

Standard language and dialect: sociophonological perspective

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Abstract. Sylvia Moosmüller's early work is rooted in the Viennese school of sociophonology which served as framework for her research on language norms, language attitudes, and the phonological analysis of variation in Austrian German. The phonological divergences between dialect and standard language interact at segmental and lexical levels to produce various sociolinguistic styles through the choice of sociolinguistically marked variables. This paper provides a short synopsis of various studies performed by the author in cooperation with Sylvia in this field: (a) a detailed study of an input-switch rule in Viennese German, (b) a study of the L1-acquisition of variation, (c) a study of the L2-acquisition of variation by non-native speakers, and (d) the problem of speaking dialect in the media. The sociophonological analysis shows the range of styles of Austrian German as they are produced by speakers for various sociopragmatic effects. Dialect and standard language appear as mere guidelines for the use of variables.

Keywords: sociophonology, Austrian German, standard language, dialects

1. BACKGROUND

1.1. THE VIENNESE SCHOOL OF SOCIOPHONOLOGY

Dialectology is interested in variation within a language (dialects). A second kind of variation, between social groups, has been investigated in sociolinguistics (sociolects; cf. Labov 1966). In both research on sociolectal variation and on multilingualism, the variation between speakers or within one speaker's production is analysed with regard to the choice of variables (cf. Cedergren & Sankoff 1974; overview: Watt 2007). This approach sees phonological variation as a dynamic process of variable selection. Speakers do not simply choose either a standard language or a dialectal register; rather, they mix these two sets of forms, thereby creating a mixed output which is a mixture of choices that is sociolinguistically and pragmatically interpretable by competent listeners.

For Austrian German, early phonological studies of variation established 'casual/allegro speech styles' (Dressler 1973, 1975a,b), trying to implement speed and carefulness/casualness as parameters; a study of Salzburg German developed a (generative) model for sociophonological variation as an extended competence of the speakers including variational

forms (one-competence model, Rennison 1981). At the same time, the model of Natural Phonology (NP; cf. Stampe, 1979; Donegan & Stampe 1979) was applied to sociolinguistic variation in Vienna (Wodak-Leodolter & Dressler 1978; Dressler & Wodak 1982), assuming a two-competence model in which variables are connected through ‘input-switch rules’ (cf., e.g., Moosmüller 1985).

NP provides a phonetic basis to phonology and distinguishes processes from rules, processes being substitutions that adapt phonological intentions to phonetic conditions, and rules being frozen adaptations, i.e., non-phonetic substitutions. This proved to be particularly useful for the description of (socio)phonological variation. A phonological process would apply across the board under specific phonetic circumstances; a rule, on the other hand, would occur for other reasons than mere phonetic conditions, e.g., sociolinguistic parameters. Phonological processes can oppose each other in an input-switch rule, i.e., for instance, a process may be opposed to a phoneme.

A description of the sociophonology of Viennese German (VG) was proposed by Moosmüller (1987), followed by a study of spoken Standard Austrian German (Moosmüller 1991), which laid the foundation for a number of subsequent works. Sylvia combined sociolinguistic approaches (research on language attitudes, prestige, and language politics) with the sociophonological practice of speakers in her analysis of the interplay between Viennese Dialect (VD) and Standard Austrian German (SAG). She also discussed what has been called ‘pluricentrism’ (Clyne 1987, (ed.) 1992), which she described in terms of hierarchical (cascaded) centres and peripheries, where rural speakers will be influenced by a smaller urban centre, while speakers of the smaller urban centre will be influenced by the speech in Vienna, and both are under the influence from Germany, e.g. through media, with every higher centre being more overtly prestigious than the smaller one (cf. Moosmüller & Vollmann 1995). The microanalysis of the phonological interactions between standard language forms and local varietal forms was the main concern in Sylvia’s early works.

