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The Swiss German language and identity: Stereotyping between the Aargau and the Zurich dialects
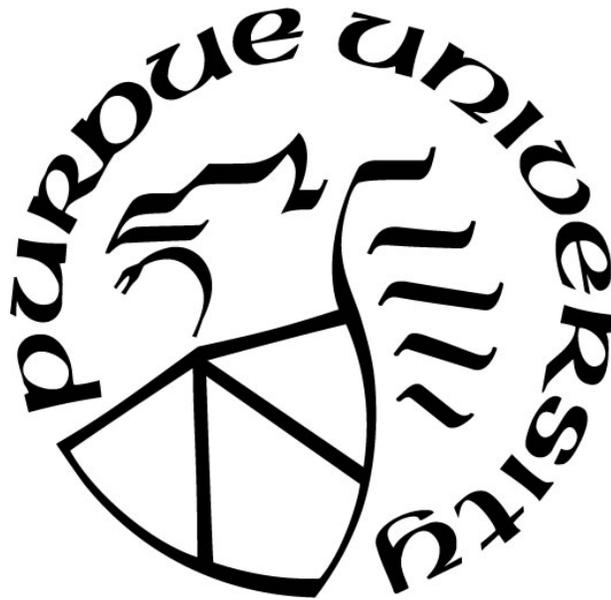
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THE SWISS GERMAN LANGUAGE AND IDENTITY: STEREOTYPING BETWEEN THE AARGAU AND THE ZÜRICH DIALECTS

by

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To my Friends and Family

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ABSTRACT

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Swiss German dialects contribute to the social identity of a speaker, especially on a local level (Christen, 1995). Many dialects of Switzerland are associated with a common stereotype which relates to the identity of the speakers (Rash, 2002). This research looks at these notions and investigates concepts of identity ascription and stereotyping that arise between and from the dialects of canton Aargau and canton Zürich, in Switzerland. The generation of a definition of identity for the project, drawing off existing identity theories in sociolinguistics, and stereotyping theories, allow for an investigation of how the Aargau and Zürich dialects fit into these concepts.

These ideas were investigated through a language questionnaire which was distributed at three educational institutions in the Aargau and Zürich dialect speaking areas. The questionnaire included open ended questions, for the generation of qualitative data, and questions assessing the dialects on Likert-Scales, for the generation of quantitative data. From the data, it was found that identity constructs, generating an ascription of identity, and stereotypes exist between the dialect pairing. These themes contribute to aspects of 'self' and 'other' between the speakers of the Aargauer and the Zürcher dialect.

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

In Switzerland, Swiss German dialects play a large role in determining the identity of a speaker, especially on a local, cantonal, level (Rash 2002).[1] These identities define the speakers of the same dialect, helping to establish individual communities within the larger community of Swiss German speakers. Identity ascription can occur between two groups, which creates an attribution of traits by one group, towards another group (Depperman, 2007; Curcó, 2005). There is evidence for negative attitudes, held by speakers of some Swiss German dialects, about speakers of other dialects of Swiss German, in Switzerland, which contribute to negative identity constructions between the speakers of the languages (Dürscheid, 1997). These negative identity constructions, through language, contribute to the creation of in-group and out-group relations, which, in turn, propagate social stereotypes (Maas & Salvi, 1989). This study seeks to address whether these phenomena prevail inter-dialectally and investigates the existence of the negativity between the Swiss German dialect of Aargau, spoken in the canton of Aargau in Switzerland, and the Zürich dialect of Swiss German, spoken in the canton of Zürich, in Swiss school classrooms.[2]

Identity in sociolinguistics can be related to the way that individuals speak, which makes it particularly salient as a factor in discourse. Identity becomes significant in speaking of the self and the other, in relation to membership or certain groups, as well as many other factors (Auer, 2007; Zimmerman, 1998). The role of dialects in identity formation has been a common topic in sociolinguistics. The Swiss German dialects have been investigated linguistically in regards to their syntax (Schmid, 2005; Salzmann, 2009) and Swiss German phonetics (Koblirsch, 1994; Leemann, Kolly, Britain, Werlen, Studer-Joho, 2014). However, comparative sociolinguistic treatment of dialects within Switzerland has been largely unexplored. Thus, this work attempts to approach the dialect

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[1] Switzerland is separated into 26 cantons. According to The Federal Confederation, "Each is an independent and sovereign entity, with their own capital town or city. The cantons vary greatly as to size, culture, religion and socioeconomic structure" (EDA, 2016).
[2] The Aargau dialect may also be referred to as Aargauer dialect and the people from Aargau may be referred to as Aargauer. Aargauer is a term that is commonly used within Switzerland to describe the people from Aargau, and can be used in front of many nouns. The Zürich dialect may be referred to as Zürcher dialect and the people from Zürich may be referred to as Zürcher.

conundrum within Switzerland from a sociolinguistic standpoint: the present study is looking at whether or not dialectal identity between two Swiss German dialects provides significant themes and characterization.

Switzerland has a strong sense of national identity, which describes the phenomenon of cultural solidarity within the small country. This cultural solidarity connects the Swiss people and contributes to the "Swissness" and identity of the country (Kreis, 1996; Howell, 2000; Watts, 1996). In addition to national identity, there is research on language relations and identity constructs between the languages in Switzerland (Weinreich, 2011; Rash, 2002). As mentioned above, there is evidence that negative attitudes exist among speakers of Swiss German dialects. Though it is common knowledge, among Swiss speakers, that these attitudes exist, they are mentioned in passing, satirized in news articles, and only discussed among speakers, however, clear-cut, sociolinguistic evidence has not been readily available on the topic, especially for the dialects being addressed.

In sociolinguistics, research among language attitudes among dialect speakers is a salient topic. For example, Haugen (1966), conducted research on the language gap n Scandinavia. Haugen (1966) states, "Given strong nationalism in these countries, one might suppose each nation to prefer its own language. This did not prove to be the case" (p. 291). He showed that surprisingly, 41 percent of Danish speakers had a preference for Norwegian, 42 percent preferred Swedish, and only two percent preferred their own Danish variety (p. 291). In Switzerland, a common topic of discussion is the traits of the dialect speakers, such as the Swiss having different opinions on the dialects within Swiss German and the speakers of those dialects. Dialect is often a common topic for discussion and one's own dialect is often seen as being better than the variations of dialect spoken by others (Trümpy, 1955, p. 111) Relationships between the Swiss German dialects are often adverse, especially when they are describing a dialect that is not their own (Christen, 1995, p.2). This study elaborates on identity constructs and phenomena, which arises from opinions of how the dialects speakers speak. These ideas are linked to social stereotyping. Hudson, (1980/1986) states individuals use the speech of others to make judgments about them that are not linguistically based (p.202). In other words, the speech patterns and word choices of an individual can cause others to judge their personality

traits and social background, just based off the way that they speak (Hudson, 1980/1986, p. 202).

