across Austria and Switzerland. Those who found the tasks easier were salesmen, secretaries, or

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[149] "I don't have the dialects in my ears."
[150] "[The tasks were] Easy. Because whoever has traveled across Germany like me, it's relatively easy for them to categorize who speaks what."

students who, because of their positions, had more frequent contact with speakers from other areas. Generally, the more language played an active role in their professional or personal lives, the more sensitive and the more knowledgeable they were (but not necessarily less-opinionated).

Regardless of whether the tasks were easy or hard, it was clear to me that informants brought quite a wide array of linguistic resources to bear in completing the tasks. Foremost, informants frequently reported relying on personal experiences to complete the tasks. D18 asserted, " *Ich mache die Sprache an Personen fest … wenn man eine schlechte Erfahrung macht, denkt man immer daran….*"[151] Personal contacts such as friends, acquaintances, co-workers, and family members were especially important. When completing or justifying their answers, respondents would repeatedly mention specific people that prompted them to categorize dialects a certain way ,such as the Austrian who lived next door, a cousin who resided in Berlin, or the raucous roommates from Luxembourg.

Interestingly, the media in various forms played an influential role in shaping perceptions. One respondent related how the Franconian dialect speakers reminded him of the way Bavarian characters talked on his favorite T.V. show, *Lindenstrasse*.[152] B31 found it easier to identify Saxon speakers due to the popular comedian Stefan Raab even though he had never been "over there."[153] Two Bambergers even mentioned their favorite soccer players who had "eastern" accents. Still others referred to hearing various dialects

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[151] "I connect language to people … if you have a bad experience [with someone], you never forget it."
[152] A popular TV series that takes place in Munich (Bavaria) and that often features characters who use "local" speech.

[153] "drüben" or "over there," referring to eastern Germany.

on the radio, or in plays and in operas, and this aided them while completing the

interview.

Next to personal experience and contacts, frequent comments also included

relying on cultural and linguistic information in the forms of stereotypes. As D17 related

to me the role of the media in creating and maintaining cultural stereotypes:

> *Erstmal kommen die Leute, die man kennt, das ist ganz klar. Dann die Vorurteile, die man hat halt. Die sind so in der Bevölkerung gewachsen, von den Medien ... dass Bayerisch eben was ganz schlimmes ist. Und Sächsisch ... hat man auch Vorurteile, aber ich finde trotzdem, dass es schlimm ist. Eben auch so schlimm, wie Bayerisch. Das wird dann meist in in einen Topf geworfen, klingt alles doof.* [154]

D24 thought of the harsh northern climate and the culinary traditions of the South in

justifying his answers. Other respondents mentioned the well known

Freundlichskeitgefälle[155] regarding southern and northern personality types. Easterners

often mentioned the aggressive and arrogant behavior of westerners (see below). Many of

the stereotypes mentioned had little to do with linguistic issues but were still mentioned

by informants in forming their perceptions of speech.

These cultural stereotypes had various degrees of observable influence over

respondents' answers. Knowing that I was living in Dresden, one Franconian respondent

apologized to me concerning her negative opinions of Saxon German, "*Ich weiss, es gibt*

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[154] "Of course, you first think of the people you know. Then come the prejudices you have. These are planted in the culture by the media … that Bavarian is something bad. And one has prejudices against Saxon, too, but I find it bad anyways, just as bad as Bavarian. Everything gets thrown into one pot and it all sounds stupid."

[155] Scale of "friendliness." The typical southerner is seen as friendlier than the typical northerner much like in the U.S.

gebildete Leute drüben, aber die Sprache im Osten? Die ist einfach furchtbar, sorry."[156]

Others, while being aware of certain stereotypes, consciously tried to avoid applying them. B24 told with strong conviction that "all people are good," and therefore was reluctant to evaluate the speech samples in Chapter Five using negative descriptors. This may help explain the discrepancy in results between western perceptions of Saxon German in Chapter Five (pile-sorting tasks) and Chapter Six (speaker tasks). In this case, it may be that at least some Westerners were more reluctant to apply group stereotypes to the individual Saxon speakers, i.e. that when confronted with real people, respondents tried to be less judgmental.

There was also evidence for the importance of linguistic stereotypes in informants' perceptions. Many respondents specifically mentioned bits of dialect they had heard or picked up that included grammatical, lexical, and phonological items, for example "*Glück auf Sprache*" and "*Zwicköö*" as caricatures for eastern varieties, "*Det is juut*" for Berliner dialect, and … "*i woass äs ned*" for Austrian varieties. Not only was it entertaining to listen to informants attempting their best dialect imitations as they completed the pile sorting tasks, but such responses shed light on which features are foremost on the minds of respondents, i.e. which features are most likely to trigger linguistic stereotypes and are associated with perceptions.

Overall, regardless of whether respondents thought the tasks were difficult or easy, I had the impression that the informants enjoyed participating in the survey and found it interesting. Indeed, I was fortunate to have such a popular research topic, and most participants wanted to be informed of the results.

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[156] "I know there are educated people in the East, but language over there? I'm sorry, it's just plain horrible."

Question #3 was *"Wie ist Ihre Meinung über das aktuelle Deutsch, was in Deutschland gesprochen wird?"*[157] This question gave me insights into what kinds of language issues the folk find relevant to their lives. Here, I came across some of the more well-established "myths," such as the recent deterioration of the language, or that the weather or physical traits of the speakers were responsible for regional accents. Generally speaking, however, there were several responses to this question that focused around the topic of language change.

An overwhelming majority mentioned English, specifically American English, as an ever-growing influence on their language. How people felt about this was generally split along West/East divisions. For many Westerners, this was a trend that they seemed accustomed to but did not perceive as any great obstacle or problem. It was simply a neutral observation. For Easterners, however, (who until 1990 had all been taking mandatory Russian courses in their schools), this was an unwelcome development that was confusing and, in many cases, was viewed as unneeded. Many of the English loanwords were replacing "perfectly good" German ones. Sometimes, specific words were singled out by respondents as being especially annoying, such as "Kids" usurping "*Kinder.*" Americanisms were not just present in everyday slang but also were "invading" academic German. D4, a faculty member at a university, lamented that before reunification he was able to write his research reports using only German technical terms but now feared many of these terms were being "lost."[158] He resented the fact that German was once an "academic" language, but that he now had to write in English if he

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[157] What is your opinion about today's German?

[158] In the words of the respondent: "*werden abgeschafft*"

wanted to be widely read. Another respondent (D8) maintained that languages should not be "mixed" and went so far as to suggest that "German would become English one day unless something was done:" an institution like the *Academie Francaise* was needed to protect and maintain German. Another common observation across respondents in terms of language change was complaints about the latest spelling reform.[159] This topic has been a very controversial one in German society, and I am not surprised that it surfaced here. As of 2004, most German print media use rules that to a large extent comply with the reform (with notable exceptions), but the public in general has been far less receptive. According to a report on the television magazine "*Panorama*" (July 21, 2004), even six years after its introduction, 77% of Germans consider the spelling reform to be impractical. Many of the respondents who mentioned the reforms felt they had caused more problems than they solved. They charged that new rules were unneeded and only created confusion as to what was right and correct spelling. Typical of these concerns, B23 relates, *"Deutsch sollte so schon deutsch bleiben und sollte nicht permanent verändert werden, so wie's gerad im Moment der Fall ist durch die Rechtschreibreformen ... ich finde, die Sprache, wie sie jetzt so ist, kann man mittlerweile so lassen."*[160] Both the frequency and intensity of the remarks concerning the influence of English and the *Rechtschreibreformen* have convinced me that these issues will continue to be on the minds of the folk for the foreseeable future.

Lastly, there were also comments on how language has changed across generations. This was often accompanied by how speech was becoming more

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[159] The German spelling reform of 1996 (*Rechtschreibreform*) is an international agreement between the governments of Germany, Austria, and Liechtenstein, and Switzerland.

[160] "German should stay German and should not be constantly being changed, as is the case with the spelling reforms. I think the language the way it is now is just fine."

standardized. D18, a teacher, seemed both relieved and saddened when she remarked how her students didn't speak "dialect" as much as she noticed in previous generations. On the other hand, other respondents found that the language of younger generations had taken a serious turn for the worse. One remarked that "every second word" was a swear word nowdays from youngsters, and another was shocked at a party attended mostly by teenagers: "*Das war für mich so ein Beispiel, dass die Sprache immer mehr abflacht. Also wie die Kultur ... so mitmenschlich, dass diese immer mehr weggeht. Früher hat man sich Mühe gegeben ...*"[161] Still others took a much more neutral response to language change observing only that they spoke different than younger and older folks but that this was "normal."

A last set of responses commented on the roles and general nature of standard and nonstandard language. When talking about spoken language almost all informants made a distinction between standard speech and regional speech and the different roles each one fulfilled. It was interesting how many respondents believed there was a non-regional, standard German spoken throughout the country as expressed by D2: "*Ich denke sehr ... also Ost wie West, dass da so eine ganz klare, neutral saubere Aussprache ist.*"[162] When standard speech was mentioned it was often in a positive light. Respondents stressed how useful spoken *Hochdeutsch* was as "a bridge" between other German speakers. Several speakers D2, D19, and B22 expressed a certain degree of "a fear of chaos," B22 commenting that without standard German "we'd be lost." Others emphasized the importance of standard speech especially in terms of educating children and for doing

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[161] "That was an example for me that the language is going downhill, just like the culture. The interpersonal [communication] is disappearing. In the past one made an effort …"

[162] "I really think that both in the East and West there is a clear, neutral, clean pronunciation …"

business. People who spoke *Hochdeutsch* were naturally assumed to be more "intelligent" and "clever" than dialect-speakers, and B24 added it was important for a "modern" country to have an official language for "international communication."

Although many mentioned the value of *Hochdeutsch* not all were convinced it was the best variety for all occasions. B23 told me that although the standard language was very understandable, it wasn't as pleasant as local speech. D3, a Dresden school teacher, related that although the standard language was "perfect" in terms of grammar and pronunciation, it was this *lack* of "imperfection" that made it devoid of warmth and charm. She went on to say that most dialects were "soft" in nature and this was precisely why they were friendlier than "hard" standard accents of the North. Although many participants talked about how important *Hochdeutsch* was, several admitted that not only were they not competent speakers of it, but that such a goal was almost unobtainable; D17 explains: "*Außerdem muss man sich im Berufsleben gezwungenermaßen einem Hochdeutsch unterordnen und das fällt mir unheimlich schwer.*"[163] In this sense there were mixed feelings concerning perceptions of correct, standard speech.

Perceptions of dialect were also both positive and negative in nature. As reported earlier, although some respondents felt dialect was "diminishing," most respondents felt spoken variation was something that was very much part of their daily lives and commented at length about it. Although dialect was felt as something to be kept at home, this could be both positive and negative. One respondent described his dialect as a "*Mundfaulheit*"[164] and something that needed to be overcome through education –

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[163]" Besides that, at work one is forced to conform to Standard German and that is really difficult for me."

[164] "Laziness of the mouth."

"*Dieses Regionale wird immer mit einem gewissen Mangel an Bildung gleichgestellt. Also hat er seinen Dialekt nicht durch Bildung überwunden.*"[165] Still others related how troublesome it was in understanding dialects from outside their regions, and how unfriendly this could seem for non-dialect speakers.

Despite "dialect" perceived as the more informal of the two codes mentioned, respondents also demonstrated how important it was to local culture and identity. Several felt indignant that their dialect was stigmatized by society as whole. D12 explained, "*Ich finde es traurig dass Menschen, die Dialekt sprechen, verpönt und belächelt werden. Jeder Teil Deutschlands sollte stolz auf seine sprache sein und sich nicht gezwungenermassen einem Hochdeutsch unterordenen.*"[166] Others felt dialect held the community together and made contact with others from the region easier: "*So ein vertrautes Verhältnis aufzubauen. Da ist die Dialekt ganz wichtig. Das ist konkret und allgemein gilt das, glaub' ich immer wenn du arbeitest. Dass du an den Leuten näherkommst.*"[167] Interestingly, D25, a nurse, specifically linked dialect with employability. A local hospital was specifically looking for applicants who could use the dialect to tend to older patients and because she was a fluent dialect speaker, she got her job. Another respondent well aware of dialect being considered "unrefined" (i.e. *derb*) by many, told me it's only "unrefined" to those who don't speak it!

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[165] "The regional language is always associated with a certain lack of education. He wasn't able to overcome his dialect."

[166] "I think it is really sad that people who speak dialect are teased and laughed at. Every region of Germany should be proud of its dialect [language] and not be pressured to into conforming to standard German."

[167] "So build up a close relationship. There dialect is important. That something concrete, that valid anywhere where you are working, that you can get closer to people."

Question #4 *Können Sie ein Beispiel nennen, wo Sprache eine entscheidende Rolle gespielt hat?*[168] Here I received fewer comments than with the previous questions. There may be several explanations for this; oftentimes while discussing the other questions above, informants already related several personal experiences to illustrate their views. Secondly, this was the last question of a long interview and briefer responses may very well be attributed to informant fatigue. Nonetheless, the responses I did obtain were enlightening and added depth to the results of interview. As both communities spoke stigmatized varieties, it was no surprise that stories tended to focus on language variation; Saxon respondents tended to tell stories in relation to the West and Franconians tended to tell stories that involved other Bavarians and northerners.

In general, the stories given here fell into two categories: 1. Responses focused on other people commenting and/or making fun of the informant's own speech or 2. Responses focused on the informant noticing language variation in others. What was interesting here was that informants rarely related stories that took place in their home localities; they almost always related stories that took place outside their home areas. As linguistic research has already shown, respondents rarely notice what they already know (their home speech, e.g. *I* don't have an accent but *they* sure do!) but instead tend to pay more attention to what is different and new.

The majority of respondent stories fell into the first category: Ten Bamberger and twelve Saxons related stories that focused on outside reactions to their own speech. For the most part, this occurred when the informants traveled or moved to other parts of the country. Although most informants knew they had regional accents, most seemed to begrudge the fact that it was specifically pointed out to them. D18 related that on a trip to

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[168] Can you give an example where language played a decisive role (in your life)?