1.2. INPUT-SWITCH RULES

Input-switch rules are rules which define variables for phonemes or words. It is important to note that they are not unidirectional rules; instead they put two (or more) variables in an equivalence relationship (bidirectionality). The list of input-switch rules below describes the phonological

differences between SAG and VD (cf. 01). However, some switches are more salient than others. For instance, a dialectal variant will sometimes be considered ‘more/less dialectal’ than others, other forms or phonological realisations will rather be interpreted by speakers as ‘low register’ (slang) or in terms of ‘ease of pronunciation’ (casualness, laziness). This perception explains why some ‘dialectal’ features can enter the meso- or acrolectal register, i.e., the sociolect which, in principle, requires standard language, while other forms are frowned upon if used in formal settings.

(01) Some segment- and word-based input-switch rules for VG
(cf. Moosmüller 1987, 1991; Hobel & Vollmann 2016: 9ff.)

S1	/aɛ/ ↔ /ɛ:/	W1	/aɔx/ ↔ /a:/
S2	/aɛ/ ↔ /a/ ↔ /ɔv/ ¹	W2	/vɪɐ, mɪɐ/ ↔ /ma/
S3	/u:/ ↔ /uv/	W3	/iç, diç, miç, siç/ ↔ /i:, di:, mi:, si:/
S4	/i:/ ↔ /iv/	W4	/niçt/ ↔ /nɛ:d/
S5	/y, ʏ/ ↔ /i:, i/	W5	/das/ ↔ /dɛ:s/
S6	/ø, œ/ ↔ /ɛ:, ɛ/	W6	/sɪnd/ ↔ /sa:n/
S7	/ɔɛ/ ↔ /ɜ:/	W7	/ɪst/ ↔ /i:z/
S8	/a:/ ↔ /ɔ:/	W8	/kɔm(ɛ)/ ↔ /kum/ ↔ /kim/ ¹

These substitutions are exemplified in example (02): In the sentence ‘Was hast du gesagt?’, the input-switches $a \leftrightarrow \text{ɔ}/a$, $-\text{du} \leftrightarrow \emptyset$, $\text{gɛ} \leftrightarrow \emptyset$ are applied by different speakers in different ways, thereby allowing the recognition of social group memberships. The exact choice of variables constitutes a sociolectal register.

(02) Various discernible speech styles in AG

(a)	STANDARD LG.	vas	hastu	gesa:gt	
(b)	UPPER CLASS	vas	hastu	gesa:gt	
(c)	DIALECT/LC	vɔs	hɔst	gsɔg(t)	
(d)	URBAN MC	vas	hast	gsa:gt	

¹ A word such as ‘breit’ SAG /bræ:t/ is /brɔɐd/ in many dialects, except in Vienna (and Lower Austria), where it is /bra:d/ (in VD); the latter form is spreading to other dialects and therefore becomes another input-switch rule for some speakers who may then fluctuate between the forms /bræ:t/ ↔ /brɔɐd/ ↔ /bra:d/.

² The word ‘(ich) komme’ is STD /kɔmɛ/, colloquially /kɔm/, dialectally either /kum/ or /kim/.

It is noteworthy that it is partially acceptable for a realisation of SAG [a] as [ɑ] in (b) (upper class), while middle class speakers would avoid [ɑ] in favour of [a], as in (d). For the prefix [gɛ-/g-], the opposite choice applies.

1.2. STANDARD LANGUAGES AND VERNACULARS

A standard language (for a comprehensive discussion, cf., e.g., Daneš 2004) is a relatively uniform variety of a language derived from a koiné or urban variety, used in a wide range of communicative functions, with prescriptive, written norms codified in grammars and dictionaries, subsequently roofing spoken varieties which are influenced by it.

In traditional cultures, standard languages are written languages used by *specialists* for religious, administrative and educational purposes (e.g., Sumerian, Latin, Sanskrit). Spoken varieties coexist independently in the form of dialect continua and spoken languages (largely unnoticed by historical records). Communicative needs are bridged through multilingual practices (e.g., learning more varieties, or by the establishment of a *lingua franca*). In this situation, the standard language will not interact much with the spoken varieties, as it is not actively accessible to most people.

