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Slovene Bilingualism and German Language Contact

by

Peter Carr Woods

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Committee in charge:

Professor Irmengard Rauch, Co-Chair

Professor Thomas Shannon, Co-Chair

Professor Ronelle Alexander

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Abstract

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This dissertation addresses the issue of Slovene/German bilingualism in the province of Carinthia in southeastern Austria. The study examines the relationship between learning Slovene in the home and the ability to speak good German later in life; it is based on research conducted in the bilingual community of Bad Eisenkappel (Eisenkappel) in Carinthia. Over the course of two years (January 2013—August 2014 and June 2015), I made many trips to Eisenkappel to establish connections with the community and begin my fieldwork. This consisted of person-to-person interviews with residents of Eisenkappel, ten of which are represented in this study.

I argue that there is no basis for the claim that raising a child speaking Slovene in this community disadvantages the child by undermining the opportunity to speak German as well as those children who are raised speaking German only. My argument is contrary to both a long history of treating Slovene speakers as second-class citizens, and to the lingering perception among many monolingual and bilingual inhabitants of Eisenkappel that one must be raised speaking only German in order to be successful in mastering German.

In this dissertation I investigate the historical and cultural underpinnings of bias against the dialect of Slovene spoken in Eisenkappel, as well as against the speakers of Slovene themselves. I then draw contrasts between the dialect of German spoken in the region (Eisenkappel German) and that of the standard language taught in schools (Modern Standard German) in order to establish the two major varieties of German that inhabitants of Eisenkappel encounter. Finally, based on original data collected from my fieldwork, I analyze the similarities and differences in the speech of bilingual and monolingual speakers in Eisenkappel.

My dissertation challenges not only erroneous stereotypes envisaged for bilingual speakers in Eisenkappel or for speakers of Slovene in Carinthia at large, but also for bilingualism in border communities throughout Europe and the rest of the world. The principles of this study are applicable beyond border communities as well. This project could be replicated in virtually any community in which more than one language is spoken and there is incentive for minorities to learn the dominant language of the region or country.

This dissertation is dedicated to the memory of my father, James Eugene Woods.

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Acknowledgements

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The members of my dissertation committee have been saintly in their patience and receive my enduring gratitude. Marc Greenberg provided excellent contacts and indispensable advice as I began pursuing my study of Slovene and the research for this dissertation. Ronelle Alexander has been an exceptional resource and valuable adviser, providing very useful and concrete feedback and pushing me to produce the best dissertation possible. I thank Thomas Shannon, co-chair of my dissertation committee, for his words of wisdom and good counsel on so many occasions. Many are the long conversations we have had discussing all many of linguistic topics in his office. Certainly, there is no way to thank Irmengard Rauch sufficiently for her stalwart support and mentorship. This dissertation has grown and changed through many and varied phases, and always she reminded me that this was my topic and my project, just as she never failed to mention during our many advising sessions that this was my graduate program. I have enjoyed more diverse and enriching coursework than anyone else I know in this institution, and it is due to her insistence that I follow my heart and my interests. Without her, I would not only have failed to come this far with my dissertation, but I would scarcely be the well-rounded individual that I am continuing to become.

Cara Tovey also deserves special thanks for her encouragement of me in the last two years of the writing process. She has kept me on track, even going so far as to withhold her Latin books from me so that I could only study them after showing steady progress. *Gratias tibi ago. Haec omnia sine te perficere non potuissem.*

Finally, I thank my family. I know of no better people in this world than the two who raised me and set me on the road I now travel. I would have nothing without their support and love and devotion. My mother gave up her job to take care of her children while we grew up, and my father gave his all to provide a better life for his sons than he himself had had. It is with great sadness that I close this journey without him here to see it, and it is to him that I dedicate this work.

Chapter I

Introduction to *Slovene Bilingualism and German Language Contact*

"Die Grenze ist etwas Zwiefaches und Doppeldeutiges: Bisweilen
ist sie eine Brücke, um dem anderen entgegenzugehen, bisweilen eine
Schranke, um ihn zurückzustoßen. Oft entspringt sie dem Wahn, jemanden
oder etwas auf die andere Seite verweisen zu wollen, die Literatur ist u. a.
auch eine Reise auf der Suche nach der Entzauberung dieses Mythos der
anderen Seite, der Versuch, zu verstehen, daß jeder bald hier und bald dort
steht – daß Jedermann, wie in einem mittelalterlichen Mysterienspiel der
andere ist."[1]
(Magris, 2002: 61)

1.0 – Introduction

The purpose of chapter one is to provide the reader with a reference point and outline of this dissertation, as well as a brief explanation of some key concepts and issues that will be treated in detail over the course of the work, but that are due at least a cursory mention at the outset so as to ensure that there is as clear an understanding as possible of the subject at hand. Additionally, chapter one sets the stage for the investigation that underlies the dissertation and offers a framework by which to analyze the entire work. § 1.1 reveals the layout of the dissertation and offers notes to help make navigating the work as simple as possible. It is followed by § 1.2, in which the aforementioned key concepts are discussed. § 1.3 relates the genesis of the project, along with its subsequent metamorphosis and development, resulting in the reanalysis of fieldwork data and research questions that ultimately provided the thread for this dissertation. Finally, an overview of the following chapters and their contents closes the introduction in § 1.4.

1.1 – Layout

This dissertation is organized into five chapters, which are described in further detail in § 1.4. Each of these is divided into sections to facilitate easy reference when reading the work. The dissertation returns throughout to many concepts, terms, and themes that are detailed at various parts of the narrative and often in more than one chapter. These concepts, terms, and themes are tagged with section numbers that direct the reader to the point where the most salient information regarding that specific entry may be found later (or earlier) in the work. This may be cross-referenced with the Table of Contents, which provides page numbers for each individual section.

In keeping with the citation style of the Linguistic Society of America, in-text citation is used for all references; the final pages of the dissertation constitute the References and Appendices, and no end notes whatsoever appear in the work. Such parenthetical notes that tend to arise when writing an academic work (especially one of this length and scope) have been placed directly in

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[1] 'The border is something liminal and ambivalent: sometimes it is a bridge for approaching another, sometimes it is a barrier for repulsing them. Often it borne of the illusion that someone or something can be relegated to the other side; literature is, among other things, a search for the demystification of this myth of the other side, the attempt to understand that everyone is now here and now there – that everyone, as in a medieval mystery, is the other.'

footnotes. They are relatively few and contribute either to the understanding of one of the points addressed in the dissertation or serve to point out an interesting avenue for further research that is outside the focus of the dissertation. In both cases these comments have been placed in footnotes, as they would otherwise interrupt the flow of the work and may therefore be consulted later (or not at all). These footnotes are not numbered but rather marked with symbols. Numbered footnotes also occur throughout the text, and these are always translations of citations or data that are provided in case the reader is not particularly familiar with the original language being used. The use of these notes rather than symbols is meant to easily distinguish them from such footnotes that offer additional information or points of reference, and in this way the reader familiar with the language in question may simply pass over those numbered footnotes without concern. Where the understanding of a German or Slovene phrase is of importance beyond a simple translation, or where the phrasing itself is the object of inquiry, I have glossed all data. Where the intention is merely to provide the non-German reader with an understanding of the meaning of a quotation or phrase, however, the above procedure for simple translation holds. Finally, it should be noted that all translations made in this dissertation are my own, unless otherwise stated.

1.2 – Key Concepts

Although the subject of this research is fairly straightforward, the material here discussed will be more accessible to the average reader with a few signposts identifying key terms and ideas that occur throughout the text. As noted above, relevant cross-refferences are given to the specific place(s) in the dissertation in which these concepts are discussed.

1.2.1 – A Note on Geography

This dissertation is the product of research conducted in the region of Carinthia, whose history, and current socio-political and linguistic climate, serve as the basis of this work. Thus, it is important to know from the beginning where this region is located. The complex factors that have influenced Carinthia over the centuries (or at least some of the motivations thereof) are easier to understand when the region itself is placed in a geographical context.

Image 1.1 shows how that the area of Carinthia, represented by the area in yellow, is split between the countries of Austria and Slovenia (indeed, a small part of Carinthia even belongs to Italy, although this is not clear from this map and does not enter into the discussion in this study). Historically populated by Slavic tribes, Carinthia has nevertheless had close interactions with German-speaking tribes as far back as the early days of its settlement around the 7th century CE (cf. § 2.1.1 for more detailed historical commentary).

(Image 1.1 courtesy of austinadventures.com)

1.2.1.1 – The Karavanke Mountains

The current border that splits Carinthia between Austria and Slovenia is both deceptive, since it obscures the centuries of a united Carinthia that existed until the drawing of new borders following the end of the First World War, and telling, given the shared history between the German and Slavic speakers of this region. The geographical boundary that separates these two countries is a range of the Eastern Alps known as the Karavanke Mountains. These mountains, as is detailed more fully in § 2.1.1, not only provide a natural border between Austria and Slovenia, but also served as one of the major reasons given for dividing Carinthia after WWI.

1.2.1.2 – Austrian Carinthia

Given the divided status of Carinthia, it is important to point out how this dissertation will be treating the use of this name. Image 1.2 shows the Austrian province of Carinthia and thus the portion of the region that is officially Austrian.

(Image 1.2 courtesy of football.sportdata.org)

The German name *Kärnten* refers almost exclusively to Austrian Carinthia, and only by saying *slowenisches Kärnten* do Austrians identify that part of Carinthia that lies to the south of their country's border. Meanwhile, the Slovene word for Carinthia, *Koroška,* is used to indicate that

part of Carinthia that belongs to Slovenia, while the term *avstrijska Koroška* refers to Austrian Carinthia. This dissertation will limit discussion primarily to Austrian Carinthia; henceforth, unless otherwise indicated, the term "Carinthia" will refer to "Austrian Carinthia."

1.2.1.3 – Eisenkappel/ Železna Kapla

The majority of my fieldwork was conducted in a small Carinthian town roughly 15 kilometers from the Slovenian border, and all of the data presented in this study was gathered from consultants in this community. This community, known as Eisenkappel in German and Železna Kapla in Slovene, has a significant (ca. 30%) minority of Slovene speakers.
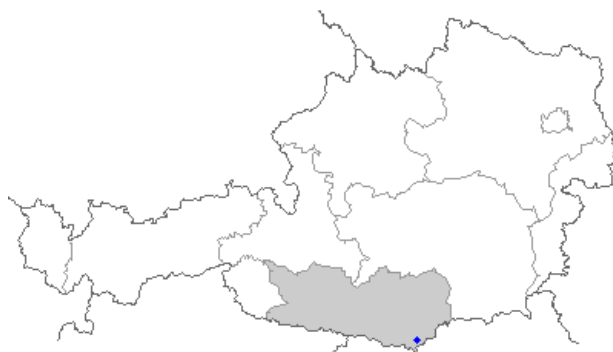
(Image 1.3 courtesy of commons.wikimedia.org)

Image 1.3 shows the location of Eisenkappel, far to the south of the province of Carinthia. The community is discussed in much greater detail in § 3.1.

1.2.2 – Carinthian Slovenes

As will be detailed further below (cf. § 2.1.2 and § 2.1.3), Carinthian Slovenes, or *Kärntner Slowenen* in German, are people living in Austrian Carinthia who either continue to speak Slovene (usually in addition to German) or who continue to identify as part of the ethnic minority of Slovenes living in the region. Although the phrase "Carinthian Slovene" could logically be used to describe Slovenes living in Slovenian Carinthia, the term refers almost always used when discussing the Slovene minority of Austrian Carinthia, and this will be the meaning used throughout this work.

1.2.3 – "German" and "Slovene"

Given that this is a dissertation that analyzes bilingualism among members of the Slovene-speaking community living in Austria, and the extent to which this contact scenario has influenced their learning of German, the words "German" and "Slovene" will be used

throughout. Note that "German" here is used linguistically and should not be construed as a political designation referring to the country of Germany.[*] Furthermore, the designation "German-speaking" refers only to monolingual German speakers, even though the vast majority of Carinthian Slovenes (and all of the consultants for this project) also speak German. Thus, the Carinthian Slovenes under discussion are bilingual in both German and Slovene, as were most in the past as well. By the same token, the term Slovene speakers refers to those Carinthians who are/were bilingual speakers of Slovene and German; it does not imply that they do not speak German. When the need arises for distinction between monolingual and bilingual *Slovene* speakers, this will be indicated.

In most cases, the word "Slovene" is used in this dissertation with reference to language, and it designates the Carinthian dialect of Slovene specifically. In other words, a speaker of Slovene can be assumed to be a speaker of the Carinthian dialect of Slovene, though that individual may not speak the standard, literary language of Slovenia. When the need to distinguish between dialects and the standard language arises, the word "Slovenian" will be used for the latter specifically. "Slovenian" will also be used to refer to citizens of the Republic of Slovenia. Similarly, when referring to speakers of these languages and dialects, the term "Slovene" usually refers to speakers of the Carinthian dialects, and "Slovenian" to speakers of the standard language. More detailed discussion of this distinction may be found in § 3.1.1.

1.2.3.1 – Languages and Dialects

Because this dissertation deals specifically with the difference between languages and dialects, care has been taken to maintain the distinction between these two terms. However, when discussing the speech variety that a given speaker uses, it was often more expedient to refer to that speaker's language rather than specifying that they spoke a particular dialect of that language. In cases where the distinction could potentially be misunderstood, the study refers to the speaker's dialect. Nevertheless, when the word "language" is used to describe a speaker's knowledge of German or Slovene, the reader should not assume that this is a reference to the standard variety of either of these languages. Unless otherwise stated, the consultants interviewed in this study were speaking their local dialects of German or Slovene.

1.2.4 – Monolingual and Bilingual

For the purposes of this dissertation, the term "monolingual" will refer to Carinthians (whether Germans or ethnic Slovenes) who were not raised speaking Slovene. This does not preclude the possibility that they might have attained fluency in the language later (though none of the language consultants in the current study have done so), nor does it assume that they have no knowledge of other foreign languages. It is simply a term for distinguishing these individuals from those who were raised in a household where Slovene was spoken. "Monolingual" does not mean "monodialectal," since many speakers are familiar with more than their own dialect of German. Finally, the term "bilingual" in this work, refers to members of the ethnic Slovene community who know both Slovene and German, making no assumptions about possible abilities in additional languages, regional or otherwise.

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[*] The same is true of "Bavarian," as will be discussed in some detail in § 4.2.1

1.2.5 – Terms Relating to Language Contact and Second Language Acquisition

It is worth briefly introducing a few key terms frequently used in the context of language contact and second language acquisition.

1.2.5.1 – Substrate/Superstrate

When investigating areas in which contact between two or more languages has occurred or is occurring, it is useful to analyze some of the socially motivated valuations that speakers place on these languages. In a contact situation, there is usually one language that has a higher level of prestige than the other(s). This is often the language associated with education, as well as with political and financial power, and tends to be the speech variety preferred by those with higher social standing. This language is referred to as the "superstrate." The "substrate," by contrast, is the language that is considered to be less prestigious, often the language that is spoken in the home or in more casual settings. These terms do not refer only to separate languages but can also refer to dialects or even regiolects that are considered more or less prestigious.

1.2.5.2 – Language Shift and Language Maintenance

Depending on the social context of the contact situation, speakers of the substrate language may be viewed as inferior by those who speak the superstrate language, and there is a tendency to stratify socio-economic groupings based on the degree of prestige of the language spoken. Over time, this can even be reinforced by speakers of the substrate language, who may come to view their language as inferior to the superstrate language. This attitude toward the substrate language is one of the factors involved in language shift, defined as the move from one language to another, or from one variety or dialect of a language to another. Although this process may occur gradually, with speakers integrating more and more elements of the prestige dialect into their own, it can also happen very rapidly. If native speakers of the substrate language simply refuse to pass that language on to their children and emphasize the learning of the superstrate language in its place, the shift will be completed over the course of a single generation.

Language maintenance refers to the reluctance to shift, the process by which a language is instead maintained. Factors contributing to language maintenance may include strong identification with the culture or history associated with that language; familial, sentimental, or political ties to another country or region in which that language is spoken; and a desire to pass along one's mother tongue, either for its own sake or with the belief that there is value in preserving that language and transmitting it to one's children. This value might be seen as inherent or as potentially advantageous to learners in some aspect of their later life.

1.2.5.3 – L1/L2

For the sake of brevity, this dissertation adopts the use of "L1" and "L2" when referring to first and second languages, respectively. The term L1 needs no further definition; however, since L2 refers to a language that is not one's mother tongue, there is room for inconsistency in its application. Some language acquisition theorists, notably Eric Lenneberg, define an L2 as a language learned after the "critical period" of language learning (between the age of six and the onset of puberty). An L2 may also be distinguished from an L1 simply by the very definition that an L2 is *learned* more formally, rather than *acquired* through natural interactions with family

and the environment. This dissertation uses L2 to mean a second language that is *not* the native language spoken by at least one member of the household. Nevertheless, as the L2 (in this case German) was learned so early by the Slovene speakers under consideration, their fluency in both languages allows them to be seen as full bilinguals. Those individuals who are *not* true bilinguals (i.e. who either learned Slovene or German imperfectly or after the conclusion of the critical period) will be referred to in such a way that accurately conveys their linguistic proficiency in these languages.

1.2.6 – *Windisch*

The term *Windisch*, and the *Windischentheorie*, are discussed in far greater detail in § 2.1.3.1.2 and § 3.1.1.2; here it is sufficient to note that the Carinthian Slovenes were (and to some extent still are) referred to as *Windisch*, or Wends, rather than as Slovenes. The term was used most infamously in the 1920s and 1930s to divide Carinthian Slovenes from their Slovene neighbors south of the Karavanke Mountains, and instead to identify them more closely with their Austrian neighbors within Carinthia itself. Linguistically, the implication was that the language spoken by Carinthian Slovenes was not Slovene but rather a kind of "patois" that was best forgotten. Politically, the term referred to those Carinthian Slovenes who were more assimilated and considered loyal to the German nationalist cause. The word had long been used to represent Carinthian Slovenes as a "backwards" people, and during this period it took on an intensely pejorative sense, such that the older generation of Carinthian Slovenes continues to find the word offensive, whereas the younger generation views it as harmless, though inaccurate.

1.3 – Toward a Study of Bilingualism in Carinthia, Austria

This project was undertaken over the course of several years, and the goals, research question, and even the general object under investigation changed over that period of time. The research that grew out of this investigation is quite different than was first envisioned, and the overall theme of the work shifted from that of a strict focus on contact linguistics and dialectology to an analysis of bilingualism and the motivations and consequences that surround it. In order to provide the reader with a clear understanding of the project, therefore, it is important to tell the story of how this project developed (§ 1.3.1), detail the research question that eventually emerged (§ 1.3.2), illustrate the goals of the undertaking (§ 1.3.3), and finally state the argument made in this dissertation for which the data provide conclusive evidence (§ 1.3.4).

1.3.1 – The Development of the Project

I refer to this development as a story because in many ways that is what it is. It is, in essence, the origin story of this dissertation, and as such, the most efficacious way of relating is in narrative form; I have chosen to do just that, albeit in a form that nevertheless corresponds to the academic framework of this dissertation. § 1.3.1.1 relates my initial interest in studying language contact in Carinthia; § 1.3.1.2 discusses the misguided assumptions that initially waylaid the project; § 1.3.1.3 describes my fieldwork scenarios and the data that resulted from this investigation; and § 1.3.1.4 provides an account of the insight that I eventually gained and which led to the current project.

1.3.1.1 – The Path to Carinthia

In the summer of 2009, I received a travel grant to go to Poland. My intention was to spend two months traveling there to improve my Polish and to meet with some professors to discuss an intended project related to Silesian German. However, before my arrival in Poznan, my first appointment in Poland, I visited a friend who had recently moved to Ljubljana, Slovenia. He had impressed upon me how important it was that I see this country for myself, and he expected that I would love it there as much as he did. My friend was not aware that I had already been to Ljubljana, though only for a day, and had felt there a peculiar draw that had taken hold and pulled my mind back to that place ever since. Thus, I was more than happy to indulge my friend and take this detour, as I had been looking for the opportunity to do so for several years.

I spent more than a week in Slovenia, after what had originally been a planned stay of three days. This gave me time to explore Ljubljana more fully than I had been able to do in the 15 hours allotted to me on my previous visit; it also allowed ample time for hiking and developing a love for the exciting land that surrounds the capital city. I had begun picking up some of the language as well, and I found that it spoke to me in a way that I had not experienced since I had begun learning German more than a decade previously. Lamenting to some new-found friends on the eve of my departure to Poland, I expressed the wish that I could remain there and learn Slovene, and to find a dissertation project there rather than in Poland.

It was then that I first learned of Carinthia. It was suggested that if I wanted to do research into language contact between German and a Slavic language, I could do little better than to visit the towns just across the border in Austria. The Slovene minority of Austrian Carinthia, they told me, spoke a very strange kind of German, almost a mixture between German and Slovene. The prospect of encountering such a language naturally piqued my interest, and although I indeed left for Poland the next day, I dreamed of a return to Slovenia and the chance to learn more about this hybrid German.

My dissertation chairs, Professors Rauch and Shannon, were immediately supportive of the new direction that I had chosen, and I spent the following summer, after my qualifying exams, learning Slovene at the Centre for Slovene as a Second/Foreign Language in Ljubljana. There I made more friends who encouraged me in my pursuits, and I traveled to Slovene Carinthia, where the German influence on the dialects of Slovene spoken there was more pronounced than in any other part of Slovenia, something which enticed me all the more. I was assured by these Carinthians that their neighbors to the north did indeed speak a very strange language that was almost a mixture of German and Slovene, and I even met Austrians who confirmed the story as well. After another year at UC Berkeley, applying for fellowships, outlying research plans, and continuing my study of Slovene, I returned to Slovenia for a full year of study at the Centre for Slovene as a Second/Foreign Language; I applied for and received a Fulbright grant to conduct my research in southern Austria.

1.3.1.2 – Assumptions

In the intervening time between first learning about Carinthia and arriving there to do my fieldwork, I had heard from countless individuals and read in several books and articles that the Slovenes of Carinthia spoke a hybrid of their own Slavic tongue and the German that surrounded

them. Even after arriving in Carinthia, I was struck by the local German dialect, and the occasional hallmarks of Slovene that had crept into their speech. I was bolstered in my assumption that among the Carinthian Slovenes I would find this strange and wonderful dialect of German that contained even more influence from its Slovene speakers, but I was soon to learn that this assumption was entirely false.

Having heard and read much about *Windisch* over the years of my preliminary research, I could very well have guessed that outsiders perceived the speech of Carinthian Slovenes as an unusual sort of German with Slovene elements mixed in. But the actuality was that this was Carinthian Slovene, which contains many German lexemes, and which was consequently perceived as simply a strange sort of German. This appears to be a common misconception even in Austria, evidenced by the fact that the television channel ORF, when running a segment on Austrian dialects, provided a sample of someone speaking Carinthian Slovene as an example of *Kärntnerisch*, the Austrian term for the Carinthian dialect of German. My search for this variety of German was therefore destined to fail from the outset, but I was not to discover this until I was long into my research year.

1.3.1.3 – Initial Data

At the advice of Slovene scholars such as Marc Greenberg and Carinthian Slovene experts such as Tom Priestly, I began my year in Austria attempting to make inroads with the Carinthian Slovene community. I had been warned that the Slovene population there, due to a long history of mistreatment (to be recounted in part in the following chapter of this dissertation), were quite mistrustful of outsiders proclaiming interest in their language. I found this confirmed in my initial dealings with them, but I was most fortunate to be given the name of the local choir director in the town of Bad Eisenkappel (known locally as simply Eisenkappel), Božo Hartmann. His interest in my project, coupled with his long-standing trust in the community, allowed me to meet with and interview some of my first receptive language consultants.

The majority of my interviews with bilingual speakers began in Slovene, though the dialect was quite different from the Standard Slovene of the classroom and even that of most of my friends. Rather than the apical trill one expects from Slavic [r], Carinthian Slovenes have adopted the uvular trill more common to German: [ʀ]. German lexemes, as noted above, pepper the language, such that *čas*, (Slovene 'time') has been replaced by *cajt*. Other changes reflect broader trends in the Slovenian dialect continuum, such as the pronunciation of both the labio-dental <v> and the alveolar lateral approximant <l> as something closer to the bilabial approximant [w]; this can be heard in some dialects within Slovenia proper as well. It was initially difficult to adapt to these variations, but in time I was making the adjustments in my own speech.

Soon, however, the conversation would switch to German, and the interview would begin. I asked them to give local, Eisenkappel German variants of several Standard German sentences, then, in order to elicit more natural speech, switched to a general conversation about issues relating to the Eisenkappel community (cf. § 4.2.2.2 for specific details of the interview questions). Overall, the bilinguals tended toward a pronunciation that was much closer to the standard; they noted that they tended to speak Slovene at home and learned German at school and through television and other media. A dialect of German that was blended with Slovene hallmarks was nowhere to be found, however, and when I finally asked consultants if they ever

used Slovene words in their German, they laughed and said that this would be ridiculous. They assured me that if someone spoke Slovene, then they would speak Slovene with that person, not German. And if someone did not speak Slovene, then they would never use a Slovene word in conversation with that person because they would not be understood.

This seemed logical enough, but I was certain that I had heard Slovene words used in German by Carinthian speakers. I soon realized my mistake when a monolingual used the Slovene word *prijatelj* to describe a "friend." When I asked him after the interview why he used a Slovene word instead of the German word for friend, he looked at me curiously. *Des is* Kärntnerisch,[2] he corrected me. No amount of assurances could convince him otherwise, and he finally suggested that it was strange to hear that Slovenes had adopted a purely Carinthian word.[*] In other words, time spent with members of this community provided crucial insight into the languages they speak, the dialects of both Slovene and German that are at home there, and the perceptions that people have about themselves and about each other. The more people I talked to, the clearer the picture became of what it means to be bilingual in that town.

After a few more interviews with bilinguals, in which some even tried to do what they thought might be helpful by occasionally rephrasing their German to make it sound more local, I became quite dismayed. I was afraid that my entire project had been a waste of time, and that there was nothing at all enlightening about the data that I had collected. At best, my data showed that Carinthian Slovenes spoke a dialect of German that was *closer* to Modern Standard German[*] than that of their monolingual counterparts, which was the opposite of what I had been trying to show. I spent a long time agonizing over what could be done and how best to salvage the project, flirting even with the notion of starting over from the beginning, as reluctant as I was to do so. After accepting that the data were the data, however, and recognizing that what I had come to find simply was not there, I began to ask myself a different question. Rather than focusing on the fact that the data were not telling me what I wanted to know, I asked myself what it was that they ultimately *were* telling me. The result was the inception of this dissertation.

1.3.1.4 – Moving Forward

The fact that bilingual German speakers, those who had learned German in childhood but not as their native language, spoke a variety of German that was closer to the standard had been of little interest to me initially, because it simply was not the exotic German that I had been searching for, and this is why I failed to see the significance of my findings. It was only when I noticed that monolinguals who were trying to approximate Standard German in their responses were having difficulty that I began to see the current form of project taking shape. The bilingual Carinthian Slovenes that I had interviewed were speaking German very well, in some cases even better than

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[2] 'That is *Carinthian*.'

[*] This was in fact a fascinating revelation, and it confirmed what I had already heard in the speech of other monolinguals. Certain features of Slovene have in fact made their impact on Carinthian German, though these occur almost exclusively in the speech of monolinguals, i.e. those who do not recognize that they are using words or syntactical constructions of Slovene origin. This will provide a very interesting opportunity for future research.

[*] I use the phrase "Modern Standard German" throughout this dissertation, by which I mean the standard language taught in school. This is often realized in speech as somewhat different from Modern Standard German as spoken in the country of Germany, but it is nevertheless a close equivalent and represents a form of the language that has been studied rather than one that was acquired in the home.

the monolingual Carinthian Germans. It did not take long for me to connect this to the fact that Carinthian Germans had grown up speaking the local dialect of German at home and with their friends, only learning Standard German in school and seeing it on television, such that their local dialect was reinforced far more often than the standard was. On the other hand, Carinthian Slovenes, at least those who had grown up speaking Slovene at home, had learned German almost exclusively from school and from television. Although familiar with the local German dialect and readily able to speak it with monolingual friends and colleagues, their early exposure to German had been to the standard language and not a dialect, making the standard more of a default variety than to the dialect.

The original framework of the project had not considered how much standard German versus dialect German is used among the average Carinthian, bilingual or monolingual speakers, [*] and it was not altered to incorporate this question. The project was also not originally framed to assess whether one speaker spoke Standard German more readily or easily than another.[†] For these reasons, it is not within the scope of the project in its current form to assess whether bilinguals possess a stronger command of Standard German than monolinguals, but what can be ascertained is whether their knowledge of Slovene appears to have hindered their ability to speak German in *any* form.

1.3.2 – Research Question

One of the key arguments often cited against the use of a language in the home that is different than the official language in a particular region is that learning multiple languages confuses children and makes it more difficult for them to acquire the skills they need in the language that they will be using in school and in their later careers. Reference is made to Pidgin German and *Halbsprachigkeit* (Larcher 1988: 8), a kind of "semilingualism" that emerges when one speaks two languages but is not fluent in either, the result of which is an in-between language. The fear of a lack of fluency in the prestige variety may also be seen at the level of bias against dialects. Hans Kratzer discusses this trend in his defense of Bavarian dialects, referring to the fear of parents and educators that allowing children to speak in a local dialect would have negative consequences, "weil sie überzeugt waren, dass der Dialekt jedem schulischen und beruflichen Erfolg im Wege steht"[3] (Kratzer 2013: 6). This attitude is no longer the standard among educators; indeed, Kratzer himself notes, discussing the shift in current education theories: "Heutzutage gilt der Grundsatz, dass Kinder, die Dialekt *und* Hochsprache beherrschen, sich beim Erlernen von Fremdsprachen *leichter tun*"[4] (Kratzer 2013: 6, emphasis added).

Nevertheless, these perceptions remain in the minds of many Austrians (cf. § 3.3.2.1.2.1 for discussion of this attitude in the Eisenkappel community, specifically the remarks of **Consultant H**). Insisting on maintaining a separate language in the home, for whatever reason, is linked with poorer performance in the official language and a future with less social mobility and opportunity for financial reward (Larcher 1988: 10). Taking as a springboard this concept of monolingualism as the best possible means of acquiring a language, I began to reformulate the

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[*] Although this would be essential in expanding the project, cf. § 5.2.1.

[†] Again, cf. § 5.2.1 for ideas for expanding the project.

[3] 'because they were convinced that the dialect stands in the way of any academic or professional success.'

[4] 'Today, it is understood that children who have mastered a dialect *and* the standard language *have an easier time* learning foreign languages' (emphasis added).

research question of this project so as to ask whether there was any evidence on the basis of the data collected that bilinguals spoke poorer German than their monolingual counterparts. If no such evidence could be found, then the assumption could be made that the trend toward monolingualism and assimilation at all costs has not resulted in better German, but has in fact resulted only in less linguistic diversity.

1.3.3 – Goal

My dissertation thus explores the issue of bilingualism and the notion that speaking more than one language is detrimental to learning the national language, which is often the prestige language, and takes as its primary goal of this project the task of determining whether this is indeed the case. By analyzing the data provided by bilingual and monolingual consultants, this dissertation explores the ability of bilinguals to perform in a German-speaking environment.

1.3.4 – Argument

In short, I argue that knowledge of an L1 other than the superstrate language is not detrimental to the learning of that superstrate language, and that there is sufficient evidence that learning the superstrate language as an L2 in school or through television, radio, and interactions with other family members, friends, and neighbors (provided, as is the case in the current study, that this is learned prior to the end of the critical period for language learning) does not negatively impact the ability of a speaker to perform in that language.

1.4 – Chapter Overview

This dissertation consists of five chapters, of which this introduction is the first. Chapter Two provides historical background concerning Carinthia and the Slovene population that has lived in the region for more than a millennium. In this chapter, alienation of Carinthian Slovenes is put in a broader context, which explains not only the prejudice against Carinthian Slovenes and their language that persists to this day, but also the reticence of some Carinthian Slovenes to pass on their native language to their children. The chapter concludes with an overview of previous scholarship on Carinthian Slovenes, their relationship with Carinthian Germans, and their language.

Chapter Three discusses the current state of bilingualism in Eisenkappel, including how the number of Slovene speakers seems to have fallen sharply in recent decades. This is followed by an overview of the project underlying this dissertation and a description of the approach I took to fieldwork and data analysis. I close the chapter with a description of the consultants who participated in the project and their personal feelings regarding bilingualism in general and Carinthian Slovene in particular.

I open Chapter Four with a brief overview of Modern Standard German (MSG), highlighting the historical development of the language as well as MSG phonology, morphology, and syntax. This is followed by a similar treatment of Eisenkappel German (EG) for contrastive purposes, in which I draw on examples from my fieldwork to construct an outline of EG phonology, morphology, and syntax as well. I then present the data that I gathered over the course of the study, presenting this in a series of 20 tables, which correspond to each of the 20 prompts used to elicit regular and quantifiable results. The data are then analyzed in tables to compare the

responses of monolingual and bilingual consultants, afterward I draw conclusions based on this analysis.

Chapter Five concludes the dissertation. I begin by discussing some of the reasons for the success of bilingualism in Carinthia, in particular why it is unsurprising that the level of German acquired by native Carinthian Slovene speakers should be so high. I also consider the factors that have helped Carinthian Slovene survive in this community and examine attitudes toward the future of Slovene in Eisenkappel. I then offer final conclusions based on the data from Chapter Four, reinforcing the argument (cf. § 1.3.2 above) that there is no link between bilingualism and inferior German. I close this chapter and the dissertation by discussing avenues for further research and the future study of bilingualism in Carinthia and beyond.