Cologne whenever people told him he had a Saxon accent it sounded like an "accusation:" "*Wenn man mir das direkt sagte, klingte das für mich wie ein Vorwurf. Ach, du bist Sachse. A-ha.*"[169] B12 related a story where she applied for a position at a radio station in Frankfurt only to be told by staff that if she wanted any chance of getting the job she best stop "rolling her Rs." Another Saxon told a similar story where she felt her accent was singled out for specific attention by other German speakers:

> *Als ich in Hamburg einen Eignungstest machen sollte und mit anderen 50 jungen Leuten aus ganz Deutschland zusammen war, da habe ich mich bemüht kein sächsisch zu sprechen, um nicht von den anderen ausgelacht zu werden. Leider klappte das nicht so ganz, und so waren wir 3 Sachsen dort das Gespött aller anderen. In solchen Situationen ist es schwierig stolz auf seine Sprache zu sein.*[170]

Others had similar experiences where they had specifically tried to suppress their regional accents either through courses or conscious effort only to find that outsiders still had no problem recognizing where they were form.

Another interesting set of stories concerned dialect convergence. B5 told that his speech became a frequent topic of conversation in his family after he had attended a Christian Youth summer camp near Darmstadt. When he came back, his family members noticed he had a pronounced Hessian accent and from then on he was dubbed "our little Hessian." B40 told an interesting story of how his brother always hated the Bamberger dialect, moved away to Stuttgart and now talked like an "*Urschwabe.*"[171]

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[169] "Whenever someone said that directly to me, it sounded like an accusation – oh, I see, you are a Saxon,."

[170] "While I was in Hamburg taking an aptitude test, I was together with about 50 other young people from all over Germany. I tried really hard to hide my Saxon accent so that I wouldn't get teased by the others. Unfortunately that didn't work out so well and so we three Saxons were the object of ridicule for everyone else. In cases like this it is really hard to be proud of your language [dialect]."

[171] Like a "local Swabian." What is interesting about this story is that the brother forsook one stigmatized dialect for another.

When Saxons talked about the experiences "abroad" the topic almost always led to a criticism of the west or of perceived discrimination by westerners. One Dresden explained that in eastern Germany, the Saxon accent was perceived as "normal" but in the west it was a different story. The respondent laid the blame of the general (western) negative attitudes toward the Saxon accent on the western press and specifically on the comedian Stefan Raab.[172]

> *"Das ist die Presse, die vermittelt das Ganze ja irgendwo. Und jetzt so ein Idiot wie der Stefan Raab zum Beispiel. Der will Leuten einreden, dieser sächsische Dialekt klingt dumm. Er hat den Leuten einen Stempel aufgedrückt und die denken, 'Ach hier, der Raab hat da mal gesagt, also das ist wirklich so'."[173]*

For Saxons the "*Mauer in dem Kopf*," while perhaps not as evident in the evaluations from Chapter Five and Six, was frequently on the minds of eastern participants while giving answers for this portion of the survey. D12 talked about how easy it was to pick out westerners in the Dresden public transportation: „*Das gibt so eine Mentalität bei manchen Westdeutschen … das ist für mich völlig ein Rätsel, warum die nicht mitbekommen, dass man keine Rede halten sollte. Die haben das Bedürfnis, von allen gehört zu werden, so dominant das Bedürfnis.*"[174] Several Bambergers, thinking about the way Easterners talk, also remembered how the Saxons "invaded" Franconia soon after the Wall came down and bought up "everything in sight." This seemed to be an

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[172] Popular (western) German comedian and late night talk-show host.

[173] Somehow it's the press that is responsible for spreading the whole thing. Like that idiot Stefan Raab. He would like to persuade the people that the Saxon accent sounds stupid. He has marked these people as dumb and they think, 'See, Raab said it, and therefore it has got to be true.'

[174] There is a certain mentality among western Germans that really puzzles me. Why don't they understand that they don't have to give speeches [when they talk].They have the need to be heard by everybody, such a overbearing need.

indication of how bad things were and still are in the East. In this sense, respondents from both groups connected linguistic impressions with strong social connotations.

Discussion and Conclusions

On the whole, I saw several patterns in the way informants answered the qualitative questions. First, there was much attention placed on *Hochdeutsch* or correct speech for the third question. Issues concerning the proliferation of English in German, spelling reforms, and concerns of language deterioration and language discrimination were frequent answers. Question 4 responses tended to be stories that had to do with nonstandard speech and were usually experiences that involved other people remarking on regional accents of the respondent. Respondents tended to acknowledge the importance and prestige status of *Hochdeutsch* while also recognizing the functions of dialect within German culture regardless of the consequences. Language variation also clearly played a role in the construction of East and West identities.

The common theme in informant responses was what constituted good and bad speech. Looking closer at these responses, there was a clear emphasis on negative descriptions of speech, whether it was their own speech or the speech of others. Tamasi (2003) reported similar findings: "… while the general cognitive focus for the creation of linguistic perception is on good speech, respondents' comments tend to focus on their use of negative descriptions" (p. 165). Every comment here was on regional variation or language change (as opposed to informal or unprofessional speech, foreign varieties or racial accents). I was surprised that no respondent commented on Turkish German, for instance.[175] An emphasis on negative descriptions also contrasts with results from

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[175] This may be due to the fact that there are fewer Turks living in Bamberg and Dresden than in other German cities.

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Chapter Five and Six, where we have seen a tendency by respondents to describe speech neutrally, then positively and lastly negatively. These results may be again be explained at least partially by the fact that both sets of respondents come from communities where the home dialect is highly stigmatized; therefore, due to linguistic insecurity, respondents from these communities may associate mostly negative terms with his or her dialect.

CHAPTER 8

CONCLUSION AND IMPLICATIONS

Beware of all enterprises that require new clothes.

Henry David Thoreau (1852)

The purpose of this chapter is to complete the process of interpretation started in the previous chapters by restating the general trends found in my study and how they compare to other studies that measured perceptions of language. The chapter ends by discussing some of the larger questions this study raises concerning the status of Saxon German.

In this dissertation I have presented the data from a study that investigates the perceptions that non-linguists have about variation in German language. This study has addressed the question I observed on the street corner at the beginning of Chapter One – *Was ist Deutsch?* [176] – from a folk-linguistic perspective: What do Germans think of their language? How do they think of it? What linguistic issues are relevant to their lives and to their language? In pursuing this research, I specifically sought answers to the following questions:

1.) How do Germans classify language variation, and how do they categorize this information?

2.) Is the sociopolitical "*Mauer in dem Kopf*" between eastern and western regions in reunified Germany still manifested in perceptions of regional speech?

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[176] *What is German?*

3.) What is the current status of Saxon German within a Saxon speech community?

Throughout this study I have compared my findings with Tamasi's (2003) study of perceptions of American English. Although I modified her original methodology and subsequent analysis to fit my investigation, the general trends presented in the previous chapters mirrored several key patterns she uncovered in her experiments.

First, looking at both the quantitative and qualitative data sets, it is evident that respondents were using a complex array of information to shape their perceptions of language. Just as Tamasi documented, informants used "… regional, linguistic, social and personal information (2003, p. 166)" in forming their opinions about language. It also appears that categories Tamasi identified in her investigation were foremost in the minds of my respondents as well. Although, I didn't specifically test for it in my quantitative data, the qualitative data from Chapter Seven, coupled with general remarks made while participants were working on the tasks, lead me to believe that my participants were using similar perceptual categories of "standard/ nonstandard" speech, "good and bad" speech, and "local and non-local" speech that Tamasi identified in her experiment.

Looking at more specific patterns, the pile sorting tasks demonstrated that participants were aware of a large number of varieties with an average number of piles actually exceeding Tamasi's number. The absence of cohesive regions at higher levels of similarity, displayed in the dendrograms, also illustrates how the aggregate perception of language consists of wide-ranging individual views. Even if the perceptual categories we use in thinking about language are the same (see above), it does not mean the outcomes will be the same. As Tamasi (2003) states, "Simply, it is a natural part of folk research to find variation among respondent views" (p.172). Nevertheless, by looking at clustering

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similarities and differences between the two sample groups, I showed how the concept of *Heimat* and socio-political factors influenced the clustering data of perceptions of regional speech.

The low levels of consensus evident in the results from Task 1 also confirm that a lack of specific information influences non-linguists perceptions of speech. The greater the distance from the home locality, the less the informant can say about the language there, resulting in less and less consensus among informants. Depending on the linguistic resources of the respondent, he or she may simply hypothesize or apply non-linguistic criteria such as geographic and cultural information to fill in gaps of knowledge. Again, as the process is a complex one with many factors involved, the types of knowledge may be the same but the results will be different for every respondent.

In contrast to Tamasi's (2003) results, in almost every case the piles respondents made in Task 1 were geographically continuous, and this too may have been a result of the strong regional traditions that are well-established and still well-maintained in an old world country like Germany. In addition, having a map on hand certainly helped some Germans with a more rudimentary knowledge of geography to avoid putting cities from different states or cultural areas together. The cultural factors (e.g. "cowboy culture" of the West or ethnic accents) that Tamasi posited were responsible for the non-spatially constrained piles she observed, either were non-existent or not salient enough in the minds of my informants to influence their perceptions.

Finally in terms of evaluating the language of the dialect piles and dialect speakers, participants didn't evaluate language as positively as Tamasi's participants did. Whether this is due to cultural issues (German vs. American) or the methodological

changes I adopted is difficult to know with certainty. I did for example use different descriptors in the evaluation portions of the survey, and despite several pilot studies, it may be that informants either found the attributes were not appropriate descriptors of speech, or they were simply more reserved in their evaluations.

Moving on to the second question, the data presented in this study show strong differences in language attitudes on both North-South and West-East axes. Such attitudinal differences have been in existence for centuries and will continue to influence language attitudes in Germany. On the one hand, North-South differences in perception reveal older divisions of linguistic and cultural histories; on the other hand, more distinct West-East differences are recent and came about as a result of the division of Germany and its reunification. The data from this study strongly imply that boundaries which divide the Central and Southern dialects (such as the Speyer isogloss) as well as the former political border between East and West Germany have the strongest impact on laypersons' perceptions.

The results from this study suggest that the "wall in the mind" is still a major factor in language perceptions of these respondents. For West Germans (Franconians), this can be clearly seen in quantitative data; the worst German, in terms of pleasantness and correctness, is clearly spoken in the East, specifically in Saxony. It is especially telling that West Germans evaluate dialects outside their country, dialects that would be unintelligible to many of them, as more correct than varieties that are linguistically and culturally closer to their own. Linguistic tensions between East and West were also revealed in the qualitative remarks made by Saxons as we have seen in Chapter Seven.

Frequently the conversations I had with them concerning language turned to differences between the East and West.

Although westerners strongly associate Saxon German with the eastern regions of Germany, interestingly there doesn't seem to be a corresponding stereotypical "western" accent among eastern respondents. For many Saxons it was not the dialects of westerners *per se* that concerned them most, but rather the pragmatic issues (e.g. perceived aggressiveness and arrogance) they attached to western speech. This is born out in the quantitative data as Saxon perceptions of correctness and pleasantness were more inclusive and included areas on both sides of the former political borders.

The linguistic differences informants make between eastern and western varieties are certainly indications of existing social and cultural tensions as both West and East wrestle with the consequences and realities of living together. In truth this situation is not unique to Germany – one need only look at the relationship of the American South with the northern United States or the Scots and the English to know that such perceptions can last hundreds of years. Indeed, such arrangements confirm Freud's theories on the clan-orientated nature of humans. Democrat or Republican? Windows or Linux? FC Nürnberg or HSV? Not only is it almost impossible for us to ignore clan passions, we are also hopelessly obsessed with hierarchies. Therefore, it is not so much that East Germans are so radically different from West Germans, but as Taylor (2006, p.445) points out, "…the problem is not the 'Wall in the head,' but the simple fact of unemployment and hopelessness in one part of Germany versus prosperity in the other." This study has shown how language grabs our attention, no matter how banal it might be, and becomes an important factor in building hierarchies and maintaining clan boundaries. Many

predicted that as the process of reunification took hold, West-East differences would fade as newer generations began to stop thinking in terms of "East" and "West." Such changes, however, may take much longer than anticipated if the data in this study can be taken as an indication of the lack of progress that has been made since 1994 (when Dailey-O'Cain conducted her study).

In comparing trends presented in this study to the results of other perceptual studies done in Germany (Hundt, 1992; Dailey-O'Cain, 1997; Kennetz, 1999; Hundt, 2004) the results are similar. Northern and western regions, cities, and accents were rated the most correct and closest to standard German. Southern cities tended to be rated less correct and farthest away from the standard. In terms of pleasantness, both Franconians and Saxons rated their home varieties well for pleasantness but gave lower scores for correctness. This is the classic perceptual pattern for speakers of stigmatized varieties identified by Preston (1989a) and confirmed by others. I was also not surprised that the majority of the respondents surveyed believe the 'best' German (in terms of both correctness and pleasantness) is spoken in and around the city of Hanover. Whether or not this is linguistically true or morally correct is of course another story, but clearly many Germans believe in this urban myth.

It is interesting to note however that few of my respondents could identify a Hanover accent when they heard one. One would posit that, considering the city's high scores for correctness, upon hearing an accent with few features perceived as regional, respondents would identify it as Hanover speech. That is where current cultural beliefs place the best spoken German; however, respondents frequently did not make that association. I would posit that Hanover German is a "fact to know," a myth to anchor

linguistic perceptions but that ultimately it does not match up with linguistic reality. It is urban legend that has been handed down, and the fact that someone somewhere can speak "flawless" German is very comforting for a public concerned with speaking "correctly." It is beyond the scope of this study to explore this issue more fully, but Hanover's role in post-reunified Germany's standard language ideology warrants further investigation.

Another reoccurring trend in the data is the manner in which participants evaluated Austrian and Swiss German. These varieties received the highest scores for pleasantness from both participant groups. As mentioned earlier in Chapter Five, I can only posit here that participants perceived Austrian and Swiss varieties as highly pleasant because of the positive stereotypes participants attached to the cultures of these countries. In the case of the Franconian (Bavarian) respondents, the more positive evaluations made suggest a degree of southern solidarity in opposition to northern varieties. I cannot say more here, but this trend also deserves further research.