Modern standard languages, on the other hand, are formed from one (prestigious) spoken variety (*ausbau language*) and spread through school education. This language is also elaborated for context-independent, active use (*activation, textualisation*) which makes written and spoken (elaborated) communication more easily accessible to more people (*demotisation*), which proves to be highly effective for the economy and education. Since standard languages are planned, codified, and mostly learned as L2 (cf. McWhorter 2007), they are well-described and therefore objectively accessible as a norm for writing and speaking. Furthermore, standard languages are *elaborated* (= *ausbau*; Kloss 1952, 1967) in structure and lexicon and allow high information density, grammatical complexity, precision, and lexical richness, and therefore serve *higher-level* (acrolectal) communicative functions.

Standard languages and spoken nonstandard varieties ('dialects') create a stylistic spectrum between *orate* and *literate* registers of a 'language' (cf. Biber 1988, 1995; Maas 2008, 2010). These registers express the distinction between context-dependent (situative, dialogic) and context-independent, i.e., well-planned, unidirectional text production (cf. Vollmann & Schwabl 2014, 2015)³, with literate registers being more explicit in expressing semantic relations through junctors and subordination.

³ cf. also 'high- and low-context communication' (Rhea 2007: 174f.).

Modern nation states usually define a national standard language and subsume other varieties as dialects or minority languages (*abstand languages*; Kloss 1952, 1967). Education in a standard language leads to a one-sided multilingualism in which all speakers of nonstandard varieties share one common and elaborated language which subsequently influences the spoken varieties structurally and assimilates them to the standard language (dialect levelling), leaving very little space for local peculiarities. Eventually, this situation leads to *one* language with various registers (orate vs. literate) and small dialectal (geographical) or sociolectal (social) differences (with phonological and lexical differences).

One complication is pluricentricism (cf. Clyne 1987, (ed.) 1992), where one (standard) language has various political centres and therefore develops small differences also in the standardised form. Chinese, English, and German are examples of this situation.

Standard languages have *overt prestige* and influence non-standard varieties now termed ‘dialects’. The convergence of forms may occur, as in (03), where a historical dialectal development is interrupted by the adoption of a standard form. What remains is the application of dialect phonology to a standard form, in this case the input switch S8 /a:/ ↔ /ɔ:/.

(03) Language change in the dialect: variety of forms

STD	ʔiç habe	↔	ʔiç hab(e)	↔	ʔiç hæ:b̥
DIA	ʔi(ɛ) /han/	→	ʔi hæõ	↘	ʔi hæ:b̥

This is a universal occurrence; all standard languages will influence dialects and minority languages as a *dominating* language. For instance, speakers of Hakka Chinese in Malaysia who nowadays learn Mandarin Chinese at school replace traditional Hakka words with Mandarin words by phonologically integrating them into Hakka phonology, as in (04c: cè suõ ↔ ci⁵⁵ so³¹).

(04) Dialect levelling in Malaysian Hakka (Vollmann & Soon 2018a)

(a)	ngai ¹¹	oi ⁵⁵	hi ⁵⁵	si ¹¹ hang ²⁴ /pun ⁵⁵ gong ²⁴ .	(traditional lexeme)
	I	need	go	shit drain.	
(b)	ngai ¹¹	oi ⁵⁵	hi ⁵⁵	siao ³¹ pen ²⁴ fong ²⁴ .	(euphemism)
	I	need	go	small business room	
(c)	ngai ¹¹	oi ⁵⁵	hi ⁵⁵	ci ⁵⁵ so ³¹ .	← Md. 廁所 cè suõ
	I	need	go	toilet	

I need to go to the toilet.

The same example could also be construed with Austrian German [aβuɐt] ('Abort' ← lat.), which disappeared two generations ago and was replaced by [klo:] (← 'Klosett' ← lat.) which is again replaced by Standard German [tɔɐ]lɛtɛ] ('Toilette' ← fr.).