This study examines the possibility that identity can be generated through dialect, focusing on the analysis of a language questionnaire for speakers of both dialects. The discipline of sociolinguistics contains a wide array of survey techniques. The surveys within this research focus on eliciting responses through open-ended questions, in order to gain insight into language and dialect attitudes and to maximize the possible responses. These surveys are qualitatively assessed in order to generate themes of identity from the responses. Some quantitative analysis is also done, in order to examine questions regarding the rating of the dialects. Furthermore, this project uses these questionnaires in order to take constructs of identity and apply them to Swiss German dialects, which have remained largely unexplored within sociolinguistic identity constructions, especially when narrowed down to the two specific dialects within this project. The sites for the administration of the surveys, Swiss speaking classrooms in the targeted dialect areas, were chosen in order to have access to groups of speakers that are from the same places within the dialect areas, in order to keep the dialects as uniform as possible.[3] This also ensured that the age range of the Swiss adolescents was kept between 18-20 year olds.

The goal of this study is to assess aspects of identity between the Aargauer and Zürcher dialects of Swiss German. These cantons were chosen due to limited sociolinguistic evidence being present on the specific dialect. The research questions are as follows:

1. Do identity traits exist among adolescents that can be associated specifically with the dialect of canton Aargau in Swiss German?
2. Does identity ascription associated with stereotypes toward another Swiss German dialect, by the Aargau dialect speaking adolescents, occur? For example, do these adolescents ascribe identity traits to those that speak the dialect of canton Zürich?
3. Do these traits exist among adolescents from another canton (Zürich)? This means, do adolescents from Zürich ascribe a certain identity to themselves, based

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[3] An IRB proposal was submitted on behalf of this research, which was deemed exempt. IRB protocol #1602017134

off their own dialect, and do they ascribe certain identity traits to those that speak the dialect of canton Aarau?

These research questions allow for a comprehensive questioning of constructs within identity studies in sociolinguistics, and how these apply to an inter-dialectal identity construction within Swiss German. These research questions were investigated by assessing Aargauer dialect and Zürcher dialect speakers in four Swiss German classrooms at the secondary school level; two classrooms are located in canton Aargau and two classrooms are located in canton Zürich.

The structure of the thesis is as follows. First, a comprehensive literature review is given, focusing on language and dialect in Switzerland, and identity as a theme within sociolinguistics. Within this chapter there are subdivisions for the two main themes of the literature review. The section on language and dialect within Switzerland also focuses on a more comprehensive overview of the Swiss German language, in order to give the reader an idea of the composition of the Swiss German dialects. Furthermore, it will establish how significant the difference between the Aargauer dialect and Zürcher dialect is. The section on language and identity within sociolinguistics will give an overview of the theories that the research is in conversation with and review the sociolinguistic evidence that is present in regards to dialectal studies. Then, within the same section, the scant literature that is present on the Aargauer dialect identity and the Zürcher dialect identity is reviewed. Lastly, within the identity section, the self and the other in regards to language relations is addressed, as well as using language to stereotype. Chapter three will delineate the methods used to gain the data and execute the project and chapter four will provide the results, followed by discussion in chapter 5.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

The Setting: Switzerland

Language and Dialect in Switzerland

This chapter examines the language situation in Switzerland, focusing specifically on the German speaking part of Switzerland and the dialects of Swiss German within. An overview of the languages in Switzerland is given first, followed by the situation present in the German speaking area of Switzerland. A comprehensive overview of Swiss German, as a whole, is then given. Focus is then put on the Zürcher dialect and the Aargauer dialect, with the goal of establishing that the two differ.

Switzerland is known as a linguistically diverse area; according to its census it is a country that contains the four main languages German, French, Italian, and Romansh; 63.3% of the Swiss permanent resident population speaks German, 22.7% speak French, 8.1% speak Italian, and 0.5% speak Romansh (Schweizerische Eidgenossenschaft, 2014). Leeman (2012) summarizes Article 4 of the Swiss Federal constitution of 1999 to show that the four preceding languages are the four official languages of Switzerland (69). These languages are divided into distinct areas within the country: German is spoken in middle region and in the Northern region, French speakers can be found in the West of Switzerland, Italian in the middle, southern region, and Romansh speakers are located in the south-eastern parts of Switzerland (Weinreich, 2011, p. 67). Thus, Switzerland is a very linguistically diverse society with Rash (1998) asserting that it is useful to call Switzerland plurilingual, although Switzerland does not conform to the general idea that plural societies lean towards being unstable (p.25).

While these are the four languages present in Switzerland, there exists a more unique language situation in the German speaking part of Switzerland. Within the German speaking part of Switzerland, Schwiizerdütsch is spoken; this term, 'Schwiizerdütsch' is used to describe the many Alemannic dialects present within the German speaking areas of Switzerland (Weinreich, 2011, p. 81). The Swiss German dialect is ultimately the first language of the germanophone Swiss; it is their mother

tongue (Rash, 1998, p.49). Christen (1998) describes that Swiss German also stands as the "everyday language" of the Swiss speakers; it is put into practice in everyday situations and is used in authentic dialogue situations, meaning that it cannot be gained by another means (p. 13). Wyler (1990) explains that Swiss German is primarily spoken; it applies to social situations in the German areas of Switzerland. However, Wyler (1990) states, "Rarely used in written form, it may occasionally be found in the personal correspondence of young people with a sense for individualistic orthography." (p. 9). In contrast, High German, also known as standard German, is used in most written communications, such as in education, television and radio broadcasts, and public speaking (Wyler, 1990, p.9). The term that is applied to high German in Switzerland is Swiss Standard German; it is the variety of standard German that is used in Switzerland (Rash, 1998, p.21). Rash (1990) states that this variety is called "Schriftdeutsch" ('written German', translation by Rash, 1990, p.21) in Switzerland, because it is not often spoken. Weinreich (2011) discusses the lack of uniformity within Swiss German dialects and states, "There are different phonetic systems, different systems of morphemes, marked syntactic and word-formative divergences, and a clearly apparent lexical disunity" (p. 81). What is important to note is that Weinreich (2011) also explains that the Swiss language is not a uniform language and thus a distinct description thereof is difficult, which is important to this present project; Weinreich's claim supports the idea that Aargau and Zürich are not homogenous, so speakers from distinct and small areas are being taken into account. Weinreich (2011) states:

> To the Swiss layman, Berndütsch, Züritütsch, Baselditsch, are distinct varieties of the language. A true-to-life definition of contemporary Schwyzertütsch must therefore be based not on features of its structure but on its identity of function as the spoken language of German Switzerland. (p. 81).