Knowing what other Germans think of Saxon German, I came to ask the last research question that concerned the status of Saxon German among Dresden Saxons. Of course Saxons have been aware for some time what outsiders think of their dialect, and this has no doubt influenced the manner in which they perceive their dialect. As is the case with speakers of most stigmatized varieties (Labov, 1966; Preston, 1989b, 1996) Saxons exhibit a good deal of linguistic *insecurity*[177] concerning their dialect (Dailey-O'Cain, 2000; Anders, 2004; Kennetz, 2006); it seems to be deeply entrenched in the

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[177] A term first coined by William Labov used to describe the belief by speakers of stigmatized varieties that a better, more correct variety exists somewhere outside their region. This has especially been the case from the nineteenth century onwards in countries where language has undergone what Milroy (2000) terms "standardization."

mindset of many Saxons, as author Thomas Rosenlöcher, a native of Saxony, laments (1997, p.11):

> *Selbst wenn Schwäbisch, Bayrisch, oder Platt als Zeichen für die Beschränktheit des jeweiligen Sprecher genommen wird, gilt es doch wenigstens dem jeweiligen Sprecher als Ausdruck seines Stolzes und seines Beharrungsvermögens. Allein die Sachsen schämen sich vor sich selber, wenn sie den Mund aufmachen. Allein sie verbieten sich ihren Dialekt von vornherein.[178]*

However this study offers an alternate view. It has shown that although Saxons may be aware of negative national perceptions of their dialect, that they have not quite internalized them. Generally speaking, Saxons rated their dialect positively (although not as positively as the Franconians rated their home varieties), and considering how extremely polarizing the dialect can be to outsiders it is worthwhile discussing why Saxons still find worth in their dialect.

This positive self-image may in part come from the strong positive historical traditions associated with Saxony, especially from its most renowned cities: Dresden as a center of Saxon courtly culture and royal power, and Leipzig as an economic powerhouse and center of Germany's early intellectual traditions (and historical figures such as Bach, Goethe, etc.). Several respondents mentioned the historical achievements of Saxony during their interviews. D3 told me, "*Wir waren ja eine Wirtschaftsmacht vor dem Zweiteweltkrieg und wir waren auch nicht die hässlichsten Städte, die Deutschland vorzubringen hatte, Elbflorenz Dresden und die weltbekannte Messestadt Leipzig.*"[179]

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[178] "Even if Swabian, Bavarian, or Low German is taken as a sign of the limited intellect of the respective speaker, it can still be seen as an expression of the speaker's pride and local identity. Only the Saxons are ashamed whenever they open their mouth. Only they forbid themselves on principle to speak their dialect."
[179] "We were an economic power before WWII, and we didn't have the ugliest cities Germany has ever seen, Dresden, the 'Florence' on the Elbe, and the world-famous trade center of Leipzig."

One respondent talked about recent contributions Saxony had made to Germany, mentioning specifically that other states like Bavaria and Baden-Württemberg had taken over elements of the Saxon education system.

Indeed, Saxony is one of the main contributors to a shared German culture and was historically one of the most powerful regions of modern Europe. Adding to these historical images, there have been recent examples of eastern Germans reclaiming an eastern identity as a positive thing, as levels of eastern dissatisfaction with current social and political trends have increased. This has led to a wave of nostalgia for goods, symbols, and culture of the former GDR for eastern or "Ostalgia."[180] As pointed out in Dailey-O'Cain (1997, p. 178) East Germans have successfully brought back TV shows, the *Ampelmännchen*, and bread recipes. But there are probably limits to what this social fad has done for the popularity of a dialect associated with one of the most repressive political regimes of the 20th century: even among fellow easterners, very few people are wishing for the stereotypical Saxon-speaking politicians and border guards of the GDR to reappear.[181]

Instead the most significant factor responsible for their positive view of their dialect probably lies in how Saxons see themselves. They see themselves as a distinct group of people with a strong sense of identity (as many regions of Germany still do). It has already been discussed how strongly the cultural concept of *Heimat* is embedded in the German character, and even non-Saxons are aware of the fact Saxony is "*ein Volk an*

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[180] The nostalgia for goods, symbols, and culture of the former GDR

[181] It is interesting to note that in the dominant western-sponsored discourse of unification, Saxons get little credit for their participation in demonstrations that eventually led to the reunification of Germany. Even the setting for the popular film "Goodbye Lenin" was not Dresden or Leipzig (where the first anti-GDR demonstrations took place in the fall of 1989), but rather Berlin. This phenomenon, called "discursive disunity," is further explained in Theobald (2000).

sich" or "people onto themselves" and the dialect is a useful tool to express local solidarity and collective identity. Müller-Thurau writes (1991, p. 106) that the Saxon dialects create "… *Geborgenheit nach innen und sozialen Wetterschutz nach aussen. Beides hatten die Sachsen im Laufe ihrer Geschichte häufig genug ja auch bitter nötig.*"[182] Bergmann (1994) also observes that although the dialect may be mocked by outsiders, for Saxon speakers "it [the dialect] is felt to create a common bond, to be a means of communication which produces positive feelings" (p.310). Those Saxons who stay in Saxony remain geographically and socially tied to their region and isolated from speakers of more prestigious varieties. Such factors have been shown to play a key role in the hardiness of stigmatized varieties (Mufwene, 2002) and these sentiments can only have been strengthened as the realities of German reunification became apparent.

Certainly in the foreseeable future, Saxon German will retain its status as one of the most unpopular dialects as long as the stark economic and social differences remain between the two former Germanys.[183] Many eastern regions are still plagued by lingering after-effects of reunification such as high unemployment and depopulation. Although there has been noticeable progress made in Dresden and Leipzig and other cities, an eastern economic recovery in the surrounding countrysides has been painstakingly slow. Simply put, neither Saxony nor Saxon German will shake the negative connotations

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[182] "… an internal sense of security while providing a sense of social protection from the outside. The Saxons have frequently had both and desperately needed both in their history".

[183] See Grieshaber (2007), Pruess (2007) and Spiegel (2008) for reports of continued economic turmoil in the eastern states.

many Germans associate with it anytime in the near future.[184] As Zimmermann pointed out in 1992 (p.113):

> *Hoffnung liegt in der menschlichen, charakterlichen, kulturellen, und wirtschaftlichen Bewährung der Sachsen, die in der post-Ulbrichtschen und Honeckerschen Ära gefordert ist. Die allgemeine Anerkennung der wirklichen Leistung lässt selbst sprachliche Unvollkommenheiten im milderern Licht erscheinen.*[185]

His prediction is most likely correct: if the political, economic, social conditions continue to significantly improve in the eastern states, it could be that the *Verlierersprache* at the end of the 20th century might escape some of negative attention often paid to it by the rest of Germany. But if history is any guide, it probably won't matter much to the Saxons anyway. Three-hundred years of linguistic prejudice and negative stereotyping has done little damage to the vitality of the Saxon dialect or the self-image of its speakers. Although the times are long gone when Saxon German was lauded by grammarians and served as the linguistic model for Germany's upper classes, the dialect does not appear to have lost its currency on its home turf – at least not in Dresden. As long as "*die hellen Sachsen*"[186] see themselves as separate people and region, their linguistic behavior will most likely reflect this.

On a concluding note, one practical contribution a language attitude study such as this makes to a community is to identify attitudes which may be harmful or discriminatory to speakers of less prestigious varieties or less privileged social groups.

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[184] It is worth noting however that reunification of Germany occurred in 1989; in comparison southern regions of the U.S. have had a much longer amount of time to lose the national stigmas attached to them.

[185] Hope lies in the humanistic, cultural, and economic traditions of the Saxons, which is exactly what is needed in the post-Ulbricht-Honecker [GDR leaders] eras. Real achievements allow "shabby" language to be forgiven.

[186] The fair Saxons

Language ideologies (e.g. the best German is spoken in Hanover, the worst in Dresden) are used by societies to determine official language policies in schools, the media, and the courts and to influence hiring practices. While language attitudes and ideologies are unavoidable in society, such phenomenon can adversely influence public behavior and official policies to such degrees as to cause serious consequences for speakers of nonstandard varieties. In research that specifically focused on East/West German interactions, Auer (1998) and Birkner & Kern (2000) demonstrate how the differences in East and West discursive strategies can affect the outcomes of job interviews. Ylönen (1992) illustrates how East Germans were disadvantaged when they had to "talk business" with West Germans in the context of a market economy. A more extreme case of how perceptions can affect behavior is noted in Stevenson (1997, p. 235). He cites an article originally printed in the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeit* (March 11, 1995, p. 29) in which a Saxon (Easterner) from Dresden called to jury duty refused to serve because he could not "tolerate" the German of a Swabian-speaking judge (Westerner). It is clear that linguistic differences such as lexical items, differing pragmatic strategies, or unfamiliar dialects influence behavior and affect the way Germans from both sides of the compass interact with one another.

If some of the attitudes described in this study have a pervasive influence on the behavior of citizens in Germany, the implications could be quite distressing especially for citizens living in the states of the former GDR. As Willy Brandt said in a speech made before the newly-elected German parliament in 1991, "Walls in people's heads are sometimes more durable than the walls made of concrete blocks" (as qtd. in Radice 1995, p.14). It is, of course, one thing to have beliefs and attitudes and quite another to act on

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them. Future studies need to investigate to what extent these language attitudes are influencing behavior in Germany and whether they are causing large-scale discrimination in society, especially in terms of East-West relations. Such research would not bring about a better understanding of the effects of language attitudes and behavior but also make a crucial contribution to the field of sociolinguistics and to societies around the world.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

SURVEYS

Keith Kennetz
University of Georgia
Umfrage zur Sprache

*RN*_____

Teil I. Kartenaufgaben

Teil II. Sprechproben   CD# _____

Hinweis: Sprachliche Merkmale sind: Laute, Wörter, Wendungen, Satzbau, Betonung, usw. (Sie können die Beispielwörter genau so hinschreiben, wie Sie sie hören, z.B.: *Boom, ik, Fescht usw.)*

      Sprecher #1: Das ist . . . . Dialekt, weil ...

_____

_____

_____

◦ freundlich	◦ unfreundlich	◦ schmutzig	◦ sauber
◦ fein	◦ grob	◦ hektisch	◦ gemütlich
◦ angenehm	◦ unangenehm	◦ langsam	◦ schnell
◦ arrogant	◦ schüchtern	◦ unmelodisch	◦ melodisch
◦ fleissig	◦ faul	◦ weich	◦ hart
◦ gebildet	◦ ungebildet	◦ unverständlich	◦ verständlich

      Sprecher # 2: Das ist . . . . Dialekt, weil ...

_____

_____

_____

◦ fleissig	◦ faul	◦ hektisch	◦ gemütlich
◦ hart	◦ weich	◦ schmutzig	◦ sauber
◦ verständlich	◦ unverständlich	◦ schüchtern	◦ arrogant
◦ schnell	◦ langsam	◦ ungebildet	◦ gebildet
◦ melodisch	◦ unmelodisch	◦ grob	◦ fein
◦ freundlich	◦ unfreundlich	◦ unangenehm	◦ angenehm

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Sprecher #3: Das ist . . . . Dialekt, weil ...

_____

_____

_____

∘ melodisch	∘ unmelodisch	∘ unverständlich	∘ verständlich
∘ arrogant	∘ schüchtern	∘ unangenehm	∘ angenehm
∘ sauber	∘ schmutzig	∘ weich	∘ hart
∘ gebildet	∘ ungebildet	∘ langsam	∘ schnell
∘ freundlich	∘ unfreundlich	∘ grob	∘ fein
∘ fleissig	∘ faul	∘ hektisch	∘ gemütlich

Sprecher #4: Das ist . . . . Dialekt, weil ...

_____

_____

_____

∘ verständlich	∘ unverständlich	∘ schüchtern	∘ arrogant
∘ freundlich	∘ unfreundlich	∘ hektisch	∘ gemütlich
∘ fleissig	∘ faul	∘ schmutzig	∘ sauber
∘ schnell	∘ langsam	∘ ungebildet	∘ gebildet
∘ hart	∘ weich	∘ grob	∘ fein
∘ melodisch	∘ unmelodisch	∘ unangenehm	∘ angenehm

Sprecher #5: Das ist . . . . Dialekt, weil ...

_____

_____

_____

∘ schnell	∘ langsam	∘ ungebildet	∘ gebildet
∘ hart	∘ weich	∘ unmelodisch	∘ melodisch
∘ verständlich	∘ unverständlich	∘ schüchtern	∘ arrogant
∘ angenehm	∘ unangenehm	∘ schmutzig	∘ sauber
∘ freundlich	∘ unfreundlich	∘ faul	∘ fleissig
∘ gemütlich	∘ hektisch	∘ grob	∘ fein

Sprecher #6: Das ist . . . . Dialekt, weil ...

_____

_____

_____

◦ angenehm	◦ unangenehm	◦ weich	◦ hart
◦ sauber	◦ schmutzig	◦ hektisch	◦ gemütlich
◦ melodisch	◦ unmelodisch	◦ schüchtern	◦ arrogant
◦ fein	◦ grob	◦ ungebildet	◦ gebildet
◦ freundlich	◦ unfreundlich	◦ langsam	◦ schnell
◦ verständlich	◦ unverständlich	◦ faul	◦ fleissig

Teil III - Persönliches:

(_möglichst in Druckstaben schreiben_)

Geschlecht: M   W

Alter:

Geburtsort: (Stadt und Bundesland) _____

Welche Stadt / welche Gegend Deutschlands würden Sie als Ihr Zuhause oder Ihre Heimat bezeichnen?

_____

Schulabschluss:_____

Beruf: _____

Wieviele Bundesländer haben Sie **(schätzungsweise)** schon besucht?

   viele   _ein paar_   _wenige_   _sehr wenige_

Haben Sie für eine längere Zeit in verschiedenen Bundesländern gewohnt (**mehr als drei Wochen**)_? Wenn ja, in welchem(n) und für wie lange?_

_____

_____

_____

Welcher Gruppe fühlen Sie sich <u>am meisten</u> zugehörig? **(bitte nur eins ankreuzen)**

- *Europäer*
- *Deutsche*
- *Ostdeutsche*
- *Westdeutsche*
- *Süddeutsche*
- *Norddeutsche*
- *Bundesland (z.B. Hessen)*
- *Gegend (z.B. Unterfranken)*
- *Stadt / Dorf (z.B. Bremen)*
- . . . .