While rural environments are somewhat resistant to language change from above, urban languages are prone to more convergences between the two ideals of standard and dialect, as shown in (05) where a standard language phonology of the lexemes occurs with dialect morphology ('mit laŋe o:ɐn'), where the adjective has a different form to the STD ('laŋen'). The indefinite article (an unstressed function word) remains in its dialect form anyway. This variant of the phrase is neither the traditional 'dialect' nor 'standard language'; it is a new sociolect based on the substratic standard and the superstratic dialect.

(05) Variation in Graz: Urban speech is neither the traditional dialect nor the standard language (from the *Styrialects corpus*)

URBAN	ɐ	ha:se	mit	laŋe	o:ɐn
STANDARD	ein	Hase	mit	langen	Ohren
DIALECT	ɐ	hɔ:s	mit	laŋe	uɐn
CHOICE	DIA	STD		DIA/STD	STD

Due to this variation, some choices are considered (more) dialectal, others are considered (more) casual speech, with unclear boundaries. The function word 'ein' is obviously seen as being casually 'reduced' to /ɐ/, while 'Hase' is pronounced in the standard form, and /hɔ:s/ would instead be considered dialectal. In some cases, dialectal forms compete with each other, as in (06).

(06) Competitive variants in dialect

	DIA	↔	STD		considered rather ...
(a)	i kum	↔	ich komme	I am coming	casual
	i kim	↔	ich komme	I am coming	dialectal
(b)	æso	↔	also	well	casual
	ɔæso	↔	also ⁴	well	dialectal

⁴ The two forms for 'also' are derived either by S8 /a:/ ↔ /ɔ:/ followed by /l/ ↔ /ɛ/ (l-vocalisation, cf. Moosmüller 1987, etc.; Vollmann et al. 2017), or by /l/ ↔ /ɛ/ creating a diphthong /æ/ which then can no longer feed S8 /a:/ ↔ /ɔ:/.

This reflects stereotypical attitudes about standard and dialect forms, where dialect is seen as the basilectal, familiar and thus also casual register. The forms which are closer to the standard language are interpreted as merely being casual forms, even if they are dialect variables.

This range of variables serves to produce sociopragmatic effects. In (07), a North Styrian speaker (from Kainach near Bad Aussee, a tourism region) criticises the introduction of word forms used by German tourists into the speech in Austria, equating standard language with the higher centre and dialect with the Austrian nation; however, the emphatic effect is achieved by switching to standard language forms.

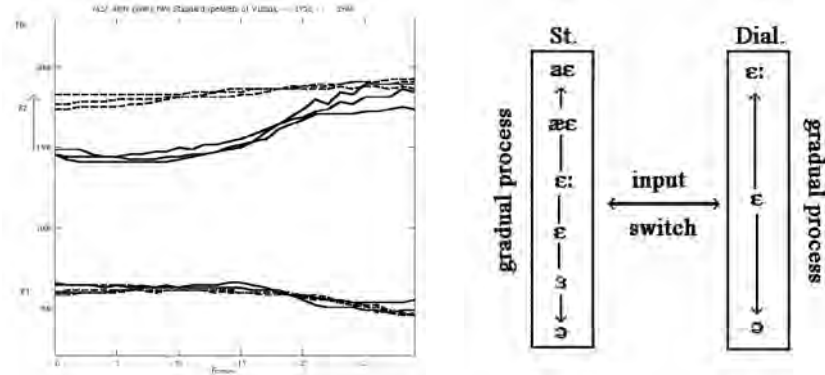
(07) Styrian speaker (LIKAIW037)

ode	nudlhölts	--	nudlvøege!	dɛis is œs --	dɛis is œs
oder	'Nudelholz'	--	Nudelwalker!	Des is ois --	des is ois
DIA	STD	--	DIAL	DIAL	DIAL

dɛs dæɪfɛ;	a ɛs dœɪfɛ --	prœsn --	prœsɪfɛ vœɛtɐ!
des deutsche;	alles deutsche	Preußen-	preußische Wörter!
DIA	STD	STD	STD

