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THE PRESENT PAST - A MIDDLE SWABIAN DIALECT IN THE 21ST CENTURY

A Thesis  
presented in partial fulfillment of requirements  
for the degree of Master of Arts  
in the Department of Modern Languages  
The University of Mississippi

by

STEFANIE HIRSCHER

May 2011

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## ABSTRACT

Dialects throughout the Federal Republic of Germany not only vary greatly among themselves, but also tend to show internal variations with regard to dialect speaker groups, due to the influence of Standard German along with other regional factors. Medium-sized towns seem to be at the center of this dialect-standard continuum, as speakers from both rural and more urban areas come together in these towns. This study sought to investigate the state of the Middle Swabian dialect as spoken in Schwäbisch Gmünd, a medium-sized town in Southwestern Germany. Previous studies of this dialect have focused on rural areas and found only minor variation with regard to the age variable. Studies with a focus on a more urbanized area do not exist for this particular region. A group of 27 individuals currently living in and around this town volunteered to participate in this research. Each individual was asked to fill out a questionnaire and to partake in a 10 to 15 minute recorded interview. The data then underwent initial analyses for lexical, phonological and grammatical variations. The five variables that were thus found to be statistically significant, among them age and educational background, were chosen for further analyses. The results showed that the dialect is indeed changing and that several factors seem to be carriers of this change.

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

MHG Middle High German

MSG Modern Standard German

OHG Old High German

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# 1. INTRODUCTION

## 1.1 Topic and purpose of this study

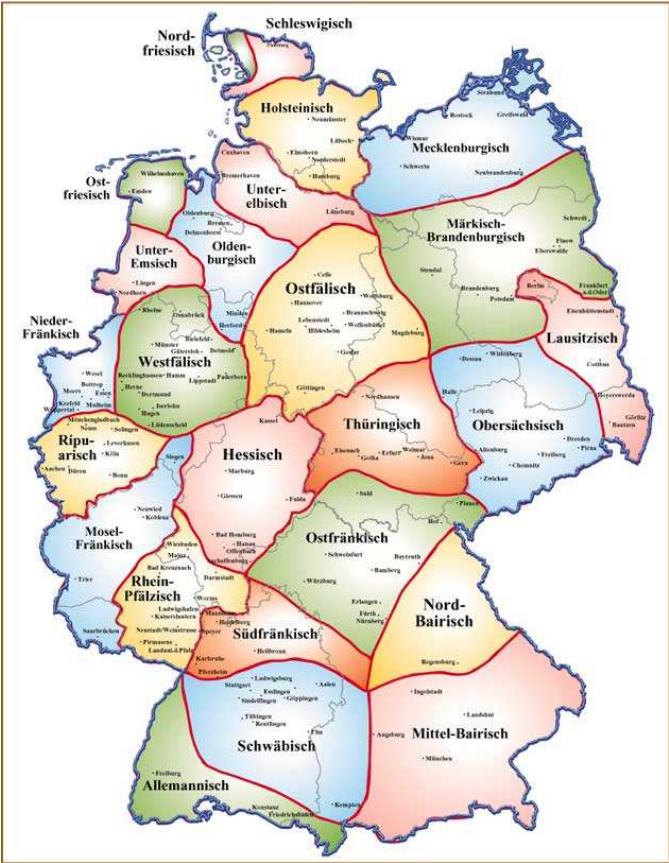
This study examines the Middle Swabian dialect as spoken in and around the city of Schwäbisch Gmünd. In particular, I investigate lexical, phonological, and grammatical variation found within the dialect speech of the town's inhabitants. The goal of this study is to establish the degree to which certain sociolinguistic variables determine speakers' choices between local dialect features and broader regional or standard features.

The Swabian dialect is part of the Upper German dialect family primarily spoken in southern parts of Germany as well as Austria and Switzerland, which also includes Bavarian and the Alemannic dialects. Although it is usually listed as part of the Alemannic varieties, as such it is the only Alemannic dialect that did not retain the Middle High German (MHG) monophthongs (Stedje, 246). For this reason it can also stand in opposition to Alemannic or represent a transitional dialect between Alemannic and Bavarian. Figure 1 gives an overview of dialect regions within Germany.

Schwäbisch Gmünd is a town located in the extreme northeastern part of what is commonly referred to as the Middle Swabian dialect region, in the state of Baden-Württemberg. It has a population of around 60,000 and is 30 miles away from the state capital, Stuttgart. Its population figure includes not only people living around the town center, but also individuals living in subdivisions, suburbs and smaller districts around town. For the purpose of this study,

Schwäbisch Gmünd refers to a geographical 6-mile radius drawn around the town center, which includes independent small towns that may immediately border the actual city of Gmünd.

Figure 1: Swabian (Schwäbisch) in southern Germany



<http://deutschlandecho.wordpress.com>

Figure 2: Schwäbisch Gmünd within Germany



The initial decision to investigate my native dialect was led by my observations of changes in the speech of individuals in my home town that seemed to be closely related to age. However, I am not a supporter of the once popular idea that our dialects are dying. This fear of dialect loss has been voiced repeatedly over the centuries – one can follow this phenomenon all the way back to 1754, when it was voiced by Richey in his *Idioticon Richey* (quoted in Lameli, 27) – which suggests that dialect loss, if it is occurring at all, is proceeding extremely slowly. I believe that no variety could possibly change from full dialect to full standard in a single lifetime, or a single century for that matter. On the other hand, I also disagree with the opposite position that claims differences between generations are mainly due to different communicative demands individuals have to meet at various stages in their lives (Stellmacher, 102ff). Although dialect features may disappear or reappear in the speech of an individual over the course of decades, due to different needs and expectations, I believe perpetual changes are occurring

within our dialects and probably at a faster rate than they have been in the past, a reflection of our fast-paced society.

Claudia Berroth's motivations for her work on the dialect of Ruppertshofen, a small town immediately outside the area I chose to look at, were very different from my own. She pointed out that past research on dialects had come to the conclusion that dialects are dying out partly because researchers set out to investigate the oldest forms of those dialects, instead of making reality their measuring stick. She found that Swabian dialect speakers felt very strongly about the importance of keeping their dialect alive, which she considered to be a deciding factor for dialect preservation (15ff.). Thus her goal was to show that the dialect was not about to disappear from the linguistic map, at least not in her home town.

Although it may be true that dialect research, especially in its early stages, focused too much on what researchers considered to be a pure form of dialect, this limitation alone does not give us any indication as to the decline or persistence of any dialect. It simply means that we have to treat the results of these studies with care when using them for comparison. Also, although dialect speakers' perceptions of their dialect and their desire to either preserve it or move away from it linguistically clearly play a role in dialect decline or persistence, this alone also does not tell us anything about the actual state of a dialect in a specific region. Individuals may cherish and foster their dialect and at the same time, either consciously or subconsciously, alter it due to outside influences or other ongoing changes in their linguistic system.

Some reasons for a possible dialect decline can be found in our technologically advanced world. The existence of mass media and the emergence of the internet, which allows us to communicate more freely than ever, would suggest a decrease in the number of true dialect speakers. Barbour and Stevenson have listed a number of reasons for the spread of Standard

German (MSG) even to southern German areas, which have been known to be more accepting and ultimately more proud of their respective dialects when compared to northern Germany. Carriers of this shift towards Standard German are improved communication, standardized education, and a rising middle class that wanted to distinguish itself from dialect speakers (50). So my motivation was not so much to establish whether dialect change was in progress, as everything seemed to already suggest that it was, but to determine what factors might play a role in this change.

Although I chose this particular town for my study because I was born and raised there, its population also represents the state of dialects in many other middle-sized German towns, as the remnants of an agricultural past are slowly disappearing and as society has become more mobile and exposed to all types of information through the media. I have specifically tried to avoid studying what could be referred to as a “base dialect”, which Wiesinger defined as a rural, highly localized speech variety that is mainly used by the least mobile individuals in a community (5ff.), which is the type of traditional dialect mentioned in the above paragraph. I would like to take this even further and suggest that at this point in time, a dialect study should not focus on the most isolated sample of a population, not even a cross-section of a small rural village, as its focus in order to give a realistic view of the state of the dialect in general. This may give a realistic view of the speech in that particular village, as well as elicit archaic forms that may shed light on the speech patterns that have been lost elsewhere, but fails to address the broader aspects of present-day dialect change and dialect evolution in a certain region or across regions. Few people spend the majority of their lives in a small town or village as they may have in the past. On the other hand, medium-sized towns are places where many dialect speakers can still be found, and where the more rural and non-rural populations come together for work,

shopping, and social gatherings. In my opinion, the purpose of dialect research is not only to address change in the speech of individuals of a certain group, but to be able to apply the findings to a broader range of locations or situations. As there are only a few very large cities in Germany, and as the rural population continues to move to more urbanized areas, it seems that the true state of the modern dialect, as spoken by a large percentage of the population, would best be examined in areas that stand between the big cities with their multicultural populations and the small towns with little social variety at all. It is there where a true dialect shift, if it indeed exists, should be felt. As Auer noted in his book on the phonological aspects of the speech used by dialect speakers in Konstanz, it makes sense to choose a medium-sized city such as Konstanz to describe a colloquial phonology that is to represent the Upper German dialect repertoire, as it stands for new social classes that represent change (1990, 3). Of course, the same applies to other linguistic subfields as well. It is for this reason that I chose to focus on a medium-sized town and included dialect speakers from all areas within the radius chosen.

## **1.2 Investigative process**

### **1.2.1 Choice of participants**

In order to attain a representative sample of the population under investigation, 30 individuals were chosen based on predetermined criteria. All participants had to be dialect speakers who had been living in or around Schwäbisch Gmünd since their childhood. Their parents also had to be speakers of Swabian, and although almost all of them were natives of the area to be investigated, a few individuals had moved to the area during childhood or as young adults. Although 30 individuals participated in the interview process, 3 were eliminated in the end, as their respective family histories might have compromised the validity of the results.

As for each individual's personal background, emphasis was placed on a diverse sample of the town's population. A total of 13 men and 14 women between the ages of 19 and 88 were in the final sample, and all educational and professional backgrounds were included. Often contact was made through friends and acquaintances of the initial persons interviewed, but some individuals were simply approached in a public setting, for example in a coffee shop or while they were working in their front yards. This way the successful collection of an unbiased, diverse sample of the population could be ensured.

### **1.2.2 Methods employed**

Initially, all participants were asked to fill out a 4-page questionnaire. It included questions about their person, their background, their views on dialect and dialect usage, as well as questions to elicit lexical items, syntax and morphology.

The second stage of the investigation consisted of a private interview with each individual, approximately 10 to 15 minutes in length. An effort was made to keep the interviews as natural and true to actual conversation as possible. However, as with all artificial settings, the chance of distortion of actuality is always present. The fact that the interviews were conducted by a young dialect speaker from the area, and the fact that connections were often made through mutual friends or acquaintances, was without doubt beneficial to accurate representations of speech. The interviews were conducted in each person's home or place of work, which also reduced discomfort. Participants had time, and were encouraged, to reflect on their answers, especially in cases that suggested a hasty response due to a loss of words and perceived pressure. In those instances participants would be encouraged to imagine real-life conversations with family or locals to verify their first answers were in line with their actual, daily speech. It is for

this reason I believe this study achieved the most true to life results possible under the conditions that were present.

During the third stage of the study, the information from the questionnaire and the recordings was embedded into a spreadsheet. I chose Goldvarb, a multivariate analysis application, to run the statistical analyses on my data. This program currently exists in freeware implementations under the title of Goldvarb X (Sankoff et al. 2005), and is a valuable tool in the examination of rule-governed variation. In cases where a one-sided response occurs during the first part of the analysis, i.e. every participant uses the same version of a particular term, the factor group cannot be statistically analyzed. This is what Goldvarb labels a “knockout” – in these cases values will still be listed in the corresponding tables, but a probability value will not be available.

### **1.2.3 Variables**

Initially, 16 variables were analyzed to determine what factors seemed to have an effect on the speech of the sample population. After the initial analyses, five variables remained that proved to have reoccurring significance. It is with the following five variables that the final analyses were run:

AGE – 27 participants were divided into four age groups (19-30, 31-46, 47-63, 64-88).

LOCATION – participants were allocated to one of three areas that will be referred to as Urban, Suburban, and Rural. The terms themselves can be misleading, because definite distinctions, as these terms might imply, do not exist. Urban refers to the actual city of Schwäbisch Gmünd and immediately bordering subdivisions and suburbs. Suburban widens the radius, including areas that are bordering the urban area. Rural constitutes the smallest group and



is made up of small, more distant districts belonging to the municipality of Gmünd. Figure 3 gives an overview of the general area. Small independent towns bordering the city of Gmünd and included in the study were Lorch to the west, Mutlangen to the north, and an unlabeled area to the east and southeast, not extending as far as Böbingen, Waldstetten or Heubach.

Image 3: Schwäbisch Gmünd within the Ostalbkreis county



EDUCATION – Participants were asked to classify themselves according to educational background. The options were Hauptschule, which is the most basic form of education, consisting of the completion of the 9<sup>th</sup> grade and often leading to apprenticeships for manual labor or basic office duties. In the middle is the Realschule, which provides a 10<sup>th</sup> grade education and offers more options for apprenticeships and employment. Abitur indicates that the individuals in this group either have a university education or are eligible to study at a university,

as they have completed the 13<sup>th</sup> grade in the German school system. Although this level of education allows for more opportunities, an overlap exists between the first and second, and then again between the second and third levels of education, meaning that individuals may belong to the same profession, even though their educational backgrounds differ. Some of those variations are due to changes in the education system over the years that affect the different age groups within the study.

TRADITIONAL – This was part of a list of character traits that participants could mark off on the questionnaire, should they feel that a particular trait applied to them. Similar to the meaning of the identical term in English, someone who is traditional in German has a strong tie to his or her culture, along with its values, practices, and traditions. It tends to go along with a resistance to change. Traditional, as used in German, has no connotation of any political orientation whatsoever.

INSECURITY – This actually refers to the insecurity or discomfort a person may experience in certain situations when speaking his or her dialect. The answer to this was also solicited on the questionnaire. When then asked to list situations they might feel insecure in, most people stated that being in the company of a non-dialect speaker could be cause for nervousness, either due to fear of not being understood, or of being labeled as an uneducated person. This variable actually was examined along with another variable, namely insecurity experienced when speaking Standard German. However, as the former proved to be of more significance, and as the results were comparable for both variables whenever there was significance, the former variable was the only one chosen for the analyses.

Some of the variables that were considered, but ultimately excluded from the analyses due to a lack of significance with regard to the speech produced, were gender, profession,

parents' exact place of residence, and a number of character traits, including 'success-driven' and 'flexible'.

### **1.3 Organization of this study**

Having discussed the rationale and methodology used in this study, the next section will analyze variation in lexical usage. Section 3 is dedicated to phonology and investigates the usage of dialect-specific sounds. In section 4, I will examine dialectal morphology as well as syntactic variations. The last section provides a summary of the results of the study along with a conclusion.

## **2. ANALYSIS OF THE LEXICAL ITEMS**

### **2.1 Introduction**

This chapter examines the use of lexical items in the contemporary dialect. Therefore, I will not investigate the usage of traditional dialect terms that refer to strictly agricultural, outdated, or obsolete items. It is only natural for those types of dialect terms to gradually disappear from the dialect, not so much due to generational dialect change in progress, but due to the disappearance of the objects or practices they refer to from the daily lives of the population. As a result, this survey includes words from many different areas of everyday interest, such as common foods, body parts, animals, verbs and verbal expressions, and household areas and items. In all, 20 items are analyzed for this study.

The large majority of lexical items were obtained during the interview process. In turn, and most of these were obtained through the presentation of images. Participants were shown a total of 30 images one by one on a computer screen. These images focused either on the lexical or phonological aspect of the items, sometimes on both. Answers were both recorded and marked on a prepared sheet by the interviewer.

## 2.2 Individual analyses

### Erdbeeren

*Bräschdli* (MSG *Erdbeeren*) is a dialect term for ‘strawberries’ and its history is somewhat obscure. Wax lists several theories that might point towards its origins; one of them sees a connection between the dialect term and the MHG *brozzen*, MSG *sprossen*, which means ‘to sprout’ (74).

Overall, *Erdbeeren* is used 19 times with *Bräschdli* occurring only 8 times. Within the AGE variable, of the 5 people that make up the very youngest age group, only 1 uses the term *Bräschdli*, which may point towards an increased use of the standard word *Erdbeeren* especially among the very young.

Also, although the survey respondents’ LOCATION is not statistically significant, it seems to play a role in determining which word is chosen. Inhabitants of Schwäbisch Gmünd and its adjacent suburbs greatly favor *Erdbeeren* (18 vs. 5). Of the 4 people who call more distant suburbs and villages their home, 3 use the term *Bräschdli*. The actual significance of both of those trends could most likely be confirmed by including more people in the study.