Sprechen oder Verstehen Sie Dialekt (**den Dialekt in Ihrem Heimatgebiet**)? _____

Wenn ja, welchen Dialekt am besten ?_____
(**Gemeint ist hier auch leicht ausgeprägter Dialekt**)

Wie gut sprechen oder verstehen Sie den oben genannten Dialekt? (**bitte nur eins ankreuzen**)

- *fließend*
- *mehr oder weniger fließend*
- *Ich spreche ein wenig Dialekt und verstehe ihn.*
- *Ich spreche keinen Dialekt, verstehe ihn aber.*
- *Ich spreche keinen Dialekt und verstehe ihn nur schwer.*

Wie glauben Sie, wird Ihr Dialekt insgesamt von anderen Leuten außerhalb Ihrer Gegend bewertet? (**bitte nur eins ankreuzen**)

   Menschen, die <u>nicht</u> aus meiner Gegend kommen, finden meinen Dialekt:

sehr schön   *okay*   *gleichgültig*   *nicht so schön*   *furchtbar*

Wie glauben Sie, wird Ihr Dialekt von Einheimischen Ihrer Gegend bewertet? (**bitte nur eins ankreuzen**)

   Einheimsiche, die <u>aus</u> meiner Gegend kommen, finden den Dialekt:

sehr schön   *okay*   *gleichgültig*   *nicht so schön*   *furchtbar*

Was halten Sie selbst von dem Dialekt, der hier gesprochen wird? (**bitte nur eins ankreuzen**)

   Ich finde den Dialekt, der in meiner Heimat gesprochen wird:

sehr schön   *okay*   *gleichgültig*   *nicht so schön*   *furchtbar*

Teil IV. Drei Kurze Fragen

Des woar's -- Vielen Dank !

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APPENDIX B

DENDROGRAMS

Figure A

Figure B

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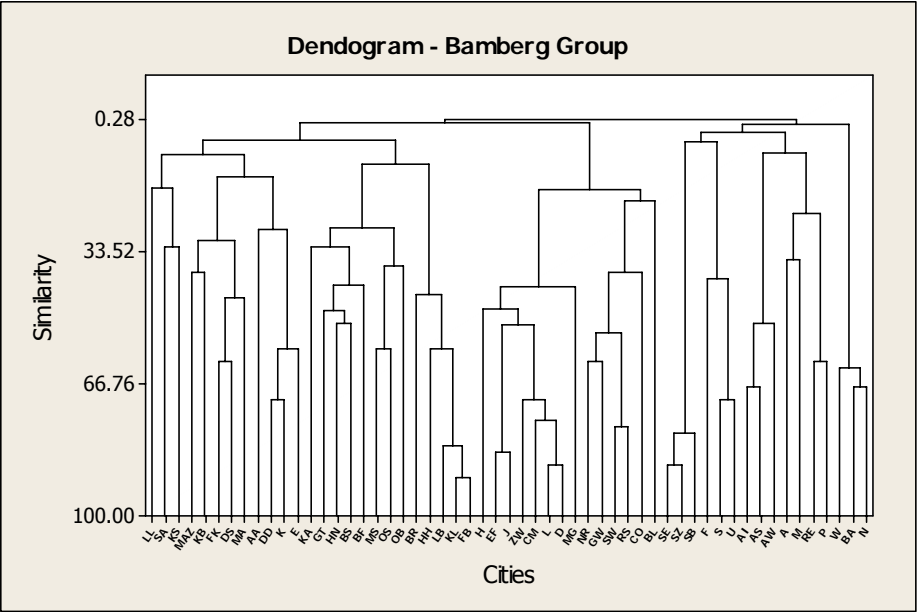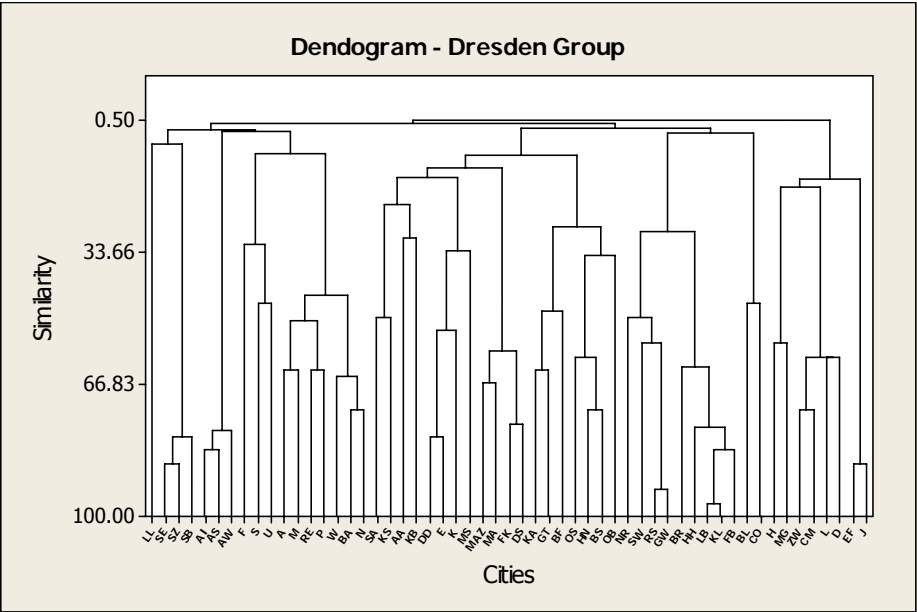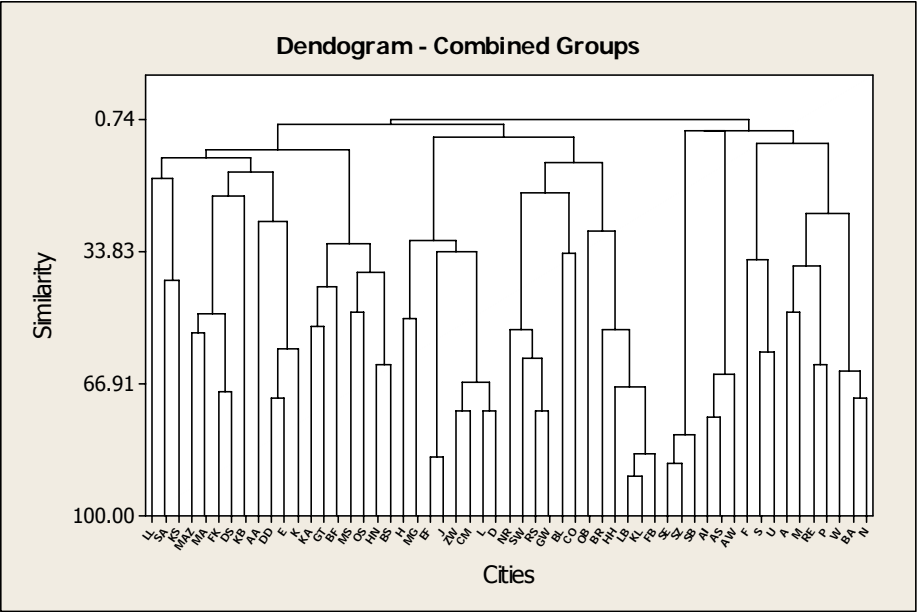
Figure C

APPENDIX C

KRIGING ESTIMATES – HEAT MAPS

Heat Maps:
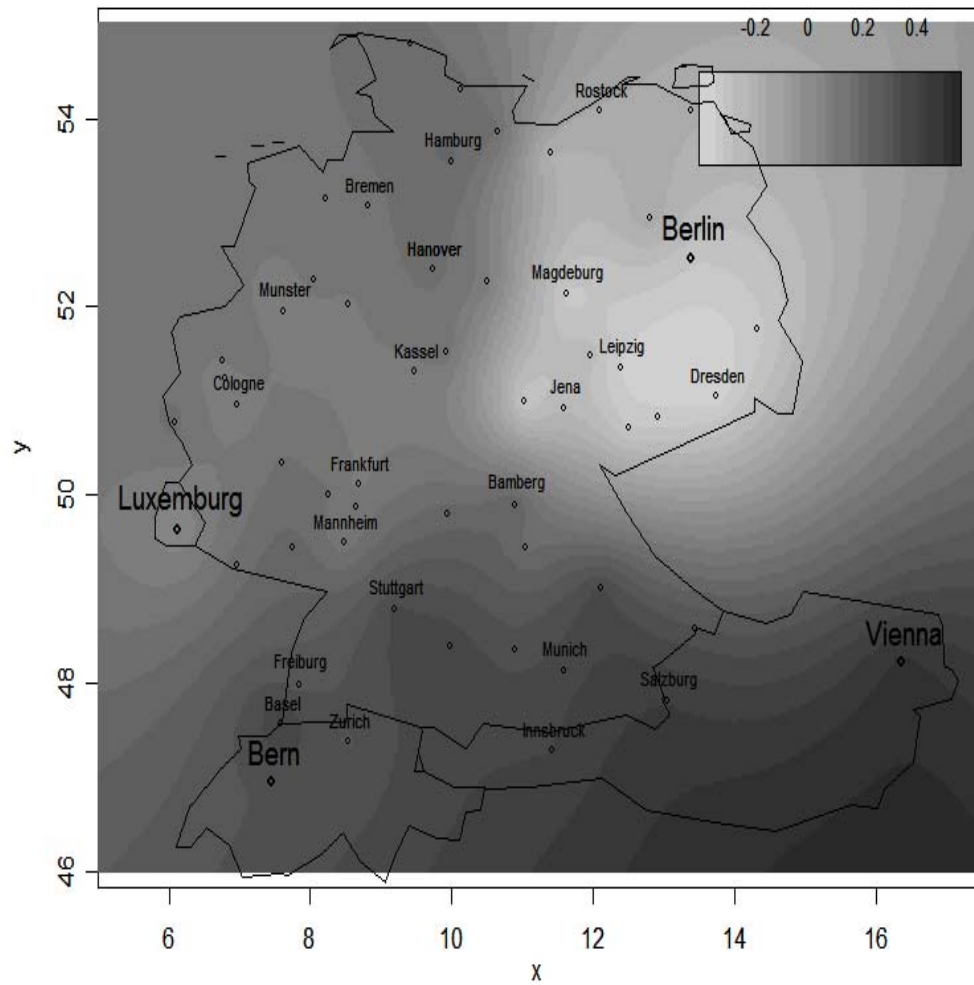
Bamberg: Pleasantness
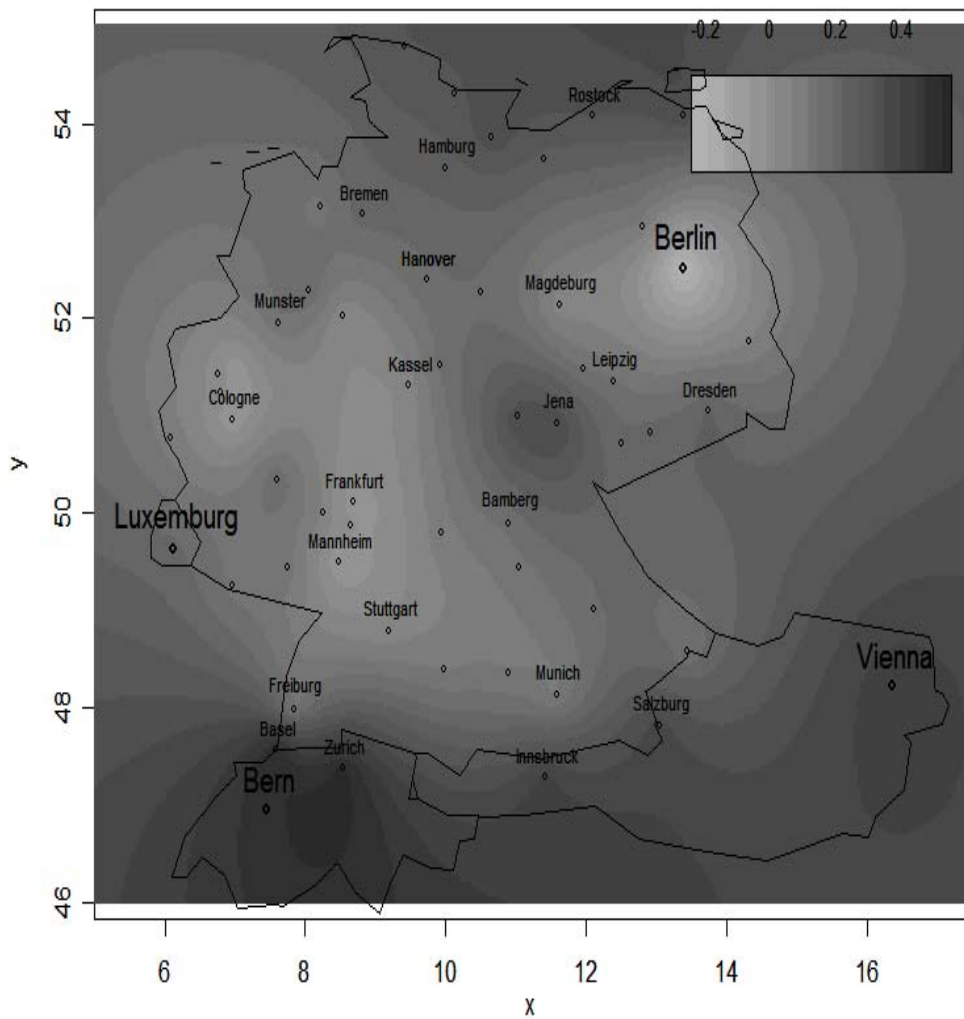
Dresden: Pleasantness
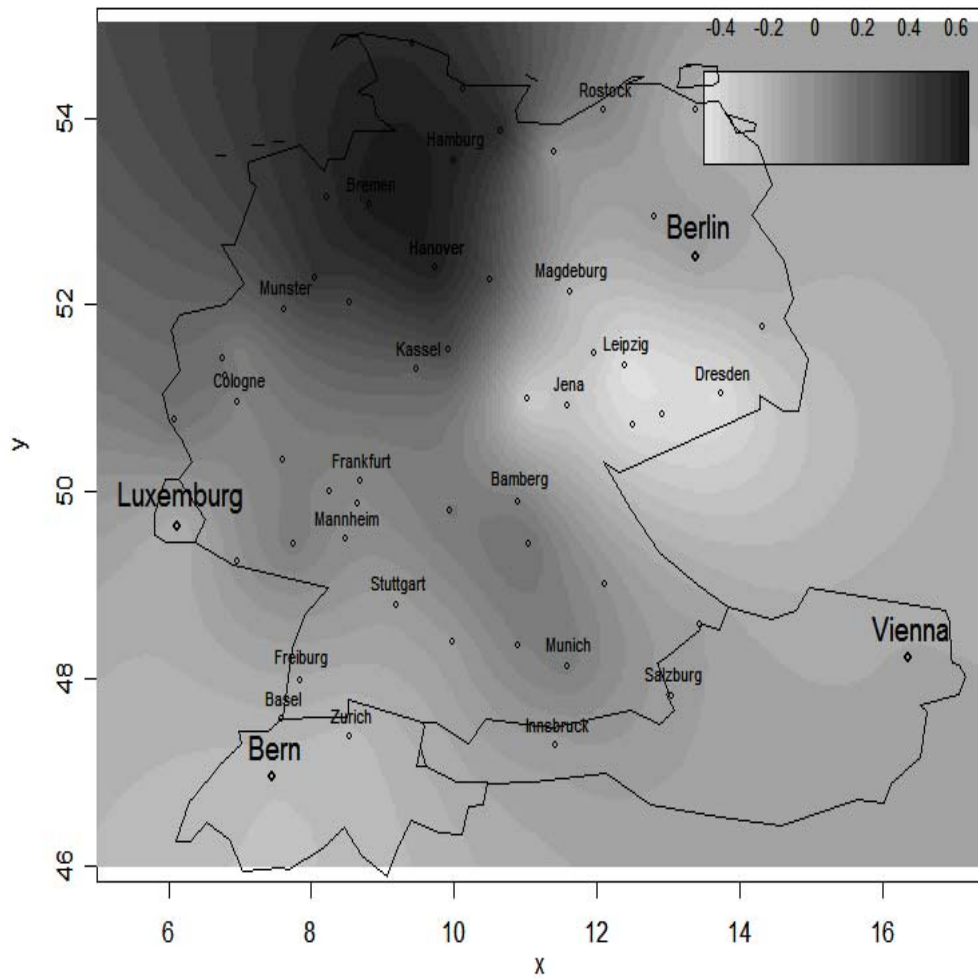
Bamberg: Correctness
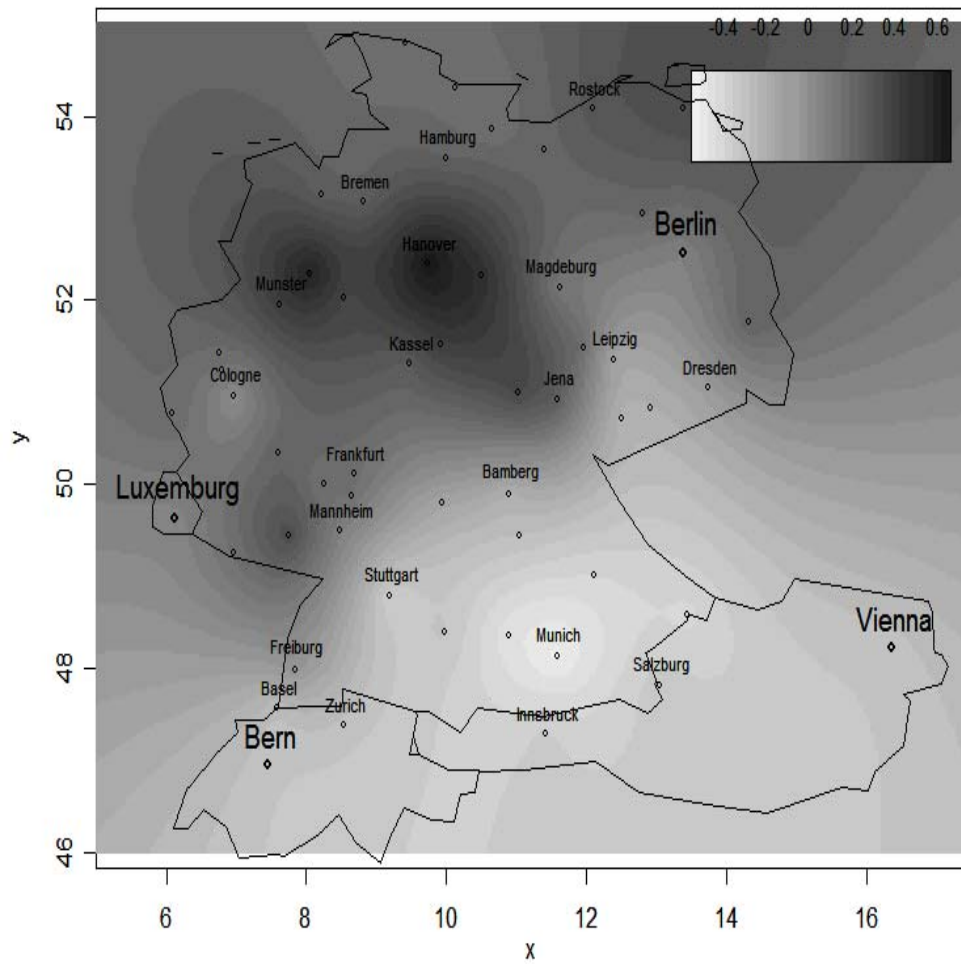
Dresden: Correctness