2. OVERVIEW

Sylvia's aim was to combine the sociolinguistic analysis with the underlying phonological means. The author of this contribution collaborated with her on some aspects of this endeavour. (a) In various papers, Moosmüller and Vollmann analysed the Viennese monophthongization (Vollmann 1996; Moosmüller & Vollmann 2000) as an example of an input-switch between a process (a gradual monophthongization) in SAG and a monophthong in VD. (b) One study on the acquisition of phonological variation describes some of the problems Austrian children face in a sociolectally complex situation in Vienna (Moosmüller & Vollmann 1994). (c) On the basis of the *Styrialects* corpus, the L2 acquisition of phonological variation was analysed in a case study by Hobel and Vollmann (2016), in cooperation with Moosmüller. (d) Finally, an outlook on the analysis of dialect-speaking talk radio is presented.



(08) (a) Formants F1 and F2 for /ae/ in VD: monophthong [ε:] or diphthong [ae].

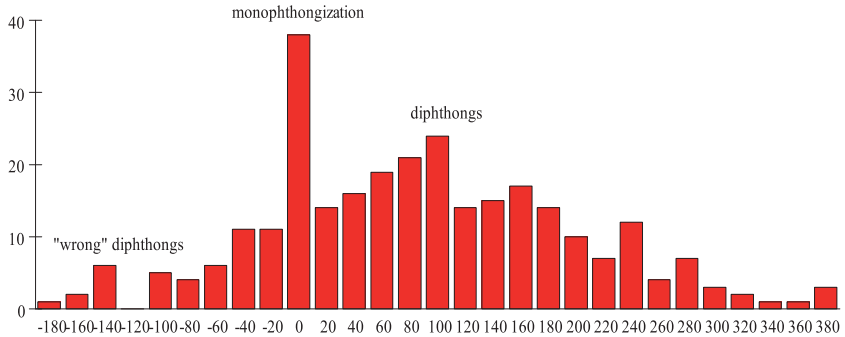
(b) Model for the interaction between the gradual monophthongisation of the diphthong /ae/ in VG and the range of realisations of the dialectal monophthong (cf. Vollmann 1996).

3. SOCIOPHONOLOGICAL ANALYSES

3.1. THE VIENNESE MONOPHTHONGIZATION

With the then rather new possibilities for acoustic phonetic analyses at the Acoustics Research Department of the Austrian Academy of Sciences (STx), Vollmann (1996 [1991]) investigated the phonetics of the Viennese monophthongisation in Moosmüller's corpus of Austrian speakers. As is well-known, VD has a monophthong where SAG has a diphthong ('ei' [ae] ↔ [ε:], 'au' [ao] ↔ [ɔ:]).⁵ However, the SAG variable undergoes a gradual process of monophthongisation, which can lead to different outputs in the same utterance. In order to explain this variation, the application of postlexical stress which depends on the speaker's choices has to be considered (cf. Madelska & Dressler 1996). If a speaker decides to put relatively more or less (postlexical) stress on a diphthong, it will be more or less diphthongic in VG; this effect does not occur in VD. The difference between the monophthongic or diphthongic realisation is exemplified in (08a); the VG monophthongization is a gradual process, as much as the gradual phonological reduction of the VD monophthong can be observed (08b). A quantitative study of the degree of diphthongic quality (by F2 movement as seen in 08a) in diagram (09) displays the quantitative distribution of /ae/ realisations in 4 speakers (in

⁵ The same is true for 'eu' [œ] ↔ [ɜ:].



(09) The number of occurrences of F2-movements (20 Hz bands) for /ae/ in Viennese German (4 speakers; cf. Vollmann 1996).

terms of F2 movement); it shows that the speakers do distinguish two different realisations for phonemic /ae/, a monophthong (peak at 0 Hz F2 movement), which was interpreted as evidence of the two-competence model. Vollmann & Moosmüller (1999) and Moosmüller & Vollmann (2001) also argued in favour of a constructivist approach to language change, in that a discernible phonetic difference which was previously just variation ('noise') can be interpreted as 'meaningful' (e.g., socio-pragmatically) and thereby creates a (socio-)phonological difference.