The variable TRADITIONAL proves to be statistically significant for this term. An overwhelming majority of the group choosing the standard variant do not consider themselves to be traditional (17 versus 2). The group favoring the dialect term is evenly divided in this case, with 4 people calling themselves traditional and the remaining 4 denying the trait.

Another variable indicating a trend without showing statistical significance is the speakers’ INSECURITY with respect to language use. 11 of the 13 participants expressing insecurity when speaking dialect belong to the non-dialect group. On the other hand, 6 of the 10 subjects who prefer the dialect term claim never to experience discomfort when speaking dialect.

Table 1: Erdbeeren

Factor Group	Factor	Erdbeeren	Bräschdling	Factor Weight
Age (p=0.952)	19-30	4 (80.0%)	1 (20.0%)	0.376
	31-46	5 (71.4%)	2 (28.6%)	0.491
	46-63	4 (66.7%)	2 (33.3%)	0.546
	64-88	6 (66.7%)	3 (33.3%)	0.546
Location (p=0.121)	Urban	12 (80.0%)	3 (20.0%)	0.389
	Suburban	6 (75.0%)	2 (25.0%)	0.459
	Rural	1 (75.0%)	3 (25.0%)	0.884
Education (p=0.530)	Abitur/College	9 (81.8%)	2 (18.2%)	0.358
	Realschule	6 (60.0%)	4 (40.0%)	0.625
	Hauptschule	4 (66.7%)	2 (33.3%)	0.555
Traditional (p=0.033)	Yes	2 (33.3%)	4 (66.7%)	0.841
	No	17 (81.0%)	4 (19.0%)	0.383
Insecurity (p=0.116)	Yes	11 (84.6%)	2 (15.4%)	0.324
	No	8 (57.1%)	6 (42.9%)	0.664

### Karotten

*Gelbe Rüben* (MSG *Karotten*) is the traditional dialect term for ‘carrots’ in this central Swabian dialect area. The literal translation for this term is ‘yellow beets’. It is used by 10 of the 27 participants.

Due to knockouts in both the below 30 and the above 46 age groups (0 to 5 and 6 to 0 on dialect use, respectively), the analysis was done with only two age groups. The results are statistically significant, but the distribution before a combined analysis was completed is even more revealing. An obvious shift occurs between the oldest and second-to-oldest age groups. Within the three younger age groups only 2 of the 18 individuals use the dialect term, compared to 8 of the 9 subjects in the oldest group. Clearly the change is occurring somewhere between these sections.

Within the EDUCATION groups, the subjects with the lowest level of formal education are the ones who prefer the dialect term (5 versus 1), whereas the other two groups are divided (5 versus 5 and 6 versus 5, respectively).

The TRADITIONAL variable also offers predictable results, with only 1 of the 6 persons who claim to be traditional using the standard term, and 10 of the 21 subjects who do not call themselves traditional doing the same.

The variable INSECURITY displays small differences within the two sections as well. 10 of the 16 people who choose the dialect term say they are never insecure or uncomfortable when speaking dialect, whereas only 4 of the 11 individuals using the standard word can say the same.

Table 2: Karotten

Factor Group	Factor	Karotten	Gelbe Rüben	Factor Weight
Age (p=0.000)	19-30	5 (100.0%)	0 (0.0%)	0.914
	31-46	5 (71.4%)	2 (28.6%)	
	47-63	6 (100.0%)	0 (0.0%)	0.132
	64-88	1 (11.1%)	8 (88.9%)	
Location (p=0.231)	Urban	4 (26.7%)	11 (73.3%)	0.354
	Suburban	5 (62.5%)	3 (37.5%)	0.715
	Rural	2 (50.0%)	2 (50.0%)	0.601
Education (p=0.366)	Abitur/College	5 (45.5%)	6 (54.5%)	0.562
	Realschule	5 (50.0%)	5(50.0%)	0.606
	Hauptschule	1 (16.7%)	5(83.3%)	0.236
Traditional (p=0.164)	Yes	1 (16.7%)	5 (83.3%)	0.236
	No	10 (47.6%)	11 (52.4%)	0.583
Insecurity (p=0.185)	Yes	7 (53.8%)	6 (46.2%)	0.635
	No	4 (28.6%)	10 (71.4%)	0.374

### Lakritze

The dialect term for ‘licorice’ (MSG *Lakritze*) is *Bärendreck*, which translates into ‘bear dirt’. This term is used by 19 of the 27 participants.

During the analysis, the two older age groups both create a knockout, with 15 persons using the dialect word and nobody using the standard term. The AGE variable is then divided into two sections: 30 years of age and below and 31 years and above. The difference between those groups is significant.

EDUCATION creates the second knockout, with all of the subjects who have the basic Hauptschule education preferring the dialect term (6 versus 0). Once the groups with the lower levels of education are combined, significance cannot be established. However, subjects with the highest level of education make up the only group that prefers the standard term over the dialect word (7 versus 4).

A third knockout occurs within the TRADITIONAL variable. All of the participants who consider themselves to be traditional use the dialect term, whereas all of the 8 participants who choose the standard term do not consider themselves to be traditional.

*Table 3 : Lakritze*

Factor Group	Factor	Lakritze	Bärendreck	Factor Weight
Age (p=0.009)	19-30	4 (80.0%)	1 (20.0%)	0.087
	31-46	4 (57.1%)	3 (42.9%)	0.631
	47-63	0 (0.0%)	6 (100.0%)	
	64-88	0 (0.0%)	9 (100.0%)	
Location (p=0.338)	Urban	3 (80.0%)	12 (20.0%)	0.611
	Suburban	4 (50.0%)	4 (50.0%)	0.283
	Rural	1 (25.0%)	3 (75.0%)	0.541
Education (p=0.536)	Abitur/College	7 (63.6%)	4 (36.4%)	0.421
	Realschule	4 (40.0%)	6 (60.0%)	0.554
	Hauptschule	0 (0.0%)	6 (100.0%)	
Traditional (n/a)	Yes	0 (0.0%)	6 (100.0%)	n/a
	No	8 (38.1%)	13 (61.9%)	n/a
Insecurity (p=0.070)	Yes	6 (46.2%)	7 (53.8%)	0.300
	No	2 (14.3%)	12 (85.7%)	0.687



## Marmelade

*Gsälz* is the common dialect term for ‘jelly’ (MSG *Marmelade*). It most likely is related to the English word ‘salt’ (MSG *Salz*), as preservation of foods in days past could only be accomplished through salting, and eventually the same effect was achieved in jelly, only with sugar (Wax, 177). Of the 27 subjects, 17 make use of this term.

Differences within the AGE group are minimal, but in line with the tendencies observed for other dialect words. There is a gradual shift from dialect to standard from the oldest to the youngest groups, and the group with the youngest participants is the only one that chooses the standard term over the dialect word (3 versus 2).

The only variable that provides statistical significance is INSECURITY. The large majority of individuals who express no insecurity when speaking their dialect prefer the dialect word (12 versus 2). On the other hand, more people who use the standard term express occasional insecurity than do not (8 versus 5).

*Table 4: Marmelade*

Factor Group	Factor	Marmelade	Gsälz	Factor Weight
Age (p=0.489)	19-30	3 (60.0%)	2 (40.0%)	0.270
	31-46	3 (42.9%)	4 (57.1%)	0.426
	47-63	1 (16.7%)	5 (83.3%)	0.735
	64-88	3 (33.3%)	6 (66.7%)	0.526
Location (p=0.667)	Urban	5 (33.3%)	10 (66.7%)	0.539
	Suburban	5 (62.5%)	3 (37.5%)	0.451
	Rural	0 (0.0%)	4 (100.0%)	
Education (p=0.637)	Abitur/College	3 (27.3%)	8 (72.7%)	0.606
	Realschule	4 (40.0%)	6 (60.0%)	0.464
	Hauptschule	3 (50.0%)	3 (50.0%)	0.366
Traditional (p=0.838)	Yes	2 (33.3%)	4 (66.7%)	0.540
	No	8 (61.9%)	13 (38.1%)	0.489
Insecurity (p=0.010)	Yes	8 (61.5%)	5 (38.5%)	0.237
	No	2 (14.3%)	12 (85.7%)	0.748

## Spiegeleier

A dialect term for sunny-side-up eggs is *Ochsenaugen* (MSG *Spiegeleier*), which literally means ‘bull’s eyes’. Only 7 participants choose this term.

Although the AGE variable is not statistically significant after a couple of sections have to be combined due to a knockout, none of the 5 youngest individuals use the dialect term. As a matter of fact, the use of the dialect word gradually increases from age group to age group. During the analysis, significance was established within three factor groups: the character trait TRADITIONAL, EDUCATION, and the INSECURITY variable.

As for the former, the large majority of subjects who prefer the standard term describe themselves as not being traditional (18 versus 2), whereas 4 of the 7 people who choose the dialect word think of themselves as being traditional.

The first thing that can be noticed when looking at the distribution within the EDUCATION groups is the fact that the dialect term is simply not being used much by the participants that have the highest level of education (1 versus 10). Upon moving down to the next level of education, clear preference for the standard term does exist, but the balance is starting to shift (2 versus 8). Arriving at the lowest level of education, we can see that the dialect term is now preferred by the members of this group (4 versus 2).

With regard to INSECURITY, only 1 of the 7 people using the dialect term expresses insecurity in some situations when speaking dialect. In contrast, 12 of the 20 subjects who choose the Standard German term express occasional feelings of insecurity when speaking their dialect.

Table 5: *Spiegeleier*

Factor Group	Factor	Spiegeleier	Ochsenaugen	Factor Weight
Age (p=0.143)	19-30	5 (100.0%)	0 (0.0%)	0.249
	19-46	6 (85.7%)	1 (14.3%)	
	47-63	4 (66.7%)	2 (33.3%)	0.646
	64-88	5 (55.6%)	4 (44.4%)	0.745
Location (p=0.750)	Urban	11 (73.3%)	4 (26.7%)	0.457
	Suburban	5 (62.5%)	3 (37.5%)	0.581
	Rural	4 (100.0%)	0 (0.0%)	n/a
Education (p=0.041)	Abitur/College	10 (90.9%)	1 (9.1%)	0.268
	Realschule	8 (80%)	2 (20%)	0.478
	Hauptschule	2 (66.7%)	4 (33.3%)	0.880
Traditional (p=0.015)	yes	2 (33.3%)	4 (66.7%)	0.873
	no	18 (85.7%)	3 (14.3%)	0.365
Insecurity (p=0.033)	yes	12 (92.3%)	1 (7.7%)	0.243
	no	8 (57.1%)	6 (42.9%)	0.742

### Essensreste

*Urausa*, or sometimes called *Durasa*, (MSG *Essensreste*) can be used in Swabian to refer to ‘leftovers’. The origins of this noun can be traced back to the Old High German (OHG) verb ‘*urezzan*’, which, amongst others, had a meaning of ‘to leave some food (on the plate)’ (Wax, 519).

Although the differences between the AGE groups are minimal and too gradual to be statistically significant, the youngest group again is the one with the least dialect realizations (1 versus 4). All of the other groups show a fairly even distribution between the word choices, with a slight tendency toward the standard.

LOCATION is also not statistically significant, but tendencies are present. Not surprisingly, the dialect term is preferred by rural participants.

As for EDUCATION, the participants with the intermediate level of education cause a surprise, as they use the dialect term more frequently than the standard (6 versus 4). The subjects

with the lowest level of education are evenly divided on dialect use (3 versus 3), whereas the participants with the highest level of education favor the standard term (8 versus 3).

The TRADITIONAL variable seems to show the expected tendencies, however without being statistically significant. The large majority of the people choosing the standard term do not identify themselves as traditional (15 versus 2), whereas 4 out of the 10 subjects using the dialect term claim to be traditional.

The INSECURITY variable does show statistical significance. A total of 11 participants choosing the standard express occasional insecurity when speaking dialect, with only 6 subjects in that group claiming never to feel that sort of insecurity. The situation is reversed for the speakers using the dialect term, as 8 of the 10 subjects in that group state they never feel insecure when speaking their dialect.

*Table 6: Essensreste*

Factor Group	Factor	Essensreste	Urausa	Factor Weight
Age (p=0.740)	19-30	4 (80.0%)	1 (20.0%)	0.305
	31-46	4 (57.1%)	3 (42.9%)	0.568
	47-63	3 (50.0%)	3 (50.0%)	0.637
	64-88	6 (66.7%)	3 (33.3%)	0.467
Location (p=0.227)	Urban	10 (66.7%)	5 (33.3%)	0.464
	Suburban	6 (75.0%)	2 (25.0%)	0.366
	Rural	1 (25.0%)	3 (75.0%)	0.838
Education (p=0.637)	Abitur/College	8 (72.7%)	3 (27.3%)	0.394
	Realschule	4 (40.0%)	6 (60.0%)	0.536
	Hauptschule	3 (50.0%)	3 (50.0%)	0.634
Traditional (p=0.095)	Yes	2 (33.3%)	4 (66.7%)	0.777
	No	15 (71.4%)	6 (28.6%)	0.412
Insecurity (p=0.022)	Yes	11 (84.6%)	2 (15.4%)	0.263
	No	6 (42.9%)	8 (57.1%)	0.723

## Topf

*Hafen* (MSG *Topf*) is a traditional dialect term for ‘pot’ (cooking vessel) and is used by only 8 of the 27 participants.

Again, due to a knockout within the youngest AGE group, analysis is done on three groups only, which places this variable slightly above statistical significance ( $p=0.077$ ). The change from dialect use to standard use is already nearly complete within the two youngest groups, as only 1 participant of the 12 in these groups chooses the dialect term.

The TRADITIONAL variable proves to be statistically significant. Only 2 of the 19 people using the standard term claim to be traditional. On the other hand, half of the 8 speakers using the dialect term do consider themselves to be traditional.

*Table 7: Topf*

Factor Group	Factor	Topf	Hafen	Factor Weight
Age ( $p=0.077$ )	19-30	5 (100.0%)	0 (0.0%)	0.222
	31-46	6 (85.7%)	1 (14.3%)	
	47-63	3 (50.0%)	3 (50.0%)	0.758
	64-88	5 (42.9%)	4 (57.1%)	0.714
Location ( $p=0.351$ )	Urban	10 (66.7%)	5 (33.3%)	0.567
	Suburban	7 (87.5%)	1 (12.5%)	0.272
	Rural	2 (50.0%)	2 (50.0%)	0.693
Education ( $p=0.530$ )	Abitur/College	9 (81.8%)	2 (18.2%)	0.358
	Realschule	6 (60.0%)	4 (40.0%)	0.625
	Hauptschule	4 (66.7%)	2 (33.3%)	0.555
Traditional ( $p=0.033$ )	Yes	2 (33.3%)	4 (66.7%)	0.841
	No	17 (81.0%)	4 (19.0%)	0.383
Insecurity ( $p=0.479$ )	Yes	9 (64.3%)	5 (35.7%)	0.421
	No	10 (76.9%)	3 (23.1%)	0.573

## Fuß

The difference between the dialect and standard for this next item is not that the two words differ completely, but that they differ in what they denote. In Swabian, a ‘foot’ (MSG *Fuß*) actually refers to the entire leg, all the way up to the thigh, including the foot. Standard German uses the term *Bein*, reserving *Fuß* for the foot itself.

There is no need for statistical analysis, as only 1 person, a female in the youngest age group, uses the standard German term, an overwhelming use of a dialect feature that is extremely rare in this survey. *Fuß* seems to be a firmly rooted dialect word, regardless of age, place of residence, or any other factors. The overwhelming use of this word with the dialect meaning could be because the word itself is not actually dialect (only the meaning is dialectal), and thus not stigmatized. It also is a term that is learned very early in childhood and, for the most part, rarely crosses over into the professional or public world.

## Nacken

*Anken* (MSG *Nacken/Genick*) can be traced back to the OHG word *ancha*, which, amongst other things, referred to the area on the back of one’s head and neck down to the shoulders (Wax, 24). This meaning has been preserved in the dialect. Of the 26 participants that can think of a specific term for this particular body area, only 6 choose the dialect term in question.

AGE causes a knockout, as none of the 5 youngest subjects use the dialect term. As use of it in the other three groups remains one-sided, with several subjects within each group using the dialect word, but most individuals preferring the standard term, the results are not statistically significant.

As for LOCATION, inhabitants of the urban and suburban areas greatly favor the standard (11 to 3 and 7 to 1, respectively), whereas subjects from the more rural areas are divided (2 versus 2).

Results within the TRADITIONAL variable prove to be statistically significant, as only 2 of the 20 individuals opting for the standard term consider themselves to be traditional. On the other hand, 4 of the 6 participants who say they are traditional do choose the dialect word.

INSECURITY was slightly above statistical significance in this case. Almost all individuals expressing occasional linguistic insecurity (12 versus 1) use the standard term, whereas only 8 of the 13 people stating never to feel insecure do the same.