This point is important because it shows that the identity of the Swiss is closely related to how they speak. Dialect and identity will be discussed within a later chapter of this thesis.

There are a multitude of Swiss German dialects, however they can be divided into different categories in order to give as comprehensive of an overview of the language as possible. The following paragraphs in this section give a more comprehensive overview

of Swiss German and then will specifically focus on characteristics of the Aargauer dialect and the Zürcher dialect.

A More In-Depth Picture of Swiss German

What is a dialect? Rash (1990) quotes Crystal (1987) by saying, that dialect is "A language variety in which the use of grammar and vocabulary identifies the regional background or social background of the user" (p. 17). In Switzerland, Swiss German dialects show the regional background of a speaker, but disregard social class (Rash, 1990, 17). Christen (2008) gives evidence that dialect in Switzerland is spoken irrespective of social class, knowledge that speakers have of one another, or themes of discussion; this gives rise to a polydialectal dialogue, because there is no overarching standard variation of Swiss German (p. 1). Though in another one of her works Christen (2002) does state that the absence of a standard does not mean that temporary accommodation could not occur in certain communicative situations. Furthermore, the common term "Mundart" is used to describe the dialects of Swiss German, in that the dialects are usually spoken rather than utilized in the written forms (Rash 1990). Mundart translates to "Mouth way" or "Mouth art" (author's translation), showing that the dialect is described as being of the spoken variety.

However, though primarily a spoken variety, Swiss German does present itself in written forms, such as in folk literature and children's literature (Rash, 1998, 53). Furthermore, Mundart is also used in emails or text messages and Leeman (2012) quotes Christen (2004) and states that the use of these is "inevitably categorized by a number of highly individualistic orthographic styles and is often an immediate pointer to the writer's dialect" (p. 73). Swiss German is also used extensively in the mass media, in that 60% of broadcasts on national television occur in dialect (Siebenhaar & Wyler, 1997, p.10).

The dialects of Swiss German belong to the Indo-Germanic language family (Baur, 1983, p.21). Leeman (2012) asserts a rule of thumb, which is that the many dialects of Swiss German are usually named after the cantons in which they are spoken (p. 69). Rash (1998) describes the three major units that Swiss German is divided into: Low Alemmanic, High Alemmanic, and Highest Alemmanic. Both the dialect of Aargau and Zürich belong to the High Alemannic Group, which includes the dialects of the Swiss

Mittelland, the midland region of Switzerland (Rash, 1998, 132). Since this thesis specifically focuses on these two dialects, the in-depth picture of Swiss German will only describe the characteristics of this High Alemannic group. This group not only incorporates the dialects of canton Zürich and Aargau, it also included the northern region of canton Bern, and the cantons in the northeast and northwest (Rash, 1990, p. 133).

There is a significant feature which affects the differentiation of the dialects within the High Alemannic group: The Aare-Reuss barrier (Rash, 1990, p.133). This barrier is formed by the North and South oriented Aare and Reuss rivers; a multitude of isolgosses generally follow the path of these rivers (Rash, 1990, p. 133). This divide also affects the realms of the Aargauer dialect and the Zürich dialect. The next section will more clearly differentiate between the Aargauer and the Zürich dialects, in order to give a clearer picture of how they differ. This will help establish that there are clear-cut differences between the two dialects.

The Aargau and Zürich Dialects

The properties of the two dialects are illustrated here, to give the reader a more comprehensive picture of the unique aspects of the dialects, as well as to compare and contrast the two dialects in question. It is important to note that evidence of the Aargauer dialect is limited, due to the dialect being very fragmented in this region. The Zürich dialect is easier to speak of as a whole. However, both dialects have great amounts of variation throughout the cantons (Christ, 1965). First, the Aargauer dialect will be addressed. The Aargauer dialect can be found in the canton of Aargau, which contains many, diverse dialects. Rash (1998) cites Bigler (1984), in that he recorded four definite dialect areas for canton Aargau: northeast, northwest, southwest, and southeast (p.134). *Table 1* is adapted from Rash (1998), in which she cites a phonological example (a) and a lexical example of the Aargauer dialect (b) (p.134).

Table 1: Aargauer Dialect Differences. Adapted from Rash, 1998, p.134

		NE	NW	SW	SE
Phonological	deep	'töif' [tøif]	'töif' [tøif]	'tüüf' [tʉf]	'tief' [tief]
	like	'gäärn' [gærn]	'geern' [gern]	'geern' [gern]	'määrn' [gærn]
Lexical	candy	'Zältli' [tsæltli]	'Guuts(l)Ii'/'Chröömli' [gutsli] / [xrœmli]	'Täfeli' [tæfəli]	'Zückerli' [tsʏχerli]

The phonological example (a) demonstrates the variation of the vowels in *tief* (*deep,* author's translation) and *gern* (*like,* author's translation), and the lexical example (b) demonstrates the variations of the word *Bonbon* (*candy,* author's translation) present in the Aargauer dialect (Rash, 1998, 134). Rash (1990) gives findings by Haas (1982) and states, "Despite this heterogeneity, Haas is able to identity two features, the combination *hand* [hænd] and *Hòòr* [hɔr], which unite the entire canton" (p. 134). These examples by Rash (1998) demonstrate the variability within the cantons.

(1)   *D   Chatze   händ   Hòòr   glòò*

       [d   χɑtsə   hænd   hɔr   glɔ]

       The cats have shed hairs

The Zürcher dialect is found within the canton of Zürich. Rash (1998) gives a short, but comprehensive overview of the dialect of Zürich. She states that "Features which are distinctive for the whole canton are *hät* and the short *l* in *wèle.* The city of Zürich and the surrounding region has *Hààr*, while the upland area of the canton has *Hoor*" (p. 137) [IPA transcription is provided in Example 2].