Chapter II

Historical Background of Slovenes in Carinthia and Previous Linguistic Scholarship

From *Die Kapuzinergruft*[5] by Joseph Roth

"Ihr habt nicht sehen wollen, dass diese Alpentrottel
und die Sudetenböhmen, diese kretinischen Nibelungen,
unsere Nationalitäten so lange beleidigt und geschändet
haben, bis sie anfingen, die Monarchie zu hassen und zu
verraten. Nicht unsere Tschechen, nicht unsere Serben,
nicht unsere Polen, nicht unsere Ruthenen haben verraten,
sondern nur unsere Deutschen, das Staatsvolk."[6]
(Roth 2013: 143–44)

2.0 – Introduction

The history of Slovenes in Carinthia is a long and complicated one. Entire books have been written on the subject (cf. § 2.2), and this dissertation has relied heavily on some of them for useful background information and a better understanding of the actors and events that underlie the current situation in the region. Here I provide only a brief historical perspective to serve as a backdrop for the current sociolinguistic environment in Carinthia, as well as to set the stage for the rest of the study. § 2.1 focuses on this historical background, and § 2.2 discusses previous scholarship on language maintenance and Carinthian Slovene.

2.1 – Historical Background

The recorded history of Carinthia, from its earliest records as Carantania, dates back almost 1,500 years. For this reason, it is important to be judicious in choosing which features of this period to include in research that is focused primarily on the 20th century and the question of how that century informs the lives and attitudes of people living in the area today. Notwithstanding the temptation to recount the early centuries and document the claims that Slovene-speaking peoples have to Carinthia, it is not the aim of this dissertation to take a position on political beliefs and the drawing of state lines, nor is it strictly speaking necessary to detail the precise features of the historical landscape in order to understand the present one. Let this overview suffice, then, to give the reader a basic understanding of this region's past, and those readers who are already familiar with the nuances of these developments, are requested to forgive the brevity of this account and the necessary omissions made to this end.

§ 2.1.1 deals with the earlier stages of Carinthian history up until the late 19th century. § 2.1.2 describes the events leading up to the 1920 plebiscite, after which Carinthia was divided between Austria and Slovenia (along with a portion going to Italy, as noted previously). Attempts at assimilating Carinthian Slovenes are discussed in § 2.1.3, along with factors that contributed to

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[5] '*The Capuchin Tomb*'

[6] 'None of you wanted to see that these fools of the Alps and the Sudetenland Bohemians, the cretinous *Nibelungen*, have insulted and dishonored our nationalities for so long that they have begun to hate the monarchy and to betray it. It is not our Czechs, not our Serbs, not our Poles, not our Ruthenians who have betrayed the nation at large, but rather our Germans.'

this assimilation, such as the rise of German nationalism and the "divide and conquer" strategy of Austrian officials.

<u>2.1.1</u> – Early History of Carinthia

Carinthia itself is a province of Austria whose area covers some 7,000 square miles, and which borders both Slovenia and Italy; the Karavanke Mountains divide it from Slovenian Carinthia. The mountains themselves provided a convenient place to draw the border between Slovenia and Austria after the close of World War I, but the ease of passage throught these mountains has served to foster growing Slovene nationalism ever since (Barker 1984: 22), an issue to which this work returns later.

Historical Carinthia was home to many peoples before the arrival of the Alpine Slavs. First Illyrians populated the region, until they were displaced by Romans. The latter were then driven out by a succession of Germanic tribes, culminating in the arrival of the Lombards in the mid-6th century. From then on, there has been a presence of Slovenes or their ancestors in Southern Carinthia for 1400 years (Moritsch 1986: 15). The Alpine Slavs, predecessors of modern Slovenes, were driven south from Pannonia, spurred on by the Avars, who used the more peaceable Slavic tribes as buffers between themselves and potential enemies. When the Lombards left Carinthia for conquests in northern Italy, the Alpine Slavs moved in and settled the area, as the first representatives of what would continue to be a Slavic contingent in the region until the present day (Barker 1984: 27–28).

A precise and detailed account of early Carinthian geopolitics is beyond the scope of this dissertation; however, inasmuch as it is key to understanding early Slovene/German contact, it is worth examining briefly. From around the 8th century until the beginning of the 15th century, Carinthian dukes were inaugurated by means of a ceremony performed in the Slovene language by a member of the Slovene peasantry. A little understood social grouping among the peasantry known in Slovene as the *kosezi* were responsible for choosing one of their own to participate in this ceremony, long after the Lombards and successive German tribes had asserted their dominance over the Slavs of the region (Barker 1984: 28–30). It is unclear where this tradition originates, but it is precisely this ceremony that modern Slovenes point to when attempting to show the continuity between a Slovene presence in the region before and after the arrival of German overlords (*The Slovene Carinthia* 1946).

<u>2.1.2</u> – Carinthia and the Fallout from the Collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire

In the middle of the 19th century, there were 100,000 Slovene speakers living in what would become Austrian Carinthia (indeed, they constituted nearly one-third of population of the province), but according to one 1910 census the number who selected Slovene as the language they regularly used was only 66,463, or 18.3% of the Carinthian population (Moritsch 1986: 15). This phrasing is important, as the sharp drop in Slovene speakers may in fact be explained by the difference between identifying as Slovene and citing Slovene as the most frequently spoken language (cf. further below in this section for a more detailed discussion of this). It is precisely this issue of identity, however, that was to play a major role in the shaping of Carinthia over the next decade.

The year 1918 saw the end of the First World War and with it the breakup of major European empires in Central Europe, chief among them for the current discussion being the Austro-Hungarian Empire. The question of how to draw the borders for the heirs to these territories led to a brief conflict in Carinthia. The newly formed Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes crossed the Karavanke Mountains and invaded Carinthia in an attempt to unite it with Southern Carinthia, which in 1910 had a Slovene-speaking population of 69% (Barker 1984: 17).[*] The attack was repelled, and a plebiscite was held in 1920, in accordance with the principle of self-determination, to decide the fate of the entire province. Image 2.1 below shows Southern Carinthia, outlined in purple:
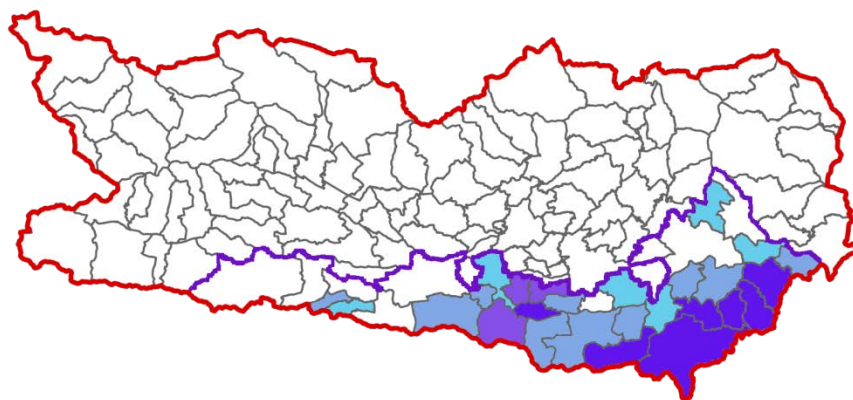
(Historischer Atlas)

(Image 2.1 showing Southern Carinthia, delineated by the purple border, as a portion of Austrian Carinthia)

The decision as to whether Southern Carinthia (to the border of the Karavanke Mountains) would become part of the emerging Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, or remain within Austria as part of the newly-formed Republic of Austria, proved to be controversial. There had been some contention during the peace negotiations as to how the Carinthian Question, as it was then called, could be resolved, with the territorial integrity of the Klagenfurt Basin providing a convenient topographical and economic basis for granting the region to Austria (Fräss-Ehrfeld 1986: 7–8). Image 2.2 below displays the location of the Klagenfurt Basin in relation to the rest of Austria:

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[*] Note that this statistic refers to Slovene speakers in Southern Carinthia, not in Austrian Carinthia as a whole, and that the rest of the population was only German speaking. Image 2.1 shows the regions in Southern Carinthia with Carinthian Slovene populations, the darker portions corresponding to higher numbers of Carinthian Slovenes.
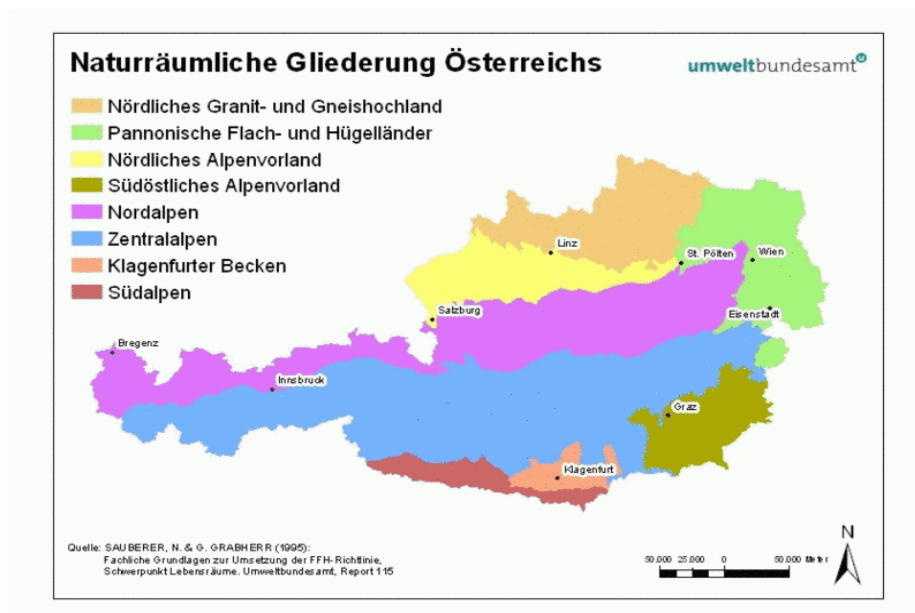
Image 2.2: showing the Klagenfurt Basin (here: Klagenfurter Becken), just north of the Karavanke Mountains

The victorious Great Powers were divided on precisely this question, however. Although the United States had, prior to the Paris Peace Conference in 1919, sided with France and Great Britain in supporting a border that followed the Drava river (*Drau* in German), the American attitude soon shifted. Image 2.3 below shows the location of the Drava river in Austria:
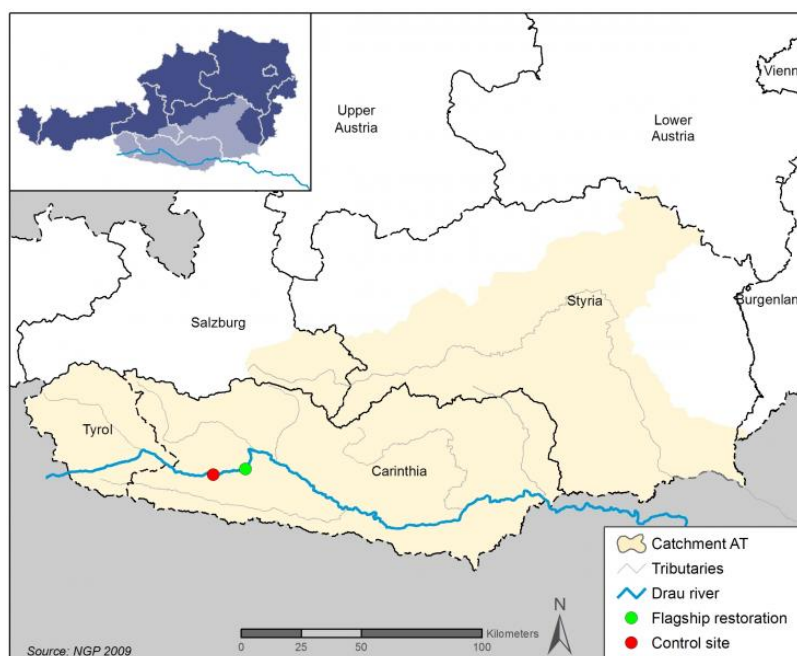
(NGP – Nationaler Gewässerbewirtschaftungsplan 2009)
Image 2.3 showing the Drava River as the proposed border between the new Austrian and Yugoslav states

Following the recommendation of the American-sponsored Miles Mission, led by Lieutenant-Colonel Sherman Miles, in which an effort was made to determine where best to set the new border, the United States determined that it was both necessary to preserve the unity of the Klagenfurt Basin, and that it was also necessary and closer to what the people of Carinthia appeared to want. Vodopivec (1986) argues, however, that it was the language used in the plebiscites conducted by the Miles Mission that unfairly biased responses in favor of this result. Under the principles of Wilsonian self-determination, decisions regarding borders were to be made on ethnic grounds, to which end the people of Carinthia might have been asked about their ethnic identity. Rather than frame the question in this way, however, the Miles Mission asked respondents "about their national, i.e., state preferences," thus determining not the ethnic feelings of Carinthians, but rather testing "preferences for the Austrian State versus preferences for the Yugoslav State" (Vodopivec 1986: 22; cf. § 2.1.3.2 for a more detailed discussion).

The ultimate decision of the Great Powers to hold a plebiscite based on ethnic grounds, therefore, reflected the Austrian view of how those grounds should be determined. Nevertheless, the Klagenfurt Basin was divided into two zones, named A and B, for the purpose of the plebiscite. This was intended to satisfy both Yugoslav and Austrian demands for fairness in the resolution of the Carinthian Question, since Zone A contained the vast majority of Carinthian Slovenes and by and large corresponded to the territory claimed by the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes (Fräss-Ehrfeld 1986: 9). A plebiscite held for the entirety of the Klagenfurt Basin was thought to be too likely to be swayed by the majority German speakers residing in that region, which lay within Zone B: Zone A contained around 73,000 inhabitants, compared to the smaller but predominantly German population of around 54,000 in Zone B (Fräss-Ehrfeld 1986: 9). The results of the plebiscite held in Zone A on 10 October 1920 would determine whether a subsequent plebiscite would be held in Zone B, as this second plebiscite was predicated upon a vote in favor of Yugoslavia in Zone A (Fräss-Ehrfeld 1986: 9). Image 2.4 provides a breakdown of the plebiscite in Zone A:
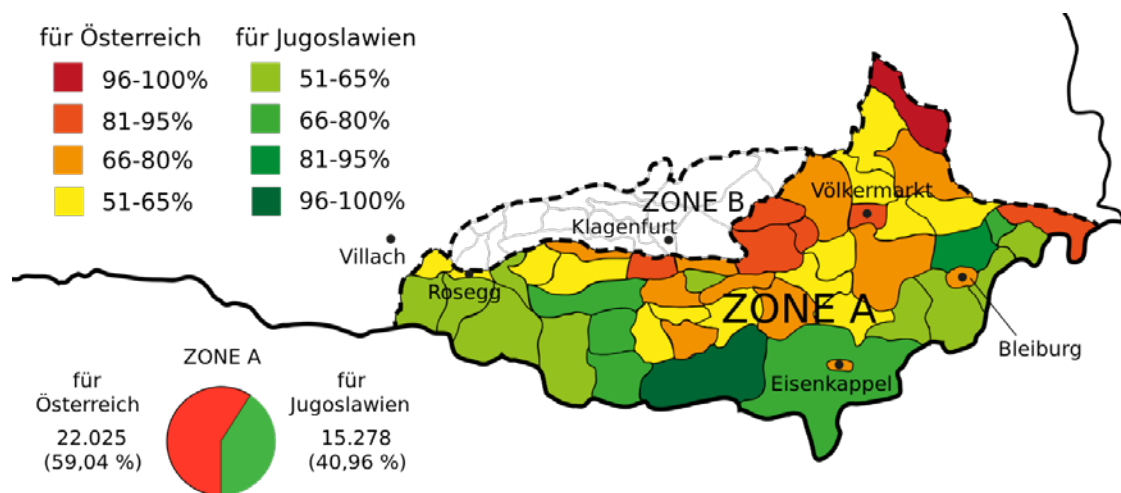
(Historischer Atlas 2012)
Image 2.4: Verlag Christian Brandstätter's rendering of the 1920 plebiscite results

Since 59% of the people of Southern Carinthia voted to remain part of Austria (Fräss-Ehrfeld 1986: 7), no plebiscite was held in Zone B, and the Klagenfurt Basin, remained intact and became part of the Republic of Austria. The plebiscite that was meant to decide the borders on ethnic grounds thus served the economic function of preserving the *territorial* integrity of the Klagenfurt Basin, while dividing Carinthian Slovenes from the rest of emerging Slovenia and consequently failing to secure the *ethnic* integrity of the Slovene people. This is by no means to say that the vote went in favor of Austria due to a lack of ethnic consciousness on the part of Carinthian Slovenes. Although the fact that 10,000 Slovenes voted to remain in Austria appears to imply that this decision bespoke a stronger identity with German-speaking people than with their fellow Slovenes south of the Karavanke Mountains, the reality is far more complicated and reflects a decision made more out of perceived self-interest than out of abandonment or even suppression of ethnic identity. Even the notion that a large number of the Slovenes who voted in favor of Austria were coerced or threatened, as was asserted early on by Yugoslav Slovenes, appears to be misguided. As Vodopivec notes (1986: 23), the Yugoslav Army's invasion of Southern Carinthia in 1919 soured the opinion of many Carinthian Slovenes toward the Yugoslav and Slovene authorities, leaving the question of threats and coercion as a tactic attributable to both sides.

Vodopivec further argues (1986: 23) that the true reasons for the outcome of the plebiscite lie not in the ethnic orientation of Slovenes, but rather in a combination of several factors, such as "the absence of any long-term tradition of pro-Yugoslav politics in Carinthia; the religious prejudices against an Orthodox Dynasty; the progressive political orientation; and the great social security in the Austrian republic" (Vodopivec 1986: 23). A detailed investigation of these factors is beyond the scope of this study, but one interesting assertion has been made that shifts the focus from a political to an economic justification for the pro-Austria plebiscite result. Moritsch argues (1986: 16) that the peasants, who constituted the majority of Carinthian Slovenes, would have been cut off from their primary markets in Villach and Klagenfurt. Greater food shortages in Austria as a result of the war also made it possible for them to sell their crops at higher prices. Moritsch proceeds to present evidence based on plebiscite results in particular districts to conclude that peasant farmers swayed the vote in favor of remaining part of Austria. For a detailed discussion on the socio-economic factors in play leading up to the 1920 plebiscite, see Lukan and Moritsch 1988.

Nevertheless, the question of discrepancies in determining who is "Slovene" and who is not is far from a closed matter. Priestly (1996) provides a compelling example of how such discrepancies can occur between official statistics conducted by the state and privately-conducted surveys in which the respondents are less likely to feel that their answers could have potentially negative consequences or that they may be the victims of retaliation if they respond in a particular way. Priestly stated (ibid: 184) that an official 1910 census for the Carinthian town of Borovlje/Ferlach showed that 10% of the population was Slovene, whereas a privately-conducted census established that the percentage of Slovenes was 93%.

Although the wording of census questions can be a determining factor in skewing the data recovered by a survey, individual concerns are often relevant to the outcome of statistics. Citing more recent examples, Priestly noted (ibid: 185) that in the Carinthian town of Sele/Zell Pfarre, the 1971 official census data reported that 92% of the population was Slovene, whereas Priestly's own estimates of community members whose native language was Slovene is 98%. He

also concluded that although the number of Slovenes who would state for the official record their knowledge of the language was likely higher at the time of his writing in 1990 than it was in 1972, it was nevertheless still lower than the number who would be willing to admit this privately.

Another reason that the majority of Slovenes voted to protect the territorial integrity of Carinthia and remain within Austria was the promise from the Austrian government that it would preserve minority rights in the province, especially those regarding language, (Priestly 1996: 384). However, despite a short time of relative peace during the inter-war period, Slovenes in Carinthia found themselves regarded as enemies of the state after the rise of National Socialism and the advent of the Anschluss in 1938; after this point Carinthian Slovenes were forcibly evicted from their homes, many of which were then burned, and they were driven into the mountains and the forests. A great number of these joined with the Partisans and fought against the Nazis, eventually securing a good portion of Southern Carinthia in the name of Yugoslavia. Once again, the international community stepped in, and the territorial integrity of Austria was maintained (Barker 1984: 18). And once more, the promise of reforms was made, this time coming to fruition as part of the State Treaty of 1955, which protects the rights of minorities in Austria (Bevc 1986: 1).

Nevertheless, many Carinthian Slovenes lament that the provisions put forth in the State Treaty were either never implemented or have been slowly undone over the course of the ensuing decades. Assimilation is still the stated goal of anti-Slovenes in Austria (Barker 1984: 12–13). Carinthian Germans in particular view themselves as the "vanguard of Deutschtum in the Balkans" (Barker 1984: 18), since they are the southernmost speakers of German in Europe.[*] The United Nations High Council on Refugees (UNHCR) notes that the provincial government of Carinthia is "openly anti-Slovene" and opposes the use of the Slovene language. Specifically at issue, according to UNHCR, are rights to education in Slovene and the right to post signage in both Slovene and German in municipalities with a significant Slovene minority (10% or more).

2.1.3 – Assimilation

The presence of Slovenes in the newly formed Republic of Austria was viewed as a danger by some Austrian citizens, who felt that the territorial integrity of Carinthia was still threatened, even though the 1920 plebiscite seemed to have resolved the Carinthian Question. § 2.1.3.1 discusses some of the attempts to assimilate Carinthian Slovenes, and § 2.1.3.2 outlines some of the factors, both external and internal, which contribute to the assimilation of the Carinthian Slovene community.

2.1.3.1 – Attempts to Assimilate Carinthian Slovenes

There are several clearly defined ways that Carinthian Germans have attempted to assimilate their Slovene neighbors; these will be discussed below. § 2.1.3.1.1 looks at the underlying assumptions about Slovenes preceding the 1920 plebiscite, and § 2.1.3.1.2 discusses the emerging *Windischentheorie* and how this further cemented such prejudices in the minds of

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[*] Although Switzerland extends further south than Austria, one may compare the area of Switzerland that speaks German with the corresponding area of Carinthia and see that Carinthia is the southernmost German-speaking region.

Carinthian Germans. § 2.1.3.1.3 describes the effect of the rise of German nationalism in Austria and Carinthia in particular, as well as long-standing attempts at Germanization. Finally, § 2.1.3.1.4 examines anti-Slovene campaigns of the early 20th century.

2.1.3.1.1 – Underlying Assumptions

In the early years of the 20th century, Carinthian Slovenes were almost exclusively peasants, and the Slovene elite consisted for the most part of the Catholic clergy, whereas political affairs were determined by the "secular intelligentsia and the bourgeoisie," made up of German-speaking Carinthians (Moritsch 1986: 16). Toward the end of the 19th century, Carinthia had begun to experience a severe economic crisis, during which time the Catholic clergy began to assume greater political influence in the Slovene dominated region of Southern Carinthia, due largely to the church's role in organizing agricultural cooperatives to assist Slovene peasants. At the same time, the German speakers in the region experienced a corresponding decline in their own influence in the area (cf. § 2.1.3.2.3 for reasons for this, including the rise of banks owned and operated by Carinthian Slovenes). Being "German" became synonymous with higher culture and progressive, liberal attitudes, while Slovene culture was seen as conservative, backward, and inferior (Moritsch 1986: 16). See § 2.1.3.1.2 below for a related discussion of the use of *Windisch* as a marker for backwardness. This polarization, accompanied as it was by the perceived threat that Slovenes would rob Germans of their traditional influence, led to anti-Slovene campaigns and actions that were increasingly informed by a sense of German nationalism (for more detail, cf. § 2.1.3.1.3 and § 2.1.3.1.4).

During the collapse of Austria-Hungary, Carinthian Slovenes began to feel an ever greater kinship with their counterparts south of the Karavanke Mountains. Rather than feeling a stronger identity as Austrians due to an adopted "German-ness" that had infiltrated Carinthian Slovene consciousness over the centuries of close contact between the two groups (Moritsch 1986: 16), Carinthian Slovenes continued to feel strong cultural ties with the more mono-cultural Slovenes to the south. Harsh treatment of Carinthian Slovenes during the First World War only heightened this tendency, and by 1917 the mood was such that 19,000 Slovenes signed a declaration (known as the May Declaration of 1917), demanding a separate South Slavic Kingdom which would in essence transform the existing dual monarchy of Austria-Hungary into a triple monarchy (Moritsch 1986: 16). Part of the so-called Yugoslav Movement of 1917 and 1918, this notion of uniting all South Slavs under the Habsburg crown had broad support (Vodopivec 1986: 21).

The results of this declaration did little to dispel the idea among German nationalists that Slovenes were a foreign threat, "something imported into Carinthia from abroad" (Moritsch 1986: 16). Even greater mistrust of Slovenes emerged following the results of the 1920 plebiscite, and not least as a result of the fact that Slovenes were now a national minority in a country that "had just christened itself 'German Austria'" (Moritsch 1986: 17). Moritsch quotes Arthur Lemisch, Carinthian Provincial Administrator at the time, who made the following announcement before the provincial diet less than two months after the plebiscite:

> In the reconstruction of [our] homeland those 15,278 [persons] who voted in the plebiscite for union with the SHS should not be forgotten…We have the task of turning them into Carinthians again…With German civilization and with

Carinthian congeniality, we shall in one generation have overcome the work
before us, if school and church do their part (ibid).

This stands in marked contrast to the statement of the Provincial Assembly made a few days
before the plebiscite, which had assured Carinthians Slovenes of its desire to guarantee "their
linguistic and national individuality, now and for all time…" (ibid). However, the concept of a
"people" as understood in this new "German Austria" essentially made this impossible from the
outset. Moritsch argues that state, nation, and people formed a kind of biological unity in the
minds of Germans, a national organism that must regard minorities as "alien bodies" to be
"isolated and controlled" to prevent damage, if not outright destroyed (ibid). This became the
tacit (if not outright) policy of the provincial government of Carinthia in the following decades,
as Slovenes came under increasing pressure to embrace Germanization or suffer discrimination
and isolation as "national Slovenes" who were betraying the spirit of the Austrian republic.
"National Slovenes," who today might correspond to what Stermole 1972 calls "ethnically
conscious Slovenes" (cf. § 2.1.3.1.2 for more discussion), were those who continued to place
importance on their Slavic heritage, spoke their dialect of Slovene in the local community and
with their families, and strove to learn/maintain their knowledge of the Slovene literary language
(Moritsch 1986: 17).

2.1.3.1.2 – *Die Windischentheorie*

Although Nazi measures were decidedly more overt in terms of the end goal of total assimilation
of Carinthian Slovenes, the process that began in the mid-19th century was by no means
unsuccessful, and may indeed have been more influential than the terror tactics employed leading
up to and during World War II. Most prominent among these attempts was the use by Carinthian
Germans of pseudo-linguistic reasoning about the origins of Carinthian Slovene, which in
essence used the Carinthian Slovene dialects as a weapon against the minorities themselves. It is
this manipulation of language to undermine the integrity of these dialects that led to the
emergence of the so-called *Windischentheorie*, which had its roots in three basic tenets that arose
out of the nationalism of the 19th century (Priestly 1996: 371–73). The first of these was that
language equals nation. The second was that dialects were backward and ugly, whereas
languages were orderly and beautiful; furthermore, since a common language was tantamount to
a nation, dialects were believed to undermine that nation. Above all, uniformity was required
when building a nation, and "…the existence of dialects in the nineteenth century threatened the
fabric of the State" (Steinberg 1987: 204). This led naturally to the third tenet, the distinction
between German and Slovene as spoken in Carinthia. The drive of nationalism thus fed the
perceived need for assimilation and paved the way for the development of the
Windischentheorie, with its attempt to prove that Carinthian Slovenes were distinct from the
Slovenes of Slovenia and therefore should become Germanized.

Several misguided beliefs, all inherited from the 19th century, informed the *Windischentheorie*.
First, the differences between Carinthian Slovene dialects and Standard Slovene were
exaggerated to illogical proportions, leading to the admonition that no one would want to pass on
such a dialect to his children, "…all the less because his dialect is so different from Literary
Slovene that the latter seems to be no closer to his own dialect than German" (Feldner 1982: 13).
This went hand in hand with the above-mentioned tenet that language equals nation, which led to
the attempt to separate the Carinthian Slovenes from the Slovene nation and to increase the

identification of their identity with the German one (Priestly 1996: 377). Following from this first belief came the idea that Carinthian Slovenes could not understand Standard Slovene, and that they could in fact more easily learn German (Feldner 1982: 13). Eventually, it was alleged that Carinthian Slovene was undergoing a "natural" process of assimilation to German, since it was already a "mixed language" that was on its way to becoming German (Priestly 1996: 379).[*]

Above all, the success of the *Windischentheorie* seems to have been in its use of terminology. Martin Wutte, a leading provincial historian and Carinthian German national who formulated the *Windischentheorie* in its official form, used the term *Windisch* to separate out those Slovenes who were not deemed "national Slovenes," but rather who were Germanized and/or in line with German nationalist thinking, reserving the term "Slovene" for those resistant to Germanization (Priestly 1996: 187). Stermole's (1978: 41) division of Carinthian Slovenes is perhaps more descriptive. He sees two groups: those who are "ethnically conscious" and those who are not. Slovenes who are not ethnically conscious are further divided into those whom he deems "cultural apostates," those who join organizations like the *Kärntner Heimatdienst* (cf. § 2.1.3.1.4) and attack anything Slovene, and those who are non-organized but nevertheless do not attempt to pass on Slovene to their children (Stermole 1978: 42). Neither of these latter groups were or ever could be truly German in the eyes of nationalists, as they did not share the same cultural and linguistic heritage as their German fellow citizens. But by removing the label *Slovene* and replacing it with *Windisch*, the German nationalists were effectively able to divide one minority into two and simultaneously to build a metaphorical wall between these two. Enticing the Windisch group with broader recognition and acceptance, while painting the Slovenes as a small, radical minority bent on union with the Slavic state south of the Karavanke Mountains, the German nationalists sought to siphon as many people away from the Slovene camp and into the Windisch one as possible, with the ultimate aim of complete assimilation and Germanization (Moritsch 1986: 18–19).

At the same time, the term *Windisch* further obscured reality, as the newly-dubbed Windisch were not any closer to being German nationalists simply because of their reluctance to be labeled as "national Slovenes." The more than 10,000 Slovenes who voted in favor of remaining part of Austria in the 1920 plebiscite did so primarily out of economic interests (cf. Vodopivec's treatment in § 2.1.2 above). Now, however, they were recast as patriots whose pro-German sentiment was "rooted deeply in peaceful historic symbiosis with Germans" (Moritsch 1986: 18). Calling them Windisch set them up as an independent group, separate from Slovenes. This became a new group whose historical Slavic identity was replaced with a pseudo-German one. This division was further emphasized by claims from linguists that there was a separate Windisch people. The "language" spoken by Carinthian Slovenes was not only not Slovene, consisting as it did of a mixture of German and Slavic, but there was also no literary form of it. Such a "patois" was deemed unfit to be taught in schools as it was not thought to be a true language; this, of course, made German the obvious choice of a literary language for Windisch people (Moritsch 1986: 18–19).

A corresponding shift in the language of the census helped solidify the impression that the number of Slovenes in Carinthia was truly plunging. Although private Slovene counts put the 1910 figure at around 100,000 Slovene speakers, the census for that year, based on the language

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[*] Cf. § 3.3.2.1.1.1 for a discussion of the persistent view of Carinthian Slovene as a kind of "patois."

of "everyday use," gave a result of only 66,463 (Moritsch 1986: 19). This number dropped to a mere 34,560 by 1923, but partly because the phrasing of the question had also changed. Rather than asking about everyday use, the questionnaire asked about the language "which one speaks most readily and in which one normally thinks" (quoted in Moritsch ibid.). Moritsch argues that this low figure resulted not only due to the manipulative phrasing of the census question but also to the fear of repression felt by many Carinthian Slovenes. As one piece of evidence for this claim, Moritsch cites a Slovene counter-census, carried out also in 1923, which showed that over 71,000 Slovenes were living in 57 townships in Southern Carinthia, an area which, as Moritsch points out, is not the total area inhabited by Slovenes (ibid). The number of Slovenes continued to be questioned, however, and the phrasing of the census changed again in 1934, the final census of the Austrian Republic. On this occasion, respondents were asked not about their language itself, but about "the cultural environment to which one felt that one's language belonged" (19). This census returned a figure of 24,857 Slovenes who identified most strongly with Slovene culture, some one-third of the number of actual Carinthians who spoke Slovene as their first language. The rest, notes Moritsch, had "already fallen victim to the German-nationalist political conversion tactic" (19).

In the post-Anschluss Austria of the late 1930's and early 1940's, this precise distinction between Windisch and Slovene was used to determine how to deal with this minority. The Windisch were to be completely Germanized, whereas the "Slovenes" were to be expelled (Priestly 1996: 392–93). In a speech given by Alois Maier-Kaibitsch, Reich Commissioner for Strengthening the German Nationality, the campaign against Slovene was described as a duty that all Carinthians must engage in. Signs in Slovene were to be taken down and reported to the authorities, and Slovene books were to be destroyed. In short: "Everyone must help to carry out this task and denounce…Windisch inscriptions wherever they may be. Our first and most important job in the future is the eradication of Slovene from public and private life" (Barker 1984: 198).