Table 8: *Nacken*

Factor Group	Factor	Nacken	Anken	Factor Weight
Age (p=0.669)	19-30	5 (100.0%)	0 (0.0%)	0.411
	31-46	5 (71.4%)	2 (28.6%)	
	47-63	4 (80.0%)	1 (20.0%)	0.466
	64-88	6 (66.7%)	3 (33.3%)	0.635
Location (p=0.386)	Urban	11 (78.6%)	3 (21.4%)	0.500
	Suburban	7 (12.5%)	1 (87.5%)	0.344
	Rural	2 (50.0%)	2 (50.0%)	0.785
Education (p=0.638)	Abitur/College	9 (81.8%)	2 (18.2%)	0.436
	Realschule	8 (80.0%)	2 (20.0%)	0.465
	Hauptschule	3 (60.0%)	2 (40.0%)	0.699
Traditional (p=0.008)	Yes	2 (33.3%)	4 (66.7%)	0.902
	No	18 (90.0%)	2 (10.0%)	0.339
Insecurity (p=0.055)	Yes	12 (92.3%)	1 (7.7%)	0.268
	No	8 (61.5%)	5 (38.5%)	0.732

### Sommersprossen

‘Freckles’ (MSG *Sommersprossen*) can be called *Rossmucken* in the survey area, a term that basically means ‘horse flies’. In this study, 11 people choose this dialect word.

Due to a knockout in the AGE groups, I combined the two youngest groups. Age seems to be the most significant factor for word choice, with an obvious change, or increase, in dialect use from the younger to the older generations. As observed before, the youngest and the oldest age groups make the change obvious (0 versus 5 and 7 versus 2 on dialect use, respectively), with the two middle groups alone not reflecting a distinct change from older to younger individuals.

The only other variable that shows a trend worth mentioning is the TRADITIONAL variable. Twice as many individuals who claim to be traditional choose the dialect word over the standard term here, and, along those lines, twice as many individuals who do not think of themselves as traditional choose the standard over the dialect term.

Table 9: *Sommersprossen*

Factor Group	Factor	Sommersprossen	Rossmucken	Factor Weight
Age (p=0.018)	19-30	5 (100.0%)	0 (0.0%)	0.339
	31-46	4 (57.1%)	3 (42.9%)	
	47-63	5 (83.3%)	1 (16.7%)	0.235
	64-88	2 (22.2%)	7 (77.8%)	0.843
Location (p=0.710)	Urban	8 (53.3%)	7 (46.7%)	0.563
	Suburban	5 (62.5%)	3 (37.5%)	0.469
	Rural	3 (75.0%)	1 (25.0%)	0.330
Education (p=0.673)	Abitur/College	6 (54.5%)	5 (45.5%)	0.551
	Realschule	7 (70.0%)	3 (30.0%)	0.388
	Hauptschule	3 (50.0%)	3 (50.0%)	0.596
Traditional (p=0.154)	Yes	2 (33.3%)	4 (66.7%)	0.746
	No	14 (66.7%)	7 (33.3%)	0.424
Insecurity (p=0.821)	Yes	8 (61.5%)	5 (38.5%)	0.477
	No	8 (57.1%)	6 (42.9%)	0.521

### Scheune

The local dialect term for ‘barn’, *Scheuer* (MSG *Scheune*) is not unique to the Swabian dialect, but can be found in other Southern German dialects as well. It not only differs from the



standard lexically, but also contains a very dialect-specific realization in the form of a non-standard diphthong that will be examined in the phonology section of this paper. During the survey, 19 individuals choose this dialect term.

After the AGE groups are reduced from four to three, due to a knockout in the second oldest group (6 to 0 in favor of dialect use), the difference between the groups is statistically significant. The big shift in dialect use occurs between the middle-aged and the older population, which is different from the age-related differences we have seen in this study so far. This could perhaps be attributed to the farming association that this particular word has. Farming used to be a vital part of the economy and culture of the area, but just like anywhere else in Germany, has ceased to be a staple in the lives of the majority of the population. This change is not a fairly recent one, but started with the post-war generation, which would explain why the change is happening fairly abruptly from one generation to the next and within the generation of the now 40 to 60-year-olds.

LOCATION results in a knockout as well, as none of the 4 individuals living furthest from town used the standard term. The middle group is evenly divided (4 versus 4) and the group living in town, or closest to it, again prefers the dialect word (11 versus 4).

In the factor group EDUCATION, all of the least-educated participants choose the dialect variant, resulting in another knockout. The other two groups both exhibit the same pattern (6 versus 4 on dialect use for the middle group and 7 versus 4 for the group with the highest educational background).

The TRADITIONAL speakers all choose the dialect term, causing yet another knockout. Because of the knockout factor, no further statistical analysis is possible.

INSECURITY seems to play a role in word choice, but is not statistically significant ( $p=0.070$ ). As has been the case in this study, most people who state they never feel insecure when speaking their dialect also choose the dialect term (12 versus 2). The participants who claim they feel occasional insecurity were fairly evenly divided between the word choices (6 versus 7).

Table 10: *Scheune*

Factor Group	Factor	Scheune	Scheuer	Factor Weight
Age ( $p=0.010$ )	19-30	3 (60.0%)	2 (40.0%)	0.848
	31-46	4 (57.1%)	3 (42.9%)	0.832
	47-63	0 (0.0%)	6 (100.0%)	0.211
	64-88	1 (11.1%)	8 (88.9%)	
Location ( $p=0.708$ )	Urban	4 (26.7%)	11 (73.3%)	0.465
	Suburban	4 (50.0%)	4 (50.0%)	0.544
	Rural	0 (0.0%)	4 (100.0%)	
Education ( $p=0.536$ )	Abitur/College	4 (36.4%)	7 (63.6%)	0.579
	Realschule	4 (40.0%)	6 (60.0%)	0.446
	Hauptschule	0 (0.0%)	6 (100.0%)	
Traditional (n/a)	Yes	0 (0.0%)	6 (100.0%)	n/a
	No	8 (38.1%)	13 (68.9%)	n/a
Insecurity ( $p=0.070$ )	Yes	6 (46.2%)	7 (53.8%)	0.700
	No	2 (14.3%)	12 (85.7%)	0.313

### Stiege and Stapfel

*Stiege* (MSG *Treppe (im Haus)*) can be used in one of two ways within the dialect: some refer to it as a wooden staircase within the house. Others do not make that distinction, but label any complete staircase with *Stiege* to differentiate it from *Stapfel* (MSG *Treppenstufe, Aussentreppe*), which in turn can mean an individual step on a staircase, or refer to an outside staircase made of stone, and usually leading up to an edifice. Due to these differences in meaning, both answers were accepted, as long as the subjects clearly stated one set of the correct

options and did not just randomly mix them. The terms were solicited on the questionnaire, where only knowledge of the traditional meanings of the dialect terms was addressed.

This knowledge increases with age, with the divide occurring down the middle of the four AGE groups. When the two oldest groups are combined due to a knockout, only 2 of the 15 individuals in this combined group do not know the correct meanings. The two younger groups combined consist of 12 subjects, and exactly half of them give either no definition or an incorrect one.

The areas furthest from town cause another knockout within LOCATION, as all 4 individuals in that group know the meanings of the words in question, whereas in the other two groups about half of the subjects do not.

The knockout within the EDUCATION variable occurs in the lowest level, as all 6 subjects are aware of the traditional meanings. In the middle group, 4 of the 10 persons do not know the traditional meanings, and in the group with the most formal education 4 out of 11 give either no answers or answers that do not correspond with the traditional meanings of the dialect terms.

As for the TRADITIONAL variable, all of the 6 individuals who call themselves traditional know the original meanings of the words, whereas 8 of the 21 subjects who do not claim to be traditional are not aware of these meanings.

INSECURITY seems to be playing a role here, but is not statistically significant. Of the 14 individuals who claim to never feel insecure when speaking their dialect, 12 know the traditional meanings of the words. The group who expresses occasional insecurity is divided, with 7 of the 13 individuals knowing the dialectal meanings.

Table 11: *Stiege and Stapfel*

Factor Group	Factor	Knew meaning	Didn't know meaning	Factor Weight
Age (p=0.095)	19-30	2 (40.0%)	3 (60.0%)	0.191
	31-46	4 (57.1%)	3 (42.9%)	0.321
	47-63	6 (100.0%)	0 (0.0%)	0.697
	64-88	7 (77.8%)	2 (22.2%)	
Location (p=0.651)	Urban	10 (66.7%)	5 (33.3%)	0.455
	Suburban	5 (62.5%)	3 (37.5%)	0.556
	Rural	4 (100.0%)	0 (0.0%)	
Education (p=0.536)	Abitur/College	7 (63.6%)	4 (36.4%)	0.421
	Realschule	6 (60.0%)	4 (40.0%)	0.554
	Hauptschule	6 (100.0%)	0 (0.0%)	
Traditional (n/a)	Yes	6 (100.0%)	0 (0.0%)	n/a
	No	13 (61.9%)	8 (38.1%)	n/a
Insecurity (p=0.070)	Yes	7 (53.8%)	6 (46.2%)	0.300
	No	12 (85.7%)	2 (14.3%)	0.687

### Wohnzimmer

*Stube* (MSG *Wohnzimmer*) is a dialect word for the 'living room'. In OHG it referred to a room that could be heated and is thus related to the English 'stove' (Pfeifer, 1384). In MSG it has a connotation of comfort and family atmosphere, but when used in the dialect it completely replaces the standard term. In this study, 11 participants choose this dialect word.

The AGE group shows the usual tendencies without being statistically significant. Dialect use increases slightly within the middle age groups. The first two groups choose the standard more frequently (4 versus 1 and 6 versus 1, respectively), the next group up is divided (3 to 3), and 6 of the 9 oldest participants preferred the dialect word.

The rural participants are the only ones who prefer the dialect word over the standard choice here, but due to the small number of participants in this group the analysis finds no statistical significance.

As for the TRADITIONAL variable, statistical significance is detected in this case. As has been the case before, the majority of individuals who self-identify as being traditional (5 versus 1), prefer the dialect over the standard term.

Table 12: Wohnzimmer

Factor Group	Factor	Wohnzimmer	Stube	Factor Weight
Age (p=0.117)	19-30	4 (80.0%)	1 (20.0%)	0.290
	31-46	6 (85.7%)	1 (14.3%)	0.214
	47-63	3 (50.0%)	3 (50.0%)	0.620
	64-88	3 (33.3%)	6 (66.7%)	0.765
Location (p=0.250)	Urban	9 (60.0%)	6 (40.0%)	0.496
	Suburban	6 (75.0%)	2 (25.0%)	0.330
	Rural	1 (25.0%)	3 (75.0%)	0.815
Education (p=0.862)	Abitur/College	7 (63.6%)	4 (36.4%)	0.455
	Realschule	6 (60.0%)	4 (40.0%)	0.493
	Hauptschule	3 (50.0%)	3 (50.0%)	0.593
Traditional (p=0.015)	Yes	1 (16.7%)	5 (83.3%)	0.877
	No	15 (71.4%)	6 (28.6%)	0.363
Insecurity (p=0.598)	Yes	7 (53.8%)	6 (46.2%)	0.556
	No	9 (64.3%)	5 (35.7%)	0.448

### Decke

In this central Swabian dialect, the term for ‘rug’ not only stands for the woven object placed on the floor, but is also another word for ‘blanket’ (MSG *Decke*). *Teppich* is the dialect word used for both items. It is used by 8 of the 26 participants who provide a term for this item.

Once more, the youngest age group creates a knockout, with none of the younger participants using the traditional dialect term. After combining this group with the next group up, AGE is not statistically significant. Nevertheless, it remains an important factor to consider, especially as the oldest age group is the only one that contains more people using the dialect

word than the standard. The two age groups in the middle field again did not show a specific pattern in dialect versus standard usage.

Although statistically not significant ( $p=0.112$ ), the EDUCATION variable behaves as expected. The two higher educational levels show a common pattern (2 versus 8 on dialect use for both), and the group with the lowest educational level prefers the dialect term (4 versus 2), which is now clearly the expected shift within this variable.

The TRADITIONAL variable provides results of statistical significance here. Of the 5 individuals claiming to be traditional, 4 use the dialect term. This leaves 21 individuals who do not think of themselves as traditional, 17 of whom use the standard term.

As for INSECURITY, this factor group exhibits the usual tendencies: more people who use the dialect term claim to never feel insecure when speaking dialect than do not, and more people using the standard term state they feel occasional dialect insecurity than do not.

*Table 13: Decke*

Factor Group	Factor	Decke	Teppich	Factor Weight
Age ( $p=0.150$ )	19-30	5 (100.0%)	0 (0.0%)	0.337
	31-46	5 (71.4%)	2 (28.6%)	
	47-63	4 (80.0%)	1 (20.0%)	0.388
	64-88	4 (44.4%)	5 (55.6%)	0.760
Location ( $p=0.864$ )	Urban	11 (73.3%)	4(26.7%)	0.453
	Suburban	5 (62.5%)	3 (37.5%)	0.577
	Rural	2 (66.7%)	1 (33.3%)	0.532
Education ( $p=0.112$ )	Abitur/College	8 (80.0%)	2 (20.0%)	0.382
	Realschule	8 (80.0%)	2 (20.0%)	0.382
	Hauptschule	2 (33.3%)	4 (66.7%)	0.832
Traditional ( $p=0.010$ )	Yes	1 (20.0%)	4 (80.0%)	0.908
	No	17 (81.0%)	4 (19.0%)	0.367
Insecurity ( $p=0.412$ )	Yes	10 (76.9%)	3 (23.1%)	0.410
	No	8 (61.5%)	5 (38.5%)	0.590

## Mülleimer

*Kuttereimer* is the common dialect term for a 'garbage can' (MSG *Mülleimer*). In this study it was used by 13 of the 27 dialect speakers. According to Wax, the etymology of the first part of this compound is obscure (303ff). Here, the dialect term is used by 13 of the 27 participants.

Again, the AGE variable creates a knockout. None of the 5 dialect speakers below the age of thirty use the dialect term, so the age groups had to be recoded accordingly. The results are statistically significant. The two younger age groups prefer the standard, whereas the two older age groups choose the dialect term more often.

The EDUCATION variable is not statistically significant, but once more the people with the lowest educational status constitute the only group who prefers the dialect word over the standard term (4 versus 2). The middle group is evenly divided, and the people with the highest educational achievements preferred the standard (7 versus 4).

Although differences within the INSECURITY variable are not statistically significant ( $p=0.083$ ), the tendency for increased dialect use to correlate with a certain level of security and comfort when using the dialect is confirmed in this case. Of the 14 subjects who claim they never feel insecure when speaking dialect, 9 actually use the dialect term in this case. On the other hand, of the 13 subjects expressing occasional insecurity, 9 choose the standard word.

Table 14: Mülleimer

Factor Group	Factor	Mülleimer	Kuttereimer	Factor Weight
Age (p=0.048)	19-30	5 (100.0%)	0 (0.0%)	0.261
	31-46	4 (57.1%)	3 (42.9%)	
	47-63	1 (16.7%)	5 (83.3%)	0.841
	64-88	4 (44.4%)	5 (55.6%)	0.569
Location (p=0.357)	Urban	6 (40.0%)	9 (60.0%)	0.621
	Suburban	5 (62.5%)	3 (37.5%)	0.396
	Rural	3 (75.0%)	1 (25.0%)	0.267
Education (p=0.483)	Abitur/College	7 (63.6%)	4 (36.4%)	0.381
	Realschule	5 (50.0%)	5 (50.0%)	0.518
	Hauptschule	2 (33.3%)	4 (66.6%)	0.683
Traditional (p=0.922)	Yes	3 (50.0%)	3 (50.0%)	0.518
	No	11 (52.4%)	10 (47.6%)	0.495
Insecurity (p=0.083)	Yes	9 (69.2%)	4 (30.8%)	0.327
	No	5 (35.7%)	9 (64.3%)	0.662

### Ohrenzwicker

The MSG term for ‘earwig’ is *Ohrenzwicker*, with the former part of the word meaning ears, and the latter part relating to ‘pinch’. The dialect term is made up of the same two meanings, but the dialect word for pinching is *klemmen*, so *Ohrenzwicker* turns into *Ohrenklemmer*. For this term 3 individuals, 2 of whom live in the areas furthest from town, make use of slightly different terms, so of the 24 participants analyzed, 6 refer to the insect using the dialect term as stated here.

Due to the similarities between the first two groups within the AGE variable, I combined them and the results are statistically significant. Only 2 of the 11 individuals below the age of 47 use the dialect version, whereas both older groups prefer the dialect term (3 versus 1 and 6 versus 3, respectively).

Due to a knockout within the EDUCATION variable, in the group with the least formal education, two groups were combined here as well. The results are statistically significant. Only



5 of the 14 individuals in the combined group use the standard term, versus 8 of the 10 people with the highest level of formal education.

The TRADITIONAL variable cannot be analyzed due to a knockout. All of the participants who use the standard term also state they are not particularly traditional. On the other hand, 5 of the 11 persons who use the dialect word, claimed to be traditional.