Polygon Maps:
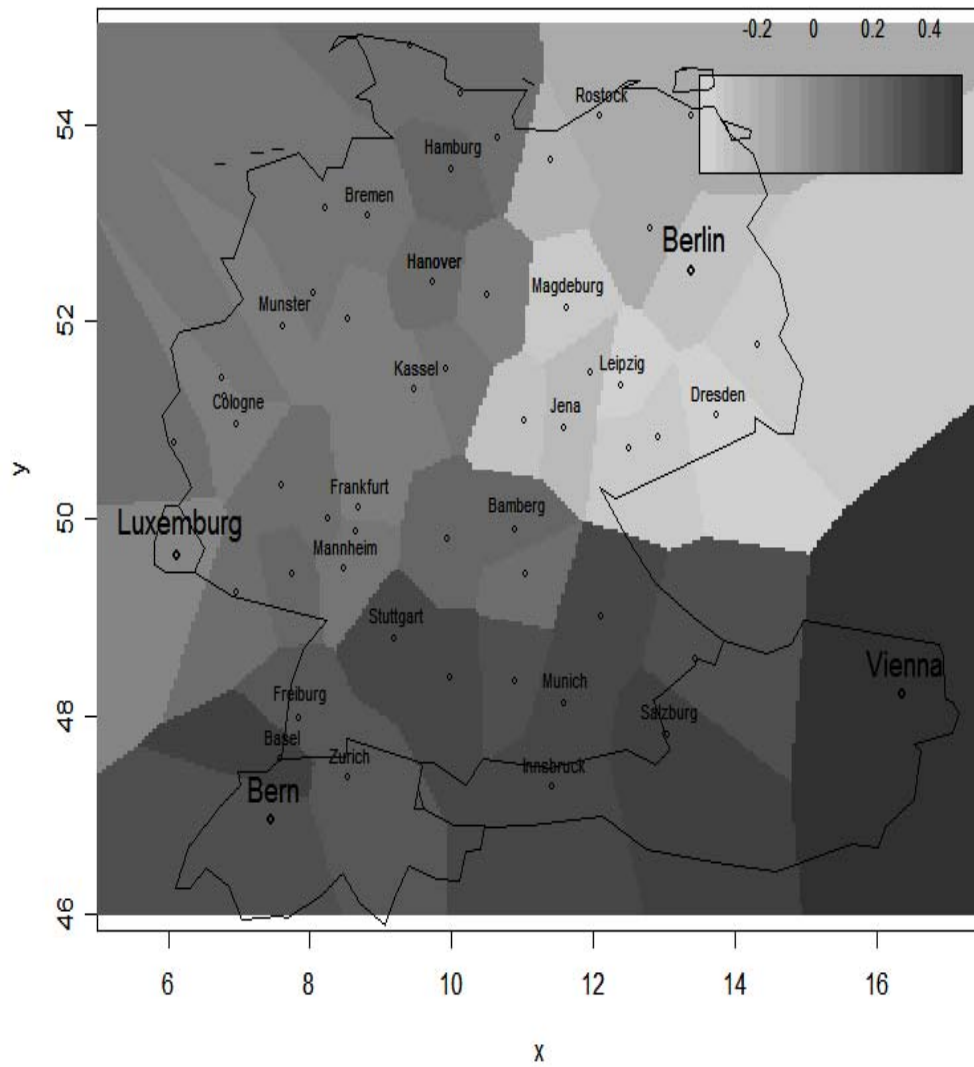
Bamberg: Pleasantness

Dresden: Pleasantness

Bamberg: Correctness

Dresden: Correctness

273
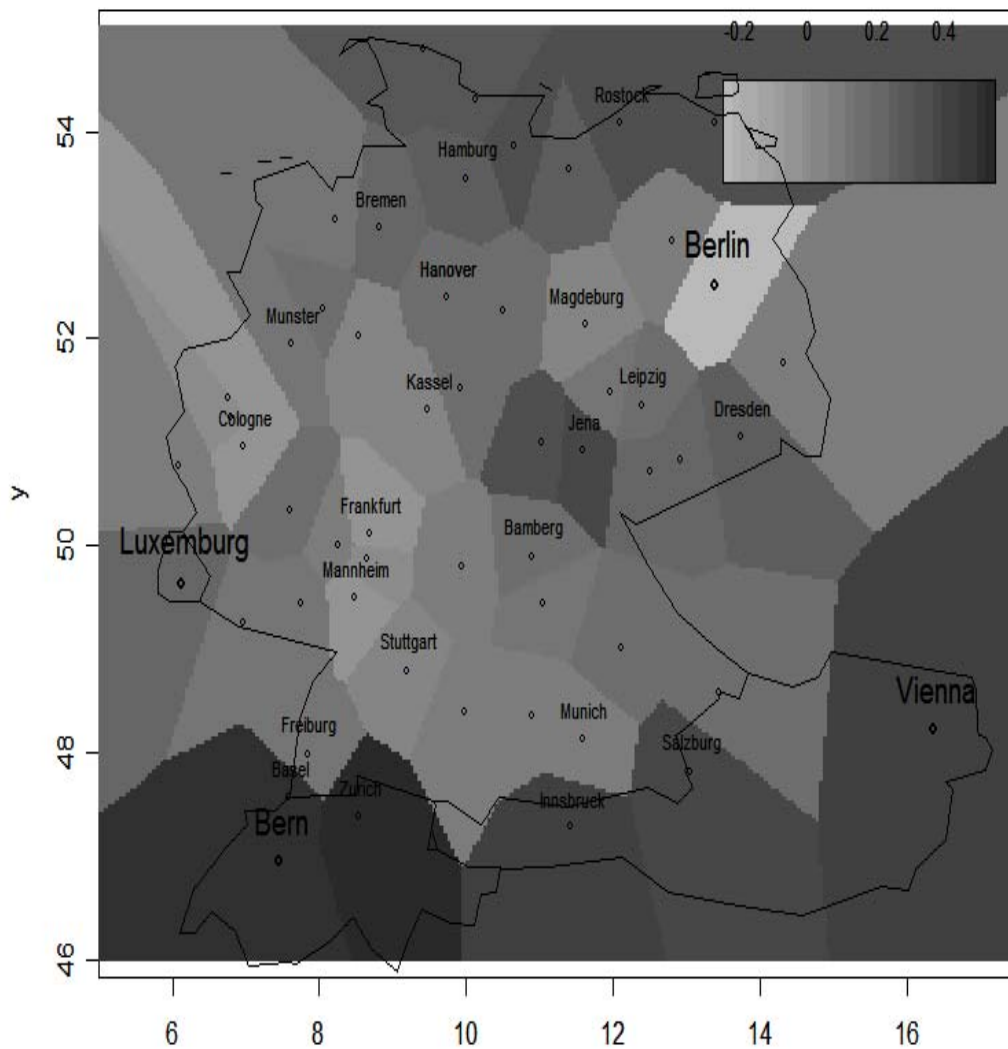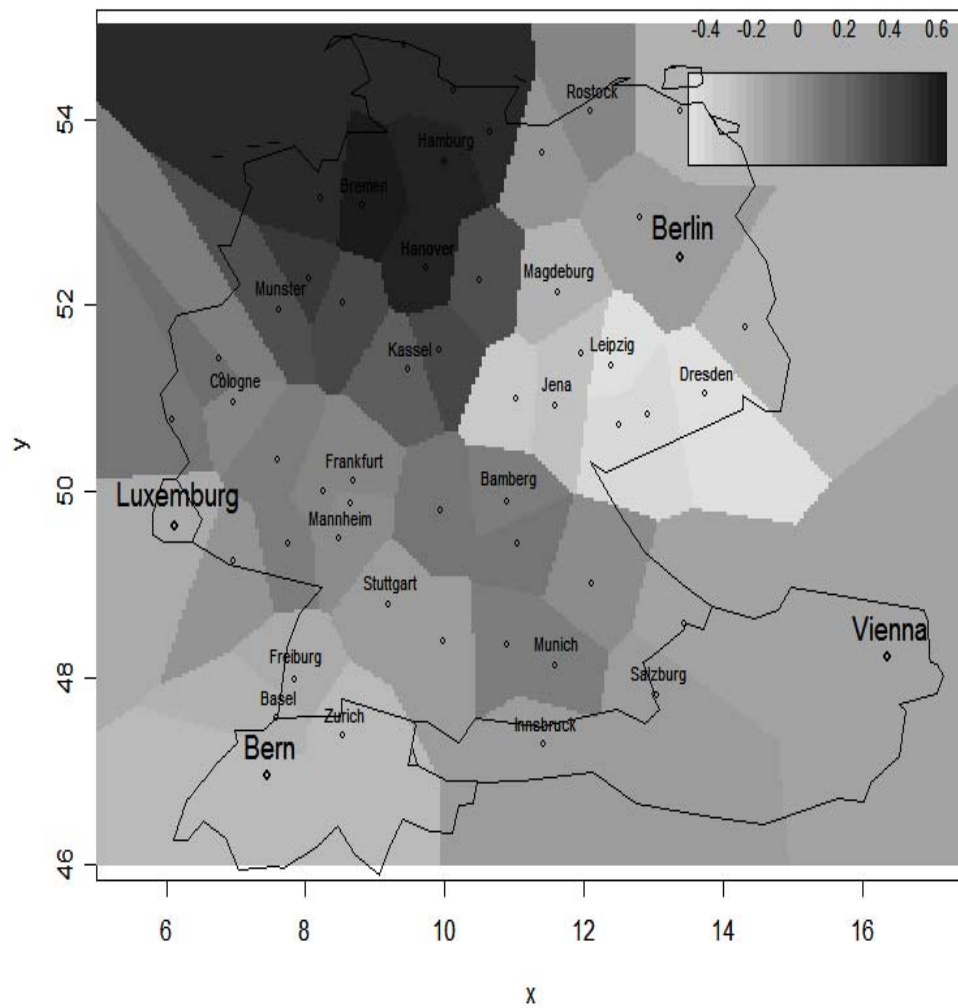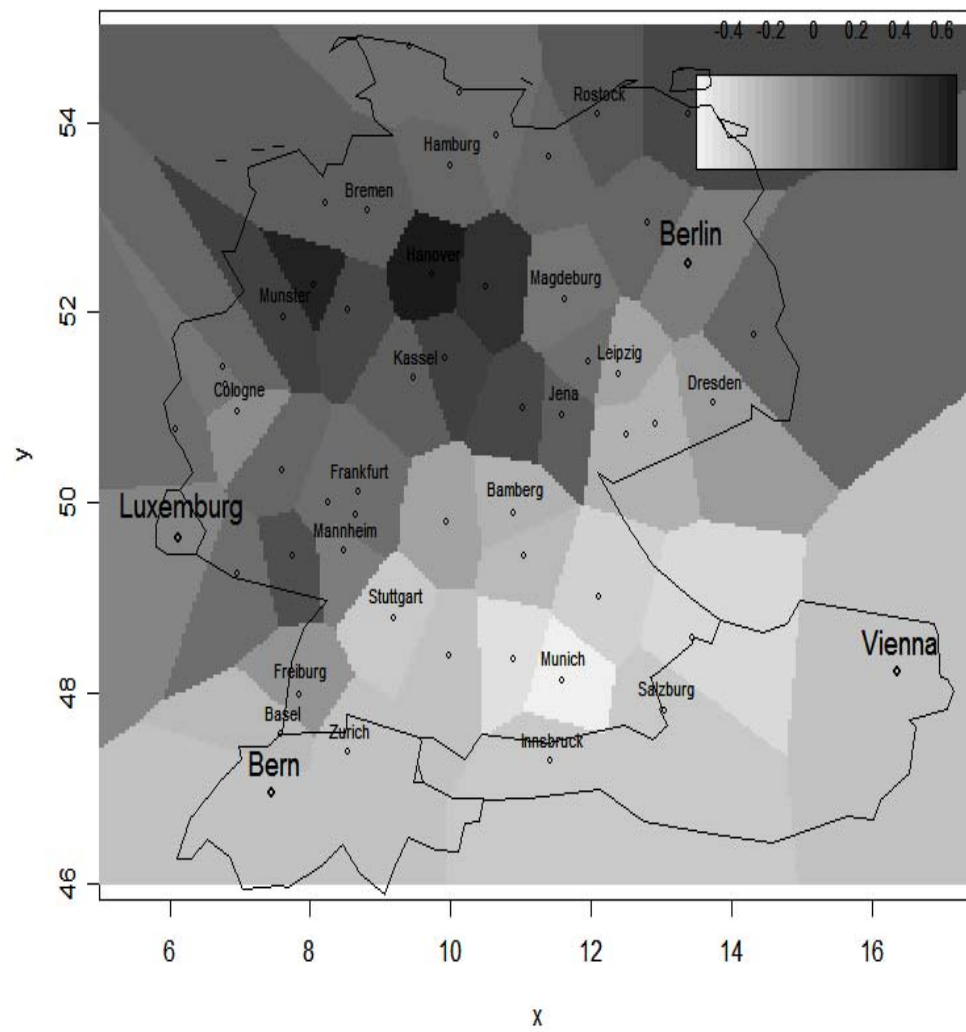
Heat Maps (scaled versions):
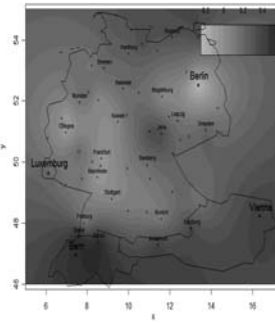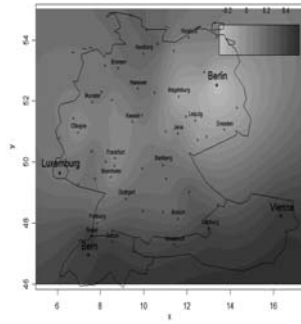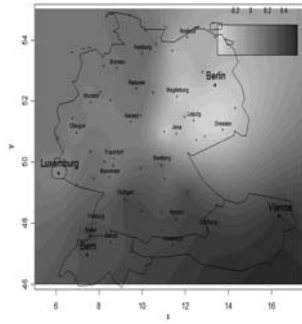
Bamberg	Combined	Dresden