In the qualitative analysis, however, speakers show different realisations in the same settings, as shown in (10). This requires an explanation which is found in postlexical stress assignment.

(10) F2 movement in /ae/ diphthongs (cf. Vollmann 1996, 4 speakers)

(10a) ... denn **Reibereien** zwischen dem öffentlichen Verkehr und ...

(10b) ... vor einer Kreuzung links **eingereicht**...

SPK:	(a)	raε	bε	'raε.n
A:		226.5		515.0
B:		109.4		171.9
C:		183.6		210.9
D:		132.8		425.7

(b)	aεŋ	(ge)	raεt
	132.8		234.4
	277.3		65.1
	179.7		320.3
	208.4		187.5

The realisation of stronger or weaker diphthongs depends on postlexical stress patterns (cf. Madelska & Dressler 1996) which determine the strength of the process; in (10a), all four speakers produce a stronger second diphthong in the word *Reibereien*, whereas in (10b), different stress patterns can lead to some variation between speakers.

3.2. LANGUAGE DEVELOPMENT AND VARIATION

There is relatively little research on variation in language development. In a diary study of their children, Moosmüller and Vollmann (1994) found that urban parents often seem to use SAG in child-directed speech, while otherwise being dialect speakers; other children (peers) and parents do the same; consequently, the young children in the urban environment of Vienna focus on SAG first, and only slowly start to apply sociophonological rules to produce dialectal forms, beginning at age 4, acquiring some small sociophonological competence towards age 5-6. It was found that the children first cancelled out variation, translated dialectal utterances into the standard language (11) (sometimes correctly as in (11a), sometimes with non-target forms as in (11b)), and then started to sometimes use dialect forms for sociopragmatic purposes such as showing affection, anger, and other feelings (12). The variable rules (input-switches) were sometimes wrongly applied (13), and bigger differences between standard and dialect made it more difficult for the children to translate dialect into standard (14). It was concluded that sociolectal variation is learned together with its stereotypical function of dialect forms as basilectal, familial, personal speech. In other words, the children are not dialect speakers, but can use input-switch rules to some degree to produce some register differences.

(11) Correction of dialect forms (Moosmüller & Vollmann 1994)

A1= greatgrandmother, A2= mother, A3= father, C1/C2= child 1/2.

(a)	A1:	kri:p̥g̥st v d̥nd̥s kʰɛ:ks̥l̥ kʰā: s̥o v h̥o:p̥t̥
		<i>you get a different cookie – not such a hard one.</i>
	C2:	kʰaɛ̃n h̥o:p̥t̥::ɛs – kʰaɛ̃n ha:t̥s̥
		<i>not a hard one – not a hard one.</i>
(b)	A2:	ʷi:s̥o h̥ost̥s̥ d̥ɛ̃n ɔ:d̥ra:t̥
		<i>Why did you switch it off?</i>
	C1:	iç ha:h̥̥ ɛ̃s niçt̥ aḅg̥ɛ̃d̥ra:t̥
		<i>I did not switch it off.</i>

(12) Attempts at dialect use (Moosmüller & Vollmann 1994)

(a)	C1:	ɖas khan iç net	Das kann ich nicht.
		<i>I cannot do that.</i>	
(b)	C1:	iç ne:m ɖas ɖ	Ich nehme das da.
		<i>I take this one.</i>	
(c)	C1:	ɖa ist ɛ̃p̥ g̥ants̥ alā:	Da ist er ganz allein!
		<i>There he is totally alone.</i>	

(d)	C2:	v̥əl iç my:d̥ə ɸin əd̥ə miɢd̥	Weil ich müde bin
		<i>Because I am tired – or tired.</i>	
(e)	C2:	papa max ɸi aɔŋŋ tsuɢ	Papa, mach die Augen zu!
		<i>Papa, close your eyes!</i>	