(2)   *Er   hät   de   àlte   Màne   nüd   wèle   d   Hààr   strèèle*

       ɛʀ   hæt   de   altə   mɐne   nyd   vele   d   haʀ   stʀelə

       He did not want to comb the old man's hair

Due to the varying nature of the many dialects and the many dialectal fragmentations that one finds in Switzerland, it is useful to compare the two dialects to

show what distinguishes them, rather than attempting to give a comprehensive overview of both dialects.

One of the traits that would distinguish the Aargauer dialect to a non-Aargauer speaker is the vowel quality of the dialect. Siebenhaar (1997) states that vowel quality is a very distinct difference between most of the Swiss German dialects (p. 77). Baur (1983) gives evidence that many Swiss dialects are marked by a vowel change, from standard German to the dialect. The words that are usually pronounced with a long *a* in high German, change to a long *o* in dialect, and if applicable, from an *ä* to an *ö*. (p.27). Baur (1983) simply generalizes, by stating that many Swiss dialects undergo this change, however this change is realized in the particular Aargauer dialect that the writer, here, speaks.[4] Baur (1983) gives a direct example for the Zürcher dialect (except for the upper areas of Zürich, a region which the data, here, does not address). Baur (1983) states that in the canton of Zürich, the *o* is realized, again, as an *a*, and the *o* is realized, again, with an *ö* (p. 27). He gives examples that correspond with the words listed above, which can be observed, with their corresponding IPA transcriptions, in *Table 2*. Both terms, in the Aargauer dialect and the Zürich dialect, are displayed in *Table 2*.

Table 2: Vowel changes. According to Baur (1983) in most Swiss dialects, as compared to the Zürich dialect [5]

English	Standard German	Aargauer Dialect	Zürcher dialect
street (N.)	Strasse (N.) [ˈʃtʁɑː.sə]	Strooss [ˈʃtʁɔs]	*Strössli* [ˈʃtʁœsli]
to speak (V.) or Speech (N.)	sprechen (V.) or [ˈʃp͡ʁɛ.çən] Sprache (N.) [ˈʃpʁɑçe]	Sprooch [ˈʃp͡ʁɔç]	*Sprööchle* [ˈʃp͡ʁœçlɜ]
advice (N.)	Rat (N.) [raːt]	Root [rɔt]	*Rööt* [ʁɘt]

---

[4] I speak the Aargauer dialect and the examples by Baur correspond with my own dialect. I showed the examples to three additional native Aargauer dialect speakers, which affirmed that the examples also correspond to their own Aargauer dialect. Thus, there is evidence that these examples can be used to display a generalization of the functions that happen within the dialect.

[5] The original information by Baur (1983) was adapted to present the infinitive forms of "to go" and "to stand", in the Zürich dialect, in order to present consistency within the table. The terms that Baur (1983) provides are *si gönd* [si] [gɘnt] and *si stöhnd* [si] [ʃtɘnd], which are not the infinitive forms.

Table 2 continued

to stand (V.)	stehen (V.) [ʃte.hən]	Stoo [ʃtɔ]	*si stöhnd* [they stand] [si] [ʃtɐnd]
to go (V.)	gehen (V.) [ˈgeː.ən]	Goo [go]	*si gönd* [they go] [si] [gɐnt]
to blow (V.) or blister (N.)	blasen (V.) or [blasən] Blasé (N.) [blase]	Bloose [blɔsə]	*Blöösli* [blɐsli]
year (N.)	Jahr (N.) [ˈjɑː.ʁ]	Joor [ˈjɔʁ]	*Jöörli* [ˈjɐʁli]
late (Adj.)	Spät (Adj.) [ˈʃpæt]	spoot [ˈʃpɔt]	*Spööter* [ˈʃpɐtʁ]
to crochet (V.)	häkeln (V.) [hækln]	Hoogge [hɔgə]	*Hööggle* [hɐglæ]
to ask (V.)	fragen [fʁɑgen]	frooge [fʁɔgə]	*Frööge* [fʁɐglæ]

Further evidence by Christen (1998) shows that idiolects can be localized. An idiolect is a speech habit which is particular to a certain person, and Christen gives an example thereof by giving ratings by Swiss German speakers, of the second and third person singular verb, to be. In an example of the Aargauer dialect, "to be" appears as "du bisch / es isch," whereas in an example of the Zürich dialect it appears as "du bischt / es ischt" (Christen, 1998, p. 160). Thus, based off of the previous examples, differences between the Zürich dialect and the Aargauer dialect are substantial in that they are morphological, and also realized phonetically.

Thus, this chapter has summarized the language and dialect situation within Switzerland. This discussion is relevant because it sets up the dialects that are used in order to gain the data. It is important to show that the dialects differ so that the reader has a better grasp on the traits that characterize the dialects. The following chapter will review the literature present on identity and establish links with Swiss German.

Language and Identity

This chapter seeks to review the literature that links language to identity, a theme that is prevalent within sociolinguistics. First, a general overview of language and

identity will be given, and then dialect and identity will be reviewed. After a summary of this topic, dialect and identity will be addressed in the context of Swiss German and the relationship between dialects, as well as Zürcher Identity and Aargauer Identity. Since the study seeks to answer whether or not identity ascription that is associated with stereotyping occurs between the Aargauer and Zürich dialects, the treatment of stereotypes in the context of this project is also important. They that they link to language and identity, and "self" and "other" relationships in relation to language and identity.

Identity in Sociolinguistics: Implications for this Project

What is identity? And how do identity and language interplay? Joseph (2013) summarizes the concept of identity and its intricacies by stating:

> Identities, whether of an individual or of a community, are not a given. They have to be forged – created, transmitted, reproduced, performed – textually and semiotically. Language being the ultimate semiotic system, every identity ideally wants a language of its own. Not a wholly new language, but at least some segment of the vocabulary that insiders can use to distinguish themselves from outsiders. (p. 139)

In Switzerland, community identity is an important facet of every-day life (Steinberg, 1996). While national identity plays a large role, this national identity can be further broken down into identities at a more local level, such as according to dialects, towns, etc. (Steinberg 1996). However, what is meant by identity as it applies to this project? This chapter will give a comprehensive literature overview of social identity and identity construction, specifically how it applies to this project. The consideration of identity and language must begin with a definition of identity as it applies to this project, which is drawn from Antaki and Widdicombe (1998) and Tjafel (1981). Then, attention will be given to collective identities and social identities (Auer, 2007). Further literature on identity will then also be reviewed in order to show that while definition of identity could be brought out in more detail, these constructs will not be considered in the present project.