Use of the term *Windisch* was especially convenient in casting aspersions that Carinthian Slovenes were not even related to Slovenians. As the term *Wendisch* had historically been applied to the West Slavic Sorbians, this was easily adapted to the purpose of separating Carinthian Slovenes historically from other Slovene speakers. An even more brazen attempt at this was the argument, made in 1941, that Carinthian Slovenes were not Slavic at all, but rather descendants of the Lombards (Priestly 1996: 393), a German tribe. Rado Lencek, in a discussion of the Venetic Theory (another controversial Slovene origin story), rails against this kind of linguistic prehistory, noting that it is often based on "the similarity of a few linguistic items of an otherwise unknown language and…related to a known tongue" (Lencek 1990: 75), and arguing that the result is often a mockery of true comparative linguistics.

Nevertheless, the effect of this strategy was profound. The group of non-ethnically conscious Slovenes began describing itself as *Windisch* in Austrian censuses in 1951. The term *Windisch* appeared in a census only starting in 1939, after the 1938 Anschluss of Austria had brought the country fully under Nazi control (Stermole 1978: 42). However, the category remained even after World War II had ended, and Stermole notes that this had a negative effect on Slovene identity. Between the censuses of 1951 and 1961, the total number of Carinthians who identified as Slovene went from 42,000 to 25,000, and in both years nearly half of these were made up of those identifying as Windisch (42).

For these reasons, the *Windischentheorie* has been referred to as a kind of "political denationalization theory" (Nećak-Lük & Nećak 1990: 172) that served to infiltrate the political consciousness of both Carinthian Slovenes and Carinthian Germans and to convince them not only that questions of ethnicity and identity were at issue, but also that questions of loyalty to Austria were at stake as well. The effects of the *Windischentheorie* can be seen to this day. After decades of Germanization, some Germanized Slovenes identify themselves as Windisch, whereas ethnically conscious speakers consider this term insulting and prefer to think of themselves as Slovenes (Priestly 1996: 374). For a detailed discussion of how this impacts Eisenkappel residents specifically, see § 3.1.1.2.

<u>2.1.3.1.3</u> – Germanization and the Rise of German Nationalism

It was at the time of the emergence of German nationalism and the formation of modern political nations in the 19th century that the Slovene language first began to be threatened outright. Prior to this period, there existed a state of "diglossia without bilingualism" (Nećak-Lük & Nećak 1990: 169), in which Slovene represented the low prestige language, used almost exclusively in informal speech, and German served as the high prestige language, since it was not only the language of literature and education, but also the language of government, business, and the elite. As noted above in § 2.1.3.1.1, this reinforced the idea that Carinthian Slovenes were inferior to their German neighbors and fostered an environment that led to the increased sidelining of and eventual violence toward those who identified as Slovene. It was also a period in which the one-way bilingualism of the region was highlighted. To this day, only Carinthian Slovenes are bilingual, while Carinthian Germans are monolingual, at least in terms of German and Slovene (Nećak-Lük & Nećak 1990: 175).

The 19th century was a turning point for Slovene language identity as well. The Slovene minority within the Habsburg Empire complicated the map of Europe for nationalists who wished to unify all of the German-speaking regions within one Greater Germany. Thus, a policy of Germanization ensued in the latter half of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century which sought to heighten the already existing image of Slovene as backwards and inferior, and to remove the language from the public domain by means of banning Slovene from schools and administration, as well as from public signs (Nećak-Lük & Nećak 1990: 170).

Once more, timing was an important factor in how quickly this process of Germanization could be implemented and how willing Carinthian Slovenes were to surrender to the pressures to assimilate. Peter Vodopivec (1986: 21) argues that "broader historical, ethnic/national, social and economic considerations have to be taken into account" when analyzing the decisions made by Slovenes living in Carinthia. At the same time as the Carinthian Germans were adopting their "divide and conquer" strategy (Stermole 1978: 47), Carinthian Slovenes were having to learn how to adapt to the shifting social climate. The pressure for Slovenes to develop their own political attitudes came at a time when Austria-Hungary was collapsing and forced them to make quick decisions that would have lasting effects on the socio-political landscape of Southeastern Europe. Vodopivec writes that Slovenes were ill-prepared for such a task. He quotes Albin Prepeluh, a leading ideologue of Slovene social democracy at the time, who said of Slovenes: "We were children, immature ignoramuses, absolutely unprepared for the events quickly following one another in Europe" (Vodopivec 1986: 21). Again, all of this was occurring against the backdrop of not only the perceived superiority of German culture, but also the perceived

responsibility of individual Carinthian Germans to preserve that culture (cf. the notion of the "vanguard of Deutschtum" discussed in § 2.1.2 above).

2.1.3.1.4 – Anti-Slovene Campaigns

The *Kärntner Heimatdienst*, established even before the 1920 plebiscite, was responsible for enforcing anti-Slovene policies, and one of the chief duties assumed by the organization was making the *Windischentheorie* appear acceptable to Carinthians (Nećak-Lük & Nećak 1990: 172). Members of the *Kärntner Heimatdienst* touted *Windisch* as an alternative label, representing a language that was closer to German than Slovene and a people that identified more strongly with their German neighbors than with their Carinthian Slovene neighbors. Asserting as it did that Windisch was a distinct language separate from Slovene, and thus spoken by a people who themselves were distinct and separate from Carinthian Slovenes, the theory was designed to drive a wedge between those Carinthian Slovenes who were more ethnically conscious and had knowledge of the standard literary variety of Slovene, and those who spoke primarily the local dialect of Slovene or felt that their Carinthian Slovene identity was not synonymous with a broader Slovene identity. Other German nationalists then exploited this division further, welcoming only the German-leaning Windisch into the privileged ranks of society and reserving the term *Slovene* for those individuals who demanded their national rights, going so far as to brand them Titoists after the close of the Second World War (172).

A nationality registry was implemented, with the goal of blacklisting Slovenes or at least making it easier to do so (Moritsch 1986: 17–18). Moritsch quotes Martin Wutte as touting the registry's usefulness in determining which among the large minority of Slovenes were the "national Slovenes." The registry was also meant to help reduce the size of the minority in official counts. Wutte continued, "I believe that no more than 15,000 Slovenes will list themselves, and hence we shall no longer have to operate with the number of 50,000" (Moritsch 1986: 18).

Although the nationality registry failed to garner enough support and never materialized, Slovenes felt a growing pressure to conform and assimilate. Fears for job security and the security of their children's education (to say nothing of their physical well-being, as threats increased) were among the major reasons that individuals adopted an attitude of "national indifference," so as not to be seen as agitators or traitors (18). It should be pointed out that these were subtle tactics when viewed against the deportation of Slovenes that was begun (but never fully carried out) under the Nazi regime (Nećak-Lük & Nećak 1990: 172).

Anti-Slovene campaigns continued in the ensuing decades. One notable example dates from the middle of the 1980s, when the *Kärntner Heimdienst* was attempting to garner support for a referendum that would "mandate the abolitions of the bilingual schools in which Germanophone and Slovene-speaking children are now educated together" (Moritsch 1986: 15). If the number of children learning standard Slovene were reduced in this way, future census numbers would then reflect a continued decline in the number of Slovenes living in Carinthia. The similarity between this attempt and the sorts of anti-Slovene campaigns organized by the *Kärntner Heimdienst* in the earlier part of the century is obvious.

2.1.3.2 – Factors Contributing to Assimilation

Benedict Anderson, in his 1983 book *Imagined Communities*, writes that, "What the eye is to the lover ... language – whatever language history has made his or her mother-tongue – is to the patriot. Through that language, encountered at mother's knee and parted with only at the grave, pasts are restored, fellowships are imagined, and futures dreamed" (Anderson, 1983: 154). Language, whether as a means of communication or as a banner behind which to rally, serves to unite people. It does so not only within specific communities, but also across borders and through time. In his analysis of identity among Carinthian Slovenes, Tom Priestly (1996: 368) writes, "Language is, by its very nature, a basic component of personal and social identity…." A common language does not mere signify one's place of birth, but represents heritage and history, shared affinity with people past and present. It also evokes a sense of belonging and kinship that transcends borders and reminds its speakers of ancient glory, all the while encouraging hope for a return to greatness, or at the very least a chance to carve out a place of their own. Anderson's words are all the more appropriate to this discussion when taken in their context, that of the notion of "nation" as an "imagined community," where the notion "imagined" refers to the lack of personalized contact that the members of a nation share. Rather than day-to-day encounters to sustain the community, it is the shared sense of identity that holds a nation together. This is all the more true when a nation is divided across political and geographic boundaries, as is the case with speakers of Slovene living in the Austrian province of Carinthia.

In addition to its unifying power, language also divides people. In their awareness of how the limits of a particular speech area unify them, speakers are also aware of how these limits exclude those who do not speak the same language. According to the Kingman Report, a 1988 British government study on English language teaching, this is an inherently human process that occurs at the basic developmental level. Language development and the emergence of personality and the self are strongly linked, so strongly, according to the report, that "from childhood, we learn to use language not only to identify with certain groups but also to exclude others" (Kingman Inquiry 1988). It would appear, therefore, that there is a profound tendency for a speech community to unite under a shared language while excluding from this same community those who do not speak that language. This in and of itself is not wrong and need not be threatening, but when the confines of a nation do not correspond to political boundaries, there is the potential (perhaps better said, the danger) of conflict. Historically, the outcome of such conflict has taken one of two forms (and often a combination of the two): expulsion or assimilation of one or more speech communities to another. In the 19th and 20th centuries, and now in the 21st, German, long a language of dominance and considerable influence, and for a century the language of the state of Austria, has begun to threaten the continued existence of Carinthian Slovene. Although the situation has improved since the Second World War, anti-Slovene campaigns are sadly still found to this day. As Austrian citizens, Carinthian Slovenes are torn between their identity as Carinthians and even as Austrians, and their identity as Slovenes.

Bilingualism as a status quo is already a complicating factor in language maintenance. The adoption, whether by choice or by necessity, of a language other than one's mother tongue implies a degree of affinity with, or at least reliance on, a means of communication that the primary language does not satisfy. This in itself does not render maintenance of the first language (or L1) especially challenging, but it does lay a foundation for conflicts in terms of when and how each language will be used. In cases where the L1 is not the prestige language,

and where knowledge of the latter is also necessary for education and economic well-being (as is the situation in Carinthia), the second language (L2) can assume a larger role in the life of the average bilingual speaker. Stated more grimly in the case of Carinthian Slovenes, bilingualism "is a significant step toward [Slovene's] complete assimilation" (Stermole 1978: 40).

German, as the language of education and culture, stood in contrast to Slovene as the spoken, non-literary language of the rural minority until the advent of the Slovene romantic period in the 19th century, when "an ethnic consciousness was awakened among the Slovenes" (ibid). Other factors were already in play by this time, however, challenging the effectiveness of this awakening among Carinthian Slovenes. Stermole points to industrialization, railroads, and compulsory education, all of which saw a marked increase in the second half of the 19th century, as contributing factors to language loss, since these contributed to "a potential increase in the density of communication between the Slovene and German ethnic groups" (Stermole 1978: 41), he notes that the historical pressure to assimilate has been "long and great." Evidence of this can be seen in the fact that the majority of people in the plebiscite areas were Slovene but voted to remain part of the new Austrian Republic. Even after Nazi Germanization efforts, in which German was declared the sole language of communication and more than 200 Slovene families were deported, Yugoslavia failed to acquire Southern Carinthia after the Second World War, with many Carinthian Slovenes fighting on the side of Austria (Vodopivec 1986: 23).

Stermole identifies four factors that have facilitated assimilation: "1) divisions within the Slovene-speaking minority, 2) the political system of neighboring Slovenia, 3) the Austrian governments [provincial and federal], 4) discrimination and the lack of Slovene owned and operated industry," noting that German nationalists have "taken advantage of the latter three factors in further promoting the first" (1978: 41). This dissertation proposes an additional factor that has contributed to assimilation: the tendency to identify as Carinthians (even Carinthian Slovenes) rather than simply as Slovenes.

The reader is referred to the previous sections for information on divisions within the Slovene-speaking minority, since this topic forms the bulk of those sections. Now, § 2.1.3.2.1 takes up the matter of Communist Yugoslavia and the role that the fear of communism played in assimilation. § 2.1.3.2.2 examines Austria's policy of education and minority rights and how this led to further assimilation. The financial institutions and local industry of Carinthia are taken up in § 2.1.3.2.3, and the question of Carinthian identity is addressed in § 2.1.3.2.4.

2.1.3.2.1 – The Threat of Communism as a Tool of Assimilation

The advent of communism in Yugoslavia following the close of the Second World War undercut the potentially supportive role that Slovenia could have played for Slovenes in Carinthia. It was under the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, that Slovene gained its own legitimacy as a national language for the first time in its history, despite the fact that it was not the official language of the state. This elevated status, even though it was of the standard language and not the Carinthian dialect of Slovene, could have provided a linguistic tether for Slovene speakers north of the Karavanke Mountains. German nationalists at the time, however, took the opportunity to spread rumors of Yugoslavia's intent to annex Southern Carinthia, further driving a wedge between those who identified strongly with their Slovene neighbors to the south and those who were desperately trying to assimilate. It is true that, following the First World War, the newly-

established Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes claimed that its territory should include Southern Carinthia on the basis of ethnic unity, and even fought its way all the way to the provincial capital of Klagenfurt in 1919 (Fräss-Ehrfeld 1986: 7–11). However, the new Yugoslav state abided by the decision of the 1920 plebiscite during the interwar period and later renounced all claims to Southern Carinthia when it co-signed the Austrian State Treaty of 1955 (Stermole 1978: 43). Nevertheless, an ethnically conscious Slovene was viewed by many Germans and even other Slovenes as a Communist and therefore disloyal to Austria (43), once again making the choice to embrace Slovene appear to be an act of political dissension.

2.1.3.2.2 – Austria's Policy of Education and Minority Rights

During the 19th century, the policy of assimilation caused education to become significantly Germanized, and the use of Slovene in schools was officially discouraged (Priestly 1996: 376–77). Although the school system was nominally bilingual, in reality the schools were charged with transitioning Slovene-speaking children to a German-language school as quickly as possible. By 1922, Carinthian Slovenes were complaining to the League of Nations about the state of bilingualism in schools. With the Anschluss in 1938, the *Windischentheorie* attained official recognition in Austria, bilingual schools were abolished, and Slovene teachers were relocated to schools in parts of Carinthia where only German was spoken (Nećak-Lük & Nećak 1990: 172).

As the use of Slovene later became tantamount to a threat to the nation (see § 2.1.3.1.3 and § 2.1.3.2.1 above), the reasons for the Germanization of education became clear. This policy was certain to have implications for Slovene identity as well. The elevation in school of German to high status and the relegation of Slovene to low status must have reinforced attitudes of inferiority outside school (Priestly 1996: 377). This would naturally be the case for Carinthian Germans, but also for Carinthian Slovenes, who would have seen German as the language of the educated and the well-to-do. In addition, there was a belief among all Carinthians that Standard Slovene was "better" than Carinthian Slovene, and that German was inherently "better" than Slovene in general (Priestly 1996: 380). What is most significant about this development is the relegation of Slovene to use in the home and within parts of Austria with a Slovene majority, which were mainly rural areas (Barker 1984: 17). The ability to succeed as a Slovene speaker in Austria was now explicitly based on knowledge of German (cf. § 2.1.2 on the "rural nature" of Carinthian Slovene).

It is in this way that the effects of the *Windischentheorie* go beyond simply that of separating Slovenes from one another on the basis of language. The *Windischentheorie* was influential not only in its philosophy, but also in its timing. Officially promulgated in the early 20th century, it had significant effects on Slovene ethnic identity at a time when mass communication was booming and there were enormous changes in community structure (Priestly 1996: 364). Minority populations were moving to cities at a time when the use of Slovene was frowned upon and its status was low. In addition, the trend seems to be that the move of minorities to cities leads to an adaptation that is mirrored in their linguistic and national identity. Minorities typically relinquish their rural identity in favor of an urban one, and a degree of assimilation in terms of language, as well as sense of nationality, is inherent in that as well (Fishman 1972: 19). Ultimately, it becomes a choice between maintaining the ethnic identity of a minority or achieving socio-economic well-being (Priestly 1996: 397).

Thus, the perceived differences between the Carinthian Slovenes and Carinthian Germans began to shift as a result of the assimilation policy. By separating Carinthian Slovenes from the Slovenians, and separating Windisch from Slovene, the Carinthian Germans drove a wedge between these groups, seeking to then draw similarities between the Windisch minority and the German majority (Priestly 1996: 398). By making identification as German the key to socio-economic success and upward mobility (and the price for identification as Slovene the fate of remaining relegated to rural areas, if not being expelled from the country outright), the process of assimilation had been very successful.

A 1945 law making bilingual instruction mandatory for all students in Slovene-speaking areas offered a brief hope that change might be on the horizon, but this law was repealed in 1958 and made voluntary by an edict of the governor of Carinthia (Stermole 1978: 43). "Voluntary" bilingual instruction was later made into law by the federal government, a move which went against the Austrian State Treaty signed three years earlier, in part due to provisions for bilingual language instruction that the 1958 edict dismantled. This not only led to a decline in Slovenes learning their language in school, but also "brought a return to the prewar situation in that it [was] again extremely rare for an ethnic German to know Slovene" (Stermole 1978: 44). This restricted the situations in which Slovene could be used, forcing a choice between speaking more Slovene and becoming increasingly isolated as an ethnic group, or speaking less Slovene and engaging more widely in the community.

The Austrian State Treaty of 1955 further failed the Slovene population in that it was never fully implemented. Although the treaty provided that minority languages such as Slovene and Croatian would have the status of official languages in areas where people who spoke those languages lived (including mixed communities) and guaranteed that signs and topographical terminology in those districts must be in all of the languages spoken there, bilingual signs did not appear until 1972, and then only in those areas where the minority population was at least 20% according to the 1961 census. Not only did the treaty not stipulate minimum percentages (Stermole 1978: 49), but the minimum was set to reflect the 1961 census, not the 1951 census, as would be expected in the enforcement of a 1955 treaty (44–45). Furthermore, "all persons who had registered as 'Windisch,' 'Deutsch-Windisch,' or 'Windisch-Deutsch' were counted as members of the German majority" (ibid: 45). The long-awaited signs were only in place a short time before there occurred what was called the "'massacre' of the place-name signs" (Moritsch 1986: 15), in which all bilingual signage was torn down or defaced. Stermole notes that the fact that these signs were defaced and/or destroyed shortly after being posted, with no consequences brought to bear by the Austrian government in enforcement of the treaty, "illustrates the government's apparent intention to act as an assimilatory force" (45).

The Austrian State Treaty of 1955 also had the potential to finally grant Slovenes a measure of autonomy within Austria itself. The treaty was supposed to guarantee for Slovenes the right to education in their own language, as well as the right to use Slovene[*] in local courts and in matters of local administration. Unfortunately, rather than recognize Slovene as an official language of Austria, and specify the location and number of schools where Slovene must be used, the treaty simply called for minority rights to be afforded to people in the areas "where Slovenians live" (Bevc 1986: 6–7). This merely inspired Austria to speed up the process of

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[*] Note: by 'Slovene', here is meant Standard Slovene, not a dialect of Carinthian Slovene or any other dialect.

assimilation so that within a short time no one would identify as Slovene. By 1976 the Austrian Parliament had adopted legislation that effectively reversed the provisions for minority groups enshrined in the State Treaty. To the public outcry which erupted, the Austrian government responded saying that Slovenes were simply not a significant minority, their populations being "sparsely scattered over the Carinthian territory" (Bevc 1986: 7). An attempt was made that year to hold a census to prove this assertion, but the Slovene minority knew the reasons behind the census and boycotted it so as not to play into the hands of the Austrian government (Bevc 1986: 7–8).

Estimates of fluctuations within the Carinthian Slovene population are difficult to obtain, but it appears that at the end of the 19th century there were between 85,000 and 100,000 people who identified as Slovenes, as compared with between 20,000 and 40,000 today (Priestly 1996: 369). According to the US Department of State, there were 70,000 Slovenes living in Austria in 1979, but by 1981 this number had fallen to 20,000 (Bevc 1996: 12–13). The obvious fallacy of this notwithstanding, it is significant that 50,000 Slovenes have "gone missing." The question then is what percentage of them simply failed to identify as Slovene in 1981. It cannot be assumed that all of them either emigrated or re-identified as "German," but the high numbers alone compel further investigation into this shift. This investigation, however, is beyond the scope of this dissertation.

2.1.3.2.3 – Carinthian Financial Institutions and Local Industry

In his work on Slovene corporate banking in the first decade of the 20th century, Toussaint Hočevar examines the reasons for ethnically specific financial institutions within Austria, with a focus on the "linguistic aspect of interethnic relations" (Hočevar 1986: 46). He argues that the ability to transact business in a non-dominant local language was advantageous and therefore desirable, though this was naturally at odds with the entrenched institutions of speakers of the dominant language, which would then lose a larger customer base (ibid: 47). According to Hočevar, linguistic conflict rose in parallel with economic development and modernization as a result of the domain-based distribution of economic zones that emerged. These had been language dependent and remained relatively stable until the 19th century (ibid). The important element was a stable coexistence of the traditional (German) economy alongside the neighboring economy based on shared linguistic affinity (here: Slovene). Hočevar notes that "a bilingual group facilitated the relatively limited amount of communication between the two spheres" (ibid). The fact that Carinthian Slovenes were by and large peasants with little social mobility made the need for bilingualism less acute until a time when economic development began to make such mobility a reality. At that time, adapting institutions to suit the needs of the local population (i.e. developing a banking system that was owned and operated by Slovenes) was easier than for the bulk of that population to achieve the requisite fluency in German that would make such an economic leap possible. Thus, the post-war dismantling of such Slovene-speaking institutions was an especially harsh blow and hampered the economic progress made by any but the bilingual population of Carinthian Slovenes.

Similarly, lack of Slovene industry made assimilation more likely. During some of the most intense attempts at Germanization (cf. § 2.1.3.1.3 above), Carinthian Slovenes feared (and not without cause) that they might lose their jobs if they registered their children in a bilingual program. It was also difficult to find work as a bilingual or as someone who identified as Slovene

rather than as Windisch. Perhaps the most glaring case of discrimination against Carinthian Slovenes in relation to industry came when German nationalists blocked the construction of a Yugoslav Slovene electrical appliance factory in Bleiburg. This factory would have given Carinthian Slovenes job security while allowing them to embrace their heritage without fear of reprisals.[*] Such disenfranchisement in the interest of German nationalists was thus a major contributing factor to assimilation (Stermole 1978: 45).

2.1.3.2.4 – Carinthian Identity

In approaching a study concerning language and identity, one is soon reminded that the two can hardly be separated from one another. Whether as a link to a larger group or merely as a marker of individuality, language is perhaps the single most influential factor in determining one's identity. One's perceived identity plays a strong role in terms of language maintenance or language shift. The common language of Slovene has served to unite its speakers, despite its numerous and disparate dialects, and despite outside efforts to drive a wedge between the Slovene of Slovenia and the Slovene of Carinthia. However, as has been noted above, when offered the chance after the First World War to unify with their fellow Slovenes and other South Slavs, the majority of Carinthian Slovenes voted to remain a part of Austria (Barker 1984: 17–18), and this attitude appears to persist up until now.

Carinthian Slovenes had the opportunity in 1920 to vote in a plebiscite on whether to remain a part of Austria and preserve the integrity of Carinthia, or to join in a South Slavic nation with their neighbors to the south. The majority decision in favor of maintaining the integrity of Carinthia speaks in part to the desire of the times to preserve natural borders (the Karavanke Mountains providing precisely that), but the decision is even more significant in that Carinthian Slovenes were now asked to see themselves as part of a larger nation, something they had never done before. Apart from the short period of self-rule described above, Slovenes had never enjoyed political self-determination and had no historical basis on which to found a nation of their own (Auty 1963: 392 and Barker 1984: 16–17). In addition, the process of Germanization had begun centuries earlier in a passive form, with Carinthian Slovenes being slowly integrated into the German majority. This process had shifted to an active attempt to assimilate that minority in the mid-19th century, an attempt which by the outbreak of World War I had been fairly successful. This was compounded by the fact that significant changes had emerged in the identity of Carinthian Slovenes since the mid-19th century, when people had identified much more with a particular village than as Slovenes, Carinthians or Austrians (Priestly 1996: 373). A significant portion of Carinthian Slovenes were sympathetic to Carinthian Germans and viewed themselves as distinct from the Slovenes to the south, who united in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, later to become Yugoslavia. This is not to say that there was not a nationalist movement of Slovenes within Carinthia, for there certainly was; but the attack by South Slav forces in 1919 was an affront to many Carinthian Slovenes, who felt that their territory and thereby their identity was being invaded (Barker 1984: 17).

Moreover, 19th century pan-Slavic concepts did not help the situation. Although there was among Slovenes living within the geographic area that would later become Slovenia a sense of nostalgia

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[*] See § 3.1.1 regarding the closure of the Cellulose Factory of Obir for an example of how lack of local industry has contributed to assimilation in Eisenkappel.

for a Slavic language that a Standard Slovene could in some way aspire to (Stankiewicz 1980: 100–01), this attempt at standardization also worked to the detriment of dialects, especially peripheral dialects (Priestly 1996: 376). The question arises as to whether there could have been a certain degree of dialect loyalty that was felt among speakers of Carinthian Slovene dialects. Could this loyalty, combined with promises from the newly formed Austrian government for minority rights, as well as a burgeoning sense of identity as Carinthians, have been instrumental in the outcome of the 1920 plebiscite? This is a question that bears further research. For a discussion of Carinthian identity as it relates to Carinthian Slovene language consultants in Eisenkappel, see § 3.1.1.2, § 3.3.2.1.1.1, § 3.3.2.1.1.2, and § 3.3.2.1.2.1.

2.2 – Previous Scholarship on Language Maintenance and Carinthian Slovene

There is a great deal of previous scholarship regarding language maintenance in Carinthia, much of which naturally focuses on the state of Slovene as spoken in the region.

2.2.1 – Language Maintenance

Dimitrij Rupel (1986: 43) offers the following definition of language maintenance: "to maintain a language is to preserve and respect it, but also to give it a practical value, i.e., to maintain its 'use value' and keep it out of the sphere of 'exchange values.'" Rupel explains that a language's "exchange value" is a commodification of that language. This happens when languages are maintained only in the strictest sense of the word, such as when a cultural language is used only in particular ceremonies, or when its use is restricted to something merely ritualistic. In clarification of this distinction, Rupel notes the "maintenance" of Latin or Ancient Greek in the works of priests or philosophers (43), but the same could be said of living languages (as is the case with some Native American languages that are only spoken ceremonially alongside the prevailing English or Spanish or other dominant local language, as opposed to others like Navaho or Cherokee that enjoy a richer variety of usage). One might say that such languages are thus "preserved" in a very literal sense, since to be relegated to such restricted usage results in stagnation which removes the creative element in favor of functionality. The further the language retreats into the obscurity of performance, the more questionable it comes to call someone a native speaker of such a language. It is for this reason that Rupel stresses the importance of looking at practical usage as a factor of language maintenance. Rather than focusing on the existence of the language itself and paying homage to it as a phenomenon, Rupel argues that maintenance of a language "means presupposing its existence in such a way that its users can function, and use it, without reflection, in a natural and automatic way, the way of everyday 'common-sense knowledge'" (Rupel 1986: 43).

Similarly, James Tollefson (1987: 228) writes that "maintenance of a language is only partly dependent upon the numerical strength of its speakers." However, he also notes that "the most important domains of use for assessing Slovene language maintenance are formal, literary, and educational domains" (229). He warns that an increase in speakers of the more dominant language could result in a weakening of Slovene usage in such areas. It is worth pointing out that Tollefson was speaking of the use of Slovene in *Slovenia*, where Slovenes made up 90% of the population of the Yugoslav republic (228). That environment is much more hospitable to the use of Slovene, since Slovene speakers make up the clear majority there. Problems of maintenance

arise more frequently in areas where this is not the case or when people are stigmatized for speaking a particular language or dialect (Rupel 1986: 43).

2.2.1.1 – Factors Encouraging Language Maintenance

Already in the late 1970s, David Stermole (1978) noted the rise of cultural organizations such as the National Council of Carinthian Slovenes and the Union of Slovene Organizations in Carinthia. They organize cultural activities, choruses, sometimes even a theater group, in communities where Slovene is spoken (46), though the fact that these are centered around the use of Standard Slovene may be a deterrent to some. There are also local clubs that engage in various activities and promote the use of Slovene, such as the Slowenischer Alpenverein Klagenfurt, a hiking club that meets in Klagenfurt, the provincial capital of Carinthia.

Andreas Moritsch (1986) also points to positive signs that encourage the use of Slovene in Carinthia. He argues that a more multinational spirit is beginning to emerge to combat the conservative view of Austria as a German nation. As evidence of a turning tide, he cites German speakers enrolling their children in Slovene classes and youth organizations speaking out against national prejudice (Moritsch 1986: 15–16). There are also banks controlled and operated by Slovenes that promote mutual dependence among Slovene members and in which membership is financially beneficial (Stermole 1978: 46). And again in Klagenfurt, the *Zweisprachige Bundeshandelsakademie*[7] has offered bilingual education since 1957 (46–47). The role of the church can also be significant in local communities, although this is dependent entirely on individual priests and the will of local Slovenes (45–46).

2.2.2 – Carinthian Slovene

In discussing the influence of assimilation on Carinthian Slovene speakers, it will be useful to address the degree of language shift/maintenance which has occurred in the Carinthian Slovene dialects themselves. As discussed above in § 2.1.3.1.2, the *Windischentheorie* claimed that Carinthian Slovene was a "mixed language" and not a truly Slavic language in its own right. It is important to note that this view was promulgated by non-linguists. Tom Priestly (1996) notes that the average Austrian was under the Hegel-inspired assumption that when it comes to language, a person's soul belongs above all in the vocabulary. Priestly goes on to say that "the only apparent levels of language for non-linguists are those of pronunciation and vocabulary; and given that at a short distance Carinthian German and Carinthian Slovene are said to sound the same, a non-linguist might easily be convinced by lists of German loanwords in Carinthian Slovene that the latter is a "mixed language," however little structural linguistic influence there might happen to be" (379–80). Don Reindl, who did an exhaustive study of German and Slovene language contact, bolsters this further, writing that lexical items represent "the most superficial layer of language" (Reindl 2008: 30).

Carinthian Slovenes are exposed to four speech varieties at a minimum: Standard Slovene, Modern Standard German, local Slovene, and local German (Stermole 1987: 213), or as Priestly calls the last two: *koroščina* and *Kärntnerdeutsch* (1990: 185). There can therefore be little surprise at the level of variation that occurs in a Carinthian Slovene's speech (cf. § 1.3.1.3). Stermole cites three ways in which the prestige of use of a speech variety may be contributing to

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[7] Bilingual School of Economics

the rise of variation in Carinthian Slovene. The first involves the considerable pressure placed on Slovenes to speak both varieties of German well, lest they risk being stigmatized. The second relates to the not insignificant pressure within the Slovene community to speak Standard Slovene well (though Stermole notes that the degree to which this is important depends on the individual). The third stems from the lack of pressure to speak the local variety well. This last reason has factors of its own that influence it: 1) variation from speaker to speaker within the dialect community, 2) insistence of speakers on using local German rather than Slovene, and 3) the variation found from community to community, which increases the variety heard by a given speaker (Stermole 1987: 214).

Another potential explanation cited by Stermole for increasing variation comes from the notion that there might need to be a "critical size" for a speech community in order for the language to be successfully maintained (215). If this is the case, it is possible that strict adherence to given norms of usage might be dispensed with in favor of continued, unhindered use of the language. This could result in the neutralization of features deemed to be less critical, or, as Stermole notes, that those features, "which are not felt to have symbolic importance as identifiers then may become even more susceptible to modification…" (215). In addition, the less speakers a community has, the easier it is for variations to be picked up, since there are less members to convince of the utility of such a change (215).

2.3 – Some Hallmarks of German Influence on Carinthian Slovene

It is appropriate to include at least some reference to the research on language contact and the influence of German on Carinthian Slovene dialects. Donald F. Reindl, in his 2008 book *Language contact: German and Slovenian*, documents the contact situation between German and Slovene. He cites numerous examples, of which only a few are reproduced here. Those cited are representative of the areas of influence that German appears to have had on these Slovene dialects, namely an influence that is superficial and that in no way penetrates the deeper grammar of the language. The dialects clearly retain their Slavic roots and cannot be said to be a "mixed language" of any kind.

2.3.1 – Uvular "r"

One of the most immediate departures from Standard Slovenian that one is likely to note is the absence of the apical trill. The uvular [ʀ] of German (itself a borrowing from French) is a decidedly marked phoneme in the world's languages. In most Slovene dialects one finds an apical trill [r]. Thus, the presence uvular [ʀ] in Carinthian Slovene can be cited as a clear example of German influence on this dialect (Reindl 2008: 58–60).

2.3.2 – Case Confusion

Many linguists feel that German influence is responsible for case confusion in some Slovene dialects, and even for occasional case loss. The following example illustrates the confusion of case, in which direct object of the phrase is in the nominative case, rather than the accusative case as would be expected:

Zoj   pa ena čerka   ma
Whoa but a   NOM daughter he/she has
'Wow, what a daughter he/she has.'
(Reindl 2008: 74–75)

Stermole also cites case confusion as a potential area of German influence, however. For example, German *mit* ('with') and *zu* ('to') both take the dative, despite the meaning of *mit* as instrumental or accompaniment that is rendered by the corresponding Slovene preposition *s*, which does take the instrumental. Stermole suggests that this collapse of instrumental and dative in German could potentially be influencing the spread of dative case-endings to the instrumental that is occurring in dialects of Carinthian Slovene (Stermole 1987: 213).