Table 15: Ohrenzwicker

Factor Group	Factor	Ohrenzwicker	Ohrenklemmer	Factor Weight
Age (p=0.038)	19-30	4 (80.0%)	1 (20.0%)	0.222
	31-46	5 (83.3%)	1 (16.7%)	
	47-63	1 (25.0%)	3 (75.0%)	0.793
	64-88	3 (33.3%)	6 (66.7%)	0.719
Location (p=0.942)	Urban	8 (57.1%)	6 (42.9%)	0.470
	Suburban	4 (50.0%)	4 (50.0%)	0.541
	Rural	1 (50.0%)	1 (50.0%)	0.541
Education (p=0.031)	Abitur/College	8 (80.0%)	2 (20.0%)	0.240
	Realschule	5 (55.6%)	4 (44.4%)	0.695
	Hauptschule	0 (0.0%)	5 (100.0%)	
Traditional (n/a)	Yes	0 (0.0%)	5 (100.0%)	n/a
	No	13 (68.4%)	6 (31.6%)	
Insecurity (p=0.220)	Yes	8 (66.7%)	4 (33.3%)	0.374
	No	5 (58.3%)	7 (41.7%)	0.626

### Häsläuse

Swabian, as spoken around the town of Schwäbisch Gmünd, has a specific expression for sitting squeezed together on a bench. ‘*Sitzen wie die Häsläuse*’, ‘sitting like lice on a rabbit’, for which MSG has no equivalent idiom, is used to express this inadequate seating arrangement. This term was solicited on the questionnaire, and, rather than mere knowledge, usage of the expression was addressed.

Due to two knockouts caused by the two younger groups within the AGE variable (0 to 5 and 0 to 7 on dialect use, respectively), the analysis is run with only two groups. The differences are statistically significant, and once more the oldest participants are the only ones who are more likely to use the dialect word than not (6 versus 3).

Although not statistically significant ( $p=0.095$ ), EDUCATION proves to be of importance. The realization of this term is comparable for the two higher educational groups (2 versus 9 and 8 versus 2 on use of dialect), but the participants with the lowest educational status use the dialect term more frequently than the other two groups (4 versus 2).

TRADITIONAL produced another knockout and had to be excluded from the statistical analysis. None of the 6 subjects claiming to be traditional are speakers who state they do not use the dialect expression. Along those lines, 19 of the 21 subjects who are not traditional also say they do not use the term.

*Table 16: Häsläuse (used versus not used)*

Factor Group	Factor	No	Yes	Factor Weight
Age ( $p=0.005$ )	19-30	5 (100.0%)	0 (0.0%)	0.716
	31-46	7 (100.0%)	0 (0.0%)	
	47-63	4 (66.7%)	2 (33.3%)	0.136
	64-88	3 (33.3%)	6 (66.7%)	
Location ( $p=0.848$ )	Urban	11 (73.3%)	4 (26.7%)	0.534
	Suburban	5 (62.5%)	3 (37.5%)	0.410
	Rural	3 (75.0%)	1 (25.0%)	0.555
Education ( $p=0.095$ )	Abitur/College	9 (81.8%)	2 (18.2%)	0.630
	Realschule	8 (80.0%)	2 (20.0%)	0.602
	Hauptschule	2 (33.3%)	4 (66.7%)	0.159
Traditional (n/a)	Yes	0 (0.0%)	6 (100.0%)	n/a
	No	19 (90.5%)	2 (9.5%)	n/a
Insecurity ( $p=0.901$ )	Yes	9 (69.2%)	4 (30.8%)	0.487
	No	10 (71.4%)	4 (28.6%)	0.512

## riechen

The Swabian dialect traditionally has not had distinct lexemes for ‘smelling’ and ‘tasting’, but instead, the act of ‘smelling’ (MSG *riechen*) can be expressed through the use of *schmecken*, which means ‘to taste’ in Standard German. The reason for this is that in OHG *smekken* meant ‘to smell’, but in MHG *smecken* additionally took on the meaning of ‘to taste/try sth.’ (Wax, 447). The Swabian dialect preserves the older meaning, which has been lost in MSG. In this study, 13 people use the dialect word and the remaining 14 individuals prefer the standard term.

The EDUCATION variable shows the expected tendencies for the lowest and highest of the three groups, although the differences are not statistically significant ( $p=0.187$ ). The participants with the most education prefer the standard term (8 versus 3), whereas the subjects with the least education choose the dialect word more frequently (4 versus 2). The remaining group in the middle also shows a tendency toward dialect usage (6 versus 4).

Again, the character trait TRADITIONAL proves to be statistically significant, with 5 of the 6 persons claiming to possess that trait using the dialect verb, and 13 of the 21 subjects denying the trait using the standard verb.

Table 17: riechen

Factor Group	Factor	riechen	schmecken	Factor Weight
Age (p=0.778)	19-30	3 (60.0%)	2 (40.0%)	0.417
	31-46	4 (57.1%)	3 (42.9%)	0.446
	47-63	2 (33.3%)	4 (66.7%)	0.682
	64-88	5 (55.6%)	4 (44.4%)	0.462
Location (p=0.201)	Urban	10 (66.7%)	5 (33.3%)	0.349
	Suburban	3 (37.5%)	5 (62.5%)	0.641
	Rural	1 (25.0%)	3 (75.0%)	0.763
Education (p=0.187)	Abitur/College	8 (72.7%)	3 (27.3%)	0.292
	Realschule	4 (40.0%)	6 (60.0%)	0.623
	Hauptschule	2 (33.3%)	4 (66.7%)	0.687
Traditional (p=0.046)	Yes	1 (16.7%)	5 (83.3%)	0.836
	No	13 (61.9%)	8 (38.1%)	0.386
Insecurity (p=0.850)	Yes	7 (53.8%)	6 (46.2%)	0.480
	No	7 (50.0%)	7 (50.0%)	0.518

### Weichling

A *Loale* (MSG *Weichling*) is a person who is not very bright, cowardly, and passive in nature. This term is related to the MSG adjective *lau* ‘lukewarm/half-hearted’ (Wax, 320). Here, as with *Häsläuse* before, I solicited indication of usage of the term in question. Only 5 of the 27 participants say they never use this term.

Because a knockout occurs within the EDUCATION variable on the lowest level (6 versus 0 on dialect usage), this level is combined with the next level up and compared to the group with the highest educational level, and the difference is still statistically significant. Only 1 of the 5 persons who never use the term is found in the combined group. The remaining 4 individuals who do not use the dialect word are in the group with the highest educational status, along with 3 who say they do use it.

The 6 subjects who consider themselves traditional create another knockout within the TRADITIONAL variable, as all of them use the dialect term, whereas none of the 5 individuals who never use the dialect option claim to be traditional.

Table 18: *Loale (used versus not used)*

Factor Group	Factor	no	yes	Factor Weight
Age (p=0.454)	19-30	2 (40.0%)	3 (60.0%)	0.764
	31-46	1 (14.3%)	6 (85.6%)	0.447
	47-63	0 (0.0%)	6 (100.0%)	0.428
	64-88	2 (22.2%)	7 (77.8%)	
Location (p=0.831)	Urban	3 (20.0%)	12 (80.0%)	0.525
	Suburban	2 (25.0%)	6 (75.0%)	0.469
	Rural	0 (0.0%)	4 (100.0%)	
Education (p=0.047)	Abitur/College	4 (36.4%)	7 (63.6%)	0.781
	Realschule	1 (10.0%)	9 (90.0%)	0.294
	Hauptschule	0 (0.0%)	6 (100.0%)	
Traditional n/a	Yes	0 (0.0%)	6 (100.0%)	n/a
	No	5 (23.8%)	16 (76.2%)	n/a
Insecurity (p=0.689)	Yes	2 (15.4%)	11 (84.6%)	0.448
	No	3 (21.4%)	11 (78.6%)	0.548

### Wespe

A wasp can be referred to as *Wäfzg* in the dialect, a term which shows similarities to the standard *Wespe*. A total of 16 subjects use this dialect word.

Within the AGE variable there is a slow decrease in dialect usage from the older to the younger age groups. The two older age groups use the dialect term more often than they do the standard term (4 versus 2 and 7 versus 2, respectively), whereas the two younger groups favor the standard over the dialect (4 versus 3, and 3 versus 2). However, this gradual change does not show statistical significance.

A similar situation can be observed within the EDUCATION variable, where the group with the lowest educational status greatly prefers the dialect word (5 versus 1), the middle group does so to a lesser degree (6 versus 4), and the group with the most formal education chooses the standard more frequently (6 versus 5).

Due to a knockout within the TRADITIONAL variable, a statistical analysis is not possible. None of the participants who use the standard term claim to be traditional (0 versus 11), whereas 6 out of the 16 who favor the dialect word do.

*Table 19: Wespe*

Factor Group	Factor	Wespe	Wäfzg	Factor Weight
Age (p=0.397)	19-30	3 (60.0%)	2 (40.0%)	0.304
	31-46	4 (57.1%)	3 (42.9%)	0.330
	47-63	2 (33.3%)	4 (66.7%)	0.567
	64-88	2 (22.2%)	7 (77.8%)	0.696
Location (p=0.710)	Urban	7 (46.7%)	8 (53.3%)	0.437
	Suburban	3 (37.5%)	5 (62.5%)	0.531
	Rural	1 (25.0%)	3 (75.0%)	0.670
Education (p=0.292)	Abitur/College	6 (54.5%)	5 (45.5%)	0.351
	Realschule	4 (40.0%)	6 (60.0%)	0.493
	Hauptschule	1 (16.7%)	5 (83.3%)	0.764
Traditional n/a	Yes	0 (0.0%)	6 (100.0%)	n/a
	No	11 (52.4%)	10 (47.6%)	n/a
Insecurity (p=0.821)	Yes	5 (61.5%)	8 (38.5%)	0.523
	No	6 (42.9%)	8 (57.1%)	0.479

## 2.3 Conclusion

The analyses above confirm that differences in dialect usage exist among the sample population of the area. However, these differences clearly cannot be attributed to one factor alone, but instead are caused by a number of factors.

Of the five different variables used for the analysis, AGE proves to be the most important one for delineating a change in progress. Although it is statistically significant on only 7 of the 19 analyzed occasions (*Häsläuse, Ohrenzwicker, Mülleimer, Sommersprossen, Scheune, Karotten, Lakritze*), this may at times most likely be due to the small number of individuals in each group. In all but 4 of the remaining instances that underwent analyses (*riechen, Nacken, Essensreste, Erdbeeren*), a definite tendency towards decreased dialect use in the younger generations is evident. The shift from dialect to standard usage occurs mostly between the second and third age groups, although a few lexemes shift instead between the fourth (oldest) and third age groups. This places the population that is located in the middle of this dialect-to-standard shift, namely the individuals between roughly 40 to 50 years of age, in a very dynamic position. This generation was the first one that was not immediately affected by the aftermath of the war, and enjoyed formerly rare luxuries such as television and personal automobiles. This would allow them to travel outside of their immediate dialect areas on a regular basis and to be exposed to more and more Standard German through the media, a situation that was unprecedented in history.

As for LOCATION, the rural group, which shows the strongest use of traditional dialect is also the smallest and thus is the cause for several knockouts. I believe the lack of statistical significance for this variable is in part due to its size, as the rural group behaves differently from the other two groups on numerous occasions. It appears, however, that it is not distance from the town center per se that plays a role, but only the rural vs. (sub)urban distinction: whether an individual lives in the immediate town center or five miles away in a suburb or independent small town does not play a role in determining dialect usage.

The EDUCATION variable is statistically significant on only three occasions (*Spiegeleier*, *Ohrenzwicker*, and *Loale*), but the group with the lowest educational level exclusively chooses the dialect terms on three more occasions. This group differs from the other two by almost always favoring the dialect, or being equally divided between the two terms in question (16 of the 19 instances). The individuals with the most formal education are more likely to choose standard over dialect terms (14 of the 19 instances), and the group in the middle is nestled between the other two groups, with a slight tendency to prefer the standard over the dialect (10 of the 19 instances).

Although the character trait TRADITIONAL plays a role with regard to the choice of terms (statistically significant on 7 occasions), this was in part closely related to the age of the individual, at least for the group of 6 persons who call themselves traditional. Almost all of them (5) can be found in the oldest age group. It is only natural that this character trait would most likely be encountered in the older generation, as younger people tend to be more future-oriented and not yet focused on family and traditions. However, it is interesting to examine the choice of terms of the 21 individuals who do not consider themselves to be traditional, as in all but 7 of the analyzed terms (*Karotten*, *Lakritze*, *Marmelade*, *Scheune*, *Mülleimer*, *Wespe*, *Loale*) the overwhelming majority chooses the standard term, regardless of the subjects' ages.

As for the INSECURITY variable, there is a definite tendency in most instances (14 of the 19 analyzed terms) for people who express occasional insecurity when speaking their dialect to choose the standard term over the dialect word. As indicated in 1.2.3, this variable behaves in a similar fashion to its counterpart, which asked about insecurity when speaking standard German. In both cases a tendency toward dialect use goes along with a general confidence in any speaking situation. It appears that individuals who feel more insecure about their dialect usage, and maybe



perceive the dialect as a more stigmatized and less appealing speech form, would try to use more standard German terms when having the option to do so.

This section examined the use of 19 lexical items among dialect speakers. The most important factors in determining whether an individual chooses a dialect term or the standard equivalent are age, level of education, the rural vs. urban distinction, and the level of insecurity when speaking dialect. In the next section, we will see that many of the same factors affect speakers' phonological choices.

### **3. ANALYSIS OF THE PHONOLOGICAL ITEMS**

#### **3.1 Choice of phonological items**

Phonological items were chosen for this study based on previous descriptions of Swabian phonology. Although consonantal differences were recorded and in several instances chosen for analysis, this study places heavy emphasis on the vowel system. This choice was made due to the observance of increased usage of different vowel realizations among the population of the area, along with an apparent consistency with regards to consonant usage. However, for the sake of completeness, several consonantal features will be presented as well. As for the general choice of phonological items, dialect terms were avoided, as it seemed contradictory to look for a standard German sound realization in a word unique to the dialect. Thus terms were chosen that could be found both in the standard language and in the dialect, but allowed for phonological alterations that were consistent with traditional dialect sounds.

All of the phonological items were obtained during the interview process, as laid out in the previous section. Written realizations of items on the questionnaire were not used for analysis due to variations in spelling that might be attributed to factors other than differences in spoken realizations of the words in question.

## 3.2 Individual analyses: vowels

### 3.2.1. Derounding of /ø:/

The standard German /ø:/ has traditionally been unrounded and realized as /e:/ in the Swabian dialect. For this study I will examine its usage within two very different terms, *Flöte* ‘flute’ and *höchstens* ‘at the most’. Due to the presence of several lexical items for each vowel examined in this chapter, the total number of responses is multiplied accordingly. In the case of /ø:/, for example, this results in a total of 54 responses given by the 27 participants.

Although not statistically significant, the differences between the age groups resemble the results already seen within the lexical chapter. The youngest group is the only one who prefers the standard sound (7 versus 3), whereas the two oldest groups both prefer the dialect realizations (7 versus 5, and 11 versus 7, respectively). The second youngest group is equally divided between the two options.

LOCATION proves to be of statistical significance. Only 1 instance of standard realization occurs within the rural group, but dialect realizations decrease for the other two groups (9 versus 7, and 12 versus 18, respectively).

Within the TRADITIONAL group we see different results for the two subgroups. People who self-identify as traditional prefer the dialect sound (8 versus 4), whereas participants who deny that character trait are pretty evenly divided between the two realizations (20 versus 22).

Even though the remaining variables show the expected tendencies, the distribution within the LEXICON surprisingly reveals complete opposites. A possible explanation for this uneven distribution could be the difference in type and usage of the two words in question. In addition to being fairly resistant to derounding, *Flöte* is also pronounced in the standard fashion in another unexpected way – the /ə/ at the end of the word is not dropped, as is often the case

within the dialect, and the only dialectal feature is the pronunciation of <t> as /d/. This particular word is not a term of everyday usage, as it refers to an item that is not owned by every family. In comparison, *höchstens* is a very common word, and may thus be more prone to derounding than the rarely used term *Flöte* in this case.