A Definition of Identity

Antaki and Widdicombe (1998) review identity as a construct that arises from talk, meaning that they look at how identity is a construct that arises from speaking interactions (p. 1). While this study does not examine talk transcriptions, which would illustrate this construct, it draws its definition of identity on the aspect from Antaki and Widdicombe's (1998) book. Within the literature that they review, they describe identity in the following way: "For a person to 'have an identity' – whether he or she is the person speaking, being spoken to, or being spoken about – is to be cast into a category with associated characteristics and features" (Antaki & Widdicombe, 1998, p. 3). This addresses identity associated with dialect, which is relevant to this project, because the person speaking the dialect, or being spoken to in the dialect, either casts him- or herself into an associated category, or is being cast into an associated category. These aspects also speak to the identity ascription and "self" versus "other" aspects being addressed within this project. Antaki and Widdicombe (1998) explain that categories with associated features mean that individuals can be grouped into categories based on a variety of features. They also emphasize that this association can be reverted so that features also indicate that categories exist (p. 4). This idea will be applied to the Aargauer and Zürich dialects, to show that dialect features project membership association. Thus, membership association contributes to the definition of identity within this paper.

An additional construct that contributes to the definition of identity within this thesis is that a main part to forming identities is the feel of fitting into a social category, which contributes towards group identities. Tajfel (1981) delineates this concept of identity as, "That part of an individual's self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership in a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership" (p. 255). These group identities and memberships create social divisions, which in turn add up to an 'us' and a 'them', thus generating in-groups and out-groups, that are compared and contrasted and contributing to ideas of social categorization (Tjafel, 1981, 254-261). Additionally, Tjafel (1981) makes the point that

The social identity of an individual conceived as his knowledge that he belongs to certain social groups together with some emotional and value significance to him

of his membership can only be defined through the effects of social categorizations segmenting an individual's social environment into his own group and others. (p. 258)

These ideas contribute to the definition of identity within the thesis because they are being used to investigate aspects of 'self' and 'other', which can arise within social groups. With these concepts in mind, this thesis investigates the extent of membership and group identity, and if collective identities arise from the Aargauer and Zürich dialects. Furthermore, the investigation assesses if ascription of the "self" and the "other" occurs in this context and pertains to this membership theory and identity ascription.

The third idea that contributes to the definition of identity in this paper is more broadly applied. Collective identity draws on identity in the sense of the metaphorical (Auer, 2007). Auer (2007) states, "Collectivities are treated as unique-quasi beings which express their identities through certain features equally unique to them" (p.2). As mentioned in the previous chapter, Swiss German is the native language of language speakers in Switzerland and plays an important role in this identity construction. Auer (2007) further reviews these ideas and states, that according to this line of thinking, "Each collectivity (particularly a nation, or a Volk) expresses its own individual character through and in its language" (p.2). This idea can be directly related back to the Swiss German dialects, if one looks as each dialect as expressing its own individual character through the way individuals speak. Auer (2007) investigates the extent to which social identities are constructed and managed in interaction, meaning how they arise "in an interactional episode as social personae" (p.3). However, within this thesis, these ideas are applied to written surveys.

In summary, the definition of identity for this work draws on constructs discussed in Antaki and Widdicombe (1998) and Taifel (1981). Antaki and Widdicombe's construct of category grouping will be addressed, as well at Tjafel's idea of membership and group identity. The third idea that contributes to the definition of identity in this paper is the notion of collective identities. More specifically, the study examines how this idea applies to a nation or a Volk and can be applied to the Aargauer and the Zürich dialects. The application to the two dialect entities can occur due to the projection that each dialect entity in Switzerland can stand as its own collective identity. The three ideas addressed

within the definition of identity provide a certain amount of overlap, to draw off of multiple perspectives that all interrelate, with the goal of thus assessing the language attitudes that arise between the Aargauer and Zürich dialects. These constructs will be investigated in accordance with the data that the surveys will have produced in the analyses section of the paper.

Other Definitions and Constructs of Identity

There are many other constructs of identity work within sociolinguistics, two of them being specifically important as they deal with identity and the manner by which it is regulated with regards to linguistic communicative aspects (Auer, 2007). These include theories by LePage (1978), and Gumperz and Cook-Gumperz (1982). While these lay the groundwork for some of the theories addressed above, they do not specifically apply to the present project. The reasons for their exclusion will be reviewed in the following paragraphs.

 The first construct is by Robert Le Page (1978), and Le Page and Tabouret Keller (1985), which Auer (2007) introduces in the introduction to his reader. He states, in regard to a summary of Le Page's model, "Le Page claims that our socio-stylistic choices are made in order to conform to the behavior of those social groups we wish to be identified with" (Auer, 2007, p. 4). Thus, the individual speaking becomes an actor who can choose the social associations that they want to pursue and then express them symbolically through the way that they speak (Auer, 2007, p. 4). It is important to note that while Le Page's model is applicable to the present study, it is also limited in regards to the data being addressed. Le Page delineates identity in terms of "acts of identity", meaning that the acts of an individual bring out social aspects. Auer (2007) summarizes the entirety of the argument:

> It is necessary to differentiate between social group A from whose (stereotyped) linguistic behavior a linguistic act of identity draws its semiotic resources, and a social group B with whom the speaker wishes to identify. A (linguistic) act of identity can then be defined as the selection of a linguistic element which indexes some social group A and which is chosen on a particular occasion (in a particular

context) in order to affiliate oneself with or disaffiliate oneself from social group B. A and B often but do not necessarily coincide. (p. 6)

Thus, Le Page is significant in the present study because his theories involve social groups and speakers expressing the group that they want to be associated with through the way that they speak. Therefore in Switzerland, for example, you could claim that the Zürcher seek the Zürcher dialect because they want to be symbolically associated with those individuals from Zürich, as an in-group association. However, for the purpose of this present project the aspects of in-group association are not considered. While the research addresses ideas of identifying with speakers' own respective dialects, whether or not they switch from dialect to dialect to express an affiliation symbolically through language does not pertain to the research questions.

The second construct, by Gumperz and Cook-Gumperz (1982), highlights that while gender, ethnicity, and class stand as arenas within which we design social identities, language and communication helps further the development of these arenas (p.1). Furthermore, Gumperz and Cook-Gumperz (1982) state, "Therefore to understand issues of identity and how they affect and are affected by social, political, and ethnic divisions we need to gain insights into the communicative processes by which they arise" (p.1).