2.3.3 – Use of *Kaj za en?*

The German construction *Was für ein...?* (What kind of…?) is cited as the basis for a calque in Slovene dialects, namely *Kaj za en…?* as in the following example:

Ne vem,   kaj za ena ženska je bila.
Not I.know what for a   woman   is been
'I don't know what kind of woman she was.'

Reindl notes, however, that as this construction also exists in Russian (*čto za…?*), it is possible that it is not borrowed from German and merely represents a Slavic tendency that German shares (Reindl 2008: 129–30). It is worth noting, however, that this construction is not generalized in Slavic. Furthermore, although this construction may be heard in some central dialects within Slovenia proper as well, it is used with greater frequency the more one approaches Carinthia, lending credence to the theory that it is another case of German influence.

As one can see from the examples above, aside from lexical variants, much of what appears in Carinthian Slovene that can be said to come from German is less a borrowing from German itself and more a fact of German acting on latent features or possible constructions in the language itself (Reindl 2008: 34).

Chapter III

The State of Bilingualism in Eisenkappel and an Overview of This Project

From *Radetzkymarsch* by Joseph Roth:

"Die Leute sangen Lieder in einer unbekannten
Sprache, in einer slawischen Sprache. Die alten
Bauern von Sipolje hätten sie wohl verstanden!
Der Großvater Carl Josephs noch hätte sie
vielleicht verstanden!"[8]
(Roth, 2015: 75)

<u>3.1</u> – Bilingualism in Eisenkappel

Although it is entirely proper to refer to Eisenkappel as a bilingual community, this should by no means be read as an assessment of the language abilities of every member of that community. The fact that one can often navigate the town's thoroughfare and communicate with many shopkeepers in either Slovene or German belies the reality that most Eisenkappler (used for both singular and plural, as in German, throughout this dissertation) are monolingual German speakers, though many of these know at least enough Slovene to effect simple transactions with visitors from neighboring Slovenia. Eisenkappel, like the majority of communities in Slovene-speaking Carinthia, displays what Nećak-Lük and Nećak refer to as "one-way bilingualism" (Nećak-Lük & Nećak 1990: 175). This means that while nearly all Slovene speakers also speak German and are thus bilingual, almost no ethnic Germans speak Slovene with any degree of fluency. This appears to be changing, or at least to have the potential to change, since some monolingual German speakers have begun to enroll their children in Slovene classes so that they can learn the language and better engage with the community. It remains to be seen how this might one day impact the linguistic landscape.

Though they do not often speak it colloquially, it should be noted that most Eisenkappler, whether monolingual German speakers or bilingual Slovene speakers, can also speak Modern Standard German, though with varying degrees of interference from the local dialect (cf. § 4.4 and § 4.5 for the data).

For the purposes of my research, the term "monolingual" will refer to those members of the Eisenkappel community who were not raised speaking Slovene. This does not preclude them from having attained fluency in the language later (though none of the language consultants in the current study have done so), nor does it assume that they have no knowledge of other foreign languages. It is simply a term for distinguishing these individuals from those who were raised in a household where Slovene was spoken. Given the fact that several of the consultants cited in this study are ethnic Slovenes who were raised speaking only German, "monolingual" by no

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[8] 'The people sang songs in an unknown language, in a Slavic language. The old farmers of Sipolje [in Slovenia] certainly would have understood! It is possible that Carl Joseph's own grandfather would even have understood!' The character Carl Joseph laments that he does not understand Slovene, the language of his birthright.

means refers to ethnic Germans alone but to anyone who did not learn Slovene in the home. "Monolingual" also does not apply to dialects, since many speakers are familiar with more than their own Eisenkappel German (for most, the other form they know is Modern Standard German, as stated previously, but occasionally this includes other dialects of German as well). By the same token, "bilingual," as it is used here, refers to someone who knows both Slovene and German, making no assumptions about possible abilities in additional languages, regional or otherwise. "Bilingual" also refers exclusively to the ethnic Slovene community within the context of this dissertation, for the reasons stated in the previous paragraph regarding bilingualism in Eisenkappel.

§ 3.1.1 analyzes the most recent statistics on bilinguals living in Eisenkappel. § 3.1.1.1 contains an examination of the word *Slowenisch* ('Slovenian'), its ambiguity, and how this is resolved here and in other studies, and § 3.1.1.2 reintroduces the term *Windisch* (cf. § 2.1.3.1.2) and those of its complications which are relevant to the present study. § 3.3.2 turns to the profiles of the language consultants who furnished the data gathered during fieldwork. A table with a summary of the profiles is provided in Table 3.2, with further explication in § 3.3.2.1.

3.1.1 – The Current Status of Eisenkappel as a Bilingual Community

A precise account of how many bilingual speakers reside in the region is not currently available, although this dissertation takes great care to present the picture as accurately as possible, given the relevant data that exist. According to the Austrian statistical office,[*] as of January 1, 2015, the community of Eisenkappel-Vellach had a population of 2,409, of which between 902 and 943 persons (sources within Statistik Austria's own records differ) make up the locality of Eisenkappel itself, the remaining ca. 1,500 residing in the outlying towns and villages. The overall population of the community is steadily declining, a trend which has continued almost uninterrupted since 1869, the first year for which there are records for Eisenkappel. One cause is simply natural population decline. Nearly 25% of those living in the community of Eisenkappel are over the age of 65, and if we include people over 50, this percentage jumps to just under 49%. However, residents leaving the community each year also account for a significant percentage of the drop. Although some of these do emigrate, the vast majority of them remain within Austria, and the simple reason given for the move is that there is not enough work in the area to sustain the people living there.

Residents noted that young people leave Eisenkappel to study and find work—often in nearby Klagenfurt, the provincial capital—and tend not to return to Eisenkappel, preferring to settle in a larger community where there are more opportunities to earn a living. Closure of the *Zellstofffabrik Obir* (Cellulose Factory of Obir) in 1989 presaged the sharpest increase in the departure of Eisenkappler from the region. The number of people leaving the community between 1981–1991 was 415, followed by 192 over the following decade, and 97 from 2001–2011. Nevertheless, increased tourism to the region has been keeping the community afloat, and the population has even begun to grow slightly; however, this appears to be due to immigration from neighboring Slovenia. Since 2010, Eisenkappel-Vellach has seen a population increase each year, though there are no exact statistics which would show how this shapes the overall demographic situation in the community and whether it has been directly affected by the

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[*] All statistics provided in this section come from Statistik Austria.

softening of the border with Slovenia since 2004. It is also difficult to speculate as to whether the percentage of bilingual speakers who leave the community is proportional to the general figure, or whether they are more or less likely to remain in the community. The most recent comprehensive report from Statistik Austria providing precise data as to the number of mono- and bilingual speakers living in Carinthia is the *Volkszählung* ('census') of 2001. When results from the latest *Volkszählung*, taken in 2011, become available, they should offer a clearer picture of this.

What is nevertheless clear from the *Volkszählung* of 2001 is that the number of Slovene speakers declined sharply in the last half of the 20th century. The *Volkszählung* of 2001 provides one set of statistics for all residents of Austria, including non-Austrian citizens residing in the country, and a separate set of statistics for Austrian citizens alone. The following numbers, based on the latter statistics, give a better indication of the linguistic landscape as it relates to native Eisenkappler. At the time of the *Volkszählung*, there were 12,554 Austrian citizens (out of a total population of 527,333 in Carinthia) who identified as speaking Slovene, compared to 508,543 who spoke only German. (In keeping with the practices of Statistik Austria, a reference to a speaker of Slovene here automatically indicates that this individual is a bilingual speaker of German and Slovene, since there are no speakers of Slovene who officially claim not to speak German (although there were indeed some language consultants for this project who protested that they did not truly speak German, flawless though their German proved to be!) I emphasize again that I cite only the statistics referring to Austrian citizens, not to residents, since the latter figure represents a higher number of Slovene speakers due to the presence of Slovenian nationals living in Carinthia. The community of Eiskappel-Vellach alone had 1,000 Slovene speakers out of a total population of 2,581; which means that about 38% of Austrians living in the community speak Slovene. If we reduce the scope to the town of Eisenkappel itself, this number shrinks to around 20% (roughly 190 people), compared to the statistics in 1951, when the percentage of people who spoke Slovene was just over 80%.

Some of the decrease may indeed be due to the general negative birth rate in the area, as well as to the departure of bilingual speakers who leave the community of Eisenkappel-Vellach in search of work. To a great extent, however, this is the result of two closely related phenomena: (1) bilingual speakers not passing Slovene on to their children, and (2) a decline in the number of people who identify as speakers of Slovene. As we will see, identification as a speaker of Slovene is not as straightforward as it might first appear, and there is a direct correlation between this confusion and the tendency not to pass Slovene on to one's children.

3.1.1.1 – *Slowenisch*: A Note on Terminology

Here we must take a moment to discuss precisely what is meant by the phrase *Slowenisch sprechen*. A direct translation from the German yields 'to speak Slovenian,' but it is necessary, first of all, to understand what it means to speak "Slovenian." The German word *Slowenisch* refers to the language of Slovenian, just as the lower-case version of the word, *slowenisch*, indicates the adjective associated with both the language and the culture, thus, *Slowenisch sprechen* ('to speak Slovenian'), versus, *slowenische Würzel haben* ('to have Slovenian roots'). However, there exists here no distinction between the language/culture/history as a representation of the Republic of Slovenia itself—the territory within its borders—and those elements as part of a larger group that transcends borders. The neutral reading of "speak

Slovenian" would indicate that the speaker is associated with the Republic of Slovenia, and that to "speak Slovenian" means that one speaks the standard language that is taught in schools, rather than a dialect of that language that might be spoken within the confines of the Republic of Slovenia or in the surrounding countries where speakers of Slovenian live. This issue is complicated further by the fact that most of the speakers of Slovenian who live in Carinthia have never lived anywhere but Austria, nor have their ancestors ever lived in a Slovenian-speaking country. This is, of course, a consequence of the socio-political history of this area and the multinational state of the Habsburg Empire (cf. § 2.1.3.1.1 and § 2.1.3.1.3 for more detail). Even the German word for a speaker of Slovenian, *Slowene*, does not distinguish between those who are citizens of the Republic of Slovenia and those who have no ties to that country but speak a dialect of its national language.

Since the English "Slovenian" is traditionally used to translate *Slowenisch/slowenisch*, and "Slovene" is used only to refer to an individual, a *Slowene*, it is appropriate to use the word "Slovenian" as relating specifically to the Republic of Slovenia and the standard language of that country. This may apply to citizens of the Republic of Slovenia as well, hereafter referred to as "Slovenian citizens" or simply "Slovenians." The word "Slovene," by contrast, may then be used to refer specifically to all speakers of the language and its dialects, both in the realm outside of the sovereign borders of the Republic of Slovenia, as well as with reference to speakers within the Republic of Slovenia and to the standard language and its various dialects. "Slovenian" can thus be reserved to single out reference to the political entity of the Republic of Slovenia only. Therefore, this dissertation will hereafter use the word "Slovene" to indicate not only individual speakers, but also the dialect of Slovenian that they speak and the culture which has been passed down over the centuries. In this region especially, where cultural and linguistic identity often does not correspond to political affiliation or even to current geographical reality, a one-to-one designation is simply not sufficient.

3.1.1.2 – Slovene vs. *Windisch*

What it means to "speak Slovene" in Eisenkappel is worth exploring on its own. It seems that this is a designation that depends as much on the individual as it does on any objective measure of the precise structure of Slovenian or one of its dialects (cf. § 3.3.2.1.2, and those that follow, for more detail on how speakers in this study view their own abilities and speaking habits). When asked if they speak Slovene, average Eisenkappler will often respond that they do not, regardless of their bilingual status. Aside from those cases in which the speaker may be hesitant to admit to knowing/speaking Slovene, the explanation for this negative response lies in the connotation that Slovene holds for many in Eisenkappel. Rather than referring to a dialect of Slovene that may be different from the school variety of Standard Slovenian (as discussed above in § 3.1.1.1, the German word *Slowenisch* does not provide for this distinction), most bilingual Eisenkappler interviewed in connection with this project made a distinction between the dialect of Slovene that they speak and the literary "Slovenian" spoken south of the Karavanke Mountains and learned in school. *Nein, kein Slowenisch*, many answer, *nur...*unser *Dialekt! Der Dialekt von hier.*[9] What is perhaps surprising is the fact that many will add that they refer to their dialect as *Windisch*. Given the pejorative connotation of this word and its divisive history (cf. § 2.1.3.1.2), this was initially a decidedly unexpected answer, especially when many used this

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[9] 'No, no Slovene, just...*our* dialect! The local dialect.'

word unprompted. As detailed below in § 3.3.2.1.1.1, it is almost exclusively the younger generation, those under 60 years of age, who use this word with impunity; indeed, those who do use it seem to see it as a convenient way of describing what they speak. Others will embrace the dialect and proudly say that they speak Slovene, though they may point out that their Standard Slovenian is lacking; still others speak both dialect and the standard variety with ease.

It should be noted here once again that these bilingual speakers only use Slovene with other bilingual speakers, to such an extent that they make an effort not to mix any Slovene words into their German—although, as noted in § 1.3.1.3, such words have certainly made their way into Carinthian German dialects. Rather than relying on context or even a perceived familiarity with certain words, they reserve the use of all Slovene for contexts in which they are among bilinguals. Indeed, it appears that many are unaware that even words such as *prijatelj* ('friend) (again, cf. § 1.3.1.3) have entered Carinthian German parlance, and the idea that a monolingual in Eisenkappel would understand a single Slovene word caused a few informants to laugh.

3.2 – Fieldwork Overview

§ 3.2 provides the general overview of fieldwork conducted in this study. § 3.2.1 describes the conditions of the fieldwork and the method of data collection, and § 3.2.2 shows the evolution of the current project, including how the project shifted in scope, as well as an overview of the interview process.

3.2.1 – Fieldwork Conditions and Data Gathering

All fieldwork was conducted in the town of Eisenkappel during research trips over the course of two years (January 2013–August 2014), followed by a final summer of fieldwork in 2015. The consultants were all either born in Eisenkappel proper or moved there shortly after birth. In only one case was this for reasons other than a hospital birth in the Carinthian capital of Klagenfurt (this is **Consultant I**; see § 3.3.2.1.1.3 below). Initial contact with the community was made through the local choirmaster, who directs choirs in both German and Slovene; the first consultants were therefore members of his choirs. Interviews were conducted in the basement of the church during rehearsals. There was some initial skepticism about discussing personal details and language attitudes, and particularly about submitting to an interview that was to be recorded, but after a few had kindly offered to volunteer, others were more willing to overcome their inhibitions. Following this, further connections came more easily, and the consultant demographic was expanded to include other community members not directly associated with the choirs. These interviews took place in private homes and in local cafes, as dictated by convenience. All interviews were recorded with the permission of the consultant using a digital recording device; each interview lasted from 20–30 minutes. Interviews were then transcribed (see Appendix E for transcriptions of each consultant's response to the interview questions).

Data gathering was at times a slow and arduous process. Several potential consultants balked at signing the consent form for the interview alone, citing concerns that any information they gave would be used against their will. No amount of assurance that the document expressly guaranteed the reverse – that it would not be used in this way –, and that their signature was needed to ensure their consent and protection, could convince them otherwise. Other potential consultants, though wary of the consent form, signed it willingly but would not agree to sign the

release form for recordings to be made. Worry that their voices would "end up on the Internet" or somehow be used against them were the primary reasons for abandoning the interview, and offers to do the interview without the recording fell on deaf ears. In their minds, trust had been violated. A stranger in their midst wanted to record them in their local dialect and convince them to sign away their rights. There were even allegations of attempted identity theft, despite all efforts to have these individuals read the consent form and reassure themselves that there was no danger in being interviewed. These setbacks occurred with greater frequency when conducting "cold interviews," those sessions that proceeded with consultants who were approached without introduction from another community member. This includes potential consultants whose names might have been provided by a previous consultant. Nevertheless, some of these cold interviews yielded the most interesting results, and persistence in this manner eventually resulted in additional interviews that broadened the scope of the project.

<u>3.2.2</u> – Changes in Scope

As noted above (cf. § 1.3.1.2), this undertaking was originally predicated upon the idea that there was a unique hybrid German spoken in Carinthia, and once this notion was dispelled it became difficult to see how the project might continue and bear fruitful results. An analysis of Eisenkappel German appeared interesting on its own, but it lacked the language contact component that inspired the original project. Sustained interaction with the people of Eisenkappel proved enlightening in this regard, however, and the investigation soon developed into an analysis not of the dialect of German as it was spoken by bilinguals, but of the dialect as it was spoken by monolinguals. The theme of bilingualism as a point of contention in the community began to show through more in interviews, and soon it was clear that there was a disparity between what many believed to be the language contact situation and the observable linguistic reality.

When the focus shifted from the quality of Slovene spoken in the community to the quality of German, the project as it now stands finally began to take shape. Both my consultants (those who had signed consent forms and whose data I was expressly given permission to use), and other residents of Eisenkappel with whom I spoke, offered their opinions about the effects of bilingualism on German language acquisition. The reluctance to participate in a study appeared to have no influence on their willingness to offer advice on child-rearing and how best to preserve the German language in Eisenkappel. The opinion among monolinguals skewed in favor of monolingualism, and their arguments emerged as if rehearsed. They amounted, in various instantiations, to three basic reasons for holding to German as the sole language of instruction and communication with children:

1. The dialect of Slovene spoken in Eisenkappel was not truly Slovene, but rather a

   "mish-mash" that was not worth speaking. A few went so far as to declare that it would be better for this to die out entirely.

2. German being the language of Austria and the true language of Eisenkappel and Carinthia, it should be German that received attention, not Slovene. Rather than an argument made on linguistic/pedagogical grounds, this appeared to derive from a stronger association with German as a local and national symbol, and was based

on the notion that the German language was not only the birthright of Eisenkappler, but it was also their responsibility to embrace it alone.

3. Although learning another language as a subject in school could be beneficial, growing up speaking a language other than German in the home or as the language of instruction in school would only result in bad German. This would be detrimental not only to the individual, but to society as well.

As I have been careful to state multiple times, this does not reflect the opinion of all Eisenkappler, or even that of all monolinguals in Eisenkappel. Nevertheless, my discovery of this attitude led me to reassess the nature of this project and reevaluate both the data that I had already collected and the approach that I was taking in my research. It was not a decision that I made lightly, as I had put considerable time and energy into developing a project that explored language contact and language identity, but I soon discovered that what my data were telling me was nevertheless important and worthy of my attention. In other words, the majority of the people I spoke to in Eisenkappel felt that bilingual German speakers spoke poorer German than monolinguals, and my data were showing this to be entirely false.

To the contrary, none of the bilingual Eisenkappler displayed hallmarks of a poorer knowledge of German, such as halting speech, pauses to retrieve an unfamiliar word, errors in grammar or pronunciation, or simplified language indicating a lower level of German proficiency. On the contrary, bilingual speakers tended to speak a variety of German that was closer to the standard language, and when asked about their German language use, it soon became clear precisely why this was. Most bilinguals had spoken Slovene in the home and learned German at school and from television, environments in which the standard language is more likely to be used. They noted that they speak German most often in work situations and tended toward a more standard variety, reserving dialect speech in German or Slovene for less formal interactions, such as with friends or family.

Monolinguals, by contrast, had grown up speaking Eisenkappel German in the home and had learned the standard language in school, but given that most interactions were with their fellow Eisenkappler, these monolinguals noted that they had little use for standard German and relied almost exclusively on Eisenkappel German in all but the most formal professional circumstances. Monolinguals thus tended to speak their own Eisenkappel German dialect as their native tongue and treated Modern Standard German as a kind of professional jargon. Bilinguals, however, either spoke both Slovene and German natively from birth, if both languages were spoken in the home, or began learning a much more standardized version of German from a very early age. For bilinguals in Eisenkappel, Modern Standard German functions as their second language and one that they use with great regularity. For them, Eisenkappel German is a kind of third language that was picked up among friends in school and is still used informally (and at times formally when speaking with monolinguals who prefer speaking Eisenkappel German to the standard language).

Although this made intuitive sense, it needed to be verified by testing. I reformulated my research question (cf. § 1.3.2), and instead of maintaining my investigation of language contact in Eisenkappel, I proposed to analyze the German spoken by monolinguals and bilinguals in Eisenkappel to determine whether I could demonstrate that bilinguals were in no way disadvantaged in their knowledge of German.

<u>3.3</u> – Data Collection

§ 3.3.1 describes the interview process, providing an overview of the basic format of the interview, the data card that was reviewed and filled out by consultants, and the interview sentences used in the interview. § 3.3.2 provides a breakdown of consultant profiles, followed by a detailed description of how the consultants' backgrounds influenced the project.

<u>3.3.1</u> – Interview Process

Since the original intention of the project was to determine the extent to which the local dialect of German was influenced by the local dialect of Slovene, the interview process had consisted of prompts that asked consultants to speak in their own dialect (Eisenkappel German) as much as possible. My own tendency towards Modern Standard German notwithstanding, this was managed fairly well, especially in those situations in which more than one speaker was present and the two would occasionally converse with each other. This did lead to unfortunate interference, however. If another speaker began to chastise the consultant currently being interviewed and correct that consultant's pronunciation or word choice. I had no choice but to insist on private, one-on-one interviews, much though the interaction had helped with eliciting dialect speech.

In addition, I had arranged a set of interview questions that were designed to prompt the consultant to use Eisenkappel German rather than the standard variety learned in school. General questions that kept the consultant thinking back to the past and to childhood worked best, along with the request that consultants relate a story from their childhood. At this point, many chose to tell stories about life and how they grew up, which was fascinating, but I also found that it was beneficial to ask each of them to relate one specific story, that being the fairy tale of Cinderella, with which I imagined everyone would be familiar. This gave me a more restricted set of vocabulary items, which served as an excellent basis for comparison from speaker to speaker. It also had the intended effect of allowing them to cast their minds back to how they heard the story growing up, and this induced them to fall into Eisenkappel German to a higher degree than when they simply conversed with me.

One aspect that I had not considered, but which struck me later, is the potential that modern adaptations of fairy tales could potentially interfere with a consultant's memory of the original version that may have been heard as a child. A modern telling of these stories, especially in a film or television program, might then prompt a consultant to summarize the version intended for worldwide consumption, one which would almost certainly have also been consumed in Modern Standard German. This did not appear to be a problem in the initial study; however, in future projects I shall endeavor to find local stories or legends in the area in which I conduct my research. The likelihood that such tales will have been subjected to outside influence will certainly be far lower.

§ 3.3.1.1 provides a blank consultant data card. This is followed by Table 3.1, which lists the 20 sentences used in fieldwork interviews, and § 3.3.1.2 gives further background on those sentences.

3.3.1.1 – Consultant Data Card

The following data card was provided to each potential consultant for review before signing the release forms.[*] The same version was used for all consultants, regardless of their bilingual/monolingual status. An English version of the data card may be found in Appendix A, and an English version of the release forms can be found in Appendix F.

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[*] Note that a copy of the interview materials (cf. § 4.2.2.2) was not provided to the consultants, so as to elicit natural, spontaneous feedback during the interview itself.

1. Geburtsjahr: _____

2. Geburtsort: _____

3. Aktuelles Wohnort: _____

4. Muttersprache(n): _____

5. Beherrschen Sie auch einen Dialekt, und wenn ja, welchen? _____

6. Sprechen Sie auch einen slowenischen Dialekt?* Welchen? _____

7. Wenn ja, wie würden Sie Ihre Fähigkeit in dem Dialekt beschreiben? Wählen Sie:

Muttersprache   Fließend   Sehr gut   Gut   Nicht besonders gut   Nur ein paar Worte

8. Wie oft sprechen Sie Deutsch oder einen slowenischen Dialekt, a. zu Hause, b. an der Arbeit

   und c. in Gesellschaft?

	Zu Hause	An der Arbeit	In Gesellschaft
Deutsch	_____%	_____%	_____%
Slowenisch	_____%	_____%	_____%

9. Als Kind haben Ihre Eltern, oder andere Verwandten, mit Ihnen auf einen

   slowenischen Dialekt gesprochen? Wenn ja, wie oft? Wählen Sie eine Antwort:

Fast immer   Sehr oft   Ungefähr die hälfte Zeit   Ab und zu   Fast nie

10. Sprechen Sie einen slowenischen Dialekt mit Ihren Kindern, oder werden Sie es tun,

    wenn Sie Kinder haben? _____

11. Warum, oder warum nicht? _____

12. Meinen Sie, es gibt Vor- oder Nachteile, einen slowenischen Dialekt zu sprechen? _____

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* This was originally phrased as a *slowenischen, bzw. windischen Dialekt* ('a Slovene or Wendish dialect'), as I had often been told that dialects of Slovene were often not recognized as Slovene at all and that they were often described as Wendish. Initial consultants balked at use of the word, however, one individual going so far as to blacken the word Wendish entirely wherever it appeared on the card, and I subsequently changed this to the above and simply gave a brief explanation that *Slowenisch* included the dialect of Slovene commonly spoken in Eisenkappel, regardless of how the consultant wished to classify it.

Table 3.1 – Interview Sentences in Modern Standard German[*]

1.	Ich kann nichts machen.
2.	Ist dir kalt?
3.	Sag mir, warum ich das nicht kann.
4.	Komm doch her.
5.	Sie haben sehr viel Spaß mit den Freunden gehabt.
6.	Das geht mir voll auf die Nerven!
7.	Was meinst du, was los ist?
8.	Ich bin durch die Stadt zur Arbeit gefahren.
9.	Die Schüler durften das alleine machen.
10.	Es hat lange gedauert, die Arbeit fertig zu machen.
11.	Wenn er kommt, zahle ich ihm mit Bargeld.
12.	Der Mann, der da kocht, ist mein Bruder.
13.	Das ist nicht nötig.
14.	Wo ist er mit dem Auto seiner Schwester hingefahren?
15.	Ich habe ihn gefragt, ob sie verheiraten sind.
16.	Kann ich kurz mit dir sprechen?
17.	Das reicht jetzt!
18.	Mir scheint's, als ob er nicht weiß, was er tun soll.
19.	Ich weiß nicht genau, warum sie mit ihren Freundinnen nach Hause gekommen ist.
20.	Wenn du willst, kann ich dir auch was Schönes machen.

[*] English version may be found in Appendix D

3.3.1.2 – Rationale Behind the Interview Sentences

The 20 sentences listed above functioned as a control, meant to give each consultant specific targets for producing renditions in their dialect. Each consultant was asked to listen to the sentences as I read them aloud, one at a time, in Modern Standard German. After hearing each sentence, the consultant was asked to render it in their local dialect. As all consultants were residents of and had been born and raised in Eisenkappel, this was by default a request for Eisenkappel German; however, not all consultants referred to their dialect as Eisenkappel German. For the sake of clarity, therefore, I merely asked them to repeat the questions in their own dialect, the one that they spoke and grew up with in Eisenkappel.

This proved to be an effective method of receiving direct input in Eisenkappel German, although it was not natural speech, given that the speakers were provided with specific prompts. Although it was at times necessary to explain what I was asking for twice or sometimes three times before a consultant understood, I soon found a way of phrasing things so that, even if I needed to repeat the intention of this project, consultants had no trouble giving their responses once we fully began.

I should note that at this stage in the project, I was already noticing that it was more difficult to elicit Eisenkappel German from bilingual consultants than it was from monolinguals. There were cases when a bilingual would even note, after giving a particular phrasing and pronunciation that was identical to Modern Standard German, that the way of saying it locally was of course different, after which s/he then the Eisenkappel German variant. One consultant in particular, in trying to be helpful, would note this throughout the interview, often repeating a phrase in general conversation and stressing that the second form was dialectal.

I should also note that, while at the start of the project I encountered many bilinguals with whom I spoke Slovene, as the project developed and evolved, I refrained from telling potential consultants that I spoke Slovene or even knew much about either the local dialect of Slovene or the local Eisenkappel German. I felt that there would be too much opportunity for bias to enter into the study if bilingual consultants found themselves speaking to an American who knew both German and Slovene and was learning the local dialects of both. The desire to impress or help was, from the outset, an unavoidable factor, as the small size of Eisenkappel made any American a novelty, especially one who spoke German. My only consolation was that this would have a similar, if not identical, effect on both bilingual and monolingual residents of the town. Admitting that I shared with bilingual speakers something that already set them apart from their monolingual neighbors would be a dangerous incentive for these consultants to tell me what I wanted to hear. I therefore did my best to remain aloof and discuss even the most basic aspects of Carinthian history and politics with an air of the novice. The study, as far as my consultants were concerned, was simply part of a research project investigating various German dialects all over Austria. It was, and continues to be, my hope that this leveled the field of bias during the interviews and elicited data that was equally natural for both bilinguals and monolinguals.

The interview sentences, although a contrived means of eliciting dialect speech, resulted in the only useful data in Eisenkappel German provided by bilinguals. Their tendency to revert to speech that was closer to the standard made the data gained from these 20 sentences the only realistic basis for comparison between the dialect speech of bilinguals and monolinguals in Eisenkappel.

Table 3.2 – Breakdown of Consultant Profiles

	Gender	Birth Year	Birthplace	Currently Living	Native Language(s)	German Dialect	Proficiency in Slovene	Percentage German/ Slovene Spoken at Home	Percentage German/ Slovene Spoken at Work	Percentage German/ Slovene Spoken Socially	Amount of Slovene Spoken in the Home as a Child	Slovene Spoken with Own Children
A	Female	1976	Eisenkappel	Eisenkappel	German Slovene	Eisenkappel German	Native Language	70 / 30	100 / 0	50 / 50	Almost Always	Yes*
B	Male	1970	Klagenfurt (hospital)	Eisenkappel	German Slovene	Eisenkappel German	Native Language	50 / 50	90 / 10	50 / 50	Almost Always	No Children*
C	Male	1936	Eisenkappel	Eisenkappel	German Slovene*	Eisenkappel German	Good	80 / 20	50 / 50	90 / 10	Always (early on)*	Yes
D	Female	1960	Eisenkappel	Eisenkappel	German	Eisenkappel German	None	100 / 0	100 / 0	100 / 0	None*	No
E	Male	1961	Eisenkappel	Eisenkappel	German	Eisenkappel German	None	100 / 0	100 / 0	100 / 0	None	No
F	Female	1972	Eisenkappel	Eisenkappel	German	Eisenkappel German	Had Some in School	100 / 0	90 / 10	100 / 0	None*	No
G	Male	1966	Eisenkappel	Eisenkappel	German Slovene*	Eisenkappel German	Good	95 / 5	90 / 10	95 / 5	About Half the Time	No, but wife does
H	Female	1958	Eisenkappel	Eisenkappel	German Slovene	Eisenkappel German	Native Language	90 / 10	90 / 10	90 / 10	Almost Always	They learn it at school*
I	Male	1941	Stuttgart (Eisenkappel as a Baby)	Eisenkappel	German*	Carinthian* (Eisenkappel German)	A Few Words from School	100 / 0	100 / 0	100 / 0	None	No
J	Male	1959	Klagenfurt (hospital)	Eisenkappel	German	Carinthian* (Eisenkappel German)	Some Songs	99 / 0*	100 / 0	100 / 0	Almost None	No

*This indicates that there is more to say about this particular response, and it will be treated in more detail below.

3.3.2 – Consultant profiles

Table 3.2 above gives a brief profile chart of consultants, with supplemental material to the table in § 3.3.2.1 (see Appendix B for a detailed description of each consultant, minus identifying information).

3.3.2.1 – Supplemental Material to the Consultant Profile Chart

Several of the responses given by the various consultants provided more detail than can be efficiently displayed in a table. These are detailed below in § 3.3.2.1.1, along with the responses to the final two questions of the background interview, which were usually too long to be displayed in a table; these are given in § 3.3.2.1.2. All direct quotes from the consultants are rendered in Modern Standard German orthography, a practice followed for direct quotes throughout the rest of this chapter, except in cases where phonological differences that arise in Eisenkappel German are the object of inquiry in the study.

3.3.2.1.1 – Clarification of Consultant Information

For ease of analysis, this section is further divided, based on the relevant criteria examined, with § 3.3.2.1.1.1 devoted to the question of Slovene knowledge, § 3.3.2.1.1.2 to the question of how much Slovene is spoken with a consultant's children, and § 3.3.2.1.1.3 to the dialect of German spoken.

3.3.2.1.1.1 – Knowledge of Slovene

Additional explanation is necessary to provide an accurate account of the knowledge of Slovene for certain consultants. **Consultant C**, for example, was born in 1936, two years prior to the Nazi *Anschluss* of Austria in 1938. As a result, his learning of Slovene was interrupted by the ensuing persecution of Slavic-speaking peoples. Those residing in Carinthia were, fortunately, seen to be primarily German (a fact which prevented them from suffering as ill a fate as many other Slavs and others alike). Their Slovene was viewed as a corrupted patois or jargon that was closer to German than its fellow Slovenian dialects across the border in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, as it was then called (see discussion of Windisch in § 2.1.3.1.2, as well as in the current chapter in § 3.1.1.2 above). Use of Slovene was therefore outlawed, and parents were forced to speak the language in secret if at all, and of course only among themselves and with their children. For **Consultant C**, this resulted in a hiatus from Slovene during the critical period of his language acquisition. Although he considers Slovene to be one of his native languages, he is decidedly wary of claiming this without the caveat that his knowledge of it is in no way complete or as deeply nuanced as that of a speaker who had no such interruptions in his language learning process.