Attribute: Pleasantness

Attribute: Correctness

Attibute: "Fast"

274
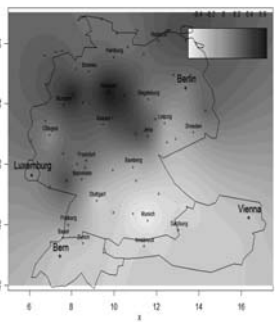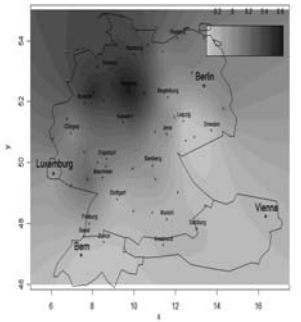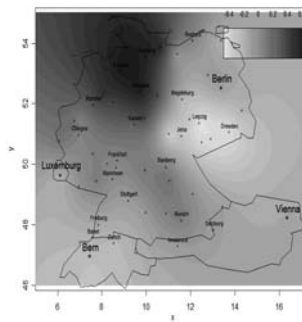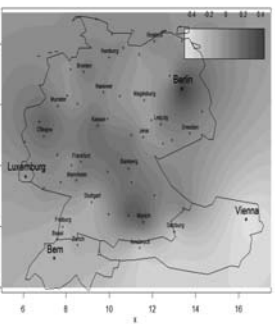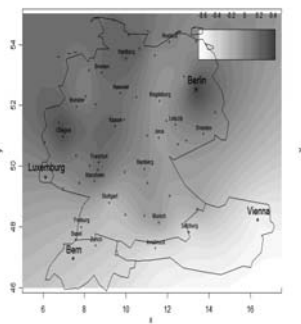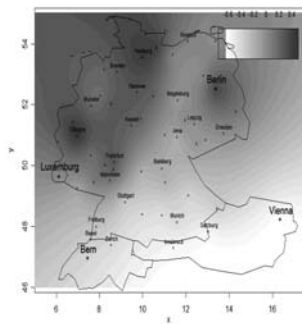
Bamberg	**Combined**	**Dresden**
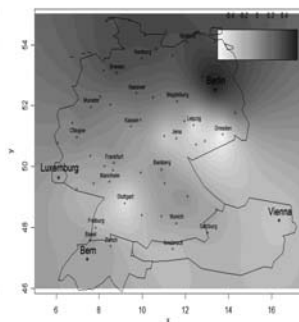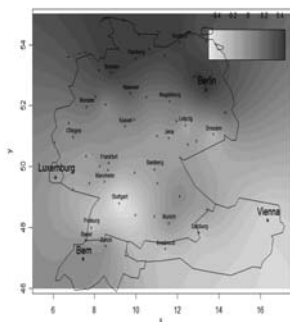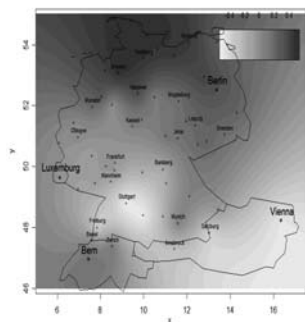
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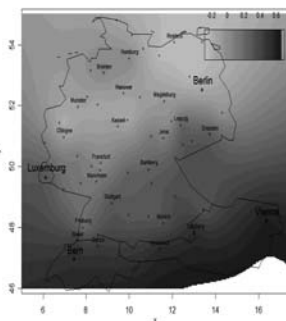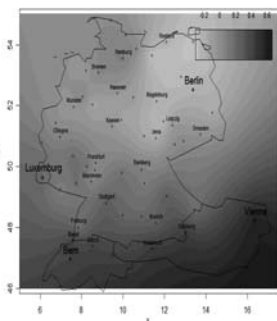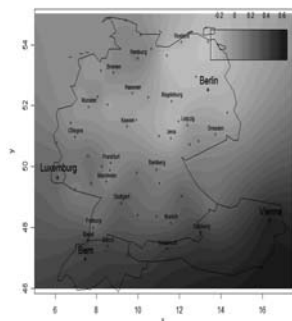
Attribute: "Melodic"

Polygon Maps (scaled versions):

| Bamberg | Combined | Dresden |

Attribute: Pleasantness
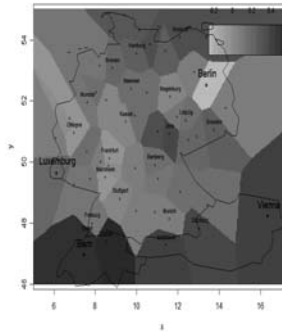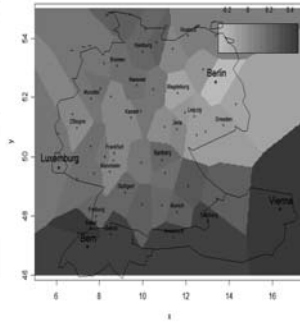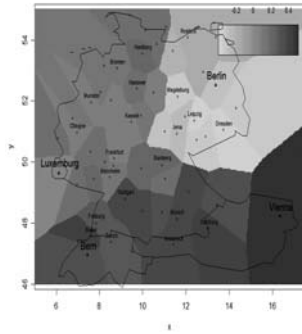
Attribute: Correctness

Attribute: "Fast"

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Bamberg	**Combined**	**Dresden**

Attribute: "Hard"

Attribute: "Melodic"

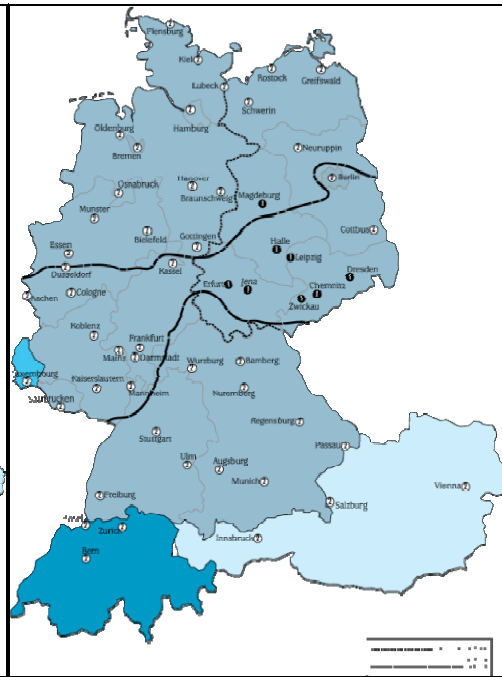277
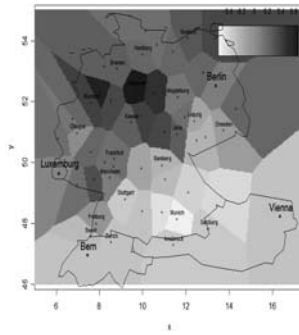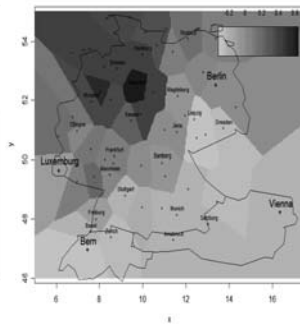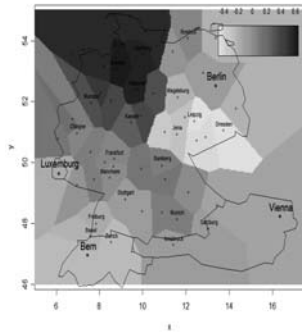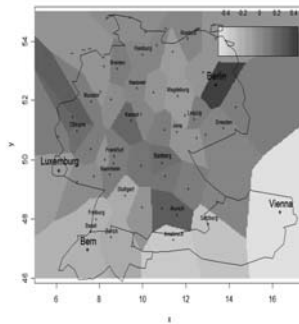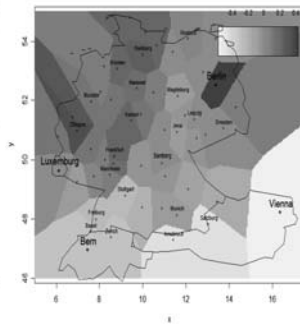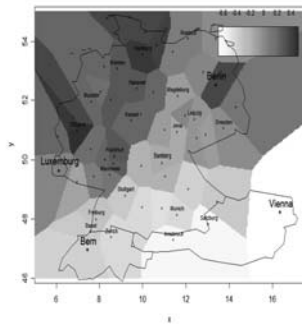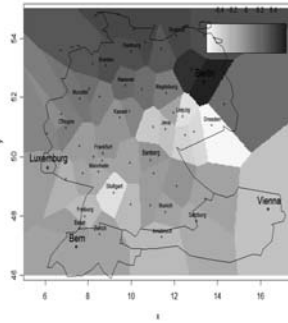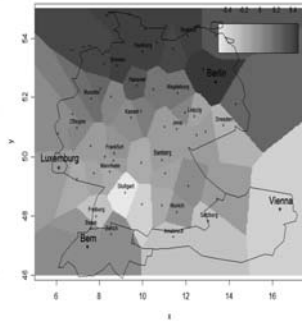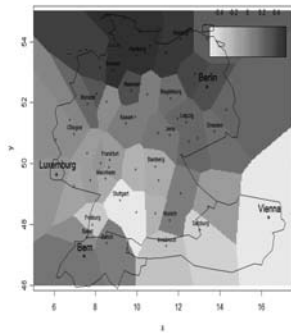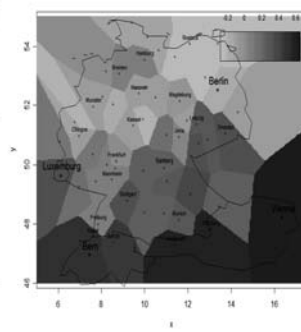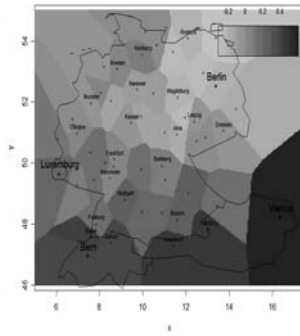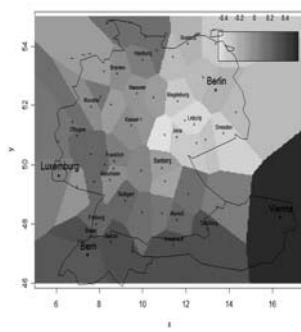
APPENDIX D