The part of this construct that specifically applies to the present project deals only indirectly with the construct of class, in that the Aargauer dialect belongs to a canton that is seen as being primarily, rurally oriented, whereas Zürich falls into the classification of where the "city-folk" live ("Bündner," 2014). However, the present research is not addressing class as a construct that could contribute to the formation of stereotypes between the two dialects. Rather the research questions are establishing that the constructs exist and looking at how these constructs fit into the definition of identity coined for this project.

Dialect and Identity

This study specifically addresses the concept of dialect as it pertains to Swiss German dialects of the canton Aargau and the canton Zürich. The following sections discuss Swiss German spoken in the German speaking part of Switzerland. The fact that

Swiss German is the common language that unites the speakers of this area is an indication of the importance of Swiss German dialect identity as a whole. Furthermore, it will briefly be established that different dialects are associated with different identities. Additionally, the relationships between different Swiss German dialects are assessed with the goal of showing that relationships between dialects are often negative. The literature that is present on Zürcher identity and Aargauer identity is reviewed and finally, the gap that this research is seeking to fill will be addressed.

Swiss German Dialect and Identity

As established, the German speaking area of Switzerland speaks Swiss German, and though there are many different dialects, the Swiss language as a whole unites the German speaking Swiss (Leeman, 2012). Siebenhaar (1997) states,

> [The fact that], in German-speaking Switzerland, the professor and the untrained worker, the farmer and the priest can converse in the same language, is very important for the self-image of the Swiss German people. The use of the same variety is an expression of a democratic tradition, which distinguishes Switzerland from countries such as Germany or England, for example […] . (p.11, Translation by Leeman, 2012)

> Within the whole Swiss German language there are many different dialects, but due to the dialect contact that is present among them, the Swiss are able to understand each other (Leeman, 2012, p. 69). Leeman (2012) further emphasizes that through the Swiss affixing themselves linguistically with the use of their dialects, these become important for expressing Swiss identity (p. 73). Werlen (2005) states,

> The stereotype remains that we feel comfortable speaking dialect, rather than standard German. There are no mistakes in dialect, whereas there are mistakes in standard German. You do not have to put effort into speaking dialect, but you have to exert an effort to speak standard German. Dialect just happens by itself, whereas standard German does not. (p.29)

> Thus, since the Swiss consider Swiss German to be their mother tongue, Swiss German functions as the main means of personal, face-to-face communication within the German speaking area of Switzerland (Rash, 1998). However, since Swiss German can

be further divided into a multitude of different dialects, the relationship between the dialects must also be taken into account. The following sections consider these relationships, as well as what has been written about the identity of the people of Aargau and Zürich.

Relationships Between Dialects

Dürscheid (2006) states that the division of Switzerland into individual cantons not only brings a regional and political demarcation with itself, but also cultural differences that exist between the residents of the cantons. Thus, social discrimination and segregation must also be considered (Dürscheid, 2006, p. 6). Within Switzerland, this is seen as *Kantönligeist*, (cantonal spirit, own translation) which is the term used to describe a narrow minded sense of self, of the Swiss, that does not reach across the borders that are close to your home, specifically the borders between the different cantons (Staub, Tobler, & Schoch, 1885, p. 489). The idea of *Kantönligeist* can also be applied to the dialects within Swiss German. For example, Ammon (1995) explains that large differences in dialect, in Switzerland, correspond with the area being divided into small, regionally grouped cantons, which respectively corresponds with the idea of *Kantönligeist* within Switzerland (p. 289). Furthermore, this *Kantönligeist* can also be associated with national stereotypes (Ammon, 1995, p. 289). Thus, *Kantönligeist* helps explain the relationships between the different dialects, in the sense that it can contribute to the negativity that exists between the dialects of Swiss German.

Further evidence for a relationship between dialects comes from Leeman and Kolly (2015), who asked Swiss German, French, and English speakers to rate the phonetic aesthetics of the Zürich German dialect and the Bern Swiss German. The French and English speakers were unfamiliar with the two dialects (Leeman & Kolly, 2015, p. 1). He found that those unfamiliar with the two dialects did not show a preference between the two dialects, but the Swiss speakers preferred the dialect from Bern (Leeman & Kolly, 2015, p. 1). Leeman & Kolly (2015) state, "The attractiveness level of the dialect thus seems to be largely driven by the social attributes of its speakers and less so by its phonetic aspects" (p. 1). These findings by Leeman and Kolly (2015) show that social attributes of speakers are important when encountering different dialects. This

establishes how different Swiss dialects are associated with the characteristics of their speakers.

Furthermore, Berthele (2006) completed a study within which he sought to find linguistic explanations for the stereotypes that exist between the Swiss from different cantonal areas of Switzerland. His study establishes that these stereotypes are prevalent within Switzerland (Berthele, 2006). Within his study he presented the participants with different pictures while listening to dialect excerpts, which then had to be assigned to the pictures they were presented with (Berthele 2006). For example, the dialect of Bern was most associated with round drops of water or pretty flowers whereas the dialects of Zürich and St. Gallen were most associated with sharp arrows or angular designs (Berthele, 2006). Thus, one can further observe that language stereotypes and social stereotypes can contribute to the perception one has of a certain group of people.

In summary, the literature reviewed in this section shows that the relationships between Swiss German dialects contribute to different pictures and characterizations of their speakers.

Zürich Identity

It is important to review the information that is present on the Zürich dialect and what the evidence is for a distinct Zürich identity. Dürenscheid (2006), assesses language attitudes among speakers of different dialects in the German speaking part of Switzerland. The study also specifically addresses the different language attitudes toward the Zürich dialect. Dürscheid (2006) investigates six different dialects: the Zürich dialect, and dialects from Bern, Basel, Graubünden, Vallis, and St. Gallen areas. Dürscheid (2006) found that term that most prominently appeared when describing the Zürich dialect speakers was "arrogant" (Dürscheid, 2006, p. 26). Dürscheid's (2006) study differs from the present study in that in the present study in that only two dialects will be assessed, with specific focus on the attitudes present between only those two dialects. Dürscheid (2006), on the other hand, investigates six dialect regions. Furthermore, the participants are younger in the present study, whereas Dürscheid's study includes speakers between the ages of twenty and forty years old (Dürscheid, 2006, p. 23).

In regards to a collective identity of the Zürcher speakers, a survey was conducted by the Swiss newspaper *20 minuten,* where over 70,000 readers of the newspaper submitted their opinions on all 26 cantons in Switzerland. The question posed was, "What do you think of first" when thinking of a specific canton ("Bündner," 2014). Some of the terms that appeared most for the region of Zürich and its people were, "arrogant," "the in crowd," "conceited," "tax evaders," and "Züri-schnurrä" in regards to their dialect, meaning that they speak and sound like they are from Zürich, with the term having a negative connotation ("Bündner," 2014).