Additional complications arise in the history of **Consultant D**. In her case, both parents were bilingual and used Slovene often, but only as a *Geheimsprache für die Eltern*,[10] in order to keep things private from the children, whether between themselves or among the parents and grandparents. For this reason, although Slovene was in fact spoken in the home, it was never spoken with **Consultant D** or her siblings, and none of the children learned it in this context.

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[10] 'secret language for the parents'

Interestingly, this consultant also noted candidly, *Hier wird kein Slowenisch gesprochen, nur Dialekt.*[11] When asked to be more specific, she explained, *Es ist keine richtige Sprache, ist kein Slowenisch. Nur Windisch.*[12] For this consultant, then, the language spoken by her parents and grandparents, as well as by her fellow community members, was not truly a language at all, but rather a mix of two languages, German and Slovenian. Even the use of the word *Dialekt* is more indicative of patois in this context than of a dialect of a language, as Eisenkappel German is of Modern Standard German. When asked her native language, she said that she spoke only German, and when asked about her dialect, she responded, *Deutsch…also, ja gut, das Deutsch von hier.*[13]

Here again we see how ambiguous this word *Slowenisch* (as provided above by **Consultant D**) truly is. Even within this context it is difficult to determine whether the standard language is meant, or whether a dialect of the language could be implied. The case is made especially difficult in the case of Austrian dialects of Slovenian, since those dialects spoken in the Republic of Slovenia are beyond doubt regional variants of the standard, whereas in Austria it is often felt that to speak *Dialekt* is to speak something that is at best a mere imitation or approximation of something else. While she considers her dialect of Modern Standard German to be also German, for her the local dialect of Slovenian is not Slovene.

Somewhat similar to **Consultant D**, **Consultant F** had a long tradition of bilingualism in her family, but only on her mother's side. Although her mother herself was also bilingual, her father was monolingual and had never learned Slovene in his later life. For this reason, the language of the household was German, and Slovene was not passed on. She indicated that this was unfortunate, as she would have liked to have learned it as a child and to have been able to share in that tradition. **Consultant F** attests to having some knowledge of Slovene, but this was learned in school, not in the home, and although she uses it occasionally for work, it is to a minimal degree and in a very limited capacity.

Consultant G's response to the question "Native Language(s)" is particularly interesting, since he was the only consultant to identify as a speaker of Windisch as opposed to Slovene. In the case of this consultant, however, the use of Windisch was by no means derogatory. He referred to it as *unser slowenischer Dialekt*[14] and was proud to speak it. Indeed, as will be discussed further below (cf. § 4.2.2.3), this consultant more than any other was interested in demonstrating his knowledge of Slovene during the interview process, though this was sadly to the detriment of the study in his particular case, as it detracted from his use of German and led to answers that could not be used for the study.

It should be noted in passing that **Consultant J**, whose knowledge of Slovene is limited to songs and memories from school, has a daughter-in-law from Slovenia, who moved to Eisenkappel with her mother after marriage to the consultant's son. **Consultant J** mentioned that he occasionally speaks Serbo-Croatian with the two of them (as well as with other travelers), but no Slovene. It is for this reason that his response to the question "German/Slovene Spoken at

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[11] 'No one speaks Slovene here, only dialect.'

[12] 'It is not a real language, isn't Slovenian. Just *Windisch*.'

[13] 'German…well, alright, the German from here.'

[14] 'our Slovenian dialect'

Home" is "99/0," since the chart is not set up to account for languages other than German and Slovene.

<u>3.3.2.1.1.2</u> – Amount of Slovene Spoken with Children

Two consultants gave answers that need further explanation (**Consultant H**'s response will be discussed in § 3.3.2.1.2.1). **Consultant A** had no children at the time of the interview but said that she definitely planned on speaking Slovene with them when she did. Naturally, there is no way of knowing whether or not she will follow through with this; some of the other respondents may have also planned on doing this but were unable or ultimately unwilling to follow through. **Consultant B** spoke of language use in even more hypothetical terms. He does not have children and does not plan on ever having them, but he said that if he were to have children, he would speak Slovene with them. Neither of these responses prove that there would ever be any real likelihood of these individuals passing their Slovene on to the next generation. Perhaps they felt that this was the answer expected of them at the time (although in fairness, and this shall be seen below in § 4.3.2 and § 4.4, neither had any qualms about expressing themselves or seemed inclined to be unduly influenced by a traveling researcher), or perhaps they wanted to believe this of themselves. It is also quite possible that they were being sincere, though this is nevertheless no indication that this sincerity will translate (or would have translated, in the case of **Consultant B**) into action.

What is telling about these responses, however, is that the attitude of these two speakers toward Slovene was positive. Both felt that it was worth passing this part of the local heritage on to one's children, rather than relegating it to a part of the community's long and complicated bilingual history. For more information on their reasons for this, see § 3.3.2.1.2 below.

<u>3.3.2.1.1.3</u> – Dialect of German

As has been mentioned previously in several places, the dialect of German spoken by Eisenkappel locals is known in the common parlance of the region as *Eisenkapplerisch*, or Eisenkappel German. Therefore, when prompted to specify which dialects people spoke, consultants almost exclusively stated it was *Eisenkapplerisch*. There were two responses, however, which deviated from this norm. **Consultant I** and **Consultant J** both identified their dialect as *Kärntnerisch* ('Carinthian'), but they both then narrowed this to *Eisenkapplerisch* when asked to be specific. Both consultants were born outside of Eisenkappel but were brought there shortly thereafter. As shown in Table 3.2, **Consultant J** was born in Klagenfurt, but according to him, this was because he was born at the hospital there, after which his family returned with him to Eisenkappel. **Consultant I** was born much further away, in Stuttgart, but his family settled down back in Eisenkappel within the year, since his mother was a native of the area.

Consultant I also had an interesting response to the question of his native language. Rather than simply replying that it was German, he intoned, *Nur Deutsch!* Reichs*deutsch!* Rein*deutsch!*[15] **Consultant I**, having been born during the Second World War, was also quick to point out that his birth certificate had an official stamp bearing the insignia of the Third Reich, adding, *Das ist*

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[15] 'Only German! The German of the *Reich*! *Pure* German!'

eine Seltenheit![16] His attitude toward speakers of Slovene was decidedly hostile, highlighting an attitude toward bilingualism that is negative and based on the perception that speakers of Slovene do not have as strong a command of German as those who were raised speaking only German. It is beyond the scope of my research to delve much deeper into this, since it addresses the issue of language attitudes and language identity.* It is nevertheless worth highlighting, since it both provides insight into the consultant's own view of his native language and dialect, and gives the reader some perspective on the perceived cost that individuals may feel accompanies speaking Slovene.

3.3.2.1.2 – Additional Background Information

This section addresses the final two questions from the consultant profile questionnaire. As noted above, the responses to these questions were generally longer and more nuanced than those found in Table 3.2. Rather than simple, one-word answers, consultants were asked to state the reasons for why they chose to speak (or not speak) Slovene with their children, as well as to enumerate advantages or disadvantages that they saw in knowing Slovene in addition to German. Table 3.3 provides their responses, and § 3.3.2.1.2.1 addresses the responses to each question respectively.

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[16] 'That is a rarity!'

* This is an investigation that warrants its own treatment, and it is one that I look forward to exploring in a forthcoming study.

Table 3.3 – Chart of Responses to Final Two Background Questions

	Reason For or Against Speaking Slovene with Children	**Advantages and Disadvantages of Knowing Slovene**
A	Why are bananas bent? It is the way it should be. One should pass on what one has.	Nah, no disadvantages. Advantages, sure. Lots of people speak it around here. Always good to have more skills.
B	-	No disadvantages.
C	It is part of my heritage.	If one is certified, then it is an advantage, since Slovene is an official language in Eisenkappel.
D	I only speak German.	No disadvantages; would be nice to be able to participate with other community members by speaking Slovene.
E	I do not speak any.	No disadvantages; always an advantage to know more.
F	I do not speak enough myself.	No! No disadvantages.
G	She does it so that they will learn it.	Certainly advantages; perhaps political disadvantages.
H	Good German is important.	Neither, nor.
I	Because I myself cannot speak it.	No advantages; great disadvantages.
J	I did not learn enough of it in school.	No disadvantages; in-laws from Slovenia.

<u>3.3.2.1.2.1</u> – Analysis of Responses to Final Two Background Questions

Consultant A is an interesting case because she had the strongest response in favor of speaking Slovene with one's children, and yet she did not (at the time of the interview) have any children of her own. As noted above in § 3.3.2.1.1.2, one cannot speculate as to how she will follow through with this attitude if and when she eventually has children, but the information about her current view of Slovene and its importance is nonetheless interesting. Her initial reaction, *Warum ist die Banane krumm?*[1] is a common German way of saying "That's just the way it is." She then further emphasized that in her opinion it was a foregone conclusion that she would speak Slovene with her children. Her general demeanor was one of surprise that the question would even be asked, but given that three of the consultants do not speak Slovene with their children, it is unclear whether this surprise was genuine or an attempt to show disdain for those who do not choose to pass on their knowledge. Her positive attitude toward speaking Slovene continued in the final question. The emphasis on Slovene being a skill and something that can potentially help one advance shows that she sees a level of prestige in speaking Slovene. As discussed above (cf. § 2.1.3.2), the intersection between the perception of bilingualism as a skill

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[1] Lit. 'Why is the banana bent?'

and its perception as a hindrance to gaining sufficient command of the national language fosters debate on both sides. Eisenkappel itself has emerged as a kind of 21st century battleground, in which lines are being drawn and positions defended, often with little more than nostalgia and prejudice to inform those involved. Further below, **Consultant C** provides valuable insight on this issue, and **Consultant H** offers a response that underscores the fact that this debate has by no means been settled, even among bilingual speakers themselves.

Consultant B, with no children and no plans for ever having any, did not give a response to this question, though he did indicate that he saw no disadvantages to knowing Slovene. This is in keeping with his assurance that he would speak it with his children if he were ever going to have any.

Consultant C, as discussed above (cf. § 3.3.2.1.1.1), did not speak Slovene as well as others who were raised with the language, but he felt nevertheless that it was a part of his heritage and something that he should share with his son. He noted that although they mostly speak German in the home he does occasionally speak Slovene with his son so as to keep the language alive in their family. In turn, his son, who is grown and starting a family of his own, is trying to do the same for his children. **Consultant C** was also quick to state that there were clear advantages to speaking Slovene, making reference to the fact that since Slovene is one of the official languages of Eisenkappel (the other, of course, is German), many civil service positions and other local government jobs require employees to speak both languages. **Consultant C** noted that certified speakers of Slovene advance faster than those who speak only German, and that monolinguals can only rise to a certain level before advancement becomes impossible. He admitted that this engenders certain animosities among monolinguals toward the bilinguals in these positions, since many view themselves as being just as qualified (if not more so). Rather than viewing the disparity as indicative of the complex sociolinguistic structure of the community, many instead see it as favoritism or a kind of affirmative action program that rewards minorities out of charity rather than considering merit and other skills as the basis for promotion. This is another area in which tensions arise between monolinguals and bilinguals and may motivate some of the friction that exists between the two groups.

Consultant D responded matter-of-factly that since she spoke only German she could not pass any other language on to her children. Although this consultant was quoted previously (cf. § 3.3.2.1.1.1) as saying that the language spoken in the community was not *Slowenisch* but *Windisch*, she nevertheless shrugged and admitted that in addition to there being no disadvantages to speaking it, it would be nice to speak Slovene, if only to be able *mitzumachen*[18] with others.

Consultant E was similarly succinct in his response, saying only that he did not speak Slovene. He was also of the opinion that there were no disadvantages to speaking it, nodding and saying that there is always an advantage to knowing more rather than less.

Although **Consultant F** was also unable to say much more other than that she did not know enough Slovene to speak it with her children, her response seemed more of an admission, and she noted that this was a shame. Adamant that there were no disadvantages, she had also

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[18] 'to join in'

mentioned previously in the interview that she would have liked to be able to speak Slovene with her maternal grandparents and learn more about her cultural history in that way.

As reflected in Table 3.3, **Consultant G** responded that he does not speak Slovene with his children, but that his wife does. When asked why she speaks it with them, he thought for a moment before finally saying that she does this so that they will learn it, an answer that would have seemed patronizing if his facial expression had not been so sincere. He did not indicate whether his own knowledge of Slovene was inferior to his wife's, only that it was important to her that their children speak it. His answer to the question about advantages and disadvantages was somewhat cryptic. He felt that there certainly were advantages to speaking Slovene, but he hesitated for a while and then added that there could be political disadvantages as well. He was more forthcoming when prompted to spell out what he meant, adding that it is not always popular to speak Slovene in Eisenkappel, given the conservative tendencies of the region and the history of political repression. He nevertheless felt that it was good to speak Slovene and did not mention any current concerns about significant repercussions of any kind.

Consultant H's response was frankly surprising. Given her previous responses (cf. Table 3.2), she appeared the ideal candidate for passing on Slovenian to her children. A native speaker whose parents used Slovene almost exclusively in the home when she was growing up, she also had a generally positive attitude toward the language and stated that she was happy to be able to speak it, since it was beneficial for her work to be able to speak with Slovenian tourists. Her reason for not passing Slovene on to her children (i.e. the reason why she thinks it is important to speak good German) is very telling, however, and fits with the general narrative of this dissertation: namely that there is a perceived need to sacrifice heritage in order to assimilate. In the case of this consultant, since her children are in fact learning Slovene in school, it is possible that she is reinforcing this somewhat in the home. She is helping them with the language when they are struggling, and one can hope that at least the school program will give the children enough of a basis so that can choose for themselves how much they want to engage with the language as adults. Her assessment of the advantages and disadvantages was equally surprising: she stated frankly that she saw neither advantages nor disadvantages to speaking Slovene. It was interesting that she should respond this way, given the nature of her work and her previous comments about how it was convenient to be able to speak with Slovenian tourists. Once having stated this, however, she gave a curt nod and a self-assured smile to indicate that the topic was closed, and she spoke no further on the subject.

Indeed, while it may be advantageous to be bilingual in Eisenkappel (compare the statement of **Consultant C** earlier in this section), **Consultant H** may well suspect that her children will not remain in Eisenkappel to benefit from this. As discussed in § 3.1.1 above, there is a growing socio-economic trend for young people to move away from Eisenkappel and seek work elsewhere in Austria. It is entirely possible, then, that **Consultant H**'s position is that the advantages that her children might find in being bilingual in Eisenkappel could be outweighed by the greater opportunity for financial success elsewhere in Austria, where knowledge of Slovene does not have the immediate benefit that it does in Eisenkappel. Thus, good German would be paramount, and she would feel justified in doing what she needed to give them the best possible chance of securing an education which would lead to employment wherever they might go. Again, this is a prime example of the adoption by bilinguals of the monolingual attitude in response to the issue of assimilation, the theme to which my research continually returns.

Consultant I was decidedly terse in his response to the first question, noting only that he did not speak Slovene himself. He then answered the second question, without irony, by stating that there were no advantages to speaking Slovene, but rather "the greatest disadvantages". His face was drawn, and his eyes raised in a gesture that conveyed deep, personal assurance that this was so, but he gave no further explanation, apparently leaving me to make of it what I would. **Consultant I** did return to this subject later, in a conversation with **Consultant J**, to be explored at the end of this section.

Consultant J's reply was also brief, although he seemed to be dissatisfied with his lack of ability to communicate in the language; he also emphasized the advantages of speaking Slovene. In his case this related specifically to his daughter-in-law and her mother, both from Slovenia (cf. § 3.3.2.1.1.1), and the fact that he would like to be able to speak their native language with them. He reiterated that there were no disadvantages to speaking Slovene, citing again the example of his daughter-in-law and her ability to integrate without any difficulty into life in Eisenkappel.

Consultant I shared his personal feelings about speakers of Slovene more broadly immediately following his interview, under the following circumstances: **Consultant J** was taking his seat to replace **Consultant I**, when the latter began disparaging the amount of Slovene spoken in Eisenkappel. The ensuing discussion is reproduced here, in translation, since the encounter provides an interesting glimpse at the mentality of those monolinguals who continue to view bilinguals with a degree of suspicion.

Consultant I: "It's such a shame that there are so many of these Slovenian people, these *Windisch* people, who come here and speak that strange language…"

Consultant J: "They didn't come here, they were *born* here! They've been here for generations!"

Consultant I: "Well, they still speak that language, and they shouldn't be forcing it on us and making us learn it. We speak *German* here!"

Consultant J: "Nobody's *forcing* anyone to learn Slovenian. It's optional to learn at school. You yourself learned some!"

Consultant I: "Yeah, well, that's true, but we speak German here, and these people should speak German, not this *Windisch*."

Consultant J: "They *do* speak German! They *all* speak German. And they speak it better than you!"

Consultant I: (*Chuckling*) "Yeah, alright, alright…"

As illustrated by this brief exchange, there is no clear-cut way of determining where one will fall on the issue of bilingualism in Eisenkappel. Monolinguals do not represent a monolithic group,

the opinions of which are shared by all of its members.[19] None of the usual arguments against bilinguals hold true: to the contrary, they are native Austrians, they do not threaten German identity, and they assimilate linguistically to the point that their German is indistinguishable from that of monolinguals. If their German is in fact not found to be indistinguishable, as noted by **Consultant J**, then it is distinguishable only in that it is closer to Modern Standard German. Thus, the question remains *why* this animosity continues to fester, if the reasons espoused above by **Consultant I** are not valid (even by his own admission).[20] What is more relevant here, however, is the unabashed recognition on the part of **Consultant J** that his friend and fellow monolingual was wrong in his assessment of the realities that bilingualism presents to the community of Eisenkappel, a fact which **Consultant I** himself willingly admitted to be true, however reluctant he might have been to do so. For the purposes of this dissertation, this provides valuable insight into the views of bilingualism held in Eisenkappel among monolinguals and bilinguals alike.

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[19] The same is demonstrably true for bilinguals themselves as well, as is perhaps most clearly seen in the case of **Consultant H** above.

[20] As noted above by **Consultant C**, some monolinguals might resent the fact that bilinguals can advance beyond certain levels in official positions faster than they (the monolinguals), but this cannot be the only factor driving such feelings of prejudice and outright xenophobia. It is likely that this issue brings up a very nuanced landscape of emotions, fed in part by latent feelings of dominance (or, perhaps, of *waning* dominance) held over from a time when such a doctrine of superiority was embraced and promoted.

Chapter IV

Presentation and Analysis of the Data

Kurzvita[21] by Del Vedernjak

"Ich wurde
Als Slowene geboren

Ich bin
Als Windischer
Zur Volksschule
Gegangen

Ich habe
In der Hauptschule
Die Muttersprache
Verlernt

Und mich am Arbeitsplatz
Schließlich mit dem
Kärntner Heimatdienst
Solidarisiert

Wir Slovenen
Sind nämlich
Immer schon
Deutsch gewesen."[22]
(Vedernjak 1978: 66)

4.0 – Introduction

This chapter presents analysis of the data collected with a view towards discovering potential linguistic distinctions between monolingual and bilingual speakers in Eisenkappel. The chapter first surveys the German language itself. § 4.1 gives an overview of German, with a focus on Modern Standard German, its origins, and the basics of its phonology, morphology, and syntax; § 4.2 provides an analysis of Eisenkappel German and the ways in which it contrasts with Modern Standard German, based on data collected in the region; § 4.3 reviews the interview process once more; § 4.4 offers the data in raw form with limited commentary; § 4.5 provides analysis of the data; and § 4.6 offers preliminary conclusions.

4.1 – Background for Contrastive Purposes: Modern Standard German

As has been emphasized, this dissertation is not focused on one language alone; indeed, it is not even focused on only one dialect of each of the languages discussed, but rather on dialects of two

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[21] *'Short Bio'*

[22] 'I was born a Slovene / I went to primary school as a Wend / In secondary school I unlearned my native tongue / and finally joined up with the Kärntner Heimatdienst at work / We Slovenes, after all, have always been German.'

languages, examining first how these dialects relate to the standard language in question and second how each set of dialects impacts the learning and production of that standard language. With this in mind, it is important to introduce these standard languages and to give at least a brief overview of their relevant grammar points and lexicons. This provides a baseline for both contrasting the dialects with their respective standard languages, and for investigating the question of whether knowledge of a dialect of a foreign language negatively impacts the learning of the local language (in this case, German). In point of fact, most bilinguals in Eisenkappel learn German primarily in school and from television and other media, which is why it is important to compare the German spoken by bilinguals not only with the German of their monolingual counterparts, but also with the Modern Standard German in which they have had formal training and with which some at least may be more familiar.

4.1.1 – What Is Meant By "Standard German"

It is worth taking a moment to clarify what is meant by Standard German, since it could be interpreted in a way that is contrary to the purposes of the research presented here. The German word *Standarddeutsch*, which is commonly rendered into English as "Standard German," is a normative term used to refer to the standard language only, not to any particular dialect or historical stage of development in German. It is the language of education and is understood by all speakers of German, "but only a minority uses the standard pronunciation in everyday speech" (Eisenberg 1994: 349). It is the result of a trend for German pronunciation to follow the standard written language, which coalesced between the 16th and 19th centuries to emerge in its current state (Siebs 1969: 1).

Hochdeutsch refers to a particular variety of German, originally spoken in the south of the German speech area, which provides the modern German language with many of the hallmarks that help to distinguish it from other West Germanic languages (such as English and Dutch) and that serve as the primary means of distinction from Low German, spoken in the north of the German speech area (Behaghel 1907, Eisenberg 1994: 349). The clearest distinction may be seen in the so-called High German Consonant Shift from Germanic *p, t*, and *k* (which remained as they were throughout the history of English, with some exceptions that cannot be discussed here) to High German *pf, ts*, and *kx*[*] word initially, following a consonant, and in gemination; and to *f (ff)*, *s (ss)*, and hh *(ç)* medially, between vowels, and word finally (Sperber & Polenz 1966: 25). This yields High German *schlafen* ('sleep'), *zehn* ('ten'), and *ich* ('I'), versus Low German *slapen, teihn*, and *ik* (Behaghel 1907: 24–26). Thus, to speak Standard German (often referred to as "High German") is to speak a variety of German that corresponds to this sound shift (among other High German sound shifts not explicitly treated here); the shift applies to all High German dialects—albeit in varying degrees, with these hallmarks falling off the further one travels north and approaches Low German territory (Eisenberg 1994: 349). The term Modern Standard German, then, refers both to a particular variety of spoken German as well as to the norms of the written language.

The present analysis of Modern Standard German is further divided into subsections. § 4.1.2 reviews Modern Standard German phonology and § 4.1.3 reviews Modern Standard German morphology.

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[*] Though instances of this are limited to Alemannic dialects and some dialects of Bavarian (Behaghel 1907: 24).

4.1.2 – Phonology of Modern Standard German

Any introduction to Modern Standard German (MSG) must begin with at least an overview of the sounds of the language. § 4.1.2.1 provides tables on the phonemic inventory for MSG, and § 4.1.2.2 expounds on these with a few salient details about MSG phonology.

4.1.2.1 –Phonemic Inventory for Modern Standard German

Table 4.1 – Consonants

			Labial	Dental	Alveolar	Palato-alveolar	Velar	Uvular	Glottal
Stops		voiceless	p	t			k		ʔ
		voiced	b	d			g		
Affricates		voiceless	pf		ts	tʃ			
		voiced				dʒ			
Fricatives	sibilant	voiceless		s		ʃ			
		voiced		z		ʒ			
	non-sibilant	voiceless	f			ç	x		h
		voiced	v						
Nasals			m		n		ŋ		
Lateral					l				
Trill/Tap								ʀ	
Glide						j			

(Siebs 1969: 40)

Table 4.2 – Vowels

	Front				Central		Back	
	Unrounded		Rounded		Unrounded		Rounded	
	Long	Short	Long	Short	Long	Short	Long	Short
Close	iː	ɪ	yː	Y			uː	ʊ
Close-Mid	eː		øː			ə	oː	
Open-Mid	ɛː*	ɛ		œ		ɐ		ɔ
Open					ɑː	a		

(Siebs 1969: 29–30)

Table 4.3 – Diphthongs

	Ending Point	
	Front	Back
Open-Mid	ɔi	
Open	ai	aʊ

(Siebs 1969: 33)

4.1.2.2 – Relevant Features of Modern Standard German Phonology

One of the most salient points of comparison of the phonological systems of Modern Standard German and Bavarian German dialects (those High German dialects, including Eisenkappel German, spoken in the southeastern part of the German speech area) comes in the vowel system. It is therefore worth discussing two important vowel shifts that occurred to produce Modern Standard German: diphthongization in the early Middle High German (MHG) period (ca. 12th century), which began in the Bavarian lands and worked its way north, and monophthongization toward the end of the MHG period (ca. 15th century), which began in Low German territory and spread to the south (Behaghel 1907: 198–200).

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* For a contrasting view on the phonemic status of SHG /ɛː/, see Eisenberg (1994: 351).

4.1.2.2.1 – Diphthongization

The Modern Standard German diphthongization resulted in the diphthongs *ei* [ai], *au* [aʊ], and *eu* [ɔi], which arose from the long MHG monophthong vowels *ī* [i:], *ū* [u:], and *iu* [y:], respectively. Thus, late Old High German/early MHG *mīn* [mi:n] ('my'), *hūs* [hu:s] ('house'), and *hiute* [hy:tə] ('today') became Modern Standard German *mein, Haus,* and *heute,* respectively (Behaghel 1907: 198–199).

4.1.2.2.2 – Monophthongization

The Modern Standard German monophthongization, in turn, comprises the shift of the MHG diphthongs *ie* [iə], *ue* [uə], and *üe* [yə] to the long monophthong vowels *ie* [i:], *u* [u:], and *ü* [y:], respectively. In this way, MHG *lief* [liəf] ('ran'), *guot* [guət] ('good'), and *grüezen* [gryəsən] ('to greet') became *lief, gut,* and *grüßen,* respectively. Orthographic <ie> persisted, although it was (and continues to be) pronounced as the monophthong [i:] (Behaghel 1907: 200).

4.1.3 – Morphology and Syntax of Modern Standard German

Although pronunciation is one of the most notable differentiating features, there are also differences between Standard German and Eisenkappel German with respect to morphology and syntax.

4.1.3.1 – Gender and Case

One of the key components of the Modern Standard German morphological system is grammatical gender and its relation to case.

4.1.3.1.1 – Natural versus Grammatical Gender

Standard English grammar displays natural gender, in which personal pronouns are used to specify whether a person or an animal is male or female or neither (this last is usually reserved for inanimate objects, though at times it is used for animals as well, especially those whose gender people distinguish less frequently). Modern Standard German, however, not only marks a man as "he" or a woman as "she," but also applies a system of grammatical gender to all nouns (for more information see *The Collins German Unabridged Dictionary* or Durrell 2011). This occasionally corresponds to natural gender, as in the case of *Mann > er* (man > he) and *Frau > sie* (woman > she), but grammatical gender need have no relation to any perceived masculinity or femininity within an object. For example, *Kind* ('child') receives the pronoun *es* ('it'), regardless of whether the child is a boy or a girl. Each noun also has a corresponding definite article and pronominal form which expresses this grammatical gender: *der Mann*, *die Frau*, and *das Kind*, referred to as *er*, *sie*, or *es*, respectively.

4.1.3.1.2 – The Modern Standard German Case System

In addition to grammatical gender, Modern Standard German also uses case to mark the function of nouns in a sentence, declining pronouns, articles, demonstratives, adjectives, and (to a far lesser extent) nouns themselves. German has four cases: nominative, accusative, dative, and genitive. The nominative case typically assigns the role of subject to a noun or pronoun, whereas

the accusative case is used when a noun or pronoun is the direct object of a verb or the object of a particular kind of preposition. In the case of neuter nouns, there is no distinction in case marking between nominative and accusative. The dative case, however, provides much more variation, regardless of gender. This case is often used for indirect objects or for the object of certain prepositions.

Only a small class of nouns exhibit the accusative and dative cases morphologically; however, the genitive case can offer evidence in both the article and the noun. The genitive case tends to show possession, although it is often used with certain verbs and prepositions. These features can be summarized in table form, as follows, using the words 'man,' 'woman,' and 'child,' to illustrate masculine, feminine, and neuter singular, respectively, and the word 'friends,' for the plural:

Table 4.4

	MASCULINE	FEMININE	NEUTER	PLURAL
NOM.	der Mann	die Frau	das Kind	die Freunde
ACC.	den Mann	die Frau	das Kind	die Freunde
DAT.	dem Mann	der Frau	dem Kind	den Freunden
GEN.	des Mannes	der Frau	des Kindes	der Freunde

This table can also be expanded to include adjectives, such as *gut* ('good'):

Table 4.5

	MASCULINE	FEMININE	NEUTER	PLURAL
NOM.	der gute Mann	die gute Frau	das gute Kind	die guten Freunde
ACC.	den guten Mann	die gute Frau	das gute Kind	die guten Freunde
DAT.	dem guten Mann	der guten Frau	dem guten Kind	den guten Freunden
GEN.	des guten Mannes	der guten Frau	des guten Kindes	der guten Freunde

This represents the entirety of the Modern Standard German case system as relates to the definite article (*der*, *die*, and *das*) and all but a small class of nouns (for more information see the *Handbuch zur deutschen Grammatik* or Durrell 2011).

4.2 – Background for Contrastive Purposes: Eisenkappel German

The fieldwork portion of the research consisted of one-on-one interviews conducted in the town of Bad Eisenkappel, part of the community of Eisenkappel-Vellach, between 2013 and 2015. Located in the far south of the Austrian province of Carinthia (cf. § 1.2.1.3), and only 15 kilometers from the present-day border with the Republic of Slovenia (cf. § 1.2.1), Eisenkappel (as it is known locally) is the southernmost community in Austria. This also means that Eisenkappel serves as a kind of outpost of Austrian-ness, as well as of the German language itself (Barker 1984: 18), despite its bilingual status. It is precisely this two-fold nature of Eisenkappel which makes it a particularly interesting site for fieldwork.

4.2.1 – Eisenkappel German in the Larger Bavarian Context

Like other Carinthian dialects (and most Austrian dialects in general), the German spoken in Eisenkappel is a variant of Bavarian. The term "Bavarian" has often been misunderstood, and this is largely due to the fact that things relating to the Free State of Bavaria, located in Germany, are naturally referred to as "Bavarian," though in the context of the Bavarian dialect the word "Bavarian" is used independently of its association with political entities in Germany.

The German makes this distinction more clearly, albeit only in the written language, where *bairisch* is a linguistic term relating to the larger dialect area, and *bayerisch* is a political term relating to the *Freistaat Bayern*, the latter having acquired its spelling only in the early 19th century to make it appear more Greek (Schmid 2012, Zehetner 1998: 6). The term *bairisch* refers to a dialect of Upper German (or *Oberdeutsch*), which is itself a grouping of High German dialects (as distinct from Low German, cf. § 4.1.1 above) spoken in southern Germany, Austria, Liechtenstein, and German-speaking parts of Switzerland (Niebaum & Macha 1999: 193). *Bairisch* makes up roughly the eastern half of Upper German (*Ostoberdeutsch*), corresponding geographically to the bulk of the German state of Bavaria (*Bayern*) and most of Austria, extending even down into South Tirol, Italy (Schmid 2012: 14). Thus, a phrase that succinctly both describes and dispenses with this ambiguity, though only in German, is: "Nicht alle Bayern sprechen Bairisch. Und Bairisch spricht man nicht nur in Bayern, sondern auch in Österreich und Südtirol"[23] (Zehetner 1998: 6). For the purposes of this dissertation, then, "Bavarian" will refer exclusively to *bairisch/Bairisch*, the linguistic grouping, unless explicitly stated otherwise. As Ludwig Zehenter put it so well, "Bairisch *ist* Deutsch!"[24] (Zehetner 1998: 8, emphasis in original). What people traditionally call German is by and large this standardized language that corresponds more to written German than it does to the spoken German of any particular area. By contrast, spoken forms that deviate from this written norm usually correspond to dialects and tend to be restricted geographically and socially. The distinction between the two is therefore made "according to linguistic and sociological criteria…(historical development of the language, users of the language, situational use, and communicative and geographical range)" (Zehetner

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[23] 'Not all Bavarians speak Bavarian. And Bavarian is not only spoken in Bavaria, but also in Austria and South Tirol.'
[24] 'Bavarian *is* German!'

1998: 8). Although this dissertation will compare and contrast Modern Standard German with Bavarian (and specifically with *Eisenkapplerisch*, a subdialect of *Kärntnerisch*, itself a dialect of *Südbairisch*, or 'Southern Bavarian,' which will be discussed below in § 4.2.1.1), it is not to imply that Bavarian is not German. The aim is merely to highlight variations in the dialects and show how they compare to the standard language.

4.2.1.1 – Eisenkappel German More Narrowly Defined

Bavarian dialects in general are characterized by the retention of historical diphthongs that monophthongized in the standard language; a tendency to unround front-rounded vowels; and a fortis/lenis distinction as opposed to a voiceless/voiced distinction in its stops, to name only a few (Hornung & Roitinger 2000: 11–19, Muth 1800: 18). In lieu of a detailed outline of Bavarian hallmarks, however, this study will focus on traits specific to Eisenkappel German, even as they do relate more generally to the greater Bavarian dialect group.