Table 20: Derounding of /ø:/

Factor Group	Factor	/ø:/	/e:/ (/ɛ/)	Factor Weight
Age (p=0.433)	19-30	7 (70.0%)	3 (30.0%)	0.286
	31-46	7 (50.0%)	7 (50.0%)	0.483
	47-63	5 (22.2%)	7 (77.8%)	0.567
	64-88	7 (58.3%)	11 (41.7%)	0.595
Location (p=0.043)	Urban	18 (60.0%)	12 (40.0%)	0.368
	Suburban	7 (43.8%)	9 (56.2%)	0.528
	Rural	1 (12.5%)	7 (87.5%)	0.859
Education (p=0.327)	Abitur/College	4 (33.3%)	8 (66.7%)	0.526
	Realschule	12 (60.0%)	8 (40.0%)	0.382
	Hauptschule	10 (45.5%)	12 (54.5%)	0.649
Traditional (p=0.246)	Yes	4 (33.3%)	8 (66.7%)	0.648
	No	22 (52.4%)	20 (47.6%)	0.456
Insecurity (p=0.794)	Yes	13 (50.0%)	13 (50.0%)	0.482
	No	13 (46.4%)	15 (53.6%)	0.517
Lexical Item (p=0.008)	Flöte	18 (30.8%)	9 (69.2%)	0.315
	höchstens	8 (5.0%)	19 (95.0%)	0.685

### 3.2.2 Raising of /ɛ/

Traditionally, standard German /ɛ/ is realized as /e/ in Swabian. The two terms analyzed for this particular sound are *Äpfel* ‘apples’ and *erkältet* ‘to have a cold’.

Although all age groups prefer the dialect realization to the standard one, a change in pattern can be observed in the youngest of the groups. Whereas in the oldest group only 1 of 18

possible realizations is in favor of the standard sound, these extreme numbers appear to be changing for the youngest participants (4 versus 6).

The TRADITIONAL variable causes a knockout, as within it, all individuals who call themselves traditional use the dialect sound. Although also preferred by the remainder of subjects within that group, the dialect realizations do not account for all of the instances (34 versus 8).

Statistical significance is established within the INSECURITY variable. For the participants who claim never to feel insecure when speaking their dialect, only 1 of the possible 28 realizations is the standard sound. For the subjects who do express occasional feelings of insecurity, 7 of the 26 realizations are the standard sound.

*Table 21: Raising of /ɛ/*

Factor Group	Factor	/ɛ/	/e/	Factor Weight
Age (p=0.131)	19-30	4 (40.0%)	6 (60.0%)	0.167
	31-46	2 (14.3%)	12 (85.7%)	0.444
	47-63	1 (8.3%)	11 (91.7%)	0.594
	64-88	1 (5.6%)	17 (94.4%)	0.693
Location (p=0.223)	Urban	6 (20.0%)	24 (80.0%)	0.390
	Suburban	2 (12.5%)	14 (87.5%)	0.636
	Rural	0 (0.0%)	8 (100.0%)	
Education (p=0.582)	Abitur/College	4 (18.2%)	18 (81.8%)	0.435
	Realschule	4 (20.0%)	16 (80.0%)	0.545
	Hauptschule	0 (0.0%)	12 (100.0%)	
Traditional (n/a)	Yes	0 (0.0%)	12 (100.0%)	n/a
	No	8 (19.0%)	34 (81.0%)	
Insecurity (p=0.012)	Yes	7 (26.9%)	19 (73.1%)	0.233
	No	1 (3.6%)	27 (96.4%)	0.751
Lexical Items (p=0.125)	Äpfel	2 (7.4%)	25 (92.6%)	0.654
	erkältet	6 (22.2%)	21 (77.8%)	0.346

### 3.2.3 Lowering of /i/

Standard German /i/ has a dialect realization of /e/ when occurring in front of nasals. Here this was examined using the terms *Himbeere* ‘raspberry’ and *trinken* ‘to drink’. Of the 54 total possible realizations, 35 are dialect ones.

The AGE variable is again not statistically significant ( $p=0.154$ ), but shows a distinct shift in preference between the youngest and second youngest age groups. The youngest participants are the only ones who prefer the standard sound over the dialect option (6 versus 4). The next group up prefers the dialect sound (8 versus 6), and the two remaining groups greatly favor the dialect.

Within the two groups living further from town, the dialect is preferred to the same degree (75% for both). The urban group shows significantly more standard usage than the other two groups and is more evenly divided between the two options.

The EDUCATION variable shows statistical significance in this case. The group with the highest level of education prefers the standard over the dialect (13 to 9). The remaining two groups greatly favor the dialect (15 to 5, and 11 to 1 respectively).

Statistical significance is also established for the TRADITIONAL variable. The individuals who call themselves not traditional slightly prefer the dialect (24 versus 18), whereas only 1 standard realization of a possible 12 occurred within the group who claims to be traditional.

The INSECURITY variable also confirms the thus observed tendencies, with the individuals who claim never to feel insecure when speaking dialect greatly favoring the dialect realization, and the remaining participants doing so to a much lesser degree.

A significant difference is detected between the two lexical terms chosen. The reason for this is not totally clear. However, I would like to point out that two terms I am examining here

under 2 different headings, *Himbeere* and *Kuchen* ‘cake’, were solicited together, by showing the participants an image of a raspberry cake. Both these terms behave differently than their respective counterparts during the analyses. One could speculate that the former rarity and luxury of such a food item as *Kuchen* plays a role in these results. Here it suffices to say that, although not treated the same by dialect speakers, the terms examined for this vowel show the same results as far as the remaining variables are concerned.

Table 22: Lowering of /i/

Factor Group	Factor	/i/	/e/	Factor Weight
Age (p=0.154)	19-30	6 (60.0%)	4 (40.0%)	0.254
	31-46	6 (42.9%)	8 (57.1%)	0.404
	47-63	2 (16.7%)	10 (83.3%)	0.718
	64-88	5 (27.8%)	13 (72.2%)	0.569
Location (p=0.380)	Urban	13 (43.3%)	17 (56.7%)	0.409
	Suburban	4 (25.0%)	12 (75.0%)	0.613
	Rural	2 (25.0%)	6 (75.0%)	0.613
Education (p=0.007)	Abitur/College	13 (59.1%)	9 (40.9%)	0.239
	Realschule	5 (25.0%)	15 (75.0%)	0.577
	Hauptschule	1 (8.3%)	11 (91.7%)	0.833
Traditional (p=0.017)	Yes	1 (8.3%)	11 (91.7%)	0.837
	No	18 (42.9%)	24 (57.1%)	0.385
Insecurity (p=0.292)	Yes	11 (42.3%)	15 (57.7%)	0.422
	No	8 (28.6%)	20 (71.4%)	0.572
Lexical Items (p=0.002)	Himbeere	15 (55.6%)	12 (44.4%)	0.272
	trinken	4 (14.8%)	23 (85.2%)	0.728

### 3.2.4 Backing of /ai/ to /æ/

The standard German diphthong /ai/ is commonly turned into /æ/ in Swabian. The analysis for this particular sound consists of the words *Mai* ‘may’, *Spiegeleier* ‘sunny side up

eggs', and *anzeigen* 'to report sth.', which all in the past contained the Middle High German diphthong <ei> (Köbler).

Although not statistically significant ( $p=0.076$ ), the AGE variable provides interesting results, as an initial slight preference for the standard sound (8 versus 7 for the below 30 group) turns into a distinct preference for dialect realizations for the three older groups.

LOCATION shows statistical significance, as the standard diphthong is used in only 1 of the 12 possible instances by the rural group. It is still not used much by the suburban participants (3 versus 18), but increasingly so by the urban group (16 versus 25).

EDUCATION is also a variable that, while not statistically significant ( $p=0.074$ ), exhibits a familiar trend. Use of the standard sound increases as the educational background increases. Most notably, only 1 of a possible 14 standard sound realizations occurs within the group with the least formal education.

Within the TRADITIONAL variable, statistical significance is detected. Again, only 1 of a possible 14 standard sound realizations can be found within the group who self-identifies as traditional. The participants who do not think of themselves as traditional also prefer the dialect diphthong, but to a lesser degree (41 versus 19).

The difference between the lexical items containing the diphthongs under investigation is statistically significant as well, with *Mai* providing different results than the other two terms chosen. Standard and dialect usage are almost evenly distributed within this word, whereas dialect usage is greatly preferred for the other two words.



Table 23: Backing of /ai/

Factor Group	Factor	/ai/	/ɔɛ/	Factor Weight
Age (p=0.076)	19-30	8 (53.3%)	7 (46.7%)	0.228
	31-46	5 (25.0%)	15 (75.0%)	0.503
	47-63	2 (12.5%)	14 (87.5%)	0.702
	64-88	5 (21.7%)	18 (78.3%)	0.548
Location (p=0.027)	Urban	16 (39.0%)	25 (61.0%)	0.332
	Suburban	3 (14.3%)	18 (85.7%)	0.656
	Rural	1 (8.3%)	11 (91.7%)	0.778
Education (p=0.074)	Abitur/College	12 (37.5%)	20 (62.5%)	0.352
	Realschule	7 (25.0%)	21 (75.0%)	0.494
	Hauptschule	1 (7.1%)	13 (92.9%)	0.809
Traditional (p=0.042)	Yes	1 (7.1%)	13 (92.9%)	0.811
	No	19 (31.7%)	41 (68.3%)	0.416
Insecurity (p=0.380)	Yes	12 (31.6%)	26 (68.4%)	0.442
	No	8 (22.2%)	28 (77.8%)	0.561
Lexical Items (p=0.010)	Mai	13 (48.1%)	14 (51.9%)	0.258
	Spiegeleier	3 (15.0%)	17 (85.0%)	0.646
	anzeigen	4 (14.8%)	23 (85.2%)	0.640

### 3.2.5 Derounding and diphthongization of /y/

A common phonological feature in this dialect is the derounding of standard German /y/. The long version of this closed front vowel, however, is sometimes not simply derounded, but also diphthongized and pronounced as /ia/ or in rare instances /ea/. Here the different realizations of standard German /y:/ are examined in three words, *Kühe* ‘cows’, which calls for use of the /ia/ diphthong in the dialect, *grün* ‘green’, which traditionally has been pronounced with an /ea/ diphthong, and *früher* ‘earlier’, which is simply derounded to /i:/. I created a separate table for the /ea/ diphthong, as it behaves differently from the other two realizations, which is probably due to the presence of the following nasal, as all three words can be found to have had the same vowel combinations going back to Old High German (<uo>) (Köbler).

Kühe and früher: Within the AGE variable, statistical significance is present. The youngest group is the only one that prefers the standard sound over the dialect options (6 versus 4). The remaining age groups all greatly favor the dialect realizations.

LOCATION is an important factor as well, although two groups had to be combined due to a knockout and the results are not statistically significant. Although all three groups favor the dialect realizations, the rural group actually does not use the standard sound at all (0 versus 8).

Even though the EDUCATION variable is not statistically significant either, the tendency for the group with the lowest level of education to prefer the dialect options to a greater degree remains.

Within the TRADITIONAL variable, values cannot be analyzed due to another knockout. None of the individuals who self-identify as traditional choose the standard sound, whereas one third of the individuals who state they are not traditional do go with the standard realization.

grün: Results were very different for the dialect realization of /y:/ in *grün*. Only 5 participants use the dialect diphthong and the remaining persons choose to go with the standard sound.

The only statistically significant variable is LOCATION. Of the 4 participants living in the areas classified as rural, 3 use the diphthong.

INSECURITY also shows a tendency toward more dialect usage among the individuals who never feel insecure when speaking dialect, when compared to the ones that claim to feel occasional insecurity.

Table 24: /y:/ to /i:/ or /ia/

Factor Group	Factor	/y:/	/i:/, /ia/	Factor Weight
Age (p=0.043)	19-30	6 (60.0%)	4 (40.0%)	0.167
	31-46	4 (28.6%)	10 (71.4%)	0.429
	47-63	1 (8.3%)	11 (91.7%)	0.767
	64-88	3 (17.6%)	14 (82.4%)	0.584
Location (p=0.189)	Urban	10 (33.3%)	20 (66.7%)	0.408
	Suburban	4 (26.7%)	11 (73.3%)	0.620
	Rural	0 (0.0%)	8 (100.0%)	
Education (p=0.207)	Abitur/College	8 (36.4%)	14 (63.6%)	0.362
	Realschule	5 (25.0%)	15 (75.0%)	0.494
	Hauptschule	1 (9.1%)	10 (90.9%)	0.764
Traditional (n/a)	Yes	0 (0.0%)	11 (100.0%)	n/a
	No	14 (33.3%)	28 (66.7%)	n/a
Insecurity (p=0.187)	Yes	9 (34.6%)	17 (65.4%)	0.394
	No	5 (18.5%)	22 (81.5%)	0.602
Lexical Items (p=0.938)	Kühe	7 (25.9%)	20 (74.1%)	0.506
	früher	7 (26.9%)	19 (73.1%)	0.494

Table 25: /y:/ to /ɛa/

Factor Group	Factor	/y:/	/ɛa/	Factor Weight
Age (p=0.846)	19-30	4 (80.0%)	1 (20.0%)	0.539
	31-46	5 (71.4%)	2 (28.6%)	0.652
	47-63	5 (83.3%)	1 (16.7%)	0.484
	64-88	8 (88.9%)	1 (11.1%)	0.370
Location (p=0.019)	Urban	14 (93.3%)	1 (6.7%)	0.319
	Suburban	7 (87.5%)	1 (12.5%)	0.483
	Rural	1 (25.0%)	3 (75.0%)	0.951
Education (p=0.986)	Abitur/College	9 (81.8%)	2 (18.2%)	0.495
	Realschule	8 (80.0%)	2 (20.0%)	0.524
	Hauptschule	5 (83.3%)	1 (16.7%)	0.469
Traditional (p=0.320)	Yes	4 (66.7%)	2 (33.3%)	0.701
	No	18 (85.7%)	3 (14.3%)	0.439
Insecurity (p=0.160)	Yes	12 (92.3%)	1 (7.7%)	0.307
	No	10 (71.4%)	4 (28.6%)	0.680
Lexical Items	grün	22 (81.5%)	5 (18.5%)	n/a

### 3.2.6 Outcome of the MHG diphthong /uo/

The back closed vowel /u:/ in many standard German words results from the monophthongization of MHG /uo/. In these words, there is a tendency to preserve the diphthong in the dialect, where it is realized as /ua/ or less commonly, in front of a nasal, as /oa/. The former diphthong is analyzed within the words *Fuß* ‘foot’, *dazu* ‘with/to it’, *gutes* ‘good’, *Kuchen* ‘cake’, and *Kuh* ‘cow’, with the following results.

The AGE variable shows statistical significance, and again, the youngest participants are the only ones who prefer the standard sound to the dialect sound (13 versus 11). Starting with the second group up, the 31-46 year-olds, there is a significant preference for the dialect diphthong.

The EDUCATION variable does not seem to play a significant role in choice of sounds here, although the participants with the lowest level of education differ from the other two groups by almost completely avoiding the standard sound (2 versus 28).

The TRADITIONAL variable proves to be statistically significant. Of the 26 possible realizations of standard /u/, only 2 occur within the group that self-identifies as traditional.

Another variable that causes statistical significance is INSECURITY. The overwhelming majority of individuals who say they never feel insecure when speaking dialect use the diphthong here, namely in 63 of the possible 70 instances. Although the same tendency is present for the group who does admit to occasional insecurity, this is to a much lesser extent (45 versus 19).

The distribution within the LEXICAL ITEMS variable might be another instance of once less common and more upper-class items, in this case *Kuchen*, or ‘cake’, to show the tendency of standard language realizations over dialect ones. Here it does contain the largest number of instances of standard sound usage (10 versus 17).

Table 26: Outcome of MHG /uo/ (/u:/ vs. /ua/)

Factor Group	Factor	/u: /	/ua/	Factor Weight
Age (p=0.000)	19-30	13 (54.2%)	11 (45.8%)	0.127
	31-46	5 (14.3%)	30 (85.7%)	0.508
	47-63	1 (3.3%)	29 (96.7%)	0.833
	64-88	7 (15.6%)	38 (84.4%)	0.483
Location (p=0.460)	Urban	15 (20.3%)	59 (79.7%)	0.479
	Suburban	9 (22.5%)	31 (77.5%)	0.446
	Rural	2 (10.0%)	18 (90.0%)	0.678
Education (p=0.091)	Abitur/College	12 (22.2%)	42 (77.8%)	0.432
	Realschule	12 (24.0%)	38 (76.0%)	0.408
	Hauptschule	2 (6.7%)	28 (93.3%)	0.753
Traditional (p=0.032)	Yes	2 (6.7%)	28 (93.3%)	0.753
	No	24 (23.1%)	80 (76.9%)	0.420
Insecurity (p=0.006)	Yes	19 (29.7%)	45 (70.3%)	0.333
	No	7 (10.0%)	63 (90.0%)	0.654
Lexical Items (p=0.066)	Fuß	3 (11.5%)	23 (88.5%)	0.616
	dazu	6 (22.2%)	21 (77.8%)	0.423
	gutes	2 (7.4%)	25 (92.6%)	0.724
	Kuchen	10 (37.0%)	17 (63.0%)	0.263
	Kuh	5 (18.5%)	22 (81.5%)	0.480

As for the /oa/ diphthong, which is less common in the dialect, I chose to analyze it in the word *Blumen* ‘flowers’. Again, the difference in diphthongs can most likely be attributed to the presence of a nasal, as all of the words investigated here contain the same MHG diphthong (/uo/) (Köbler). The results here are similar to the ones just observed for the previous dialect diphthong, but they show up to a lesser degree.