CLUSTER MAPS
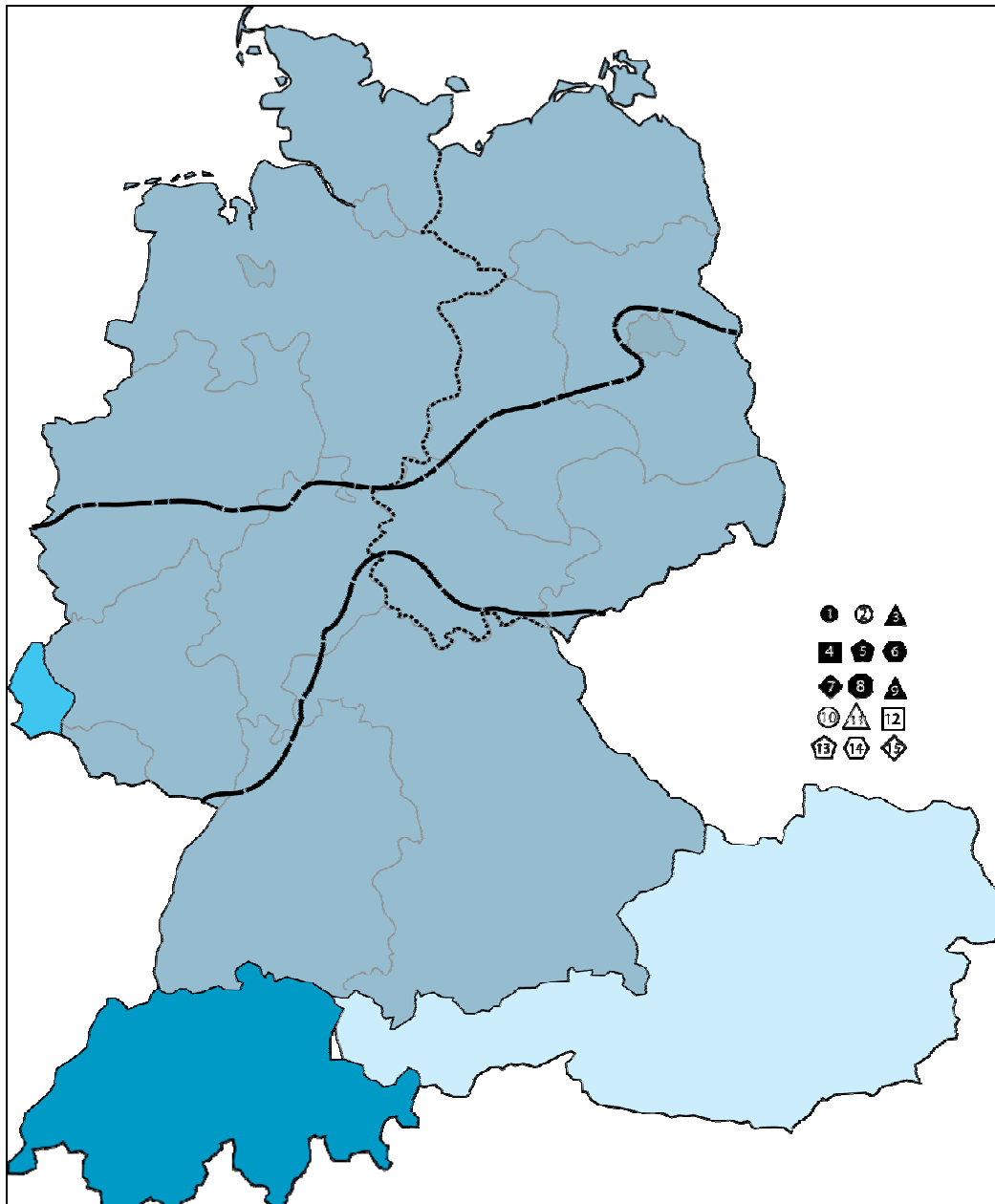
Master Map featuring Benerath (northern and central dialects) and Speyer Isoglosses (central and southern dialects), the political boundary between the GDR (East Germany) and the FRG (West Germany), and symbols used to denote cluster groups.
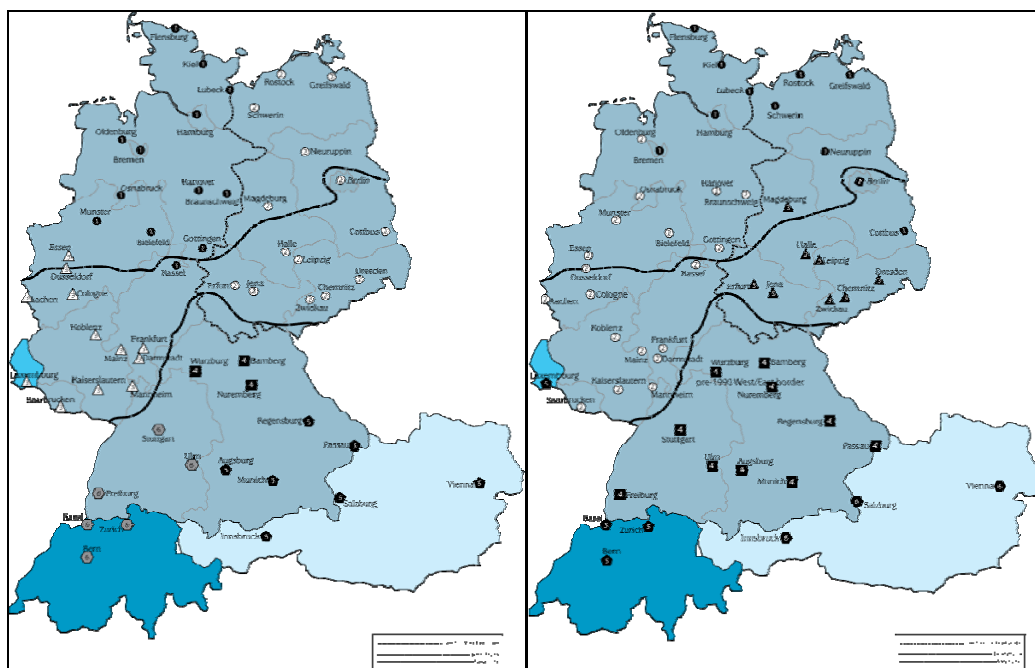
279
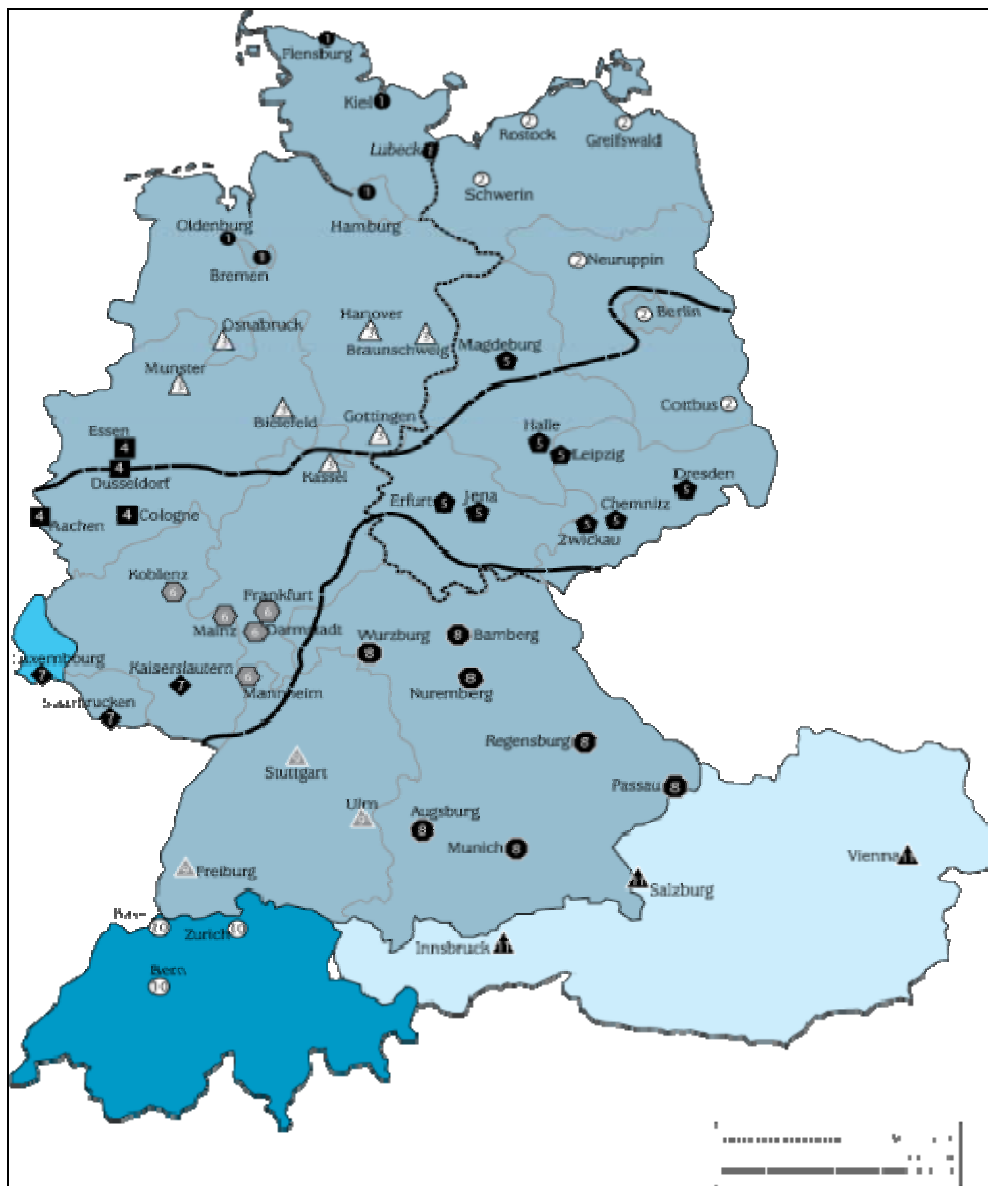
Clustering Results, Combined Groups (k=11)

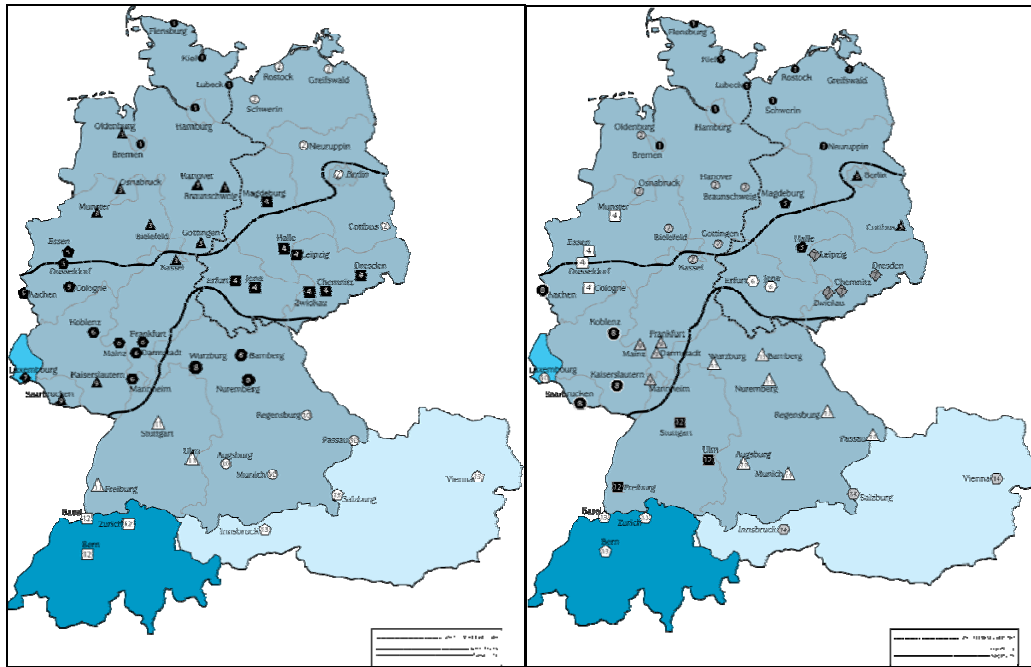**Clustering Results, Bamberg Group (k=2)**   **Clustering Results, Dresden Group (k=2)**

Clustering Results, Bamberg Group (k=6)   **Clustering Results, Dresden Group (k=6)**

Clustering Results, Bamberg Group (k=13)   **Clustering Results, Dresden Group (k=14)**

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APPENDIX E

SPEAKER IDENTIFICATION INFORMATION

<u>E1 Key for Speaker Identification</u>

Zuord 3 Value (meaning)	Actual Responses Stratified by the Speaker's City		
	Dresden	**Hannover**	**Bamberg**
+2 (exactly correct)	Dresden, Ostsachsen	Hannover	Bamberg, Kronach, Oberfranken, Nürnberg (weiblich/female voice)
+1 (somewhat correct)	Chemnitz, Görlitz, Westsachsen, Sachsen, Freiberg, Leipzig	Bielefeld, Braunschweig, Niedersächsisch, Nordwestdeutsch	Bayern, Franken, Fränkisch, Regensburg, Schweinfurt, Südostdeutsch, Nürnberg (männlich /male voice)
0 (neutral, general answer, or no answer given)	Ost-, Nord-, West- Süd-Deutschland	Norddeutsch, Hochdeutsch, Studentendeutsch	Süddeutsch, München, Oberbayern
-1 (somewhat wrong)	Thüringen, Magdeburg, Halle, Erfurt, Jena, Hof, Berlin	keine Antwort oder *, Hamburg, Düsseldorf, Schleswig-Holstein, Magdeburg, Ruhrgebiet, Köln, Rostock, NRW, Dortmund, Kiel, Preußen, Mitteldeutschland, Brandenburg, Thüringen	Jena, Thüringen, Ulm, Stuttgart, Erzgebirge, Schwaben, Baden-Württemberg, Augsburg, Baden-Baden, Niederbayern
-2 (very wrong)	Hesse, Schwerin, Nordostdeutsch, Schwaben, Aschaffenburg	Frankfurt, Berlin, Hessen, Halle Sachsen, Freiburg	Mainz, Kassel, Österreich, Niedersachsen, Kiel

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"*" denotes no answer given
"?" given by participants for "unknown"
Answers are listed in the order they were given, in the manner they were written.