As noted above in § 4.2.1, Eisenkappel German is a subdialect of *Kärntnerisch*, which belongs to the *Südbairisch* ('Southern Bavarian') group of dialects (Hornung & Roitinger 2000: 15). *Kärnterisch* is distinguished from *Südbairisch* as well, however. For example, the typical reflex of Modern Standard German (MSG) *ei* is *o̜a* in *Südbairisch*, but simply long *ā* in *Kärntnerisch*, cf. *Südbairisch ho̜as* (MSG *heiß* 'hot'), *Schto̜an* (MSG *Stein* 'stone'), and *pro̜at* (MSG *breit* 'broad') with *Kärntnerisch hās*, *Schtān*, and *prāt* (Hornung & Roitinger 2000: 103). And even *Kärntnerisch* can be further subdivided into *Oberkärntnerisch* and *Unterkärntnerisch*, the latter of which contains *Eisenkapplerisch*. Here, there is a distinction between reflexes of the historical diphthong *uo*, which is simply *u* in MSG, with *Unterkärntnerisch* featuring the diphthong *uə* and *Oberkärntnerisch* featuring *ua*, cf. *Oberkärntnerisch Muatɐ* (MSG *Mutter* 'mother') and *Pruadɐ* (MSG *Bruder* 'brother') with *Unterkärntnerisch Muətɐ* and *Pruədɐ* (Hornung & Roitinger 2000: 105). The following sections will discuss these differences in more detail. § 4.2.2 addresses the phonology of Eisenkappel German and § 4.2.3 its morphology and syntax.

This is by no means an exhaustive treatment of the phonological, morphological, and syntactic differences between Modern Standard German and Eisenkappel German, but it is sufficient for the purpose of providing background for the analysis laid out in § 4.3 and § 4.4. It should also be noted that the degree to which these hallmarks are found consistently in an individual's speech depends in large part on the circumstances and setting in which that individual is speaking, who their interlocutor is, and how strongly the individual is influenced by that individual's dialect.

4.2.2 – Phonology of Eisenkappel German (EG)

Perhaps the most striking differences between Modern Standard German and Eisenkappel German lie in pronunciation. § 4.2.2.1 presents the phonemic inventory for Eisenkappel German (Muhr 2007: 41–44), and § 4.2.2.2 investigates some of the defining features of the sounds of this dialect.

4.2.2.1 – Phonemic Inventory for Eisenkappel German

Table 4.6 – Consonants

		Labial	Dental	Alveolar	Palato-alveolar	Velar	Uvular	Glottal
Stops	fortis	p	t			k		ʔ
	lenis	b	d			g		
Affricates	fortis	pf		ts	tʃ			
	lenis				dʒ			
Fricatives — sibilant	fortis		s		ʃ			
	lenis		ş		ʒ			
Fricatives — non-sibilant	fortis	f				x		h
	lenis	v						
Nasals		m		n		ŋ		
Lateral				l				
Trill/Tap							r	
Glide					j			

(Muhr 2007: 44)

Table 4.7 – Vowels

	Front				Central		Back	
	Unrounded		Rounded		Unrounded		Rounded	
	Long	Short	Long	Short	Long	Short	Long	Short
Close	iː	ɪ	yː	ʏ			uː	ʊ
Close-Mid	eː		(øː)			ə	oː	
Open-Mid	ɛː	ɛ		(œ)		ɐ		ɔ
Open					aː	a		

(Muhr 2007: 41–42)

Table 4.8 – Diphthongs

	Ending Point	
	Front	Back
Close	iə	uə
Open-Mid	ɔi	
Open	ai	aʊ

(Muhr 2007: 43)

4.2.2.2 – Relevant Features of Eisenkappel German Phonology

This section examines how the phonology of Eisenkappel German differs from Modern Standard German, using examples from interviews with Eisenkappler (cf. § 4.3). § 4.2.2.2.1 addresses specifics of the fortis/lenis distinction; § 4.2.2.2.2 presents the loss of the voiceless palato-alveolar fricative [ç] and the loss of the word-final voiceless velar fricative [x]; § 4.2.2.2.3 discusses rounding and raising; § 4.2.2.2.4 examines the diphthongs that remain in Eisenkappel German but were monophthongized in Modern Standard German; § 4.2.2.2.5 investigates the status of Eisenkappel German reflexes of Modern Standard German diphthongs; and § 4.2.2.2.6 turns to the unrounding of Modern Standard German front rounded vowels.

4.2.2.2.1 – Fortis/Lenis

The notion of a fortis/lenis distinction was touched upon briefly above (cf. § 4.2.1.1), but it is worth investigating further here. Modern Standard German pairs voiceless and voiced stops as follows:

[p] / [b]

[t] / [d]

[k] / [g]

The corresponding pairs in Eisenkappel German, as in other Bavarian dialects, are differentiated by intensity of articulation rather than by voicing:

[pʼ] / [p]

[tʼ] / [t]

[kʼ] / [k]

The fortis stops [pʹ tʹ kʹ] are tense or strong compared to the lenis stops [p t k], which are lax or weak. The difference is often realized at the phonetic level in terms of aspiration, with the fortis stops aspirated and the lenis stops unaspirated. This leaves little need for realizations of [b d g] at the phonetic level, as the work of those voiced stops is performed by the fortis stops and the class of voiced stops themselves is largely superfluous. This is well illustrated in the realization of certain Modern Standard German voiced stops in Eisenkappel German, as can be seen in the words for 'brother,' DAT SG 'you,' and 'exactly,' respectively:

MSG *Bruder* [bruːdɐ]

EG *Pruader* [pʹruədɐ]

MSG *dir* [diɐ]

EG *tia* [tʹiɐ]

MSG *genau* [gɛnaʊ]

EG *k'nau* [kʹn̩aʊ]

The fortis/lenis distinction occasionally leads to confusion in spelling, since there is no official written form for German dialects, as in the case of the child who asked her mother, *Mama, schreibt man "Brot" mit hartem oder mit weichem "P"?*[25]

4.2.2.2.2 – Fricative Loss

A further difference between Modern Standard German consonants and those of Eisenkappel German is found in the palato-alveolar and velar fricatives. The voiceless palato-alveolar fricative [ç] found in Modern Standard German is completely absent in Eisenkappel German, as demonstrated by the pronunciation of the word *ich* ('I'):

MSG *ich* [ɪç]

EG *i* [ɪ] or [iː]

The velar fricative [x] is retained word-medially but lost word-finally, as seen in the words *machen* ('to make/do') and *auch* ('also'):

---

[25] 'Mama, do you write "bread" with a hard or a soft "p"?'

MSG *machen* [maxən] / [maxn̩]

EG *mochen* [mɔxn̩] *

MSG *auch* [aʊx]

EG *a* [aː]*

4.2.2.2.3 – Rounding and Raising

As can be seen above in § 4.2.2.2.2, Eisenkappel German also regularly raises and rounds Modern Standard German [a] to [ɔ]. This is evident not only in the above example, but also in that of the word *kann* ('I/he/she/it can'):

MSG *kann* [kan]

EG *konn* [kɔn]

4.2.2.2.4 – Lingering Diphthongs of Eisenkappel German

As noted above (cf. § 4.2.1.1), Eisenkappel German retains the historical diphthongs of High German that became monophthongized in the historical development of Modern Standard German (cf. § 4.1.2.2.2). Given the unrounding of front rounded vowels that is typical of Eisenkappel German (cf. § 4.2.2.2.6 below), the retention of [yə] is obscured. However, there is ample evidence of the retention of the other two diphthongs, [uə] and [iə], as in the following examples with the words *Bruder* and *lieb* ('dear'):

MSG *Bruder* [bruːdɐ]

EG *Pruader* [pʼruədɐ]

MSG *lieb* [liːp]

EG *liap* [liəp]

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* The raising and rounding in EG *mochen* and the monophthongization in EG *a* are discussed below (cf. § 4.2.2.2.3 and § 4.2.2.2.5, respectively).

4.2.2.2.5 – Eisenkappel German reflexes of Modern Standard German Diphthongs

Eisenkappel German shows monophthongization of two Modern Standard German diphthongs, as well as a lowering and unrounding of a third. As discussed above (cf. § 4.1.2.2.2), three diphthongs arose historically in High German which remain in Modern Standard German: [aʊ] [ai] and [ɔi]. Eisenkappel German monophthongizes the first two of these diphthongs and lowers and unrounds the third:

MSG [aʊ] > EG [aː]

MSG [ai] > EG [aː]

MSG [ɔi] > EG [ai]

This can be seen in the words *glaubt* ('he/she/it believes'), *meint* ('he/she/it thinks'), and *Freund* ('friend'):

MSG *glaubt* [glaʊpt]

EG *glapt* [glaːpt]

MSG *meint* [maint]

EG *mant* [mant]

MSG *Freund* [frɔint]

EG *Fraint* [fraint]

4.2.2.2.6 – Unrounding of Modern Standard German Front Rounded Vowels

Eisenkappel German regularly unrounds the Modern Standard German front rounded vowels:

MSG [yː] > EG [iː]
MSG [ʏ] > EG [ɪ]

MSG [øː] > EG [eː]
MSG [œ] > EG [ɛ]

The two most common examples that were recorded in interviews came in the words *Schüler* ('grade-schooler') and *schön* ('beautiful'):

MSG *Schüler* [ʃyːlɐ]

EG *Schiler* [ʃiːlɐ]

MSG *schön* [ʃøːn]

EG *schen* [ʃeːn]

This is not to say that front rounded vowels do not exist in Eisenkappel German. Both high front rounded vowels are can be heard in dialect speech in Eisenkappel, albeit in different environments than those in which they are found in Modern Standard German. Examples are seen in the words *viel* ('much') and *willst* ('sɢ you want')

MSG *viel* [fiːl]

EG *vül* [fyːl]

MSG *willst* [vɪlst]

EG *wüllst* [vʏlst]

In both cases this appears to be a rounding of the high front vowel due to regressive assimilation with the the following [l]. A deeper investigation into this rounding is, however, beyond the scope of the current study.

4.2.3 – Morphology and Syntax of Eisenkappel German

Much as there are phonological differences between Modern Standard German and Eisenkappel German, there are also morphological and syntactic departures from the standard that can be found in the dialect of Eisenkappel. § 4.2.3.1 discusses the alternative use of the dative plural; substitution of dative for the genitive is addressed in § 4.2.3.2; and a tendency to use the perfect tense over the imperfect comprises § 4.2.3.3.

4.2.3.1 – Dative Plural

As part of the discussion of Modern Standard German case system above (cf. § 4.1.3.1.2), we saw that changes are made to both the definite article and the following noun in the dative plural, but in Eisenkappel German there is often no change:

MSG ɴᴏᴍ *die Freunde* > ᴅᴀᴛ *den Freunden*

EG ɴᴏᴍ *die Frainde* > ᴅᴀᴛ *die Frainde*

This can be seen in the following example in the phrase "with the friends," governed by the preposition *mit* ('with') which takes the dative case:

MSG *mit den Freunden*

EG *mit die Frainde*

It was conceivable that the preposition *mit* does not govern the dative in Eisenkappel German, as it does in Modern Standard German, but rather the accusative. Two failsafe measures were therefore included in the interview prompts employed in the study to test for the use of *mit* (cf. § 4.3, Sentences 14 and 16), confirming that it does take the dative in Eisenkappel German as well.

4.2.3.2 – Use of the Dative Case in Place of the Genitive

Bastian Sick, in his 2004 book *Der Dativ ist dem Genetiv sein Tod* (now in its sixth volume) famously lamented the death of the genitive case at the hands of the dative. It is thus no anomaly of Eisenkappel German, or even of Bavarian in general, that the dative is employed in favor of the genitive case; however, this is nevertheless a departure from the standard and worth briefly discussing. In the case of the current study, one example shows this clearly, as can be seen in the breakdown of the Modern Standard German phrase when compared with the Eisenkappel German variant:

MSG *mit   dem Auto seiner   Schwester*

    with the   car   his. ɢᴇɴ   sister

E 'with his sister's car'

EG *mit'm   Auto von seiner Schwester*

   with the   car   of   his. ᴅᴀᴛ sister

E 'with his sister's car'

4.2.3.3 – Preference for the Perfect Tense over the Imperfect

The intricacies of German verb conjugations and temporal systems have not been discussed, nor is a lengthy account of them necessary in order to understand the principle at work in the Eisenkappel German verb. Modern Standard German employs two ways of forming the past tense of a verb: the analytic perfect tense and the synthetic imperfect tense. The perfect uses the past participle of the verb being rendered in the past tense, along with a finite form of a helping

verb that corresponds to the subject of the sentence in person and number. The imperfect uses only the verb itself and is primarily used in literary language, though it is frequently used with a number of common verbs as well, especially the modal verbs and *haben* ('to have') and *sein* ('to be'), the latter two being also used as the aforementioned helping verbs.

The following example demonstrates the preference for the perfect, even when the verb in question is a modal verb:

MSG *Die Schüler   durften das alleine machen*.

    The grade-schoolers might   that alone   do

E 'The grade-schoolers were allowed to do that by themselves.'

EG *Die Schiler   hob'm des allan mochn dirfn*.

    The grade-schoolers have   that alone do   may

E 'The grade-schoolers were allowed to do that by themselves.'

It should be noted that the form *dirfn* in the above example is the infinitive form, not the past participle form that one might expect from the perfect tense. This is not, however, a departure from Modern Standard German, as the infinitive *dürfen* would be used in the standard form of this sentence as well if the perfect tense were retained. This displays an interesting facet of German grammar, but one that is quite irrelevant to the current study.

4.3 – The Interview Process as it Relates to the Data

§ 4.3.1 lists the 20 interview sentences and details the method used in choosing them, and § 4.3.2 highlights the way in which the interview process was altered to accommodate the change in project scope.

4.3.1 – Interview Sentences

The list of 20 interview sentences in the original Modern Standard German[*] is provided once more in Table 4.9 for convenience and ease of consultation. Consultant responses to each of these sentences are provided in § 4.4.1 below.

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[*] The English version may be found in Appendix D

Table 4.9 – Interview Sentences in Modern Standard German

1.	Ich kann nichts machen.
2.	Ist dir kalt?
3.	Sag mir, warum ich das nicht kann.
4.	Komm doch her.
5.	Sie haben sehr viel Spaß mit den Freunden gehabt.
6.	Das geht mir voll auf die Nerven!
7.	Was meinst du, was los ist?
8.	Ich bin durch die Stadt zur Arbeit gefahren.
9.	Die Schüler durften das alleine machen.
10.	Es hat lange gedauert, die Arbeit fertig zu machen.
11.	Wenn er kommt, zahle ich ihm mit Bargeld.
12.	Der Mann, der da kocht, ist mein Bruder.
13.	Das ist nicht nötig.
14.	Wo ist er mit dem Auto seiner Schwester hingefahren?
15.	Ich habe ihn gefragt, ob sie verheiraten sind.
16.	Kann ich kurz mit dir sprechen?
17.	Das reicht jetzt!
18.	Mir scheint's, als ob er nicht weiß, was er tun soll.
19.	Ich weiß nicht genau, warum sie mit ihren Freundinnen nach Hause gekommen ist.
20.	Wenn du willst, kann ich dir auch was Schönes machen.

<u>4.3.1.1</u> – Composing the 20 Sentences

As may be surmised, these 20 sentences were not chosen at random for use in this study. Rather, I approached the composition of these sentences with the intention of crafting prompts that would elicit particular details about the speaker's dialect. The sentences begin as simple phrases that aim to test for one or two dialectal features, but they grow in complexity, finally displaying multiple clauses so that the consultants will be less likely to parrot responses and instead will be forced to think about how to structure the sentence, distracting them from concentrating on their pronunciation and specific grammatical constructions. This will be elucidated in detail below (cf. § 4.4.2 and § 4.5 for general and specific analysis, respectively).

<u>4.3.2</u> – Adaptations in the Interview Process

As the project evolved and shifted from an investigation of substrate language influence in a contact situation to an inquiry into bilingualism and its effects on German language learning, so too did the staging of my interview questions. Rather than asking consultants to speak in dialect and render the 20 sentences they were to hear in Eisenkappel German, I began by asking them to speak naturally and to alter the sentences to make them closer to what they would more naturally say when conversing with a local in German. The effect of this minor change was immediately noticeable. Monolingual speakers no longer balked initially and asked for a second or third explanation but simply listened to the given sentences and repeated them in dialect. Bilinguals often appeared confused at first but then repeated the sentences in dialect as well.

On two occasions, those being the interviews with **Consultant G** and **Consultant J**, the consultants acted contrary to instructions, yielding data that were somewhat dissimilar to that of the other consultants and, in the case of **Consultant J**, departed sharply from the target dialect. **Consultant G** was determined to display his knowledge of local dialects and insisted on first rendering each sentence into Slovene, only afterward translating back into Eisenkappel German. He also, in his zeal to discuss his dialects, neglected to give full responses to a few of the sentence prompts, which can be seen in the tables below.

Consultant J was the only consultant to read the sentence prompts from the page, rather than listening to me read them. He was very insistent on reading them himself, and the interview continued in this unorthodox manner. My initial intention was to leave his data out of the study, especially when after his first two responses it became clear that he was merely reading them in Modern Standard German. I urged him to render the sentences naturally, the way that he would speak with a friend or family member, but I was quickly rebuffed, and he continued. This nevertheless provided a very interesting result. Far from being a wasted interview, I soon realized that his insistence on providing Modern Standard German responses gave me potential insight into how much his dialect influenced his ability to speak the standard variety. Although no conclusions can be drawn from a single source for the data, it opened up a new avenue of inquiry which I hope to pursue, and which I shall address in the conclusion.

It should also be noted that there are two missing responses in **Consultant I**'s data as well. It was not until I transcribed his file later that I realized that the recordings of these two responses were unintelligible. **Consultant I**'s responses at times diverged from a strict rendering from Modern Standard German to Eisenkappel German, as will be obvious in the tables below, but as

the precise wording of the sentences was of less consequence than the elicitation of natural speech, this did not interfere with the study in any significant way.

Far from detracting from the goals of the project, I feel that these three diversions in many ways provided glimpses into a local understanding of what it means to speak a dialect in Eisenkappel, and the salient points of each of these cases will be discussed in turn below.

4.4 – Presentation of the Data

The data are presented in § 4.4 and are divided into tables that represent an amalgamation of the results of the consultant interviews arranged by each of the 20 sentences. § 4.4.1 explains the arrangement of the tables, and § 4.4.2 provides the tables themselves, each followed by a comment on particularly striking aspects of the data.

4.4.1 – Arrangement of the Charts

Each of the following 20 tables corresponds to one of the sentences provided in the interview (cf. § 4.3.1.1 or Appendix D for a complete list of the questions). The first entry gives the sentence as it was provided to the consultant, the sentence is then glossed and translated, and finally comes the table that provides all ten consultant responses, listed A–J for the corresponding consultants. Their respective profiles may be found in Tables 3.2 and 3.3, as well as in Appendix C, and a brief sketch is also given along with the table of individual consultant responses in Appendix E.

The tables also identify each consultant as being bilingual or monolingual. In the second column, bilinguals are marked "Both" to indicate that they were raised speaking both a dialect of Slovene and German (predominately in school), and monolinguals are marked "German" to show that they were raised speaking a dialect of German only. Finally, **Consultant C** is marked "Both*" to indicate that he was raised speaking Slovene for the first few years of his life but was forced to speak only German after the Nazi annexation of Austria (cf. § 3.3.2.1.1.1).

The responses are given not using IPA but rather in ther orthography commonly used for transcribing dialect speech. As this dissertation is not singularly focused on phonetic realizations of dialect speech, full IPA representation seemed excessive; however, where the distinction between Modern Standard German and Eisenkappel German involves a difference in pronunciation, IPA is used in the analysis to represent the specific sounds in question so that a precise account can be made of how the two forms diverge.

The arrangement of these tables allows the reader to observe how closely the responses of bilingual and monolingual speakers align. Whereas no single speaker produced responses that are entirely in Eisenkappel German (due, at least to some extent, to the standard pronunciation of their interviewer and the prompts themselves being written in Modern Standard German, though I suspect individual variation plays a role as well), there were also no speakers who parroted the prompts exactly or consistently produced Modern Standard German responses.

The pronunciation and phrasing of the sentences varied not only from prompt to prompt, but also from consultant to consultant, and sometimes standard and dialectal variants of the same feature appeared within a single response (cf. **Consultant A** in Sentence 9 below). Even in the case in which a desire to mimic Modern Standard German outright led to responses that significantly departed from Eisenkappel German (that of **Consultant J**), those responses nevertheless showed

distinct Eisenkappel German hallmarks. The fluctuation between Modern Standard German and Eisenkappel German features thus is found across the board, and any biasing that occurred through the use of the prompts or from my own accent as the interviewer was spread evenly among monolingual and bilingual speakers alike, as can be observed in the data below.

Finally, it is worth pointing out that phonological features showed the highest degree of fluctuation in the study. Significant variation occurred in pronunciation from consultant to consultant, as well as among an individual consultant's own responses over the course of the interview, and lexical departures from the prompts were also common. However, far less variation was observed among the syntactic choices made by the consultants. This is seen most clearly in the fact that all but one consultant (excluding **Consultant J**) revised sentences that violated deep syntactic constraints in Eisenkappel German so that they were more in keeping with the dialect (cf. **Consultant C** in Sentence 14 and **Consultant I** in Sentence 9).

4.4.2 – Responses to Sentences in Chart Form

Sentence 1

Ich kann nichts machen.

I   can   nothing   do

'I cannot do anything (about it).'

A	Both	I konn nix mochn
B	Both	I konn nix mochn
C	Both*	I konn nix mochn
D	German	I konn nix mochn
E	German	I konn nix mochn
F	German	Isch konn nix mochn
G	Both	Konn ja nix mochn
H	Both	Konn jo nix mochn
I	German	Konn ma nix mochn
J	German	I konn nix mochn

Perhaps the most interesting point worth noting in this first example sentence, other than the near uniformity of the responses, is **Consultant F**'s use of *isch* as a variant of Modern Standard German *ich*, rendered as *i* by all other respondents who used this word, a form which is consistent with Bavarian dialects in general. The use of *isch* is highly irregular in the community of Eisenkappel, and as **Consultant F** confines herself to the use of *i* in all other responses, I have chosen to regard this as an aberration, arising perhaps from an unconscious attempt to imitate a pronunciation that is closer to the standard one which she had just heard. This was also the first word spoken in response to the first prompt, which thus makes it more likely that this was simply a mistake.

Sentence 2

Ist dir   kalt?

Is   you   cold

'Are you cold?'

A	Both	Is ta kolt?
B	Both	Is dia kolt?
C	Both*	Is ta kolt?
D	German	Is dia kolt?
E	German	Is ta kolt?
F	German	Is tia kolt?
G	Both	Is tia kolt?
H	Both	Is ta kolt?
I	German	Is ta kolt?
J	German	Ist da kolt?

Here again, one of the most interesting features of this result is the near uniformity among the consultants' responses. It is worth pointing out, however, that it is at this point in the interview that **Consultant J** had taken the page with the 20 sentences into his own hands, and this is presumably why his response diverges the most from the rest.

Sentence 3

Sag mir, warum ich das   nicht kann.

Tell me   why   I   that   not   can

Tell me why I cannot (do) that.

A	Both	Sog ma, warum i des nit konn.
B	Both	Sog mia, worum i dos nit konn.
C	Both*	Sog mia, warum i dos nit konn.
D	German	Sog mia, warum i des nit konn.
E	German	Sog mia worum i des nit konn.
F	German	Sog mia, worum konn i dos nit?
G	Both	Sag mia, worum i dos nit konn.
H	Both	Sog mia warum i des nit konn.
I	German	Worum konn i dos denn nit?
J	German	....Sag mir, warum ich das nicht kann.

It is with Sentence 3 that we first encounter **Consultant I**'s playfulness with the input he is receiving, as he turns the statement into a question. I note, though, that **Consultant F**'s response is also phrased as a question, albeit one that retains all of the original elements of the sentence. **Consultant J**'s hesitation yields one of the only two responses that retain Modern Standard German *sag* as opposed to the expected variation of Eisenkappel German *sog*. This retention of the Modern Standard German vowel [ɑ:] over the local dialectal form [ɔ] occurs only in **Consultant J**'s response, and although it appears at first glance to merely replicate the standard variety, he betrays his dialectal predilections with a voiceless initial <s> [s], rather than its voiced counterpart [z] which appears in initial position in Modern Standard German.

Sentence 4

Komm doch her.

Come   EMPH   thence.

'Come here.'

A	Both	Kumm her.
B	Both	Kumm her.
C	Both*	Kumm her.
D	German	Kumm her.
E	German	Kumm le her.
F	German	Kumm her.
G	Both	Kumm her.
H	Both	Kumm her.
I	German	Geh kumm her.
J	German	Kumm doch her.

This sentence was constructed for the specific purpose of eliciting the emphatic particle *le* which can be found in Eisenkappel German and often replaces Modern Standard German *doch*. It appears to be a variant of the Slovene particle *le*, which has a similar meaning in this context. Unfortunately, only one consultant, **Consultant E**, produced this, but it is interesting to note that he is a monolingual. Below, in Sentence 11, the particle appears one more time, in this instance from **Consultant I**, also a monolingual.

Sentence 5

Sie   haben sehr viel   Spaß mit den Freunden gehabt.

They   have   very much fun   with the friends   had

'They had a lot of fun with their friends.'

A	Both	Die hot vül Spaß k'hopt mit die Weber.
B	Both	Sie hat viel Spaß mit den Freunden k'hopt.
C	Both*	I hob sehr vül Spaß mit die Freunden k'hopt.
D	German	Tsi hob'm vil Spaß mit'n Freundinnen k'hopt.
E	German	I hob Gaude mit die Fraind'n k'opt.
F	German	Heb mau Gaude k'hopt mit unser'n Fraind'n.
G	Both	
H	Both	Sie hob'm vül Spaß mit die Frainde k'hobt.
I	German	Wos glapst de, wos wir vun Gaude k'hopt!
J	German	Wir haben sehr viel Spaß mit den Freunden ge'abt.

This is the first sentence to show considerable lexical variation, with the dialectal *Gaude* standing in occasionally for Modern Standard German *Spaß*. Additionally, most consultants reanalyzed the grammar of this sentence, transforming it from a statement in the third person plural to a statement in the third person singular or the first person singular or plural. Only two consultants provided responses that retained the original person and number. This is also the first of four sentences for which **Consultant G** had no response.

Sentence 6

Das geht mir voll   auf die Nerven!

That goes me completely on the nerves

'That really annoys me!'

A	Both	Des geht ma auf die Keks.
B	Both	Des nervt mi.
C	Both*	Dus geht mia voll af die Nerven.
D	German	Des geht mia voll af die Nerven.
E	German	S'geht mia af die Nerven.
F	German	Es geht mia auf die Nerven.
G	Both	Des geht mia af die Nerven.
H	Both	Mia geht mau auf'm Tsäk.
I	German	Des geht mir af'n Wecker, Madonna!
J	German	Das geht ma vull af die Nerv'n.

This sentence also shows some lexical variation, with *Keks*, *Tsäk*, and *Wecker* being used in place of *Nerven*. *Tsäk*, which is derived from *Sack* ('sack'), appears to be a particularly colorful variant, especially when accompanied by **Consultant H**'s roguish laughter. This appears to be less due to dialect, however, and more to slang, as these variants are widespread in the German-speaking area.

Sentence 7

Was meinst du, was los ist?

What think you what loose is

'What do you think is wrong?'

A	Both	Wus is denn los?
B	Both	Wos manste, wos los is?
C	Both*	Wos manst du, wos los is?
D	German	Wos manst, wos los is?
E	German	Wos manstu, wos los is?
F	German	Wus glapst, wos is'n los?
G	Both	Wos glaupstu, wos is los?
H	Both	Wos mahnst'n, wos los is?
I	German	Wos manste, Wos los is?
J	German	Was meinst du, was los ist?

Again, there is lexical variety in the responses provided, with forms of the verb *glauben* ('think/believe') replacing the prompted *meinen*. Although the expected dialectal monophthongization to [a:] of the diphthong [ai] in the Modern Standard German pronunciation of *meinen* was one of the reasons for choosing the wording of this sentence, this monophthong is in evidence from these consultants in many other environments; thus the replacement of this lexical item by other which do not contain this vowel is of no great loss to the study.

Sentence 8

Ich bin durch die Stadt zur Arbeit gefahren.

I   am through the city   to   work   driven

'I drove through the city to work.'

A	Both	Bin duach die Stodt zur Orbeit k'foan.
B	Both	I bin duach die Stodt zur Orbeit k'fahrn.
C	Both*	I bin duach die Stodt zur Orbeit k'forn.
D	German	I pin duach die Stodt zua Orbeit k'forn.
E	German	I pin duach die Stodt zur Obeit k'forn.
F	German	I pin duach die Stodt zu Orbeit k'foan.
G	Both	Pin iber die Brucken zum Orbeiten k'forn.
H	Both	I pin duach die Stodt zur Orbeit k'forn.
I	German	I pin duach die Stodt zur Orbat k'forn.
J	German	Ich bin dirch die Stadt zur Arbeit gefahn.

It is precisely the monophthongization mentioned under Sentence 7 above which is at issue here in Sentence 8, this time with the word *Arbeit*. Here, though, although monophthongization was expected, we find retention of the diphthong in all but one case, that of **Consultant I**. Note that in Sentence 10 we find this precise pattern repeated, with only **Consultant I** providing the expected monophthong and for the exact same target word: *Arbeit*! We also see a confusion in the response of **Consultant G**, likely a result of his translation process through Slovene and back into German, although it is possible that he got lost in his response and simply fell back on his own daily routine.

Sentence 9

Die Schüler   durften das alleine machen.

The grade-schoolers   might   that alone   do

'The grade-schoolers were allowed to do that by themselves.'

A	Both	De Schüler hobm des allan mochn dirfn.
B	Both	Die Schiler hobm des allan mochn dirfn.
C	Both*	Die Schüler hobn dos allan mochn dürfen.
D	German	Die Schüler hobm des allane k'mochn dürfn.
E	German	De Schiler hom des allan mochn dirfn.
F	German	Die Schüler hobn dos allan mochn dürfn.
G	Both	Die Schüler hobn des selber mochn dirfen
H	Both	Die Schiler hobm des allan mochn dirfn.
I	German	Diese Popala müssen ols selber mochn.
J	German	Die Schüler durften das alleine machen.

This sentence explicitly tested for the Eisenkappler tendency to avoid the use of imperfect tense, especially with regard to modal verbs. With some variation in execution, eight of the ten consultants used the perfect tense to render this construction. **Consultant I** avoided the necessity of making any alterations by providing a response in the present tense, and as **Consultant J** was reading from the Modern Standard German original, it cannot be surprising that his response reflects the syntax of the original prompt. This sentence also tested the unrounding of front rounded [y:] in *Schüler* to [i:]. Here, the monophthongization of [ai] > [a:] in *alleine* is fully attested, with **Consultant J** providing the only response that preserved the diphthong, although it is worth noting that **Consultants G** and **I** chose to replace this word with *selber* ('themselves').

Sentence 10

Es hat lange gedauert, die Arbeit fertig zu machen.

It   has long   lasted   the work   ready to make

'It took a long time to finish the work.'

A	Both	S'hut ewik k'dauert, dass ma fertik wurden k'sakt.
B	Both	Es hot long k'dauert, des mol fertik z'machn.
C	Both*	Es hot long kedauert, bis die Orbeit fertik woar.
D	German	Es hot long gedauert, die Orbeit fertik zu mochn.
E	German	S'hot long gedauert, die Obeit fertik z'mochn.
F	German	S'hat long gedauert, die Orbeit fertik ze mochn.
G	Both	
H	Both	S'hot long gedauert, bis sie fertik wua.
I	German	Was hot es long gedauert mit de Orbat.
J	German	Es hat lange gedauert, die Arbeit fertik zu machen.

The same lack of monophthongization in the word *Arbeit* that was seen in Sentence 8 above is here seen also. Only **Consultant I** produced a monophthong in this word; indeed he did both times. There are some other instances of lack of monophthongization that will be discussed in more detail in § 4.4 below.

Sentence 11

Wenn er kommt, zahle ich ihm mit Bargeld.

When he comes   pay   I   him   with cash

'When he comes, I will pay him in cash.'

A	Both	Wenn a kumt, zoh i Cash.
B	Both	Wenn er kumt, zol ihm Cash.
C	Both*	Wenn er kumt, zol ich mit Boargeld.
D	German	Wenn a kumt zol i mit Bargold.
E	German	Wenn er kummt, zohl i mit Boageld.
F	German	Wenn a kumt, da zol ihm Boa.
G	Both	
H	Both	Wenn er kumt, wird ihm Bar bezolt.
I	German	Wenn er le kumt, tsoll er, krigt er san Güld un past.
J	German	Wenn a kummt, zahl ich ihm mit Bargeld.

The use of *Cash* as a variant of *Bargeld* does not, I believe, occur randomly. **Consultants A** and **B** were near enough to one another during the first interview as to potentially prejudice the second interview with respect to lexical choice, though it does not appear to have had a particularly strong effect beyond the use of this word. That the two consultants were also friends who may share a preferred slang cannot, of course, be overlooked as an explanation; however, I feel that this choice of word is most likely due to influence of one on the other during the interview process. As noted above under Sentence 4, this is also the second (and final) time that the Eisenkappel German variant of the particle *le* appears, on this occasion from **Consultant I**.

Sentence 12

Der Mann, der da   kocht, ist mein Bruder.