AGE is slightly below statistical significance (p=0.065). The youngest age group is the only one that prefers the standard sound over the dialect realization (4 versus 1), whereas the oldest generation greatly favors the dialect (8 versus 1). The two middle groups are evenly divided.

Dialect usage also slightly increases as the radius around town increases within the LOCATION variable.

The EDUCATION variable, although not statistically significant, also behaves as expected. The individuals with the lowest level of formal education choose the diphthong 5 versus 1, whereas the other groups are divided (5 versus 5, and 5 versus 6, respectively).

The TRADITIONAL variable caused another knockout, as none of the 6 subjects who identify themselves as traditional use the monophthong. On the other hand, 11 of the 21 individuals who state they are not traditional do use the standard sound.

Table 27: Outcome of MHG /uo/ (/u:/ vs. /oa/)

Factor Group	Factor	/u:/	/oa/	Factor Weight
Age (p=0.065)	19-30	4 (80.0%)	1 (20.0%)	0.131
	31-46	3 (42.9%)	4 (57.1%)	0.444
	47-63	3 (50.0%)	3 (50.0%)	0.375
	64-88	1 (11.1%)	8 (88.9%)	0.827
Location (p=0.710)	Urban	7 (46.7%)	8 (53.3%)	0.437
	Suburban	3 (37.5%)	5 (62.5%)	0.531
	Rural	1 (25.0%)	3 (75.0%)	0.670
Education (p=0.366)	Abitur/College	5 (54.5%)	6 (45.5%)	0.438
	Realschule	5 (50.0%)	5 (50.0%)	0.394
	Hauptschule	1 (16.7%)	5 (83.3%)	0.764
Traditional (n/a)	Yes	0 (0.0%)	6 (100.0%)	n/a
	No	11 (52.4%)	10 (47.6%)	n/a
Insecurity (p=0.598)	Yes	6 (46.2%)	7 (53.8%)	0.444
	No	5 (35.7%)	9 (64.3%)	0.552
Lexical Items	Blumen	11 (%)	16 (%)	0.

### 3.2.7 Outcome of MHG /y:/ (<iu>)

The standard German diphthong /ɔy/ has evolved from MHG /y:/ (Köbler) and has a dialect equivalent of /ai/. This sound is analyzed using the terms *Zeugnis* ‘report card’, *Geldbeutel* ‘wallet’, and *Häuser* ‘houses’.

The AGE variable proves to be statistically significant. The biggest shift from standard to dialect use occurs between the first two groups. Although even the youngest age group favors the dialect, their answers are almost evenly divided (8 versus 7). The next group up already shows a clear preference for the dialect realizations (17 versus 3), and this trend continues through the two oldest age groups.

As for LOCATION, a small and gradual increase in dialect usage can be observed from the urban to the suburban, and ultimately to the rural groups, which confirms a previously seen trend.

The upper two groups within the EDUCATION variable behave in an identical fashion (25 to 7, and 23 to 7 on dialect use, respectively), and dialect preference slightly increases for the group with the least formal education (16 versus 1).

The groups for the TRADITIONAL variable behave as expected as well, with the participants who identify themselves as traditional preferring the dialect realizations over the standard ones to a greater degree than their counterparts.

Results for the INSECURITY variable are not quite statistically significant ( $p=0.057$ ). Of the 16 instances of standard sound usage, 11 are made by individuals who express occasional feelings of insecurity, whereas the majority (37 of 64) of dialect realizations can be attributed to individuals who never feel this type of insecurity.

Table 28: Outcome of MHG /y:/

Factor Group	Factor	/ɔy/	/ai/	Factor Weight
Age (p=0.035)	19-30	7 (46.7%)	8 (53.3%)	0.188
	31-46	3 (15.0%)	17 (85.0%)	0.535
	47-63	1 (5.6%)	7 (94.4%)	0.775
	64-88	5 (16.5%)	22 (81.5%)	0.471
Location (p=0.367)	Urban	11 (25.0%)	33 (75.0%)	0.414
	Suburban	4 (16.7%)	20 (83.3%)	0.541
	Rural	1 (8.3%)	11 (91.7%)	0.721
Education (p=0.529)	Abitur/College	7 (21.9%)	25 (78.1%)	0.463
	Realschule	7 (23.3%)	23 (76.7%)	0.442
	Hauptschule	2 (11.1%)	16 (88.9%)	0.658
Traditional (p=0.265)	Yes	2 (11.1%)	16 (88.9%)	0.658
	No	14 (22.6%)	48 (77.4%)	0.453
Insecurity (p=0.057)	Yes	11 (28.9%)	27 (71.1%)	0.360
	No	5 (11.9%)	37 (88.1%)	0.628
Lexical Items (p=0.033)	Zeugnis	10 (37.0%)	17 (63.0%)	0.267
	Geldbeutel	3 (11.5%)	23 (88.5%)	0.621
	Häuser	3 (11.1%)	24 (88.9%)	0.631

### 3.2.8 Diphthongization of /e:/ to /ae/

The standard German sound /e:/ can in certain environments have a dialect realization of /ae/. Due to the fact that it is not used as commonly as some of the other sounds analyzed, it is investigated here in only one term, *Schnee* ‘snow’, but it also occurs in other words, such as *mehr* ‘more’ (Swabian /mae/).

LOCATION is the determining factor for choice of sounds in this case. Of the 23 individuals living in the urban and suburban areas, only 3 use the dialect diphthong. Subjects in the rural areas, on the other hand, greatly favor the diphthong (3 versus 1).

INSECURITY plays a role in choice of sounds as well. Of the 11 individuals using the dialect realizations, 5 say they never feel insecure when speaking dialect.



None of the remaining variables are significant and, in fact, they provide very surprising results. Although the youngest age group has a low percentage of dialect use, the oldest age group does not choose the dialect diphthong at all. Also, none of the individuals with the lowest level of formal education choose the dialect this time. And at the same time, individuals who say they are traditional favor the standard to a greater degree than do participants who state they are not traditional. Of course, the low number of dialect realizations in general may have something to do with these unexpected results.

Table 29: Diphthongization of /e:/

Factor Group	Factor	/e:/	/ae/	Factor Weight
Age (p=0.329)	19-30	4 (80.0%)	1 (20.0%)	0.496
	31-46	4 (57.1%)	3 (42.9%)	0.747
	47-63	4 (66.7%)	2 (33.3%)	0.378
	64-88	9 (100.0%)	0 (0.0%)	
Location (p=0.013)	Urban	12 (80.0%)	3 (20.0%)	0.391
	Suburban	8 (100.0%)	0 (0.0%)	0.928
	Rural	1 (25.0%)	3 (75.0%)	
Education (p=0.620)	Abitur/College	8 (72.7%)	3 (27.3%)	0.571
	Realschule	7 (70.0%)	3 (30.0%)	0.451
	Hauptschule	6 (100.0%)	0 (0.0%)	
Traditional (p=0.704)	Yes	5 (83.3%)	1 (16.7%)	0.414
	No	16 (76.2%)	5 (23.8%)	0.525
Insecurity (p=0.074)	Yes	12 (92.3%)	1 (7.7%)	0.272
	No	9 (64.3%)	5 (35.7%)	0.713
Lexical Items	Schnee	21 (77.8%)	6 (22.2%)	n/a

### 3.2.1.9 Backing of /a:/

A very common dialect feature is the backing of the standard German vowel /a/ to /a/ in certain instances. It is examined here within the terms *hat* ‘has’, *Straße* ‘street’, and *Nachbarin* ‘female neighbor’.

Due to a total of 7 knockouts affecting all variables, a statistical analysis is not possible in this case. However, the results of the initial distributions are very revealing. Of the possible 87 vowel uses, only 7 are realized as the standard German sound. Those 7 standard realizations all occur within the two youngest age groups (5 in the youngest, and 2 in the next group up), and they also all occur within the urban group living closest to the town center. On top of that, they are all used by the individuals in the two groups with the highest levels of formal education (again 5 versus 2, for Abitur and Realschule, respectively) who say they are not traditional and do feel occasional insecurity when speaking dialect. The distribution within the three terms examined is basically identical.

So even though this dialect feature is extremely prevalent among all ages and groups (91.4% total usage), the changes that do exist within the population give a textbook image of the effects the variables chosen here can have on speech in this area.

As for the reason for the prevalence of dialect /a/, it is merely a phonetic difference from the Standard German equivalent. Moreover, this back realization of the low vowel is widespread throughout Upper German dialects and colloquial varieties. Phonetic differences like this tend to be more systematic than other dialectal differences and are perceived as minimal by German speakers from all areas (Barbour/Stevenson, 148). Because this sound does not cause comprehension problems for non-dialect speakers and is widespread in the southern half of the German-speaking area, it appears to be less stigmatized than other dialectal features by participants in this study.

### 3.3 Individual analyses: consonants

#### 3.3.1 Lenition of /t/

The standard German voiceless alveolar stop undergoes lenition and is often realized as /d/ within the dialect. This is very common syllable-internally between vowels, but can occur in other voiced environments as well. It remains to be mentioned that Schwäbisch Gmünd is located near the line that divides initial lenition and lenition in all positions (König, quoted in Barbour/Stevenson 94), which may explain the variations that can be found in the speech of the area.

The /t/ lenition is analyzed in four German words, namely *Tage* ‘days’, *Flöte* ‘flute’, *Kartoffeln* ‘potatoes’, and *Geldbeutel* ‘wallet’. Across these four terms, the dialect sound is used in over 80% of the instances. Note, however, that the item with the lowest frequency of lenition is the one with initial lenition, *Tage*.

Although not statistically significant, the shift within the AGE variable proves to be interesting. The three older age groups all prefer the dialect sound to a similar degree (~ 85%), but the youngest age group starts to show an increased tendency to go with the standard realization (only 63.2% of dialect usage).

The LOCATION variable barely falls short of statistical significance ( $p=0.067$ ). Both the urban and rural groups greatly favor the dialect sound (~91%), whereas the suburban group does so to a lesser degree (72.5%). This is different than what one might have expected from previous results for this variable, as until now the urban group has differed from the other two groups.

The EDUCATION variable behaves as expected, showing a gradual increase in dialect use from the participants with the highest level of education to the ones with the least formal education.

Statistical significance is detected within the TRADITIONAL variable. Of the possible 21 realizations within the group claiming to be traditional, only 1 is a standard sound realization. Of the possible 74 realizations within the opposing group, 17 are realized as the standard sound.

As for INSECURITY, twice as many individuals who choose the standard sound express insecurity than do not, and of the 77 instances of dialect usage, 42 are realized by subjects who state they never feel insecure when speaking dialect.

*Table 30: Lenition of /t/*

Factor Group	Factor	/t/	/d/	Factor Weight
Age (p=0.212)	19-30	7 (36.8%)	12 (63.2%)	0.270
	31-46	3 (12.5%)	21 (87.5%)	0.601
	47-63	3 (14.3%)	18 (85.7%)	0.564
	64-88	5 (16.1%)	26 (83.9%)	0.529
Location (p=0.067)	Suburban	14 (27.5%)	37 (72.5%)	0.350
	Urban	3 (9.7%)	28 (90.3%)	0.655
	Rural	1 (7.7%)	12 (92.3%)	0.709
Education (p=0.187)	Abitur/College	10 (27.0%)	27 (73.0%)	0.368
	Realschule	6 (17.1%)	29 (82.9%)	0.510
	Hauptschule	2 (8.7%)	21 (91.3%)	0.693
Traditional (p=0.039)	Yes	1 (4.8%)	20 (95.2%)	0.800
	No	17 (23.0%)	57 (77.0%)	0.403
Insecurity (p=0.104)	Yes	12 (25.5%)	35 (74.5%)	0.392
	No	6 (12.5%)	42 (87.5%)	0.606
Lexical Items (p=0.188)	Tage	9 (33.3%)	18 (66.7%)	0.299
	Flöte	4 (14.8%)	23 (85.2%)	0.550
	Kartoffeln	2 (13.3%)	13 (86.7%)	0.580
	Geldbeutel	3 (11.5%)	23 (88.5%)	0.620

### 3.3.2 Lenition of /k/

Along with the other voiceless stops, /k/ can undergo lenition in this dialect and is often realized as /g/ syllable-internally or initially when followed by a consonant. A statistical analysis

is in our case neither necessary nor feasible, as within the four terms examined here, *trinken* ‘to drink’, *klein* ‘small’, *pflücken* ‘to pluck’, and *Nacken* ‘neck’, only 3 instances of standard realizations occur. The fact that they all occur within the term *klein* probably indicates that, as with /t/, lenition of /k/ is somewhat less frequent initially than medially. Spiekermann also found in his article that for all southwestern dialect areas examined, lenition in intervocalic position was the only dialect feature that was realized by all speakers even in standard-like speech (528-529). This may be another explanation for the different behavior of *klein*. Within the 3 instances of standard-like realizations here, no trend can be detected. Although one person was from the youngest age group, the other two could be found in the oldest age group. I would like to note that the term *klein* was the only one in this instance to be solicited not through an image but by asking the participants to give the opposite of a term, which could have had an effect on the outcome as well.

### 3.3.3 Alveolar to palato-alveolar fricative

In Swabian and in the Alemannic dialects of south-western Germany the backing of /s/ to /ʃ/ is a common feature not just in word-initial position, as is also the norm in MSG, but also medially and finally. This feature is so common, in fact, that it is realized by all 27 participants for all of the words investigated. Those words are *gestern* ‘yesterday’, *Donnerstag* ‘Thursday’, *höchstens* ‘at the most’ and *Wespe* ‘wasp’.

The widespread usage of this feature throughout other areas of south-western Germany may have something to do with the consistent usage of it within this dialect. Also, this dialect feature would be one of the last phonological ones, if not the last one, to be dropped when trying

to attain standard-like speech. Auer also mentions /s/-palatization in his article on co-occurrence restrictions as one of the Alemannic dialect features that has to occur within a prosodic domain in order for other dialect features, such as dialect vowels, to be realized (77ff). For 3 of the 4 terms I examine here (*gestern* seems to be somewhat of an exception) this means /ʃ/ that the other dialect feature, lenition, could not convincingly be realized as such if the dialect was realized as a standard /s/. Lack of /ʃ/ within the dialect word-internally basically constitutes standard German speech, as seen by dialect speakers.

### **3.4 Conclusion**

Significantly more variation among participants exists for the vowels than for the consonants. This may be due to a number of factors.

First of all, many of the Swabian consonantal dialect features can be found in other Southern dialects as well, whereas vowel variations are more subtle and more common even within a dialect and even more so from one dialect to the next. Many consonantal dialect features also belong to the previously mentioned group of features that can be referred to as phonetic differences, so they tend to be easy to understand and are more accepted among non-dialect speakers. Adolf Bach already mentioned differences between the use of vowels and consonants in dialect speech in his work on German dialects in 1934. He made the observation that dialect speakers tended to avoid the more distinctly dialectal vowels in certain situations, but were likely to incorporate the consonants of the dialect into more standardized speech varieties (240). The current study demonstrates that this is still the case today in Schwäbisch Gmünd .

Another type of variation within the vowel section has nothing to do with distribution among participants, but with variation between the vowels replacing a certain sound. People may

have two or more dialect options for what is one standard German sound. Clearly, there is much less flexibility as far as the consonants are concerned.

A third reason for more variation within the vowel system can be attributed to differences even within the lexical items chosen to analyze each vowel sound. In some instances these differences were found to be significant. This creates a very dynamic and complex image of the linguistic choices dialect speakers may make.

As for analyses of the vowels, the LOCATION variable proves to be statistically significant in 4 of the 9 features examined. It plays a role in the remaining 5 instances as well. Unlike what we have seen before, the line between the groups cannot be as easily drawn in this section. Although the most common distinction is between rural participants on the one hand versus urban and suburban speakers on the other hand, in some cases the shift occurs between the urban and suburban groups instead or is more gradually distributed across the three groups.

AGE proves to be statistically significant in 3 of the 9 analyses, but shows strong tendencies in all remaining instances. The youngest age group is more likely to use standard-like pronunciation than the remaining three groups. Because of this, the noticeable shift from dialect to increased standard usage among the four groups occurs most often between the second-youngest and youngest groups (6 of the 9 cases), but occasionally can also be found somewhere between the youngest and second-to-oldest groups, and in one instance is located somewhere in the middle of all four groups. Regardless of the distribution, speakers in their teens, twenties, and early thirties clearly show a tendency toward increased standard usage.

The TRADITIONAL variable also shows statistical significance in 3 instances. In 3 further cases, this variable causes a knockout, as none of the subjects who self-identified as traditional use the standard sounds in those cases. The fact that on 2 of the 3 occasions of significance, age

does not also prove to be statistically significant, indicates once more that this variable plays a role regardless of the age of the individual.