E2a. Speaker 1 - Hanover Male

D1	*	B1	Norddeutsch (HH?)
D2	Frankfurt	B2	kein
D3	Hochdeutsch(Hannover)	B3	Hannover
D4	West-NRW-Düsseldorf	B4	Kein
D5	Hannover	B5	Norddeutsch
D6	Magdeburg,nördlich von Sachsen	B6	Norddeutsch
D7	Niedersachsen (Hannover)	B7	Hochdeutsch/Norddeutsch (Hannover)
D8	Raum Hannover	B8	Niedersachsen (Norddeutsch)
D9	Norddeutsch	B9	Kein
D10	Norddeutscher,Hannover	B10	Norddeutsch
D11	Hessisch	B11	Norddeutscher
D12	Hochdeutsch,nördliches Ruhrgebiet, Richtung Hannover	B12	Hessisch mit Einsprengseln
D13	NRW, Kölner raum	B13	Nordrhein-Westfalen
D14	Hannover	B14	Norddeutscher
D15	Sächsischer Raum Halle, Magdeburg	B15	Duesseldorf
D16	Hochdeutscher (norddeutsch)	B16	Niedersachsen?
D17	Hochdeutsch,Hannover	B31	Nordwest
D18	Raum Frankfurt	B33	Nördlicher
D19	Mitteldeutscher	B34	Hamburg
D20	Kein	B20	Hannoveraner
D21	Kein	B21	Norddeutscher
D22	Hannover	B22	Bamberg/Oberfranken
D23	Raum Hannover, Osnabrück	B35	Braunschweig
D24	Berliner	B36	Norddeutsch
D25	Osnabrücker	B37	Kiel
D26	Pott	B25	Süddeutscher
D27	Niedersächsisch, (Hannover)	B26	?
D28	Deutsch	B27	Norddeutscher
D29	Hochdeutsch	B30	Norddeutschland
D31	Dortmunder	B39	Onsabrück
		B40	Hannover (Niedersachsen)

E2b. Speaker 2 - Hanover Female

D1	*?*	B1	*Nordrheinwestfalen*
D2	*Brandenburg*	B2	*Hamburger oder Saarland?*
D3	*Hochdeutsch (Niedersachsen/Hannover)*	B3	*Frankfurter*
D4	*Niedersachsen, Hannover*	B4	*irgendein gebildeter Studentendialekt*
D5	*Rostock*	B5	*Hannoveraner*
D6	*Westdeutscher*	B6	*Hochdeutsch*
D7	*Nordrheinwestfalen*	B7	*?*
D8	*leicht nördlicher*	B8	*Würzburger (?)*
D9	*Berlinerisch*	B9	*kein*
D10	*Berliner*	B10	*norddeutsch (Hamburger?)*
D11	*Berlinerisch*	B11	*Norddeutscher*
D12	*Hochdeutsch, Frankfurt*	B12	*kein, evtl. Frankfurt*
D13	*Hannover, Osnabrück*	B13	*kein*
D14	*Hesse*	B14	*kein*
D15	*Norddeutscher (?)*	B15	*Hannover*
D16	*Freiburg*	B16	*niedersächsisch?/nördisch*
D17	*unterdrückt Sächsisch*	B31	*Schleswig-Holstein*
D18	*Berlin/Brandenburg*	B33	*Fränkisch*
D19	*Norddeutscher (Hannover)*	B34	*Frankfurt*
D20	*Magdeburgisch*	B20	*Braunschweig*
D21	*kein/Hochdeutsch*	B21	*niedersächsischer*
D22	*Frankfurt a.M.*	B22	*Nord/Westlich von Deutschland*
D23	*mitteldeutschland(Thüringen,Westsachsen)*	B35	*Bielefeld*
D24	*Frankfurt a.M.*	B36	*Ruhrgebiet*
D25	*Hannover*	B37	*Bielefeld*
D26	*Preussisch*	B25	*Mitteldeutscher*
D27	*SW Meckpomm/Niedersachsen/ NO Niedersachsen*	B26	*?*
D28	*Sächsich*	B27	*Norddeutscher*
D29	*Westdeutsch*	B30	*Nord-Ostdeutsch*
D31	*Nordrheinwestfalen*	B39	*Bielefeld*
		B40	*Bremener*

E2c. Speaker 3 – Franconian Male

D1	*bayrisch*	B1	*fränkisch*
D2	*baden-würtemberg*	B2	*fränkisch*
D3	*Pfälzisch (Mainz)*	B3	*bamberger*
D4	*Franken-Bamberg*	B4	*der Volli/oberfränkisch*
D5	*Augsburg*	B5	*Bamberger*
D6	*sehr südl. richt. bayern*	B6	*fränkisch (eher ober)*
D7	*Bayern (Bamberg)*	B7	*fränkischer/südeutsch*
D8	*Augsburger*	B8	*würzburger*
D9	*Schwäbsich*	B9	*fraenkisch*
D10	*Schwäbsicher (ulm)*	B10	*kronach*
D11	*Bayersich*	B11	*fränkischer*
D12	*München*	B12	*fränkischer/ nuernberg*
D13	*Bayrisch*	B13	*bayerischer/oberpfalz?*
D14	*Baden-Baden*	B14	*mittelfränkischer*
D15	*Raum Ulm ?*	B15	*fränkisch, Bamberg)*
D16	*Nürnberg*	B16	*fränkisch, bamberg*
D17	*Fränkisch*	B31	*nordoberfränkisch*
D18	*Raum Stuttgart*	B33	*niederbayerisch*
D19	*Süddeutscher*	B34	*Nürnberg, Bamberg, Hof*
D20	*Bayrisch*	B20	*Franken (richtung Nürnberg)*
D21	*Nürnberger/fränkisch*	B21	*fränkischer/kronacher*
D22	*Kassel*	B22	*Nürnberg*
D23	*schwäbsich/Südwest deutschland*	B35	*Bamberg*
D24	*Schwäbsich (Stuttgart)*	B36	*fränkischer*
D25	*bayerisch/münchen*	B37	*fränkisch*
D26	*erzgebirgisch*	B25	*unterfränkisch*
D27	*bayerisch*	B26	*fränkisch*
D28	*Bayer*	B27	*oberfränkischer*
D29	*schwäbsicher*	B30	*Nürnberg/franke*
D31	*Regensburger*	B39	*unterfränkisch/Würzburg*
		B40	*münchener*

E2d. Speaker 4 - Franconian Female

D1	*Österreich*	B1	*fränkisch*
D2	*Jena*	B2	*fränkisch*
D3	*Thüringisch (Hildburghausen)*	B3	*würzburger*
D4	*Süd = (bayr) regensburg?*	B4	*ober- oder mittelfränkisch*
D5	*Franken*	B5	*nürnberger*
D6	*süddeutschland*	B6	*fränkisch (ober/mittel)*
D7	*bayersich/augsburg*	B7	*oberfränkischer*
D8	*fränkisch/bayerischer*	B8	*schweinfurter?*
D9	*bayrisch*	B9	*nürnbergerischer*
D10	*süddeutscher, München*	B10	*nürnberg/nürnberger umland*
D11	*Niedersachsen*	B11	*nürnberger*
D12	*Stuttgart*	B12	*bayerisch, zw.franken und süder auf Ingostadt zu*
D13	*schwäbsich, Ulm Ecke*	B13	*bayerisch*
D14	*Bayreuth*	B14	*oberfränkische*
D15	*nordbayerisch*	B15	*nürnberger*
D16	*Regensburg*	B16	*fränkisch, (schweinfurt-bamberg)*
D17	*bayrisch, Augsburg*	B31	*mittelfranker*
D18	*norddeutsch (Kiel)*	B33	*thüringischer ?*
D19	*süddeutscher*	B34	*Fränkisch, Nürnberg*
D20	*schwäbsich*	B20	*Bamberg*
D21	*Baden-Würtemberger*	B21	*fränkischer (hofer)*
D22	*Fränkischer, Schweinfurt*	B22	*süd/osten u. deutschland*
D23	*Bayerisch-sueddeutschland*	B35	*Nürnberg*
D24	*bayersicher*	B36	*mittelfränkischer*
D25	*Bamberg/Nürnberg/Franken*	B37	*mittelfranken*
D26	*Bamberg*	B25	*fränkisch*
D27	*(west) -österreich*	B26	*nürnberger*
D28	*österreich*	B27	*mittelfränkischer*
D29	*bayerisch*	B30	*Bamberg/fränkisch*
D31	*bayerisch*	B39	*nürnberger/mittelfranken*
		B40	*Bamberg/fränkisch*

E2e. Speaker 5 – Saxon Male

D1	*sächsisch*	B1	*ostdeutsch (thüringen?)*
D2	*Dresden*	B2	*sächsisch*
D3	*sächsisch-anhältisch (magdeburg)*	B3	*leipziger*
D4	*Ost=sachsen=freiberg*	B4	*sächsischer*
D5	*Dresden*	B5	*leipziger*
D6	*Erfurt-thüring, Autsch!*	B6	*sächsisch*
D7	*Dresden*	B7	*sächsischer*
D8	*dresdener*	B8	*hofer/südthüringer*
D9	*sächsisch*	B9	*sächsischer (leicht!!)*
D10	*randsächsischer (halle)*	B10	*thüringischer/sachsen*
D11	*sächsisch*	B11	*irgendwie "ostdeutscher"*
D12	*thüringen, sachsen, jena?*	B12	*östlicher, nicht ganz erfurt, ungefähr gera*
D13	*Jena*	B13	*ostdeutscher*
D14	*Dresden*	B14	*ostdeutscher (evtl. Bautzen)*
D15	*sächsischer*	B15	*magdeburg*
D16	*thüringer*	B16	*thüringischen/sachsen*
D17	*sächsisch, dresden*	B31	*Thüringer*
D18	*sächsisch dresden*	B33	*nordöstlicher*
D19	*schweriner/rostocker*	B34	*sächsisch*
D20	*westsächsisch?*	B20	*Halle/Jena*
D21	*sächsisch*	B21	*ostdeutscher*
D22	*leipziger*	B22	*Dresden*
D23	*leipzig/halle evtl. Norddeutsch*	B35	*Magdeburg*
D24	*sächsisch o. thüringer*	B36	*sächsischer? (osten)*
D25	*dresdener*	B37	*sachsen*
D26	*ursächsisch*	B25	*ostdeutscher*
D27	*dresdenersächsisch*	B26	*(ostdeutsch) Halle*
D28	*"hesse"*	B27	*ostdeutscher*
D29	*ostdeutsch/thüringen*	B30	*Sachsen*
D31	*sächsisch/ evtl raum Dresden*	B39	*Schwerin*
		B40	*dresdener (Sachsen)*

E2f. Speaker 6 – Saxon Female

D1	*sächsisch*	B1	*ostdeutsch/thüringen*
D2	*sächsisch/Leipzig*	B2	*schwäbisch*
D3	*sächsisch (görlitz/zittau)*	B3	*zwickauer*
D4	*Sachsen-Dresden*	B4	*thüringerisch*
D5	*Chemnitz*	B5	*dresdener*
D6	*ein sächsischer (chemnitz/dresden*	B6	*thüringerisch*
D7	*Dresden*	B7	*thüringerisch*
D8	*leipziger*	B8	*Aschaffenburg/Hessen*
D9	*Sächsisch*	B9	*thüringer*
D10	*sächsischer (Dresden)*	B10	*schwäbisch*
D11	*sächsisch*	B11	*thüringer*
D12	*Chemnitz*	B12	*DDR (thüringer)*
D13	*sächsisch/Chemnitz*	B13	*thüringer*
D14	*Halle*	B14	*sächsischer*
D15	*ostsächsischer*	B15	*Leipzig*
D16	*dresdener*	B16	*sächsischer*
D17	*sächsisch, Dresden*	B31	*Ostdeutschland/Cottbus*
D18	*sächsischer raum*	B33	*sächsischer*
D19	*sächsischer*	B34	*thüringer*
D20	*sächsisch*	B20	*Leipzig/Berlin*
D21	*sächsisch/Dresden*	B21	*sächsischer*
D22	*dresdener*	B22	*Hamburg/Norddeutschland*
D23	*sächsischer,Chemnitz o. Jena*	B35	*Erfurt*
D24	*thüringer*	B36	*Ostdeutschland*
D25	*sächsischer (DDer?)*	B37	*thüringer*
D26	*Randsachsen*	B25	*berlinerischer*
D27	*(west)sächsisch*	B26	*berliner*
D28	*sächsisch, leipziger*	B27	*Berliner gegend*
D29	*sächsischer*	B30	*von darüben, Osten*
D31	*dresdener*	B39	*Koblenz*
		B40	*Jena (thüringer)*

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