The   man   who there cooks is   my   brother

'The man who is cooking is my brother.'

A	Both	Da Koch is mei Bruader.
B	Both	Der Koch is ma Proader.
C	Both*	Der Mon, der ba uns kocht is mei Bruader.
D	German	Der Monn, der doa kucht, des is mei Bruader.
E	German	Dea Mon, dea da kucht, is mei Pruader.
F	German	Der Mon, der da kucht, des is mei Bruader.
G	Both	Da Mensch, der do kucht, is mein Bruader.
H	Both	Der Mon, der doa kucht, dos is mei Bruader.
I	German	Des der Pruader kochen konn, versteh i nit.
J	German	Der Mann, der da kucht, ist mein Pruader.

In this table there is a resurgence of the diphthong [ai] in an environment in which we expect this to be monophthongized to [a]. **Consultant B** is the only consultant to produce the monophthong with this prompt, and it is unfortunate that **Consultant I**, who was the only consultant to produce the monophthong on two previous occasions (cf. Sentences 8 and 10), reformulated the sentence with intended humorous effect and dropped the prompt word *mein*. It happens that *Bruder* was the target lexeme for this sentence, however, and there is other evidence of monophthongization in his speech (cf. Sentence 7).

Sentence 13

Das ist nicht nötig.

That is not   necessary

'That is not necessary.'

A	Both	S'zolt si nit aus.
B	Both	Dus is nit notwendik.
C	Both*	Das is nit notwendik.
D	German	Des is nit notwendik.
E	German	Des is nit notwendik.
F	German	Das is nit notwendik.
G	Both	Dos is nit muas
H	Both	Dus is nit notwendik.
I	German	Des muss nicht tseen.
J	German	Das ist nickt nötik.

Sentence 13 shows nearly universal agreement with regard to the Modern Standard German word *nötig*. Every consultant (with the notable exception of **Consultant J**) substituted the word *notwendig* (albeit with the characteristic Bavarian pronunciation of the final syllable <-ig> as [ɪk] rather than the standard pronunciation of [ɪç]). **Consultant J**, in an attempt to be faithful to the printed word, was the only consultant to retain the use of *nötig*, though this was again produced with a final [ɪk] rather than [ɪç]. That he also pronounces *nicht* as [nɪkt] rather than [nɪçt], the latter being the Modern Standard German pronunciation, is further evidence of the fact that although he can produce this MSG sound (cf. Sentences 3, 8, and 11 above, as well as Sentences 15, 16, and 20 below), it is not natural for him to do so, as it does not exist in his dialect of Eisenkappel German (cf. § 4.2.2.1).

Sentence 14

Wo   ist er mit dem Auto seiner Schwester hingefahren?

Where is he with the   car   his.GEN sister   gone to

 'Where did he go with his sister's car?'

A	Both	Wo is 'n der mit'n Auto f'n a Schweester hin mol, Madonna!
B	Both	Wo is er mit'n Auto vun da Schweester hink'forn?
C	Both*	Wo is er mit'n Auto seiner Schwester hink'foarn.
D	German	Wo is der mit'm Auto von seiner Schwester hink'forn?
E	German	Wo is er mit'n Auto vun seiner Schweester hink'forn?
F	German	Wuhin is a mit'n Auto vun seiner Schwester k'forn.
G	Both	Wo er mit dem Auto vun seiner Schweester…
H	Both	Wo is er mit'n Auto vun der Schweester hink'forn?
I	German	Wohien is er mit'n Auto vun der Schwester hink'foan.
J	German	Wo ist a mit dem Auto seiner Schwester hingefahrn?

The tendency of Bavarian dialects in general (and Eisenkappel German specifically) to avoid the use of the genitive case is in evidence in this example. Eight of the ten consultants preferred a variant of the dative construction with *von* ('of') to the genitive construction *seiner Schwester*. Once more, the responses of **Consultant J** do not represent a true deviation since he was reading the example and was therefore less predisposed to alter the syntax of the sentence. The only surprise here is **Consultant C**, who retained the genitive construction. But because his responses otherwise conform well to those of other consultants in most cases, this may simply be an unconscious decision to maintain faithfulness to the example sentence I read aloud. Also worth noting is another example in which there are no examples of monophthongization, here in the word *seiner*.

Sentence 15

Ich habe ihn gefragt, ob   sie verheiraten sind.

I   have   him asked   whether   they married   are

'I asked him whether they are married.'

A	Both	I heb ihn k'frogt, ob er verheratet is.
B	Both	I hob ihn k'frogt, ob a verheiratet is.
C	Both*	I hob ihm k'frogt, ob a verheiratet is.
D	German	Ich hob ihn k'frogt, ob er verheiratet is.
E	German	I hob sie k'frokt, ob a verheiratet is.
F	German	I hob se k'frokt, ob se verheiratet tsand.
G	Both	
H	Both	I hob ihm k'frogt, ob er verheirat is.
I	German	I hob ihn k'frogt, ob er verheiratet is.
J	German	Ich hab ihn gefragt, ob sie verheiratet tsind.

Most readily apparent in this case is the confusion of pronouns. **Consultants E** and **F** both supplied a variant of *sie* ('her') for *ihn*, and all but two consultants (**Consultants F** and, unsurprisingly, **J**) provided a variant of *er* ('he') for *sie*. Pronunciation by the latter two consultants of affricates in the final word of the sentence is likely due to the fact that the final [t] of *verheiratet* occurs just before the onset of the voiceless fricative [s]. Sentence 15 also reveals some potential case confusion between accusative and dative in the pronouns, as **Consultants C** and **H** both give the dative *ihm* in place of the expected accusative *ihn*. This example also shows near universal retention of the diphthong [ai], which led me to question whether there are other, more common words for both *verheiratet* and *Arbeit* that make adoption of the standard pronunciation here more likely.

Sentence 16

Kann ich kurz   mit dir sprechen?

Can   I   shortly with you speak

'Can I speak with you for a minute?'

A	Both	Konn i kurz mit dia reden?
B	Both	Konn i kurz mit dir reden?
C	Both*	Konn i kurz mit dia reden.
D	German	Konn i kurz mit dia redn?
E	German	Konn i kuats mi da reden?
F	German	Konn i kuats mit dia reden?
G	Both	Konn i kurz mit dir sprehen
H	Both	Konn i di kurz wos frogn?
I	German	
J	German	Kann ich kurz mit...dir sprechen?

Substitution of *reden* for *sprechen* provides another insight into lexical preferences. **Consultant J**'s use of *sprechen* is of no consequence, given that he was reading aloud, but the only other consultant to maintain the use of *sprechen*, **Consultant G**, was also tasking himself with added translation work, which perhaps explains why he used *sprechen* as well. **Consultant H** appears to provide the most obviously natural response, eschewing the question as given and instead asking, *Kann ich dich kurz was fragen?* ('Can I ask you something quickly?').

Sentence 17

Das reicht   jetzt!

That is enough now

'That's enough!'

A	Both	Das is jetz ober genug.
B	Both	Des reicht's.
C	Both*	Dos reicht.
D	German	Jetz is k'nua.
E	German	Jetz is k'nua.
F	German	Jetz is genug.
G	Both	Des reicht jetz
H	Both	Dus reicht.
I	German	Jetz is genug.
J	German	Das reicht jetzt.

Sentence 17 also provides significant lexical variation, with variations on the phrase, *Das ist genug!* ('That is enough!') replacing the prompt. Interestingly, the word *jetzt* is dropped entirely by three out of the five consultants who remain true to the prompt as given, whereas it is retained by all five consultants who alter the phrasing. It appears, therefore, that the phrase, *Jetzt ist genug* is more idiomatic in this context, although without additional corroborating data, I am hesitant to draw any general conclusions from this. One argument in favor of this assertion, however, is that there is again universal retention of the diphthong [ai] in *reicht* among those consultants who used it.

Sentence 18

Mir scheint's, als ob er nicht weiß, was er tun soll.

Me   seems it   as   if   he   not   knows what he do   should

'It seems to me like he doesn't know what he's doing.'

A	Both	I wass nit, wos a duet.
B	Both	Mia kumt vur, dass er nit wass, wos er wüll.
C	Both*	Hi glap, des er nit was, wos er tuan soal.
D	German	Mia schant's, ob er nit wass, wos er tuan soll.
E	German	I glap, er was nit, wus a tuan soall.
F	German	I glap, er was nit, wus er tuan soal.
G	Both	Mia schant's als ob er nit was, wos a tun soll.
H	Both	I glaup, des er nit was, wos er tuan süll.
I	German	Der is deppert.
J	German	Mir scheint's az ob er n- nicht weiß, was er dun sollte.

In this case, the somewhat unwieldy phrasing *mir scheint's* is only retained by two consultants (the response of **Consultant J** being, as expected, lexically faithful to the prompt). The monophthongization of [ai] to [a] returns in this instance, as does the monophthongization of [aʊ] to [a] in *glauben*, as was seen above (cf. Sentence 7). **Consultant I** provides another significant departure from the prompt in this example, by proferring only the brief utterance *Der ist deppert* ('He is stupid').

Sentence 19

Ich weiß nicht genau, warum sie mit ihren Freundinnen nach Hause gekommen ist.

I   know not   exactly why   she with her   friends   to   home come   is

'I'm not sure why she came home with her friends.'

A	Both	I wass nit, warum sie diese Fraindinne mitk'nomm'n hot.
B	Both	I wass nit, worum sie mit den Freundinnen hamk'kumn is.
C	Both*	I was nit genau, warum sie mit ihren Frainden ins Haus k'kum'n is.
D	German	I wass nit genau, warum sie mit ihre Fraindinnen hamk'kommen is.
E	German	I was nit k'nau, worum se mit die Fraindinnen hamk'kommen is.
F	German	I was nit genau, worum sie mit ihren Fraindinnen na hamkommen is.
G	Both	I was nit genau, warum sie mit ihren Freundinnen na Haus k'kommen is.
H	Both	I was nit warum sie mit die Fraind'n na ham k'kum'n is.
I	German	
J	German	I wees nit k'nau...genau, warum sie nicht mit ihre Freundinnen nach Hause gegangen iest.

Sentence 19 was used to test several things at once. It is the longest sentence provided in the test and among the most complex. It was included in the hopes that the consultants would focus more on the underlying meaning of what was involved in the sentence and try to produce something close to what they heard, ideally falling back on the way of speaking that was most natural. This seems to have worked for the most part, yielding among other things the lowering of the diphthong in *Freundinnen* from [ɔi] to [ai] (cf. responses of **Consultants C** and **D** to Sentence 5, in which both retained [ɔi] in the word *Freunden*, as compared with the shift to [ai] in the current sentence). This sentence also provided a check on Sentence 5 in terms of the use of dative plural.

Sentence 20

Wenn du   willst, kann ich dir   auch was   Schönes machen.

If   you   want   can I   you   also   something   nice   make

'If you like, I can make something nice for you, too.'

A	Both	Wenn d'wüllst, konn dia a was Schenes mochn.
B	Both	I konn dia a wos Schenes mochn, wenn du willst.
C	Both*	Wenn du wüllst, konn i dia a was Schönes mochn.
D	German	Wenn du willst, konn i dia a wos Schönes mochen.
E	German	Wenn de wüllst, konn i dia a wos Schenes mochn.
F	German	Wenn du wüllst, konn i di a wos Schenes mochn.
G	Both	Wenn du wüllst, konn i di a wos Schönes mochen.
H	Both	Wenn du wüllst, konn i di a wos Schönes mochn.
I	German	Woll'n Sie's schön, bin ja eenvarstond'n.
J	German	We de wielst, kann ich dir auch...was Schönes...machen.

Finally, Sentence 20 tests primarily for two vowel variations and the loss of final [x]. Two of these are found in the word *auch*, which all consultants barring **Consultant J** pronounced as *a*. This shows both monophthongization of [aʊ] to [a], and the loss of final [x], yielding the Eisenkappel pronunciation [a] instead of Modern Standard German [aʊx]. The second vowel being investigated is the front rounded vowel *schön* [ø:]. This vowel is regularly unrounded in Eisenkappel German, as in general in Bavarian dialects, to [e:]. The distribution among consultants of those who retained the front rounded vowel in this example unfortunately does not predict to any statistically significant degree the presence of front rounded vowels in other environments.

4.4 – Final Analysis of the Data

The preliminary analysis of the data in § 4.3 above already indicates that the argument of this dissertation is valid: namely that speaking Slovene in the home does not negatively impact a child's ability to excel in German and become truly bilingual. Nevertheless, a more thorough examination of the data will help to illustrate this point more fully. The following tables show a breakdown of how each consultant's German compares with the others.

Table 4.10 shows how many times each consultant produced an Eisenkappel German variant of Modern Standard German phonological features. The categories are: fortis/lenis distinction, loss of the voiceless palato-alveolar fricative [ç], loss of the word-final voiceless velar fricative [x], rounding and raising of [a] > [ɔ], lingering High German diphthongs, Eisenkappel German reflexes of Modern Standard German diphthongs, unrounding of front rounded vowels.

Table 4.12 examines lexical variation and shows how often consultants chose a word different from the one given in the prompt. Table 4.13 turns to semantic preference and charts the alternative form for the dative plural, substitution of genitive with the dative, and avoidance of the imperfect. Table 4.13 also notes how many opportunities for deviation from the prompt were given.

Table 4.14 pools the data from Tables 4.10 and 4.11–4.13 to show the number of times each consultant responded using an Eisenkappel German variant. For the sake of clarity and continuity, I have retained the first two columns exactly as they were in § 4.3 above. This maximizes the ease of comparison among consultants, as well as highlighting the distinction between bilingual and monolingual speakers.

Table 4.10 – Preference for Phonological Features of Eisenkappel German

		[p´/ p]	[ç]	x #	[a] > [ɔ]*	Old Diph.	Diph. Changes	~~ROUND~~	Total
A	Both	7	8	1	27	1	5	2	51
B	Both	7	7	1	31	1	6	3	65
C	Both*	7	7	1	33	2	8		58
D	German	8	6	1	30	2	7		54
E	German	10	8	1	32	2	9	3	65
F	German	7	6	1	30	2	8	1	55
G	Both	4	4	1	20	1	3	2	35
H	Both	7	8	1	30	2	7	2	56
I	German	5	5		25	1	5		41
J	German	3	2		3	1	2		11

The table below breaks these numbers down further, providing averages for bilingual and monolingual speakers. As **Consultant G** only produced data for 16 of the 20 sentences, and **Consultant J** read from the page, the averages have also been calculated with these two outliers removed.

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* This shift is seen often in the case of the word *das* ('that'): SHG *das* > EG *dos*. However, it is also common for this word to be pronounced [dɛs] or [dʊs]. As these are also hallmarks of Eisenkappel German, I counted instances of <des> and <dus> in addition to <dos> under this column. The same is true for <wus> as a variant of SHG *was* ('what').

Table 4.11 – Average Deviations

	[p′/ p]	[ç]	x #	[a] > [ɔ]	Old Diph.	Diph. Changes	ROUND	Total
Both	6.4	6.8	1	28.2	1.4	5.8	1.8	51.4
German	6.6	5.4	0.6	24	1.6	6.2	0.8	45.2
Both – **G**	7	7.5	1	30.25	1.2	6.5	1.75	55.2
German – **J**	7.5	6.25	0.75	29.25	1.75	7.25	1	53.75

The difference in these numbers is minimal, with some features showing higher numbers for monolinguals and others showing higher numbers for bilinguals. Given that there are no data for **Consultant I** with respect to two of the 20 sentences and that he at times gave answers that left out words with features targeted for investigation, we might well assume that the monolingual numbers are slightly higher, but even leaving this assumption aside, the phonological evidence is striking: there appears to be no great difference between monolinguals and bilinguals with respect to the tendency to display dialectal features in the test sentences. § 4.4.2 presents the material for word choice in a similar manner.

Table 4.12 – Preference for Alternative Lexical Items

		Spaß	*meinst*	*alleine*	*nötig*	*sprechen*	*reicht*	*mir scheint's*	*nach Hause*	Total
A	Both		x		x	x	x	x		5
B	Both				x	x		x	x	4
C	Both*				x	x		x	x	4
D	German				x	x	x		x	4
E	German	x			x	x	x	x	x	6
F	German	x	x		x	x		x	x	6
G	Both		x	x	x					3
H	Both				x	x		x	x	4
I	German	x		x	x		x	x		5
J	German									0

The above table shows a more readily digestible pattern. The distribution is clearly fairly equal for nearly all of the instances of lexical variation. In this case, **Consultant G** failed to provide data for only one of the sentences in question, Sentence 5 with *Spaß*. Data is missing for **Consultant I** in two sentences, however, Sentence 16 with *sprechen* and Sentence 19 with *nach Hause*. **Consultant J** made no lexical departures from the prompts at all, but again this is hardly surprising given that he was reading from the interview paper and therefore could not be expected to vary much from the script. It is interesting that the only instance in which the monolinguals showed a clear distinction from bilinguals here is in the use of the word *Gaude* in response to Sentence 5. However, there is such significant evidence of spontaneous dialectal variation for both groups of consultants for the remaining seven words that little can be made of this one instance.

Table 4.13 – Preference for Syntactic Features of Eisenkappel German

		Alternative Dative Plural	Dative for Genitive	Avoidance of Imperfect
A	Both	1	1	1
B	Both		1	1
C	Both*	1	1	
D	German	1	1	1
E	German	2	1	1
F	German		1	1
G	Both		1	1
H	Both	2	1	1
I	German		1	1
J	German	1		
Opportunities		2	1	1

The above table is also simple to interpret, as there were only four opportunities for deviation from the standard. Other than **Consultant J** (who himself even used an alternative dative plural form), each consultant departed from the Modern Standard German phrasing of the prompt at least twice (three bilinguals and two monolinguals), and there was an even distribution of one individual from each group who used an Eisenkappel German syntactic structure on three occasions, with the same distribution holding true for those doing so in all four cases. Once more, it is clear that there is little to no difference between the German abilities of the bilingual and monolingual consultants in this study.

Table 4.14 – Total Deviations from Modern Standard German in Favor of Eisenkappel German

		Phonological	Lexical	Syntactic	Total
A	Both	51	5	3	59
B	Both	65	4	2	71
C	Both*	58	4	2	64
D	German	54	4	3	61
E	German	65	6	4	75
F	German	55	6	2	63
G	Both	35	3	2	40
H	Both	56	4	4	64
I	German	41	5	2	48
J	German	11	0	1	12

4.5 – Preliminary Conclusions

One of the most striking observations immediately apparent from the data is the far greater tendency for a given consultant to display phonological variation than to display either lexical or syntactic variation. Although there were nearly one hundred environments in which each consultant could replace Modern Standard German pronunciation with that of Eisenkappel German, in nearly every sentence there were features that consultants rendered according to the standard. This can be seen even when neighboring environments show clear evidence of a shift to dialect. The extent to which this is a factor of my speaking Modern Standard German and reading out prompts in the standard language cannot be ignored, just as the potential for individual variation cannot. However, given that there is no clear indicator that being a monolingual or a bilingual speaker has any impact on how often Eisenkappel pronunciation is used or on which features are more likely to be pronounced in dialect, it appears that my influence in the study had the same effect on monolinguals as it did on bilinguals. As discussed above (cf. § 4.2.2.1), I was careful not to bias the study in any way beyond the simple and unavoidable reality that I was a foreigner who was trying to record their speech.

Pursuant to the issue of variation, however, the data show that the readiness to deviate from the prompt in matters of lexical preferences was indeed high. Although no one consultant substituted a word more appropriate to the dialect in all eight environments, most did so more than half the time. This tendency only increased when moving to syntactic variation, as two consultants

departed from the standard variety of the prompt in all four environments, and two others did so three out of the four times. Even **Consultant J**, who was simply reading the sentences aloud, varied his syntax on one occasion. With so little data on this phenomenon, however, I am reluctant to extrapolate much further than I have already, but I believe that there is enough anecdotal evidence here to warrant a deeper investigation into this question.

The data do, however, point very clearly to the central argument of this dissertation, which is that bilingualism does not predispose an individual to a weaker command of the prestige or target language than those raised speaking only that language. As the data have repeatedly shown, the German spoken by bilingual Eisenkappler is clearly in no way inferior to that of their monolingual counterparts. Each group of consultants, interviewed individually and over the course of many separate trips to the region, provided me with ample data to show their abilities in speaking German and their flexibility in their use of dialect. On the phonological, lexical, and syntactic levels, the ability of bilinguals to adapt Modern Standard German to suit their local needs is borne out by the data. In fact, it is to their knowledge and adeptness with the standard language that I shall turn in Chapter Five.

Chapter V

Conclusion and Avenues for Further Research

From *Die Welt von Gestern*[26] by Stefan Zweig

"Und trotz allem Haß und Abscheu gegen den
Krieg möchte ich die Erinnerung an diese ersten
Tage in meinem Leben nicht missen: Wie nie
fühlten die Tausende und Hunderttausende
Menschen, was sie besser im Frieden hätten
fühlen sollen: dass sie zusammengehörten."[27]
(Zweig, 2014: 256)

5.0 – Introduction

This chapter is divided into two sections. § 5.1 offers further observations derived from the analysis of the data (cf. § 4.4, § 4.5, and § 4.6 above); and § 5.2 introduces a potential topic for further research that presented itself over the course of this project.

5.1 – Conclusions

From the outset of this dissertation, I have argued that being raised speaking a language in the home that is other than the national language does not negatively impact an individual's ability to speak the latter. Namely, the data do not bear out opinions expressed by Eisenkappel residents, either by assertions to the contrary by monolingual speakers in Eisenkappel and general fears regarding bilingualism leading to "semilingualism" (cf. § 1.3.2), or even strong reservations on the part of some bilinguals there (cf. § 3.3.2.1.2.1). § 5.1.1 treats some of the reasons why learning Slovene in the home does not lead to an inferior command of German, as well as why knowledge of Slovene has persisted; and § 5.1.2 summarizes why the data constitute compelling evidence that bilingual speakers do not speak German poorly.

5.1.1 – Successful Bilingualism in Eisenkappel

This section discusses some of the ways in which growing up as a bilingual in Eisenkappel leads to both the mastery of German and continuing transmission of Slovene. § 5.1.1.1 focuses on the "critical period" for language learning; § 5.1.1.2 highlights the "German immersion" of living in Eisenkappel; and § 5.1.1.3 looks at the prestige of Slovene as a mother tongue.

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[26] '*The World of Yesterday*'

[27] 'And despite all the hate and disgust for the war, I do not ever want to forget the memory of these first days: like never before, the thousands and hundreds of thousands of people felt something that they ought to have felt during peacetime: that they belonged together.' Zweig writing about the early days of The First World War.

5.1.1.1 – The "Critical Period"

As discussed above (cf. § 1.2.5.3), when a person learns a language after the "critical period" (the period when children's brains are developing rapidly and are especially adept at processing new linguistic information), the person is much less likely to achieve native-like fluency in the language. The close of this period, which ends somewhere around puberty (depending on the individual), would in any case come after children have begun attending school, which means that children who begin learning another language during pre-school or primary school are much more likely to achieve fluency in the target language. Eisenkappel children, therefore, encounter German at the very latest when they begin school; after this point they learn rapidly and usually end up speaking German as well as their monolingual classmates (see § 5.1.2 for data in support of this).

5.1.1.2 – German Immersion

In addition to the fact that Slovene speakers in Eisenkappel begin learning German at a very young age, there is little or no division within the town of Eisenkappel itself between speakers of German and speakers of Slovene. As discussed above (cf. § 1.2.3 and § 3.1.1), not only do all speakers of Slovene living in Eisenkappel also speak German, the town itself is only 20% Slovene speaking. Thus, despite the presence of shops and cafes where Slovene is readily spoken, day-to-day business in the town is conducted in German. One need only return to the consultant profiles (cf. the breakdown in Table 3.2) to observe the extent to which German is regularly spoken, especially in the workplace. By far the lowest percentage of German spoken at work is 50%, and this comes from **Consultant C**, who works in the tourist industry and thus regularly entertains visitors from Slovenia or other parts of Slovene-speaking Carinthia. Eisenkappel is therefore simply not the sort of bifurcated community in which Slovene speakers can live independently and eschew the German language. Simply stated, life in Eisenkappel involves growing up immersed in the German language, surrounded by German speakers with whom one interacts daily and who speak very little (if any) Slovene. Furthermore, the fact that the majority of television and radio programs are broadcast in German means that primary sources of information are consumed in German as well.[*] Naturally, the German that is learned in school is Modern Standard German, and what is heard on television and radio is either the standard variety or much closer to it than it is to Eisenkappel German. This means that the percentage of German input that comes from the standard is higher for bilinguals than it is for monolinguals, given that Slovene is spoken in the homes of the former (the precise amount of this varying from family to family), and Eisenkappel German is spoken in the homes of the latter (cf. § 5.2.1 for a discussion of this).

5.1.1.3 – The Persistence of Slovene

Although the percentage of Eisenkappler who identify as Slovene speakers has fallen dramatically since the 1950s (cf. § 3.1.1), it is important to view these statistics with an eye

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[*] It would be interesting to look at internet traffic in the region of Eisenkappel to see what percentage of sites that are regularly visited are hosted in Slovenia or viewed in Slovene. Given that most of the bilinguals with whom I spoke noted that they speak only a dialect of Slovene and not the standard literary language (and many of them stated outright that they could read Slovenian only minimally, if at all), I suspect that even online content is viewed primarily in German, along with a fair amount of English.

toward bias. The question of identity is a complex one and involves an individual's approach to living as much as it does his/her language abilities. In general, the history of Slovene in Carinthia has been written by those who are antagonistic toward it, although that appears to be changing (the fact that signage is now in both German and Slovene throughout Southern Carinthia, can be cited as an example). Nevertheless, there are several factors that contribute to the perception among Eisenkappler that Slovene is in sharp decline. First, there are those in Eisenkappel who feel somewhat ashamed to speak Slovene, and these individuals might not readily identify as speakers of the language. Second, many in Eisenkappel (even some bilinguals) do not consider Slovene to be the language that they speak: for them Slovenian is the literary language that one learns in school or that represents the dialects spoken south of the Karavanke Mountains. Some protest that they merely speak "dialect," others (cf. **Consultant G** in § 3.3.2.1.1.1) state proudly that they do not speak Slovene, but rather *Windisch*. Finally, many Eisenkappler do not use Slovene often in everyday interactions, and the question of whether they identify as speakers of Slovene or whether they consider Slovene their "first language" is influenced by the fact that they speak more German than Slovene. Thus, it is difficult to know for certain how many Slovene speakers remain in Eisenkappel.

In terms of the future of Slovene in Eisenkappel, the answer depends largely on whom one asks. The older generation (60 and older) sees a bleak future for Slovene in the community, observing that because many have not passed on the language to their children, the language will soon die out. Consultants interviewed felt this was unfortunate but seemed resigned to it as a simple fact. The situation does not appear so dire to the younger generation, however. Younger bilingual Eisenkappler (40 or younger) had a much more positive outlook. They cited the prestige of Slovene as an official language of Eisenkappel and the need for bilingual speakers in government positions, pointing to the newly reelected mayor of Eisenkappel, Franz Josef Smrtnik, himself a Carinthian Slovene, as an example of the upward mobility of bilinguals in the community. Many also pointed out that they were raising their children bilingually or sending them to school to learn Slovene, and they noted that many of their monolingual neighbors were also becoming more interested in learning it. Several people even mentioned that there were more children of monolingual parents in Slovene classes than those of bilingual parents.

5.1.2 – Lessons from the Data

Regardless of speaker perceptions, there is a clear conclusion to be drawn from the data: namely that bilingual speakers, regardless of how well or often they speak Slovene or their desire to pass it on to their children, speak German just as well as their monolingual counterparts. The data presented in § 4.4 and analyzed in § 4.5 clearly contradict the belief that raising a child speaking Slovene will deter this child from speaking good German or finding employment as an adult. Independent of the fact that speaking both German and Slovene is beneficial to one's career opportunities (cf. § 5.1.1.3), there is no evidence that being raised speaking Slovene in the home negatively impacts one's ability to learn German as well as monolingual speakers do.

The data showed only minor variation in the speech of monolingual and bilingual Eisenkappler. The hallmarks of Eisenkappel German tested in this study were evenly distributed in the speech of both groups, and departure from Modern Standard German prompts in favor of dialectal features was remarkably similar among both groups as well.

This study can also contribute to the broader claim that raising a child bilingually in no way adversely impacts that child's ability to speak the target language of the community or country in which they reside. The bilingual situation of Eisenkappel is not unique, nor is that of Carinthia as a whole. Allowing for certain adjustments based on the languages spoken in a particular region, this study could be repeated in other parts of Europe (or the world) to determine the extent (if any) to which being raised bilingually hinders a speaker's ability to learn and function in the target language. The particular circumstances of a given area are likely to be different, and care would have to be taken to ensure that the study is not biased in favor of promoting bilingualism,[*] but the principles at work in this study are transferable.

5.2 – Further Research

Several avenues for further research presented themselves during fieldwork, one of which involves the comfort (and perhaps even competency) of bilingual versus monolingual speakers with Modern Standard German.

5.2.1 – Whose German is German?

In the preceding analysis, I have frequently mentioned the fact that bilingual speakers tend to learn German in school and through media that promote the use of Modern Standard German (or something close to it) over that of Eisenkappel German, and that I observed a more consistent use of the former in casual conversations with bilinguals than I did with monolinguals (cf. § 1.3.1.4). I was initially surprised by this; indeed, it was not until my interview with **Consultant J** (cf. § 4.4) that I began to consider the possibility that there was a connection between growing up bilingually in Eisenkappel and being more comfortable with the standard language.

Consultant J answered 19 of the 20 questions in an imitation of Modern Standard German that nevertheless contained instances of dialectal pronunciation, most notably in his shift of [ɔ] to [ʊ].[*] This turned my attention to the fact that monolinguals used pronunciation and word choice that was closer to Eisenkappel German even in casual conversation with a speaker of Modern Standard German, whereas bilinguals fell into something much closer to the standard in the same conversations. The observation that bilinguals felt more comfortable speaking Modern Standard German than monolinguals did seemed to me worthy of further study.

I therefore intend to devise a project that will test for the level of comfort with (and perhaps even competence in) Modern Standard German and return to Carinthia to pursue this study. This will be a fitting next step in my research. Given the broader implications of such inquiries into bilingualism and what it means to speak the target language of a region well, I consider this to be an important continuation of my current project, particularly in that it expands on the investigation of dialect versus standard. Such a project would in no way seek to demonstrate that comfort with a standard variety is inherently better, or that reliance on dialect implies that one

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[*] For example, the integration of Carinthian Slovenes into the monolingual community of Eisenkappel, as well as the fact that all children learn German in school, are factors which promote the acquisition of German, for example. A study being conducted in a community with less integration or in which speakers of another language attended school in that language (or were not allowed to attend school at all) would require revision of some of the key assumptions.

[*] Although this is also a hallmark of Eisenkappel German, the feature was not expressly tracked in this study.

does not command the language itself (whichever language it might be). Rather, it would attempt to show that, far from being a disadvantage to one's acquisition of a language, the learning of another language in the home can be a boon to one's linguistic skills.

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Appendix A: Data Card

Original Data Card

1. Geburtsjahr: _____

2. Geburtsort: _____

3. Aktuelles Wohnort: _____

4. Muttersprache(n): _____

5. Beherrschen Sie auch einen Dialekt, und wenn ja, welchen? _____

6. Sprechen Sie auch einen slowenischen Dialekt? Welchen? _____

7. Wenn ja, wie würden Sie Ihre Fähigkeit in dem Dialekt beschreiben? Wählen Sie:

Muttersprache   Fließend   Sehr gut   Gut   Nicht besonders gut   Nur ein paar Worte

8. Wie oft sprechen Sie Deutsch oder einen slowenischen Dialekt, a. zu Hause, b. an der Arbeit

   und c. in Gesellschaft?

	Zu Hause	An der Arbeit	In Gesellschaft
Deutsch	_____%	_____%	_____%
Slowenisch	_____%	_____%	_____%

9. Als Kind haben Ihre Eltern, oder andere Verwandten, mit Ihnen auf einen

   slowenischen Dialekt gesprochen? Wenn ja, wie oft? Wählen Sie eine Antwort:

Fast immer   Sehr oft   Ungefähr die hälfte Zeit   Ab und zu   Fast nie

10. Sprechen Sie einen slowenischen Dialekt mit Ihren Kindern, oder werden Sie es tun,

    wenn Sie Kinder haben? _____

11. Warum, oder warum nicht? _____

12. Meinen Sie, es gibt Vor- oder Nachteile, einen slowenischen Dialket zu sprechen?

_____

English Version

1. Year of Birth: _____

2. Place of Birth: _____

3. Current City of Residence: _____

4. Native Language(s): _____

5. Do you know a dialect, and if so, what dialect? _____

6. Do you also speak a dialect of Slovene? What dialect? _____

7. If yes, how would you describe your ability in that dialect? Choose:

Native Language   Fluent   Very Good   Good   Not Particularly Good   Only a Few Words

8. How often do you speak German or a dialect of Slovene, a. at home, b. at work

    and c. socially?