EDUCATION plays a significant role on only 1 occasion, but shows similar tendencies on 4 other occasions. Although the shift mostly occurs between the Hauptschule group with the lowest level of formal education and the remaining two groups, on 1 occasion the Abitur group with the highest educational background distances itself from the other two groups when preferring the standard over the dialect. Either way, dialect usage is more prevalent among the groups with the least education.

As for INSECURITY, the variable is statistically significant on 2 occasions, with similar tendencies obvious on 5 other occasions. Again, as seen in the lexical section, dialect usage was more prevalent among individuals who claim never to feel insecure when speaking their dialect.

The few consonants examined here paint a slightly different picture. Even in the 1 instance that establishes differences among the groups, namely lenition of /t/, the preference for the dialect sound is quite large (~81%). For almost all vowels, the distributions between dialect and standard are less distinct, and dialect usage is not always greater than standard usage. The differences that are present for this particular consonant behave as we have seen so far, in this case with all variables seemingly playing a role in determining dialect versus standard usage. In addition to that, the TRADITIONAL variable shows statistical significance.

As for the other two consonantal dialect features examined, dialect usage is at almost 100%, with no apparent tendencies towards standard usage whatsoever. This situation does not exist for any of the vowels examined, as even the very common dialect /a/ displays usage patterns similar to the other vowels.



This section confirms some of the observations made in the previous section, but it distinguishes itself from others. Although AGE still plays a significant role in standard vs. dialect choice, the patterns of distribution within the four groups differ from the ones observed in the lexicon section. Here, a clear shift from dialect to standard use among the generations occurs between the two youngest groups, whereas this shift occurs among older participants for the lexical analyses. In addition to that, LOCATION emerged as an important factor to consider when speaking about dialect differences here, whereas this variable played only a minor role in the previous chapter. We will see which ones of these trends, if any, can be confirmed in the next section.

## 4. MORPHOLOGICAL AND SYNTACTIC ANALYSES

This chapter discusses both morphological and syntactic items, as differences between the standard and the dialect in those linguistic subfields are less common than lexical and phonological variations. I will discuss nine items here, of which six are morphological and three are syntactic.

### 4.1 Morphology

Tatzreiter notes that dialectology has traditionally neglected the morphological subfield, which he partially attributes to its attachment to both phonology and syntax, which substantially limits its appeal for extensive research in the field (34). In this study, morphological features were solicited along with lexical and phonological items during the interview, except for one item which was addressed on the questionnaire.

#### 4.1.1 Numbers in expressions of time

With regard to telling time, such as ‘ten o’clock’, dialect speakers tend to add /ə/ to the ending of the number in question. For example, the standard number *zehn*, ‘ten’, turns into *zehne* in those cases. In the German Dictionary by Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm one can find these endings next to the entries for each single-digit number, usually referred to, as in the case of *sechs* ‘six’, as the form of “an older written language” (15: 2780). For this study, both *sechs* and

*elf* 'eleven' were analyzed. Due to the very uneven distribution (53 dialect versus 8 standard realizations), several knockouts occurred during the analysis and some groups are combined.

Within the AGE variable, the youngest group accounts for 4 of the 8 instances of standard realizations. As can be seen when looking at the percentages, dialect use increases slightly from generation to generation, resulting in a distribution of 17 dialect realizations to 1 standard realization for the oldest age group.

The LOCATION variable is statistically significant. None of the rural participants use the standard option, compared with 7 realizations (of a total 30) for the urban subgroup.

The EDUCATION variable experiences a knockout as well, as all subjects in the group with the lowest educational background choose the dialect form for both numbers. The group with the highest educational background accounts for the majority of the standard uses (5 of 8).

The TRADITIONAL variable cannot be statistically analyzed, as no standard realizations occur within the group that self-identifies as traditional. The distribution for the remaining participants is 8 versus 44 on standard use.

Table 31: *elf/sechs*

Factor Group	Factor	elf/sechs	elfe/sechse	Factor Weight
Age (p=0.131)	19-30	4 (40.0%)	6 (60.0%)	0.167
	31-46	2 (14.3%)	12 (85.7%)	0.444
	47-63	1 (8.3%)	11 (91.7%)	0.594
	64-88	1 (5.6%)	17 (94.4%)	0.693
Location (p=0.039)	Urban	7 (23.3%)	23 (76.7%)	0.297
	Suburban	1 (6.2%)	15 (93.8%)	0.746
	Rural	0 (0.0%)	8 (100.0%)	
Education (p=0.184)	Abitur/College	5 (22.7%)	17 (77.3%)	0.350
	Realschule	3 (15.0%)	17 (85.0%)	0.604
	Hauptschule	0 (0.0%)	12 (100.0%)	
Traditional (n/a)	Yes	0 (0.0%)	12 (100.0%)	n/a
	No	8 (19.0%)	34 (81.0%)	
Insecurity (p=0.395)	Yes	5 (19.2%)	21 (80.0%)	0.412
	No	3 (10.7%)	25 (89.3%)	0.581
Lexical Items (p=0.125)	elf	2 (92.6%)	25 (7.4%)	0.654
	sechs	6 (22.2%)	21 (77.8%)	0.346

#### 4.1.2 Word endings of the days of the week

The six weekdays that have the *-tag* ‘day’ ending in Standard German have traditionally have a *-dig* ending in the Swabian dialect.

Within the AGE variable the youngest age group differentiates itself from the other three groups by favoring the standard ending to a much greater degree (80%, or 8 versus 2). Dialect percentages for the other three groups range from around 57% to around 67%.

None of the remaining variables seem to play a role in determining the ending chosen, and some variables actually behave in a manner inconsistent with what has been observed so far, although not to a significant degree.

The two terms chosen are not treated equally by participants. Whereas for the term *Sonntag*, dialect usage is 16 to 11, participants prefer the standard for the term *Donnerstag* 18 to

9. This may be due to the difference in the solicitation of these two words. *Sonntag* was solicited on the questionnaire and spelled out by the participants. *Donnerstag*, on the other hand, was solicited during the interview process as a one-word answer.

Table 32: *Sonntag/Donnerstag*

Factor Group	Factor	-tag	-dig	Factor Weight
Age (p=0.102)	19-30	8 (80.0%)	2 (20.0%)	0.230
	31-46	8 (57.1%)	6 (42.9%)	0.472
	47-63	7 (58.3%)	5 (41.7%)	0.460
	64-88	6 (66.7%)	12 (33.3%)	0.704
Location (p=0.352)	Urban	14 (46.7%)	16 (53.3%)	0.572
	Suburban	11 (68.8%)	5 (31.2%)	0.348
	Rural	4 (50.0%)	4 (50.0%)	0.540
Education (p=0.276)	Abitur/College	9 (40.9%)	13 (59.1%)	0.627
	Realschule	12 (60.0%)	8 (40.0%)	0.438
	Hauptschule	8 (66.7%)	4 (33.3%)	0.369
Traditional (p=0.357)	Yes	5 (41.7%)	7 (58.3%)	0.619
	No	24 (57.1%)	18 (42.9%)	0.465
Insecurity (p=0.270)	Yes	16 (61.5%)	10 (38.5%)	0.422
	No	13 (46.4%)	15 (53.6%)	0.573
Lexical Items (p=0.057)	Sonntag	11 (40.7%)	16 (59.3%)	0.630
	Donnerstag	18 (66.7%)	9 (33.3%)	0.370

#### 4.1.3 Variation in grammatical gender

In the dialect, numerous nouns from all areas of life are referred to by a gender that is different from the one associated with the noun in Standard German. Examples of this are *Teller*, ‘plate’, masculine in the standard and neutral in the dialect, *Sofa*, ‘couch’, neuter in the standard and masculine in the dialect, or *Zehe*, ‘toe’, which is feminine in the standard and masculine in the dialect. To my knowledge no words that are masculine or neuter in the standard are feminine gender in the dialect, and the tendency to prefer the masculine gender overall exists. The reasons

for this phenomenon in general are numerous. Some items carry the gender of the word used for that item in French, which can be attributed to the area's close proximity to neighboring France as well as to the prestige the French language has carried throughout Germany at various times in the past. In other cases, the gender may be borrowed from a word similar in sound or meaning.

One of the terms examined here, *Butter* 'butter', is masculine in the dialect, but feminine in the standard. According to Bach, this apparent discrepancy can be traced back to the original term used in the South Alemannic dialects, *Anke(n)*, which was masculine. The continued usage of the masculine article for *Butter* is thus a case of contamination (233). The second term examined here is *Schokolade* 'chocolate', which is also feminine in the standard, but masculine in the dialect. A statistical analysis is neither possible nor necessary, as only 3 cases of standard article usage occur. Two of them originate from the same individual in the youngest age group, and the third occurrence is voiced by a participant in the oldest age group for the word *Butter*. Clearly the usage of the traditional dialect genders for certain words holds strong.

#### 4.1.4 Dialect prefix

Standard German verbs may have the prefix *hin-*, which can have numerous English equivalents such as 'there' or 'towards', but in the sense examined here is a directional prefix and is best translated as 'down'. It is derived from OHG *hinan* 'from here/from now on' (Köbler), an adverb that has survived in MSG in works of literature, such as Goethe's *Faust*. Standard German generally uses the first part of the term, *hin*, to form composites. The dialect realization for this prefix, *na-*, more closely resembles the second part of the adverb.

The term I will analyze for this dialect feature is the standard German *hinfallen* 'to fall down'. Only 5 of the 27 participants use the standard prefix here.

A statistical analysis of the LOCATION variable is not possible, as none of the rural and suburban participants choose the standard prefix. All 5 standard realizations occur within the urban group.

As for EDUCATION, the two groups with less formal education have to be combined, as only one person in the Realschule group uses the standard prefix. The remaining 4 standard realizations occur within the group with the highest level of formal education.

As has been the case in the past, the TRADITIONAL variable cannot be analyzed as none of the 6 individuals who claim to be traditional choose the standard prefix.

Table 33: Dialect prefix, hin-/na-

Factor Group	Factor	/hɪn/	/na:/	Factor Weight
Age (p=0.204)	19-30	2 (40.0%)	3 (60.0%)	0.236
	31-46	0 (0.0%)	7 (100.0%)	0.566
	47-63	0 (0.0%)	6 (100.0%)	
	64-88	3 (33.3%)	6 (66.7%)	
Location (n/a)	Urban	5 (33.3%)	10 (66.7%)	n/a
	Suburban	0 (0.0%)	8 (100.0%)	
	Rural	0 (0.0%)	4 (100.0%)	
Education (p=0.047)	Abitur/College	4 (36.4%)	7 (63.6%)	0.219
	Realschule	1 (10.0%)	9 (100.0%)	0.706
	Hauptschule	0 (0.0%)	6 (100.0%)	
Traditional (n/a)	Yes	0 (0.0%)	6 (100.0%)	n/a
	No	5 (23.8%)	16 (76.2%)	
Insecurity (p=0.571)	Yes	3 (23.1%)	10 (76.9%)	0.425
	No	2 (14.3%)	12 (85.7%)	0.570
Lexical Items	hinfallen	22 (81.5%)	5 (18.5%)	n/a

#### 4.1.5 Past participle reduction

In Standard German, the past participle of most verbs contains the prefix *ge-*. Speakers in the Schwäbisch Gmünd area, like Swabian speakers in general, drop the *ge-* prefix in numerous

past participles that have the prefix in the standard language. This study examines this phenomenon within the terms *gebracht* ‘brought’ and *angebissen* ‘bitten into’. In the dialect, both of those words would be realized by dropping the *ge-* along with other phonological changes.

Only one individual in the second youngest age group uses the standard realization in the case of *gebracht*. The remaining realizations for this term, as well as all of the realizations for *angebissen*, are dialect realizations.

One reason for the consistent dialect usage may be the fact that this reduction is not very localized and can be found in other Upper German dialects as well. This feature can also be realized in words that otherwise show standard-like speech. For example, it would be acceptable to vary between pure dialect, /braxt/, and a more standard-like vocalism, /braxt/ both without the prefix. However, a dialect speaker does not add the prefix to the dialectal pronunciation /braxt/ to result in /gəbraxt/. Therefore, both strong dialect speakers and individuals who prefer a speech closer to the German standard tend to preserve this aspect of the dialect.

#### **4.1.6 Retention of a Middle High German strong conjugation**

The Standard German participle form of English ‘snowed’ is *geschneit*, which places ‘to snow’ in the weak, or regular, class of verbs. However, it has historically not always shown conjugation patterns of a weak verb, as Grimm noted in his German dictionary. Strong forms were on the increase during the Middle High German period and after, and even contemporaries did not always agree on the choice of form (15, 1286-1287). The dialect form of *geschnien* with



its vowel alternation and -n suffix is proof of the prior existence of strong conjugation patterns.

19 of the 27 participants choose this dialect form.

LOCATION appears to be playing a role in determining choice of endings, as 6 of the 8 standard realizations occur in the urban group.

The only variable that proves to be of statistical significance in this case, and does so to a great degree ( $p=0.001$ ), is EDUCATION. 7 of the total 8 standard realizations occur within the group with the most formal education, and the Hauptschule group with the least formal education does not make use of the standard ending at all.

*Table 34: Retention of MHG conjugation, geschneit*

Factor Group	Factor	geschneit	geschneien	Factor Weight
Age ( $p=0.709$ )	19-30	1 (20.0%)	4 (80.0%)	0.614
	31-46	3 (42.9%)	4 (57.1%)	0.347
	47-63	1 (16.7%)	5 (83.3%)	0.666
	64-88	3 (33.3%)	6 (66.7%)	0.444
Location ( $p=0.361$ )	Urban	6 (40.0%)	9 (60.0%)	0.364
	Suburban	1 (25.0%)	7 (75.0%)	0.727
	Rural	1 (25.0%)	3 (75.0%)	0.533
Education ( $p=0.001$ )	Abitur/College	7 (63.7%)	4 (36.4%)	0.126
	Realschule	1 (10.0%)	9 (90.0%)	0.791
	Hauptschule	0 (0.0%)	6 (100.0%)	
Traditional ( $p=0.429$ )	Yes	1 (16.7%)	5 (83.3%)	0.671
	No	7 (33.3%)	14 (66.7%)	0.449
Insecurity ( $p=0.479$ )	Yes	3 (23.1%)	10 (76.9%)	0.579
	No	5 (35.7%)	9 (64.3%)	0.427
Lexical Items	geschneit	8 (%)	19 (%)	n/a

## 4.2 Syntax

As is the case with the subfield of morphology, dialect studies have seemed to either ignore or at best marginalize localized syntactic forms. The reasons for this neglect may be due

to the difficulty of investigating syntax, which is concerned with multi-word patterns, using the traditional method of dialectology, where the objects of study are discrete units (phonemes and lexemes). Much ground still remains to be covered in regard to dialect syntax studies (see Werlen for more information on this).

Nevertheless, I chose a small number of syntactic features to include in my study. To obtain syntactic information, participants were given several sentences on the questionnaire that had to be rated according to usage. Swabian sentence structure is much more flexible than its Standard German counterpart, and my goal was to determine to what degree dialect speakers today take advantage of this flexibility, and to examine possible differences in usage between participants. Sentences were created based on personal dialect knowledge in conjunction with Claudia Steil's work on the Swabian verbal complex (1989).

#### **4.2.1 Doubly-filled COMP**

The doubly-filled COMP filter, as introduced by Chomsky and Lasnik in 1977 (425ff), states that when an overt *wh*-phrase occupies the specifier position of a CP (complementizer phrase), there can be no overt complementizer in the head of the CP (COMP). This prevents the formation of sentences such as: "Do you know why that he is not here yet?". The doubly-filled COMP filter is fully operative in Standard German, just as it is in Standard English. However, this is not the case for a number of dialects, Swabian being one of them. As Bayer and Brandner noted, this is not a structural difference, but a difference of overtness, as the complementizer in question is phonetically null in the standardized languages, but can be spelled-out overtly in the dialects (87). In Swabian, doubly-filled COMPs are possible with *dass* 'that', but only in combination with specific conjunctions. Dialect speakers around the town of Gmünd can be

observed to make frequent use of *warum dass* ‘why that’ and *wieviel dass* ‘how much that’.

Here, participants were asked to rate the following sentence according to usage:

- (1) *Warum dass er das nicht gleich gesagt hat, weiß ich nicht.*  
why that he this not immediately said had know I not  
‘I don’t know why he did not immediately say this.’

Once the age groups are combined into two large groups, AGE shows statistical significance. The below-46 group is evenly divided with regard to usage (6 versus 6). The majority of individuals above 46 years of age state that they do use the syntactic dialect feature (13 versus 2).

Due to a knockout within EDUCATION, the two lower levels have to be combined. Although the differences are not statistically significant, usage and educational level are inversely related. Dialect usage gradually decreases as the educational background increases. Most notably, everybody in the Hauptschule group claims to use the feature.