(13) Wrong input-switch applications

	C1:	iç haɸs niç ɢ̥ɛsiɢɸt	Ich hab's nicht gesehen.
		<i>I have not seen it.</i>	

(14) Copying or correcting from adults

(a)	A3:	ɸes ɢe:t jə n̥ət aɢni	Das geht ja nicht hinein.
		<i>That does not fit in.</i>	
	C1:	əja ɛs ɢe:t ʃə:n aɢni	Ohja, das geht schon hinein.
		<i>It does fit in.</i>	
(b)	A3:	kʰa:rə ɢe: əvi	Caro, geh runter.
		<i>Caro, go down!</i>	
	C1:	ɸarum səl iç a:bige:n?	Warum soll ich runtergehen?
		<i>Why should I go down?</i>	

This situation is obviously a global phenomenon in urban language use where standard languages are the first language for children. For instance, a study on the situation of a Hakka family in Kuala Lumpur showed that the children are addressed mostly in Mandarin, while adults speak Hakka with each other. The children eventually do acquire a competence in understanding Hakka, in spite of not being explicitly taught to use this language (cf. Vollmann & Soon 2018b). Similarly, in the *Styria-lects* project, young speakers in Graz produce South Styrian phonological variables, but often lack knowledge of nonstandard dialectal lexemes. In both situations, dialect use is reduced to phonological differences (input-switch rules), while grammatical and lexical differences tend to disappear in the intergenerational transmission.

3.3. THE SECRET TO SOUNDING NATIVE

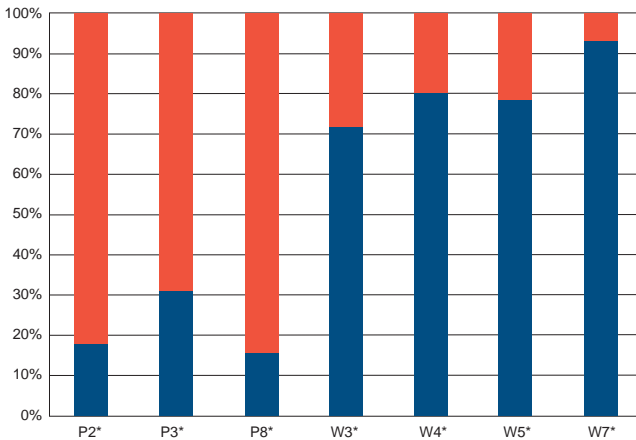
With immigration, many speakers of German are confronted with phonological variation in a foreign language as adults, formally learning Standard German, but being exposed to dialect and colloquial styles in real life. Hobel and Vollmann (2016) applied Moosmüller's model to the speech of an Albanian speaker who had lived in Austria for more

than 10 years and appeared to speak Austrian dialect (with a foreign accent; cf. (15)). In a sociophonological analysis, the use of standard and dialect variables was analysed. The L2 speaker basically chose only a few segmental dialect forms, but used certain word-based dialect forms. The person thus had an only partial competence in (mostly word-based) input-switch rules, mainly for certain (function) words and most salient phonological differences (16). The speaker applied the dialectal choices to fit into casual speech situations, while at the same time, she expressed a negative attitude towards non-standard speech, both in her mother tongue and in German. This case study was refined in a phonetic study of her /l/ realizations (Hobel, Moosmüller & Kasess 2016) in an attempt to analyse the secret to sounding ‘foreign’ (cf. also Schmid 2016).

(15) Migrant speaking Austrian German (Hobel & Vollmann 2016)

'damœɛls	vɔ.ɪ	tsum 'bæɛfpyl	'fɪɛkɔmən bin	[...]
Damals,	wo ich	zum Beispiel	hergekommen bin	[...]

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



(16) Frequency of either segmental (P or S) or word-based (W) standard and dialect forms (i.e., input switch choices) in the German speech of an immigrant (Hobel & Vollmann 2016). The input switches represented here are:

P2: aɛ↔a; P3: u:↔uɐ; P8: a:↔ɔ:; W3: ɪç/dɪç/...↔i:/di:/...; W4: nɪç↔nɛ:ç;
W5: das↔de:s; W7: ɪst↔i:z.