One study, completed in the city of Aarau in the canton Aargau assesses opinions of the people of Aarau, toward the Zürich dialect. The participants had been living in Aarau for the past ten years and were asked to rate the dialects in regards to context specific semantic differentials (Siebenhaar, 2000, p. 215). The differentials include aesthetic worth, economics and preciseness, productivity, vitality, and historicity, comprehension, tenor and style, and social worth (Siebenhaar, 2000, p. 218). For example, one category pair associated with aesthetic worth is "smooth" versus "rough" and all of the pairs put together generated a polarity profile (Siebenhaar, 2000, p. 220-221). The Zürich dialect was consequently prominently described as "conceited" and "bloated" (Siebenhaar, 2000, p. 222).

Thus, there are trends that appear with the Zürich identity, such as "arrogant," mentioned above. However, the evidence of language attitudes being applied to the Zürich dialect is limited, at best. The present study is seeking to shed light on these language attitudes, specifically, attitudes generated by the Zürcher themselves and the Aargauer dialect speakers.

Aargau Identity?

This section looks at the Aargauer identity in order to give an overview of what has been written about said identity. The claim exists that the a comprehensive Aargauer identity does not exist (Fischer De Santi, 2015). Furthermore, one news article claims that almost half of the canton first identifies with being Swiss, rather than being Aargauer, and ninety five percent of the Aargauers surveyed do not primarily feel as though they are Aargauer (Meier, 2011; Fischer De Santi, 2015). However, some common traits arise

in the self-assessment of the Aargauer on their Aargauer identity. These traits are "diligent, "enjoying celebrating," "helpful," "charming," and "xenophobic" (Meier, 2011).

The newspaper article by *20 minuten* also generated a picture of the Aargauer people. The terms and phrases generated are "the worst car drivers in Switzerland," "would like to be from Zürich," "buffers between Basel and Zürich," and wearers of "white socks" ("Bündner," 2014). Aargau itself is also seen as the "Rüebliland" of Switzerland, meaning "carrot land," to emphasize that it is a rural canton where carrots are grown ("Bündner," 2014). Thus, no distinct personality traits were generated for the Aargauer dialect speakers, like in the sense of the Zürich speakers being "arrogant." However, the newspaper articles do paint a picture of how the Aargauer speakers are generally viewed within Switzerland.

Stereotyping, Self, and Other

Much research has been done on the extent to which language transmits stereotypes, in that language is used to define, communicate, and assess stereotypes (Maas & Arcuri, 1996). Indeed, a relationship exists between the stereotypes that groups face and linguistics, which then portray social identities (Preston, 2013, p.159). Preston (2013) states, "some groups are believed to be lazy, insolent, and procrastinating (and so is their language or variety); some groups are believed to be hard-nosed, aloof, and unsympathetic (and so is their language or variety), and so on" (p. 157). Those assessing the languages and dialects sometimes even pinpoint direct linguistic features. For example, the Germans are often seen as harsh because they make use of harsh, guttural consonants when speaking (Preston, 2013, p.158).

The idea that is addressed in this paper involves language traits being assessed by others, in order to generate opinions on their personality traits. Thus, speakers use the way that other people speak in order to define their opinions of them, opinions that are not linguistically based (Hudson, 1980/1986, p.202). For example, Mugglestone (1995) states, "Irrespective of their actual personality traits, speakers with rural accents are conversely often assumed to be more friendly, more sympathetic, and more good-natured, as well as less authoritative" (p. 51). The model that will be addressed in the analysis, in

regards to the Swiss German dialect stereotypes, is the Linguistic Intergroup Bias Model (Maass, Salvi, Arcuri, Salvi & Semin, 1989). This model plays a role in stereotype maintenance, when related to behavioral episodes (Maass & Arcuri, 1996). They describe that positive in-group and negative out-group behaviors are often defined in fairly abstract terms, which imply "that the specific episode is related to more general characteristics of the actor" (Maass & Arcuri, 1996, p. 209). In contrast, negative in-group and positive out-group are usually described in concrete terms, which specify the behavior (Maass & Arcuri, 1996, 209-210). Maass et al. (1989) base their analysis off of the degree of language abstractness coined by Semin and Fiedler (1988, 1992). Maass and Arcuri (1996) summarize these categories. The first level is the most concrete. It is made up out of descriptive action verbs, which "provide an objective description of a specific, observable event" (Maass & Arcuri, 1996, 210). The next level of abstraction are interpretive action verbs, due to being more abstract since they can be used to describe a wider array of behaviors (Maass & Arcuri, 1996, 210). Maass and Arcuri (1996) give the example "A *hurts* B", and that these verbs "maintain a clear reference to a specific behavior in a specific situation" (Maass & Arcuri, 1996, 210). The next level of abstraction is described by state verbs, which show psychological state and mood, while being directed towards a person, such as "A *hates* B" (Maass & Arcuri, 1996, 210). The most abstract category is made up out of adjectives, such as "A is *aggressive"* which transmits generalizations (Maass & Arcuri, 1996, 210). These ideas will be investigated in the analysis section of the thesis, in accordance with the results.

Based on the review of the relationships between Swiss dialects, the Aargauer identity profile, and the Zürich identity profile, certain ascriptions of identity, that can be associated with stereotypes, occur in Switzerland. Bailey (2007) states that identities "Center on the processes through which individuals and groups create, maintain, or diminish social boundaries, marking themselves and others as the "same" or "different". Thus, the theories addressing stereotypes also serve as a means of addressing the "self" and the "other" due to dealing with identity ascription. It is important to note that, for this work, language and stereotyping is closely linked to identity. The theory involving stereotyping is associated with identity ascription in that they relate to in-group and out-

group relations. Links that can be established with Aargauer and Zürich identity will be addressed based off of the data in the results section.

Gaps in Previous Research

The literature review gives insight into gaps in current research. The gaps can be divided into three main categories: the dialects being used, the data gathering techniques, and theories addressing stereotypes. The first gap is that the Aargauer dialect has not been addressed in regards to sociolinguistic identity concepts. Limited research is present in regards to the collective identity of the Aargauer dialect. Furthermore, the specific dialect pairing within the present study has not been executed in other studies. The study that has Aargauer speakers evaluate the Zürich dialect (Siebenhaar 2000) does not take the same profile into account for the Aargauer dialect speakers themselves. The study by Siebenhaar (2007) does address the views of Aargauer dialect speakers towards the Zürich dialect speakers. This leads into the gap addressing data gathering processes. The research design for the aforementioned study by Siebenhaar (2000) is significantly different than the surveys created for the present study, in that Siebenhaar's (2000) study generates polarity profiles from category pairs. The survey created for the present study is based off of other sociolinguistic survey constructs detailed in the methodology section of the paper, which have not been used to assess the specific dialect pairing of the Aargauer and Zürich dialect.