The TRADITIONAL variable could not be analyzed due to a knockout. All of the individuals who self-identify as traditional use the dialect syntax, whereas less than 62% of the remaining persons within the group can say the same.

Table 35: Doubly-filled COMP

Factor Group	Factor	Used	Not used	Factor Weight
Age (p=0.039)	19-30	3 (60.0%)	2 (40.0%)	0.261
	31-46	3 (42.9%)	4 (57.1%)	
	47-63	5 (83.3%)	1 (16.7%)	0.697
	64-88	8 (88.9%)	1 (11.1%)	
Location (p=0.894)	Urban	10 (66.7%)	5 (33.3%)	0.455
	Suburban	6 (75.0%)	2 (25.0%)	0.556
	Rural	3 (75.0%)	1 (25.0%)	0.556
Education (p=0.146)	Abitur/College	6 (54.5%)	5 (45.5%)	0.319
	Realschule	7 (70.0%)	3 (30.0%)	0.628
	Hauptschule	6 (100.0%)	0 (0.0%)	
Traditional (n/a)	Yes	6 (100.0%)	0 (0.0%)	n/a
	No	13 (61.9%)	8 (38.1%)	
Insecurity (p=0.901)	Yes	9 (69.2%)	4 (30.8%)	0.487
	No	10 (71.4%)	4 (28.6%)	0.512

#### 4.2.2 Syntax of *helfen*

The dialect syntax of the verb *helfen*, ‘to help’, is unique as it can play the roles of infinitive or conjugated verb in otherwise identical sentences without being perceived as incorrect by the dialect speaker, or changing the meaning of the sentence. It is the non-standard word order in Swabian that places *helfen* as an infinitive at the end of a sentence that I am interested in here. I will examine usage of the verb in the following sentence:

(2) “*Komm, putz mir helfen!*”  
 come clean me help  
 ‘Come, help me clean!’

AGE is statistically significant here (p=0.000). The analysis was run with three age groups due to a knockout in the second oldest group. Only one person in each of the two youngest groups uses the above sentence structure. Conversely, only one individual in the combined group does not.

Again, the Hauptschule group had to be combined with the Realschule group under EDUCATION, as all participants in this group say they use the dialect syntax. Only approximately half of the individuals in the other two groups can say the same.

We can observe a similar situation within the TRADITIONAL variable, as all of the individuals who say they are traditional use the sentence structure as presented, and only about half of the remaining participants in this group make use of it.

The INSECURITY variable does not show statistical significance, but in this case less insecurity with speaking dialect goes along with increased usage of the dialect syntax. 10 of the 16 individuals who use the structure do not feel insecure when speaking their dialect. Only 4 of the 11 subjects who do not use this structure can say the same.

*Table 36: Syntax of helfen*

Factor Group	Factor	Used	Not used	Factor Weight
Age (p=0.000)	19-30	1 (20.0%)	4 (80.0%)	0.106
	31-46	1 (14.3%)	6 (85.7%)	0.073
	47-63	6 (100.0%)	0 (0.0%)	0.869
	64-88	8 (88.9%)	1 (11.1%)	
Location (p=0.915)	Urban	9 (60.0%)	6 (40.0%)	0.507
	Suburban	5 (62.5%)	3 (37.5%)	0.533
	Rural	2 (50.0%)	2 (50.0%)	0.407
Education (p=0.231)	Abitur/College	5 (45.5%)	6 (54.5%)	0.360
	Realschule	5 (50.0%)	5 (50.0%)	0.597
	Hauptschule	6 (100.0%)	0 (0.0%)	
Traditional (n/a)	Yes	6 (100.0%)	0 (0.0%)	n/a
	No	10 (47.6%)	11 (52.4%)	
Insecurity (p=0.185)	Yes	6 (46.2%)	7 (53.8%)	0.365
	No	10 (71.4%)	4 (28.6%)	0.626

### 4.2.3 Verbal complexes with the modal verb *wollen*

I examined possible word orders in a sentence individuals had to rate according to whether they used or did not use a particular word order for the sentence in question. All of the sentences contained verbal complexes involving the modal verb *wollen*, ‘want to’. The versions of the sentence provided on the questionnaire are as follows:

- (3)a. *Weil wir in die Stadt gehen wollen haben.*  
because we in the town go want have.  
‘Because we wanted to go to town.’
- b. *Weil wir in die Stadt haben gehen wollen.*
- c. *Weil wir haben in die Stadt gehen wollen.*
- d. *Weil wir haben wollen in die Stadt gehen.*
- e. *Weil wir haben gehen wollen in die Stadt.*

We will first look at the first four sentences, as the placement of the prepositional phrase in sentence 5 differentiates this sentence from the others. Due to the absence of statistical significance for all variables, tables for these structures will not be provided. However, in all of the four sentences the two older age groups are more likely to say they use the word orders given when compared with the younger age groups (overall almost 20% more likely to do so). The group with the lowest level of education was also more likely to use any of these word orders than the group with the most formal education (overall over 20% more likely to do so). According to Steil’s findings in her work on the Swabian verbal complex, all of the above word orders are acceptable within the dialect (16), which is basically confirmed by these results.

However, I have found that three of the above sentences are equally liked by participants, whereas the fourth one does not appear to be used quite as much. Sentences (3a,b,c) show usage

rates of 42% to 48%. Sentence (3d) is used by 19% of the participants. The only difference between (3b) and (3c) is the placement of the prepositional phrase. The verb order within these sentences corresponds to Standard German word order, which can explain why half of the participants say they use this pattern in these two sentences. This confirms Steil's findings that even within the dialect, Standard German verb order is the most common form (1).

As for sentence (3e), less than 4% of individuals say they would use this word order. As the verb order is identical to the one in sentences (3b) and (3c), which are used by almost half of the subjects, it is clearly the prepositional phrase occupying the right field that makes the sentence no longer acceptable.

#### **4.2.4 Verbal complexes with the modal verb *können***

The second set of sentences follows a similar pattern, but here we will look at the usage of verb placement involving the modal 'verb *können*, 'can/be able to'. The sentences that could be rated on the questionnaire are:

- (4)a. *Wir haben aussuchen können zwischen zwei Menüs.*  
we have choose can between two courses  
'We were able to choose between two courses.'
- b. *Wir haben zwischen zwei Menüs können aussuchen.*
- c. *Wir haben können zwischen zwei Menüs aussuchen.*
- d. *Wir haben können aussuchen zwischen zwei Menüs.*

The placement of the prepositional phrase does not have a distinct effect on usage in this case. As a matter of fact, the sentence that seems to be most popular among dialect speakers (4a) shows the exact same pattern as the most disliked sentence in the group of sentences around

*können*, and as a native speaker I have to agree that (4a) sounds perfectly acceptable, whereas (3e) sounds quite awkward. Along those lines, the least favored sentence within this set is (4d) (11.5% usage), which also has the prepositional phrase in the right field along with a different verb order. Again drawing on my dialect competence to account for these discrepancies, a difference in usage between the two modals *können* and *wollen* does not exist here, as (4a) still sounds acceptable when *können* is replaced by *wollen* and vice versa. The type of preposition used may have an effect on acceptability here, with *in* not being accepted by native speakers in the right field, and *zwischen* commonly used in that same location. As for the remainder of the sentences, word order as found in (4b) is used by 25% of individuals and word order from (4c) is used by 16%. No uniform trends for any of the variables can be detected for this set.

Although these results do not show much variation by the different variables examined, a couple of conclusions can nevertheless be drawn from the data. Even though word order has traditionally been extremely flexible in this dialect, dialect speakers either do not make use of this flexibility, or they do not realize what forms they do use in daily speech. This highlights the true methodological problem we encounter when trying to study dialect syntax. In order to make judgments about dialect syntax, dialect speakers are required to really think about what they do in their own speech. This conscious process is not the ideal starting point for a study trying to examine daily, casual speech. Whereas showing dialect speakers images of items to be named may be sufficient to solicit authentic speech samples for lexical or phonological analyses, the best way to study dialect may be to collect very large samples of natural speech production.



### 4.3 Conclusion

In this section I attempted to provide an adequate sample of morphological and syntactic dialect features while examining differences in their usage. Unlike the sections on lexical and phonological variation, AGE is not found to be statistically significant in the case of morphology. However, a gradual decrease in dialect usage can be observed from the oldest to the youngest age groups, with a noticeable shift occurring between the second-to-youngest and youngest groups, a pattern we have already seen in the phonology section.

EDUCATION plays a major role in choice of features for the morphology section, as it is statistically significant on 2 of the 6 occasions and cannot be analyzed due to a knockout on one more occasion. The group with the lowest educational background unanimously chooses the dialect feature in all but one of the cases analyzed.

LOCATION is statistically significant in one case and shows familiar tendencies in most others, with the difference in usage occurring between the rural participants and the remaining individuals in the group. For 2 of the 6 features examined, no differences between any of the groups can be detected, as almost all participants choose the dialect feature.

As for the TRADITIONAL variable, traditionalists overwhelmingly prefer dialectal forms, as on numerous occasions in this study.

With regard to syntax, both features that could be statistically analyzed show AGE to be a significant factor with regard to feature choice. In both cases the shift occurs somewhere in the middle of the age groups.

The EDUCATION variable also behaves the same in both of these cases, with the group with the least formal education unanimously choosing the dialect features. The other two groups are fairly evenly divided on dialect vs. standard choices in these two cases.

Individuals who self-identify as TRADITIONAL exclusively choose dialect variants in both sentences analyzed, and INSECURITY shows familiar tendencies again as well.

The remaining syntactic feature that is not statistically significant for any variable (verb order with modals), still shows that at least for one of the modal sets investigated, age and education seem to play a role.

To summarize these findings, it seems that age and educational status play the biggest role in determining usage of morphological and syntactic dialect features.

## 5. DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

In my investigation of the current state of the dialect in the town of Schwäbisch Gmünd I have found that significant differences exist between the speech patterns of individuals. Although these differences can be attributed to a number of factors, some of which I will mention in the following discussion, the age of the individual seems to play a major role with regard to dialect usage. Although the shift from dialect to a more standard-like speech can occur at different sections of the current population, younger participants are moving away from dialect sounds. My results contradict Berroth's findings on the speech of a small town not far from Gmünd, when she says that dialect speakers usually do not use a standard sound to replace a dialect one, but will use another sound from the dialect or a sound somewhere between the dialect and the standard (162ff). I have found that most of the time young people do use an equivalent from the standard variety when replacing the traditional dialect sound. Examples would be the dialect derounding of /ø:/ to /e:/, or the raising of /ɛ/ to /e/, which both result in a standard pronunciation when the traditional dialect realization is avoided. The only cases that paint a different picture are the ones that allow for more than one dialect realization of a sound. In these cases individuals can choose to use the less stigmatized dialect sound instead of using the standard. An example for this would be the derounding of /y:/ that can also result in diphthongization: younger speakers tend to choose the less stigmatized, but still dialectal, monophthong /i:/. However, even in those cases some individuals completely avoid dialect sounds and use the standard, rounded version of the vowel. For this reason I believe that dialect

change in the area, which is carried by the younger generations, is a change toward the standard, even though the results of this change may never be fully standardized speech.

As for differences within the AGE distribution for dialect and standard features, they are often not gradual. The changes occur between the groups in the middle (second-youngest and second-oldest) for lexicon and syntax, and between the youngest and second-youngest groups for phonology. Morphology plays only a small role with regard to the age variable, but the small changes that do occur also occur between the youngest group and the next group up. These intralinguistic differences with regard to age at least partially support a statement made by Barbour and Stephenson who claim that the lexicon marks the change from true dialect to a more standard-like dialect variety, while phonology, syntax, and morphology are more persistent (9). Here, phonology, and to a much lesser degree morphology, are lagging behind the lexicon with regard to increased standard usage. However, this study also shows that although phonology may trail behind the lexicon as an indicator of language change in progress, it clearly becomes the center of variation as this shift advances. Phonology may have had a “delayed reaction”, but is now, among the younger generation, clearly the most important carrier of change. It seems logical that lexical items would be the first ones to be eliminated on the road to a more standard-like speech, as they are the most noticeable dialect features, often not even resembling the standard terms that are learned in school and heard on television. And once the dialect term is dropped, the standard term still allows for dialect features to shine through in terms of phonological variation. For these embedded and sometimes subtle phonological differences to be first of all noticed and then changed, speakers arguably need more exposure, which has been readily available in the last few decades, thanks to technological advances and increased mobility. This may explain why it is specifically the age group between roughly 20 and 30 years

of age that seems to have made the most significant change from dialect to standard phonology. If we apply Labov's S-curve to these findings (65), it would mean that many of the shifts from dialect to standard sounds observed here are in their middle stages, where progression is rapid, as both old and new forms are readily available for the user to choose from. It remains to be seen if this progression will slow down for the next generations.

The finding that a speaker's EDUCATION has an effect on his or her speech did not come as a surprise. This study has found differences that support the popular view that the less educated classes tend to lean toward the dialect, whereas individuals with more formal education often prefer the standard. However, my results are also consistent with what Scheutz noted in his work, namely that this generalization may hold with regard to the initial classification of a group of people, but does not necessarily reflect the reality for each individual within that group (273ff). I have also found in my study, that a couple of individuals with the most consistent dialect usage also happen to be some of the most educated participants. Along those lines, one person from the Realschule group consistently uses as many or more standard features than any of the individuals from the best-educated Abitur group. Clearly other factors impact their choice of dialect use, not the least of which may be the fact that in some professions or social environments it may be beneficial to speak as the average local person does. For others, the attempt to distance themselves from the dialect background may have something to do with the desire to climb up the corporate ladder, which might be facilitated by using standard-like speech. It is important to keep the mobile individual in mind in these cases, instead of trying to make people fit into rigid classes.

Although I only used participants taken from a 6-mile radius, this allowed for the LOCATION variable to show significance on numerous occasions. Interestingly, location proved to

be most significant for phonology, while only playing a marginal role for lexicon and grammar. Some of the very old dialect vowels have nearly disappeared from urban and suburban areas, but are still spoken in more rural areas. The fact that phonological change lags behind the lexical and grammatical changes explains why some of these traditional sounds still exist in rural areas. Whereas changes in the lexicon may have been made in all areas of this region, phonological changes have yet to be carried out in the areas furthest from the city.

We have seen that individuals who see themselves as TRADITIONAL are more likely to use dialect features than individuals who do not see themselves that way. This is true for all aspects of the dialect investigated here.

Although the INSECURITY variable had an effect on dialect vs. standard usage, it did so to a slightly lesser degree for morphology and syntax. This may simply be due to the fact that fewer items were examined for that section, or it may have something to do with certain morphological features being less noticeable dialect features that are used or avoided for this reason.

I would like to briefly mention some of the variables that were initially tested, but were not shown to have any effect on the features chosen. Gender was tested, but was only shown to have significance in one of the dozens of items investigated (lexicon: *riechen*). There was no trend for women to use more dialect than men or vice versa in any of the areas examined. Profession was also addressed, but had no significance. It seemed that education accounted for social class differences, but grouping professions did not lead to any added results. I also tested various character traits, among them 'ambitious', 'willing to compromise', and 'communicative'. TRADITIONAL was the only character trait that showed significance on more than one or two occasions.

I believe this study provides a representative sample of the state of local dialects in medium-sized towns in the Swabian dialect area, as well as other Upper German dialect areas. It is important to note that the situation in the central and northern parts of Germany is different from the state of the dialects in southern Germany. This discrepancy was discussed by Ruoff over a decade ago (142), and in a survey conducted by the Allensbach Institute one year later, in 1998, only 39% of participants from northern Germany considered themselves to be fully dialect-competent, compared to 72% of survey respondents from Bavaria in the south (in Niebaum, 146). So although the results of this study can likely be duplicated in medium-sized towns in other areas of southern Germany, the situation would most likely be very different the further north we go.

Of course, one cannot ignore the features that show an impressive amount of consistency with regard to dialect realizations. They range from lexical items, such as the use of *Fuß* to include the leg, to phonological features such as the backing of /a:/, to several morphological and syntactic features such as the past participle reduction. Not all of this consistency can simply be attributed to the fact that a speaker may not realize a certain feature is strictly dialectal. Instead, dialect usage in these cases may also have something to do with a certain state of mind. I have found that most dialect speakers in the area associate positive feelings with their dialect, even if they feel the need to use linguistic means to hide their origins in certain situations. I believe that most of these individuals want to preserve some form of dialect and just accept changes as part of a normal progress that has been going on through the decades and centuries. Even though these changes exist and will continue to exist, speech within the area will probably always be something individuals can identify with and cling to, even when the world around them is changing. To me this is the true function of any dialect and the reason why dialects prevail when

they do – to give people a sense of community, tradition and belonging. If a dialect disappears, it does so because this underlying association is gone and with it the reason for the dialect to exist. This is most definitely not the case for this Middle Swabian dialect, which despite numerous changes and a gradual progression toward a more standardized future has remained an integral part of dialect speakers' lives in and around the city of Schwäbisch Gmünd.



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