By and large, the non-native speaker creates the impression of speaking a casual Austrian colloquial language by mostly selecting some word-based dialect-forms (W), while the speaker often opts for the standard variable for segmental (phonological) input-switches (P). The

discrepancy between a standard language taught as L2 and the spoken variability of forms is partially overcome through language practice.

3.4. DIALECTS AND STANDARD IN AUSTRIAN MEDIA

Finally, in an ongoing analysis of local talk radio in the ORF (ÖR), the complex interplay of dialect and standard forms is analysed, departing from the double-bind situation of the moderator to speak dialect with the callers in an acrolectal situation in which a more formal language is appropriate. The moderator therefore needs to *elaborate* the dialect into a ‘standard dialect’ in order to adapt to the speech situation; this happens through avoidance of salient dialect forms and lexical borrowing from SAG with some phonological adaptation ([gɛbraxt] or [gɛbraxt], not [bɔɔxt]), basically through the use of a localised variant of the standard language. The specific mixture can again be explained by a micro-analysis of input-switches for phonological elements and entire words. Again, the dialect forms of unstressed function words provide a dialectal impression, while important (and stressed) words are pronounced in standard language form.

(17) Dialect in the radio gets standardised (00:04:57.472-00:05:02.377)

TRS	gɛnaɔ	dɛn	ja:rəsfoldɐ	gɪʔts	saɛt	aɛnɐ	vɔxɪj	ʊŋgefɛɐ
ORT	Genau,	den	Jahresfolder	gibt es	seit	einer	Woche	ungefähr
ISR	xxxxx	STD	S7:STD	W9:DIA	xxxx	S2:STD	DIA	xxxxxx

TRS	viɐ	hɔmɛn	ʃɔ	in	umlɑɔf	gɛbraxt
ORT	wir	haben ihn	schon	in	Umlauf	gebracht
ISR	STD	S7:DIA	DIA	xx	xxxxxx	S7:STD

5. SUMMARY

Sylvia’s contribution to sociolinguistics is based on her interest in detailed phonological and phonetic analyses which help describe the sociolinguistic effects of phonological variation. The model of NP in combination with variational parameters (input-switch rules) proved to be particularly useful for the description and explanation of phonological variation in actual speech production, which is seen as a sociolinguistic tension between two competing sociolinguistic norms, an acrolectal standard language and a basilectal dialect. The actual production of speech unfolds by choosing particular variables from one or the other system

(input-switch) in order to create a fine-tuned sociolinguistic register that is sociopragmatically intended by a speaker which can be decoded by a competent listener. The sociophonological micro-analysis pins down the exact parameters of this effect. Phonological processes are technically steered by postlexical stress assignment; input-switch rules describe the choices from two distinct phonological systems.

As was Sylvia's aim from the beginning of her scientific work, this analysis helps explain the sociopragmatic functions of standard and dialect and the discrepancy between language attitudes and the actual language practice of the speakers, due to the differences in sociolinguistic prestige of the two ideals for speech production. The sociophonological analysis of variation should be considered in L1 and L2 acquisition research.

Departing from her early contributions on aspects of VD, Sylvia's legacy lives on in the projects of the Sound Research Dept. of the AAS, and her multiple cooperations, as well as in the *Styrialects* project in Graz (cf., e.g., Vollmann et al. 2017).

6. ABBREVIATIONS

AAS	Austrian Academy of Sciences	Md.	Mandarin Chinese
AG	Austrian German	NP	Natural Phonology
A1,2,3	adult caretakers	MC	middle class
C1,2	child 1 and 2	P	phoneme-based ISR
DIA	dialect form	S	segment-based ISR
F1	first formant	SAG	Standard Austrian German
F2	second formant	SPK	speaker
ISR	input-switch rule	STD	standard language
L1	first language development	UGS	colloquial language
L2	second language development	VD	Viennese Dialect
LC	lower class	VG	Viennese German
LG	language	W	word-based ISR

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