	At Home	At Work	Socially
German	_____%	_____%	_____%
Slovene	_____%	_____%	_____%

9. As a child, did your parents, or other relatives, speak with you in a dialect of Slovene?

    If yes, how often? Choose an answer:

Almost Always   Very Often   About Half the Time   Occasionally   Almost Never

10. Do you speak a dialect of Slovene with your children, or will you speak one when you have

    children? _____

11. Why, or why not? _____

12. Do you think that there are advantages or disadvantages to speaking a dialect of Slovene?

_____

Appendix B: Individual Consultant Responses to Data Card

Consultant A

1. Geburtsjahr: <u>1976</u>

2. Geburtsort: <u>Eisenkappel</u>

3. Aktuelles Wohnort: <u>Eisenkappel</u>

4. Muttersprache(n): <u>Deutsch / Slowenisch</u>

5. Beherrschen Sie auch einen Dialekt, und wenn ja, welchen? <u>Eisenkapplerisch</u>

6. Sprechen Sie auch einen slowenischen Dialekt? Welchen? <u>Ja</u>

7. Wenn ja, wie würden Sie Ihre Fähigkeit in dem Dialekt beschreiben? Wählen Sie:

<u>Muttersprache</u>   Fließend   Sehr gut   Gut   Nicht besonders gut   Nur ein paar Worte

8. Wie oft sprechen Sie Deutsch oder einen slowenischen Dialekt, a. zu Hause, b. an der Arbeit

   und c. in Gesellschaft?

	Zu Hause	An der Arbeit	In Gesellschaft
Deutsch	<u>70</u> %	<u>100</u> %	<u>50</u> %
Slowenisch	<u>30</u> %	<u>0</u> %	<u>50</u> %

9. Als Kind haben Ihre Eltern, oder andere Verwandten, mit Ihnen auf einen

   slowenischen Dialekt gesprochen? Wenn ja, wie oft? Wählen Sie eine Antwort:

<u>Fast immer</u>   Sehr oft   Ungefähr die hälfte Zeit   Ab und zu   Fast nie

10. Sprechen Sie einen slowenischen Dialekt mit Ihren Kindern, oder werden Sie es tun,

    wenn Sie Kinder haben? <u>Ja</u>

11. Warum, oder warum nicht? <u>Warum ist die Banane krum? Es gehört sich so. Was man</u>

    <u>hat, muss man weiter geben.</u>

12. Meinen Sie, es gibt Vor- oder Nachteile, einen slowenischen Dialket zu sprechen? <u>Na!</u>

Consultant B

1. Geburtsjahr: <u>1970</u>

2. Geburtsort: <u>Klagenfurt</u>

3. Aktuelles Wohnort: <u>Eisenkappel seit 1974</u>

4. Muttersprache(n): <u>Deutsch / Slowenisch</u>

5. Beherrschen Sie auch einen Dialekt, und wenn ja, welchen? <u>Eisenkapplerisch</u>

6. Sprechen Sie auch einen slowenischen Dialekt? Welchen? <u>Ja</u>

7. Wenn ja, wie würden Sie Ihre Fähigkeit in dem Dialekt beschreiben? Wählen Sie:

<u>Muttersprache</u>   Fließend   Sehr gut   Gut   Nicht besonders gut   Nur ein paar Worte

8. Wie oft sprechen Sie Deutsch oder einen slowenischen Dialekt, a. zu Hause, b. an der Arbeit

   und c. in Gesellschaft?

	Zu Hause	An der Arbeit	In Gesellschaft
Deutsch	50 %	90 %	50 %
Slowenisch	50 %	10 %	50 %

9. Als Kind haben Ihre Eltern, oder andere Verwandten, mit Ihnen auf einen

   slowenischen Dialekt gesprochen? Wenn ja, wie oft? Wählen Sie eine Antwort:

<u>Fast immer</u>   Sehr oft   Ungefähr die hälfte Zeit   Ab und zu   Fast nie

10. Sprechen Sie einen slowenischen Dialekt mit Ihren Kindern, oder werden Sie es tun,

    wenn Sie Kinder haben? <u>Ich werde keine Kinder haben</u>

11. Warum, oder warum nicht? <u>Würde sie mit beiden Sprachen erziehen</u>

12. Meinen Sie, es gibt Vor- oder Nachteile, einen slowenischen Dialket zu sprechen?

    <u>Keine Nachteile</u>

Consultant C

1. Geburtsjahr: <u>1936</u>

2. Geburtsort: <u>Eisenkappel</u>

3. Aktuelles Wohnort: <u>Eisenkappel</u>

4. Muttersprache(n): Deutsch / Slowenisch (zum Teil)

5. Beherrschen Sie auch einen Dialekt, und wenn ja, welchen? _____

6. Sprechen Sie auch einen slowenischen Dialekt? Welchen? _____

7. Wenn ja, wie würden Sie Ihre Fähigkeit in dem Dialekt beschreiben? Wählen Sie:

Muttersprache   Fließend   Sehr gut   Gut   Nicht besonders gut   Nur ein paar Worte

8. Wie oft sprechen Sie Deutsch oder einen slowenischen Dialekt, a. zu Hause, b. an der Arbeit

und c. in Gesellschaft?

	Zu Hause	An der Arbeit	In Gesellschaft
Deutsch	80 %	50 %	90 %
Slowenisch	20 %	50 %	10 %

9. Als Kind haben Ihre Eltern, oder andere Verwandten, mit Ihnen auf einen

slowenischen Dialekt gesprochen? Wenn ja, wie oft? Wählen Sie eine Antwort:

Fast immer   Sehr oft   Ungefähr die hälfte Zeit   <u>Ab und zu</u>   Fast nie

10. Sprechen Sie einen slowenischen Dialekt mit Ihren Kindern, oder werden Sie es tun,

wenn Sie Kinder haben? <u>Ab und zu</u>

11. Warum, oder warum nicht? <u>Es ist ein Teil von meiner Herkunft</u>

12. Meinen Sie, es gibt Vor- oder Nachteile, einen slowenischen Dialket zu sprechen?

<u>Wenn man geprüft ist, ist es a Vorteil (Slowenisch ist Amtsprache, also daher schon)</u>

Consultant D

1. Geburtsjahr: <u>1960</u>

2. Geburtsort: <u>Eisenkappel</u>

3. Aktuelles Wohnort: <u>Eisenkappel</u>

4. Muttersprache(n): <u>Deutsch</u>

5. Beherrschen Sie auch einen Dialekt, und wenn ja, welchen? <u>Eisenkapplerisch</u>

6. Sprechen Sie auch einen slowenischen Dialekt? Welchen? <u>nein</u>

7. Wenn ja, wie würden Sie Ihre Fähigkeit in dem Dialekt beschreiben? Wählen Sie:

Muttersprache   Fließend   Sehr gut   Gut   Nicht besonders gut   <u>Nur ein paar Worte</u>

8. Wie oft sprechen Sie Deutsch oder einen slowenischen Dialekt, a. zu Hause, b. an der Arbeit

   und c. in Gesellschaft?

	Zu Hause	An der Arbeit	In Gesellschaft
Deutsch	<u>100</u> %	<u>100</u> %	<u>100</u> %
Slowenisch	<u> </u> %	<u> </u> %	<u> </u> %

9. Als Kind haben Ihre Eltern, oder andere Verwandten, mit Ihnen auf einen

   slowenischen Dialekt gesprochen? Wenn ja, wie oft? Wählen Sie eine Antwort:

Fast immer   Sehr oft   Ungefähr die hälfte Zeit   Ab und zu   Fast nie

10. Sprechen Sie einen slowenischen Dialekt mit Ihren Kindern, oder werden Sie es tun,

    wenn Sie Kinder haben? <u>nein</u>

11. Warum, oder warum nicht? <u>Kann nur Deutsch</u>

12. Meinen Sie, es gibt Vor- oder Nachteile, einen slowenischen Dialket zu sprechen?

    <u>Eher Vorteile, keine Nachteile. Einfach mitreden zu können</u>

Consultant E

1. Geburtsjahr: <u>1961</u>

2. Geburtsort: <u>Eisenkappel</u>

3. Aktuelles Wohnort: <u>Eisenkappel</u>

4. Muttersprache(n): <u>Deutsch</u>

5. Beherrschen Sie auch einen Dialekt, und wenn ja, welchen? <u>Eisenkapplerisch</u>

6. Sprechen Sie auch einen slowenischen Dialekt? Welchen? <u>nein</u>

7. Wenn ja, wie würden Sie Ihre Fähigkeit in dem Dialekt beschreiben? Wählen Sie:

Muttersprache   Fließend   Sehr gut   Gut   Nicht besonders gut   <u>Nur ein paar Worte</u>

8. Wie oft sprechen Sie Deutsch oder einen slowenischen Dialekt, a. zu Hause, b. an der Arbeit

und c. in Gesellschaft?

	Zu Hause	An der Arbeit	In Gesellschaft
Deutsch	<u>100</u> %	<u>100</u> %	<u>100</u> %
Slowenisch	_____%	_____%	_____%

9. Als Kind haben Ihre Eltern, oder andere Verwandten, mit Ihnen auf einen

slowenischen Dialekt gesprochen? Wenn ja, wie oft? Wählen Sie eine Antwort:

Fast immer   Sehr oft   Ungefähr die hälfte Zeit   Ab und zu   Fast nie

10. Sprechen Sie einen slowenischen Dialekt mit Ihren Kindern, oder werden Sie es tun,

wenn Sie Kinder haben? <u>nein</u>

11. Warum, oder warum nicht? <u>Ich kann keins</u>

12. Meinen Sie, es gibt Vor- oder Nachteile, einen slowenischen Dialket zu sprechen?

<u>Keine Nachteile; mehr zu können ist immer besser</u>

Consultant F

1. Geburtsjahr: <u>1972</u>

2. Geburtsort: <u>Eisenkappel</u>

3. Aktuelles Wohnort: <u>Eisenkappel</u>

4. Muttersprache(n): Deutsch

5. Beherrschen Sie auch einen Dialekt, und wenn ja, welchen? <u>Kärntner Dialekt</u>

6. Sprechen Sie auch einen slowenischen Dialekt? Welchen? <u>nein</u>

7. Wenn ja, wie würden Sie Ihre Fähigkeit in dem Dialekt beschreiben? Wählen Sie:

Muttersprache   Fließend   Sehr gut   Gut   Nicht besonders gut   Nur ein paar Worte

8. Wie oft sprechen Sie Deutsch oder einen slowenischen Dialekt, a. zu Hause, b. an der Arbeit

    und c. in Gesellschaft?

	Zu Hause	An der Arbeit	In Gesellschaft
Deutsch	100 %	90 %	100 %
Slowenisch	0 %	10 %	0 %

9. Als Kind haben Ihre Eltern, oder andere Verwandten, mit Ihnen auf einen

    slowenischen Dialekt gesprochen? Wenn ja, wie oft? Wählen Sie eine Antwort:

Fast immer   Sehr oft   Ungefähr die hälfte Zeit   <u>Ab und zu</u>   Fast nie

10. Sprechen Sie einen slowenischen Dialekt mit Ihren Kindern, oder werden Sie es tun,

    wenn Sie Kinder haben? <u>nein</u>

11. Warum, oder warum nicht? <u>Weil ich selber zu wenig kann</u>

12. Meinen Sie, es gibt Vor- oder Nachteile, einen slowenischen Dialket zu sprechen?

    <u>Nein! Keine Nachteile</u>

Consultant G

1. Geburtsjahr: <u>1966</u>

2. Geburtsort: <u>Eisenkappel</u>

3. Aktuelles Wohnort: <u>Eisenkappel</u>

4. Muttersprache(n): <u>Deutsch / Windisch</u>

5. Beherrschen Sie auch einen Dialekt, und wenn ja, welchen? <u>Eisenkapplerisch</u>

6. Sprechen Sie auch einen slowenischen Dialekt? Welchen? <u>Ja</u>

7. Wenn ja, wie würden Sie Ihre Fähigkeit in dem Dialekt beschreiben? Wählen Sie:

Muttersprache   Fließend   Sehr gut   <u>Gut</u>   Nicht besonders gut   Nur ein paar Worte

8. Wie oft sprechen Sie Deutsch oder einen slowenischen Dialekt, a. zu Hause, b. an der Arbeit

   und c. in Gesellschaft?

	Zu Hause	An der Arbeit	In Gesellschaft
Deutsch	95 %	90 %	95 %
Slowenisch	5 %	10 %	5 %

9. Als Kind haben Ihre Eltern, oder andere Verwandten, mit Ihnen auf einen

   slowenischen Dialekt gesprochen? Wenn ja, wie oft? Wählen Sie eine Antwort:

Fast immer   Sehr oft   <u>Ungefähr die hälfte Zeit</u>   Ab und zu   Fast nie

10. Sprechen Sie einen slowenischen Dialekt mit Ihren Kindern, oder werden Sie es tun,

    wenn Sie Kinder haben? <u>Nein, aber die Frau</u>

11. Warum, oder warum nicht? <u>Sie macht das eh, damit sie's lernen</u>

12. Meinen Sie, es gibt Vor- oder Nachteile, einen slowenischen Dialket zu sprechen?

    <u>Natürlich (Vorteile); vielleicht politische Nachteile</u>

Consultant H

1. Geburtsjahr: <u>1958</u>

2. Geburtsort: <u>Eisenkappel</u>

3. Aktuelles Wohnort: <u>Eisenkappel</u>

4. Muttersprache(n): <u>Deutsch / Slowenisch</u>

5. Beherrschen Sie auch einen Dialekt, und wenn ja, welchen? <u>Eisenkapplerisch</u>

6. Sprechen Sie auch einen slowenischen Dialekt? Welchen? _____

7. Wenn ja, wie würden Sie Ihre Fähigkeit in dem Dialekt beschreiben? Wählen Sie:

<u>Muttersprache</u>   Fließend   Sehr gut   Gut   Nicht besonders gut   Nur ein paar Worte

8. Wie oft sprechen Sie Deutsch oder einen slowenischen Dialekt, a. zu Hause, b. an der Arbeit

   und c. in Gesellschaft?

	Zu Hause	An der Arbeit	In Gesellschaft
Deutsch	90 %	90 %	90 %
Slowenisch	10 %	10 %	10 %

9. Als Kind haben Ihre Eltern, oder andere Verwandten, mit Ihnen auf einen

   slowenischen Dialekt gesprochen? Wenn ja, wie oft? Wählen Sie eine Antwort:

<u>Fast immer</u>   Sehr oft   Ungefähr die hälfte Zeit   Ab und zu   Fast nie

10. Sprechen Sie einen slowenischen Dialekt mit Ihren Kindern, oder werden Sie es tun,

    wenn Sie Kinder haben? <u>Nein, aber sie haben Slowenisch in der Schule</u>

11. Warum, oder warum nicht? <u>Gut Deutsch ist wichtig</u>

12. Meinen Sie, es gibt Vor- oder Nachteile, einen slowenischen Dialket zu sprechen?

    <u>Weder, noch</u>

Consultant I

1. Geburtsjahr: <u>1941</u>

2. Geburtsort: <u>Stuttgart</u>

3. Aktuelles Wohnort: <u>Eisenkappel</u>

4. Muttersprache(n): <u>Reichsdeutsch, Reindeutsch</u>

5. Beherrschen Sie auch einen Dialekt, und wenn ja, welchen? <u>Kärntnerisch</u>

6. Sprechen Sie auch einen slowenischen Dialekt? Welchen? _____

7. Wenn ja, wie würden Sie Ihre Fähigkeit in dem Dialekt beschreiben? Wählen Sie:

Muttersprache   Fließend   Sehr gut   Gut   Nicht besonders gut   Nur ein paar Worte

8. Wie oft sprechen Sie Deutsch oder einen slowenischen Dialekt, a. zu Hause, b. an der Arbeit

und c. in Gesellschaft?

	Zu Hause	An der Arbeit	In Gesellschaft
Deutsch	<u> 100 </u>%	<u> 100 </u>%	<u> 100 </u>%
Slowenisch	_____%	_____%	_____%

9. Als Kind haben Ihre Eltern, oder andere Verwandten, mit Ihnen auf einen

slowenischen Dialekt gesprochen? Wenn ja, wie oft? Wählen Sie eine Antwort:

Fast immer   Sehr oft   Ungefähr die hälfte Zeit   Ab und zu   Fast nie

10. Sprechen Sie einen slowenischen Dialekt mit Ihren Kindern, oder werden Sie es tun,

wenn Sie Kinder haben? <u>nein</u>

11. Warum, oder warum nicht? <u>Weil ich selbst nicht kann</u>

12. Meinen Sie, es gibt Vor- oder Nachteile, einen slowenischen Dialket zu sprechen?

<u>Keine Vorteile, die größten Nachteile</u>

Consultant J

1. Geburtsjahr: <u>1959</u>

2. Geburtsort: <u>Klagenfurt</u>

3. Aktuelles Wohnort: <u>Eisenkappel</u>

4. Muttersprache(n): <u>Deutsch (Kärntnerisch)</u>

5. Beherrschen Sie auch einen Dialekt, und wenn ja, welchen? <u>Steirisch, Wienerisch</u>

6. Sprechen Sie auch einen slowenischen Dialekt? Welchen? <u>Nein (außer Gesang)</u>

7. Wenn ja, wie würden Sie Ihre Fähigkeit in dem Dialekt beschreiben? Wählen Sie:

Muttersprache   Fließend   Sehr gut   Gut   Nicht besonders gut   Nur ein paar Worte

8. Wie oft sprechen Sie Deutsch oder einen slowenischen Dialekt, a. zu Hause, b. an der Arbeit

    und c. in Gesellschaft?

	Zu Hause	An der Arbeit	In Gesellschaft	
Deutsch	<u>99</u> %	<u>100</u> %	<u>99</u> %	
Slowenisch	<u>1</u> %	<u>0</u> %	____ %	1% Serbokroatisch

9. Als Kind haben Ihre Eltern, oder andere Verwandten, mit Ihnen auf einen

    slowenischen Dialekt gesprochen? Wenn ja, wie oft? Wählen Sie eine Antwort:

Fast immer   Sehr oft   Ungefähr die hälfte Zeit   Ab und zu   <u>Fast nie</u>

10. Sprechen Sie einen slowenischen Dialekt mit Ihren Kindern, oder werden Sie es tun,

    wenn Sie Kinder haben? <u>nein</u>

11. Warum, oder warum nicht? <u>Da ich nicht genug in der Schule genossen habe</u>

12. Meinen Sie, es gibt Vor- oder Nachteile, einen slowenischen Dialket zu sprechen?

    <u>Keine Nachteile (Meine Schwiegertochter ist aus Kranjska Gora und ihre Mutter aus</u>

    <u>Banja Luka)</u>

	Gender	Birth Year	Birthplace	Currently Living	Native Language(s)	German Dialect	Proficiency in Slovene	Percentage German/ Slovene Spoken at Home	Percentage German/ Slovene Spoken at Work	Percentage German/ Slovene Spoken Socially	Slovene Spoken in the Home as a Child	Slovene Spoken with Own Children
A	Female	1976	Eisenkappel	Eisenkappel	German Slovene	Eisenkappel German	Native Language	70 / 30	100 / 0	50 / 50	Almost Always	Yes
B	Male	1970	Klagenfurt (hospital)	Eisenkappel	German Slovene	Eisenkappel German	Native Language	50 / 50	90 / 10	50 / 50	Almost Always	No Children
C	Male	1936	Eisenkappel	Eisenkappel	German Slovene	Eisenkappel German	Good	80 / 20	50 / 50	90 / 10	Always (early on)	Yes
D	Female	1960	Eisenkappel	Eisenkappel	German	Eisenkappel German	None	100 / 0	100 / 0	100 / 0	None	No
E	Male	1961	Eisenkappel	Eisenkappel	German	Eisenkappel German	None	100 / 0	100 / 0	100 / 0	None	No
F	Female	1972	Eisenkappel	Eisenkappel	German	Eisenkappel German	Had Some in School	100 / 0	90 / 10	100 / 0	None	No
G	Male	1966	Eisenkappel	Eisenkappel	German Slovene	Eisenkappel German	Good	95 / 5	90 / 10	95 / 5	About Half the Time	No, but wife does
H	Female	1958	Eisenkappel	Eisenkappel	German Slovene	Eisenkappel German	Native Language	90 / 10	90 / 10	90 / 10	Almost Always	They learn it at school
I	Male	1941	Stuttgart (Eisenkappel as a Baby)	Eisenkappel	German	Carinthian (Eisenkappel German)	A Few Words from School	100 / 0	100 / 0	100 / 0	None	No
J	Male	1959	Klagenfurt (hospital)	Eisenkappel	German	Carinthian (Eisenkappel German)	Some Songs	99 / 0	100 / 0	100 / 0	Almost None	No

Appendix D: Interview Prompts

Orginal Sentences

1.	Ich kann nichts machen.
2.	Ist dir kalt?
3.	Sag mir, warum ich das nicht kann.
4.	Komm doch her.
5.	Sie haben sehr viel Spaß mit den Freunden gehabt.
6.	Das geht mir voll auf die Nerven!
7.	Was meinst du, was los ist?
8.	Ich bin durch die Stadt zur Arbeit gefahren.
9.	Die Schüler durften das alleine machen.
10.	Es hat lange gedauert, die Arbeit fertig zu machen.
11.	Wenn er kommt, zahle ich ihm mit Bargeld.
12.	Der Mann, der da kocht, ist mein Bruder.
13.	Das ist nicht nötig.
14.	Wo ist er mit dem Auto seiner Schwester hingefahren?
15.	Ich habe ihn gefragt, ob sie verheiraten sind.
16.	Kann ich kurz mit dir sprechen?
17.	Das reicht jetzt!
18.	Mir scheint's, als ob er nicht weiß, was er tun soll.
19.	Ich weiß nicht genau, warum sie mit ihren Freundinnen nach Hause gekommen ist.
20.	Wenn du willst, kann ich dir auch was Schönes machen.

Original Sentences (English Version)

1.	I cannot do anything (about it).
2.	Are you cold?
3.	Tell me why I cannot (do) that.
4.	Come here.
5.	They had a lot of fun with the[ir] friends.
6.	That really annoys me!
7.	What do you think is wrong?
8.	I drove through the city to work.
9.	The students were allowed to do that by themselves.
10.	It took a long time to finish the work.
11.	When he comes, I will pay him in cash.
12.	The man who is cooking is my brother.
13.	That is not necessary.
14.	Where did he go with his sister's car?
15.	I asked him whether they are married.
16.	Can I speak with you for a minute?
17.	That's enough!
18.	It seems like he doesn't know what he's doing.
19.	I'm not sure why she came home with her friends.
20.	If you like, I can make something nice for you, too.

Appendix E: Interview Results

Consultant A

Uses mostly Slovene swear words, but had some Slovene growing up and plans to speak Slovene with children.

1.	I konn nix mochn.
2.	Is ta kolt?
3.	Sog ma, warum i des nit konn.
4.	Kum her.
5.	Die hot vül Spaß k'hopt mit die Weber.
6.	Des geht ma auf die Keks.
7.	Wus is denn los?
8.	Bin duach die Stodt zur Orbeit k'foan.
9.	De Schüler hob'm des allan mochn dirfn.
10.	S'hut ewik k'dauert, dass ma fertik wurden k'sakt.
11.	Wenn a kumt, zoh i Cash.
12.	Da Koch is mei Bruader.
13.	S'zolt si nit aus.
14.	Wo is 'n der mit'n Auto f'n a Schweester hin mol, Madonna!
15.	I heb ihn k'frogt, ob er verheratet is.
16.	Konn i kurz mit dia reden?
17.	Das is jetz ober genug.
18.	I wass nit, wos a duet.
19.	I wass nit, warum sie diese Fraindinne mitk'nomm'n hot.
20.	Wenn d'wüllst, konn dia a was Schenes mochn.

Consultant B

Heard both Slovene and German at home growing up; won't have children but would speak both with them.

1.	I konn nix mochn.
2.	Is dia kolt?
3.	Sog mia, worum i dos nit konn.
4.	Kum her.
5.	Sie hat viel Spaß mit den Freunden k'hopt.
6.	Des nervt mi.
7.	Wos manste, wos los is?
8.	I bin duach die Stodt zur Orbeit k'fahrn.
9.	Die Schiler hob'm des allan mochn dirfn.
10.	Es hot long k'dauert, des mol fertik z'machn.
11.	Wenn er kumt, zol ihm Cash.
12.	Der Koch is ma Broader.
13.	Dus is nit notwendik.
14.	Wo is er mit'n Auto vun da Schweester hink'forn?
15.	I hob ihn k'frogt, ob a verheiratet is.
16.	Konn i kurz mit dir reden?
17.	Des reicht's.
18.	Mia kumt vur, dass er nit wass, wos er wüll.
19.	I wass nit, worum sie mit den Freundinnen hamk'kumn is.
20.	I konn dia a wos Schenes mochn, wenn du willst.

Consultant C

Parents spoke some Slovene at home, but it was forbidden during the war and not used again thereafter; uses Slovene some here and there, and some with his son.

1.	I konn nix mochn.
2.	Is ta kolt?
3.	Sog mia, warum i dos nit konn.
4.	Kum her.
5.	I hob sehr vül Spaß mit die Freunden k'hopt.
6.	Dus geht mia voll af die Nerven.
7.	Wos manst du, wos los is?
8.	I bin duach die Stodt zur Orbeit k'forn.
9.	Die Schüler hobn dos allan mochn dürfen.
10.	Es hot long kedauert, bis die Orbeit fertik woar.
11.	Wenn er kumt, zol ich mit Boargeld.
12.	Der Mon, der ba uns kocht is mei Bruader.
13.	Das is nit notwendik.
14.	Wo is er mit'n Auto seiner Schwester hink'foarn.
15.	I hob ihm k'frogt, ob a verheiratet is.
16.	Konn i kurz mit dia reden.
17.	Dos reicht.
18.	Hi glap, des er nit was, wos er tuan soal.
19.	I was nit genau, warum sie mit ihren Frainden ins Haus k'kum'n is.
20.	Wenn du wüllst, konn i dia a was Schönes mochn.

Consultant D

Parents were bilingual but only spoke Slovene with their own parents as a private language.

1.	I konn nix mochn.
2.	Is dia kolt?
3.	Sog mia, warum i des nit konn.
4.	Kum her.
5.	Tsi hob'm vil Spaß mit'n Freundinnen k'hopt.
6.	Des geht mia voll af die Nerven.
7.	Wos manst, wos los is?
8.	I pin duach die Stodt zua Orbeit k'forn.
9.	Die Schüler hob'm des allane k'mochn dürfn.
10.	Es hot long gedauert, die Orbeit fertik zu mochn.
11.	Wenn a kumt zol i mit Bargold.
12.	Der Monn, der doa kucht, des is mei Bruader.
13.	Des is nit notwendik.
14.	Wo is der mit'm Auto von seiner Schwester hink'forn?
15.	Ich hob ihn k'frogt, ob er verheiratet is.
16.	Konn i kurz mit dia redn?
17.	Jetz is k'nua.
18.	Mia schant's, ob er nit wass, wos er tuan soll.
19.	I wass nit genau, warum sie mit ihre Fraindinnen hamk'kommen is.
20.	Wenn du willst, konn i dia a wos Schönes mochen.

Consultant E

No Slovene spoken at home; has had exposure to it entire life but never learned it.

1.	I konn nix mochn.
2.	Is ta kolt?
3.	Sog mia worum i des nit konn.
4.	Kumm le her.
5.	I hob Gaude mit die Fraind'n k'opt.
6.	S'geht mia af die Nerven.
7.	Wos manstu, wos los is?
8.	I pin duach die Stodt zur Obeit k'forn.
9.	De Schiler hom des allan mochn dirfn.
10.	S'hot long gedauert, die Obeit fertik z'mochn.
11.	Wenn er kummt, zohl i mit Boageld.
12.	Dea Mon, dea da kucht, is mei Pruader.
13.	Des is nit notwendik.
14.	Wo is er mit'n Auto vun seiner Schweester hink'forn?
15.	I hob sie k'frokt, ob a verheiratet is.
16.	Konn i kuats mi da reden?
17.	Jetz is k'nua.
18.	I glap, er was nit, wus a tuan soall.
19.	I was nit k'nau, worum se mit die Fraindinnen hamk'kommen is.
20.	Wenn de wüllst, konn i dia a wos Schenes mochn.

Consultant F

Studied some Slovene in school.

1.	Isch konn nix mochn.
2.	Is tia kolt?
3.	Sog mia, worum konn i dos nit?
4.	Kum her.
5.	Heb mau Gaude k'hopt mit unser'n Fraind'n.
6.	Es geht mia auf die Nerven.
7.	Wus glapst, wos is'n los?
8.	I pin duach die Stodt zu Orbeit k'foan.
9.	Die Schüler hobn dos allan mochn dürfn.
10.	S'hat long gedauert, die Orbeit fertik ze mochn.
11.	Wenn a kumt, da zol ihm Boa.
12.	Der Mon, der da kucht, des is mei Bruader.
13.	Das is nit notwendik.
14.	Wuhin is a mit'n Auto vun seiner Schwester k'forn.
15.	I hob se k'frokt, ob se verheiratet tsand.
16.	Konn i kuats mit dia reden?
17.	Jetz is genug.
18.	I glap, er was nit, wus er tuan soal.
19.	I was nit genau, worum sie mit ihren Fraindinnen na hamkommen is.
20.	Wenn du wüllst, konn i di a wos Schenes mochn.

Consultant G

Grew up with Slovene, and his wife speaks it with their children.

1.	Konn ja nix mochn.
2.	Is tia kolt?
3.	Sag mia, worum i dos nit konn.
4.	Kum her.
5.	
6.	Des geht mia af die Nerven.
7.	Wos glaupstu, wos is los?
8.	Pin iber die Brucken zum Orbeiten k'forn.
9.	Die Schüler hobn des selber mochn dirfen
10.	
11.	
12.	Da Mensch, der do kucht, is mein Bruader.
13.	Dos is nit muas
14.	Wo er mit dem Auto vun seiner Schweester…
15.	
16.	Konn i kurz mit dir sprehen
17.	Des reicht jetz
18.	Mia schant's als ob er nit was, wos a tun soll.
19.	I was nit genau, warum sie mit ihren Freundinnen na Haus k'kommen is.
20.	Wenn du wüllst, konn i di a wos Schönes mochen.

Consultant H

Grew up with both Slovene and German, but speaks Slovene only rarely and never with her children.

1.	Konn jo nix mochn.
2.	Is ta kolt?
3.	Sog mia warum i des nit konn.
4.	Kum her.
5.	Sie hob'm vül Spaß mit die Frainde k'hobt.
6.	Mia geht mau auf'm Tsäk (from *Sack*).
7.	Wos mahnst'n, wos los is?
8.	I pin duach die Stodt zur Orbeit k'forn.
9.	Die Schiler hob'm des allan mochn dirfn.
10.	S'hot long gedauert, bis sie fertik wua.
11.	Wenn er kumt, wird ihm Bar bezolt.
12.	Der Mon, der doa kucht, dos is mei Bruader.
13.	Dus is nit notwendik.
14.	Wo is er mitn Auto vun der Schweester hink'forn?
15.	I hob ihm k'frogt, ob er verheirat is.
16.	Konn i di kurz wos frogn?
17.	Dus reicht.
18.	I glaup, des er nit was, wos er tuan süll.
19.	I was nit warum sie mit die Fraind'n na ham k'kumn is.
20.	Wenn du wüllst, konn i di a wos Schönes mochn.

Consultant I

Mother spoke Slovene and English, but only German was spoken at home: *Reichsdeutsch! Reindeutsch!* Had some Slovene in school.

1.	Konn ma nix mochn.
2.	Is ta kolt?
3.	Worum konn i dos denn nit?
4.	Geh kum her.
5.	Wos glapst de, wos wir vun Gaude k'hopt!
6.	Des geht mir af'n Wecker, Madonna!
7.	Wos manste, wos los is?
8.	I pin duach die Stodt zur Orbat k'forn.
9.	Diese Popala müssen ols selber mochn.
10.	Was hot es long gedauert mit de Orbat.
11.	Wenn er le kumt, tsoll er, krigt er san Güld un past.
12.	Des der Pruader kochen konn, versteh i nit.
13.	Des muss nicht tseen.
14.	Wohien is er mit'n Auto vun der Schwester hink'foan.
15.	I hob ihn k'frogt, ob er verheiratet is.
16.	
17.	Jetz is genug.
18.	Der is deppert.
19.	
20.	Woll'n Sie's schön, bin ja eenvarstond'n.

Consultant J

Only spoke German growing up; had some Slovene in school but cannot remember much. Read from the interview page and almost immediately tried to pronounce the sentences in Modern Standard German, but it is an interesting amalgamation of dialect and standard.

1.	I konn nix mochn.
2.	Ist da kolt?
3.	....Sag mir, warum ich das nicht kann. (Voiceless initial ‚s')
4.	Kumm doch her.
5.	Wir haben sehr viel Spaß mit den Freunden ge'abt.
6.	Das geht ma vull af die Nerv'n.
7.	Was meinst du, was los ist?
8.	Ich bin dirch die Stadt zur Arbeit gefahn.
9.	Die Schüler durften das alleine machen.
10.	Es hat lange gedauert, die Arbeit fertik zu machen.
11.	Wenn a kummt, zahl ich ihm mit Bargeld.
12.	Der Mann, der da kucht, ist mein Pruader.
13.	Das ist nickt nötik.
14.	Wo ist a mit dem Auto seiner Schwester hingefahrn?
15.	Ich hab ihn gefragt, ob sie verheiratet tsind.
16.	Kann ich kurz mit...dir sprechen?
17.	Das reicht jetzt.
18.	Mir scheint's az ob er n- nicht weiß, was er dun sollte.
19.	I wees nit k'nau...genau, warum sie nicht mit ihre Freundinnen nach Hause gegangen iest.
20.	We de wielst, kann ich dir auch...was Schönes...machen.