Theories that involve language used as a means to stereotype have not been applied to the specific dialect pairing within this paper. There is room for a large amount of exploration in regards to language stereotype theories, especially when taking Swiss German dialects into account. The present study is seeking to contribute to filling these gaps and adding to the literature that is present on these topics.

Conclusion

This section of the literature review focuses on identity aspects for the present project, specifically those aspects that come together to form the definition of identity that will be used within the paper and those aspects that, while applicable, are not drawn from. Dialect and identity constructs are also reviewed, focusing on those relationships

between dialects in Switzerland, and what is known of a collective Aargauer identity and Zürcher Identity. Also highlighted are constructs involving stereotypes and how these propagate the idea of the 'self' and the 'other' in language and stereotype constructs.

      The identity research on dialects of Swiss German, with a focus on stereotypes and official study designs, is limited within Switzerland. This research seeks to contribute to the knowledge of social relations between different Swiss German dialects. Little research has been done on the Aargauer dialect. Since there is a debate whether a cohesive Aargauer dialect exists, this paper hopes to shed insight specifically on the identity workings of the Aargauer dialect. Moreover, it aims to explore dialects, in this case the Zürich dialect, can contribute to the discussion on an Aargauer dialect identity (Fischer De Santi, 2015).

CHAPTER 3: METHODS

This chapter will give a comprehensive overview of the methods used involving the data gathering process for the present project. The first part of the chapter will give information on the participants that completed the questionnaire for the project. This information will include why the certain demographic for this project was used. Next, the questionnaire will be reviewed, including the literature that helped generate the survey instrument. The data collection process will then be addressed in order to summarize how the actual data was gathered. Information on the tools used to analyze the data will be given as well as a summary of the methods and the generation of a preliminary hypothesis.

Participants

In broad terms, the participants for the experiment included Zürich dialect speakers and Aargau dialect speakers. For the purpose of this study, it is important that the speakers are from the same regional area within the canton as to ensure a certain quality of uniformity. Since there is evidence for the Zürich dialect being more uniform than the Aargauer dialect, it was important to choose a school that was centrally located in the city of Zürich, which is the area that is most associated with the Züricher dialect. The school that was chosen draws itsadolescents from the surrounding city areas of Zürich, which helps ensure that the pupils are from Zürich and speak the Zürcher dialect. In order to warrant the same parameters for the Aargauer dialect, it had to be ensured that both of the schools surveyed were in the same definite dialect area, referenced by Bigler (1984) of the canton of Aargau. The placement of the schools also ensured that the students coming to the schools were from the same dialectal area.

In total, 101 dialect speakers from canton Aargau were surveyed. Out of this total, 53 did not specify that they speak the Aargauer dialect, identify with the Aargauer dialect, or said that they spoke a different dialect than, or in addition to, the Aargauer dialect. These surveys were not considered within the analysis. Out of a total of 31 adolescents surveyed in Zürich, eight surveys were not considered in the analysis because the students did not identify with the Zürich dialect, or associated with another dialect in

addition to the Zürich dialect. Within the surveys that were not utilized, seven speakers identified with both the Aargauer dialect speakers and the Zürich dialect speakers. These were coded separately in order to shed insight into the data that could possibly be used for future studies that could pertain to mixed dialect speakers. The results are demonstrated in the qualitative and quantitative research portions of this thesis, but they will not be considered in the analysis.

An additional criterion for the participants was that they be over eighteen years old, for consent giving purposes. All of the participants were eighteen to twenty years old. The classrooms being surveyed ensured this age range, as they were college preparatory classes. The age range is important since there can be large variation in vocabulary used among different generations of Swiss speakers. The same age range eliminated the generational difference in dialects which can be present in Switzerland. Classrooms were chosen as the locations for research in order to narrow down the areas of the towns from where the dialects speakers come from, in order to keep the dialect as uniform as possible, since the dialects of Switzerland can contain much fragmentation. Furthermore, this also ensured that the age ranges would be between 18 to 20 years old. Classrooms would also allow for the possibility of future longitudinal studies to be held, because classrooms ensure that the adolescents are from the same region general, which would give insight into how and if language attitudes in this region are changing.

Many factors were not controlled for, because they were not of interest to this study. Those include gender, socioeconomic standing, and religion. The only two factors that were controlled for among the participants are the two mentioned above.

Instrumentation

Before detailing the research questionnaire, it is important to restate the research questions:

1. Do identity traits exist among adolescents that can be associated specifically with the dialect of canton Aargau in Swiss German?
2. Does identity ascription associated with stereotypes toward another Swiss German dialect, by the Aargau dialect speaking adolescents, occur? For example,

do these adolescents ascribe identity traits to those that speak the dialect of canton Zürich?

3. Do these traits exist among adolescents from another canton (Zürich)? This means, do adolescents from Zürich ascribe a certain identity to themselves, based off their own dialect, and do they ascribe certain identity traits to those that speak the dialect of canton Aarau?

In order to address the research questions, survey questions were generated. The questionnaire and an English translation thereof can be found in the Appendix. The goal of the questionnaire is to generate qualitative data, as well as a limited amount of quantitative data. As such a mixed methods approach is the goal of the survey. The survey is based off of previous studies, which utilize both of these concepts. The goal of the qualitative data questions is to ask direct questions relating to language attitudes and identity concepts and multiple studies were reviewed to construct the survey (Galindo, 1995; Rivera-Mills, 2000). The survey questions draw off of Preston's (2013) methods, which involve asking respondents to name speech characteristics of regions that they were given to assess (p.170). Thus qualitative questions were open-ended and were meant to elicit data on language and dialect attitudes. Furthermore, ideas for the survey, which addressed language stereotypes, were taken from Webster, Kruglanski, and Pattinson (1997), who worked with aspects of linguistic intergroup bias. As such, the questions asked for a positive or negative event associated with both groups. The qualitative section also addressed the dialect of the speakers taking the survey, as to ensure that if the speakers did not identify with a dialect within Aargau or the Zürcher dialect, the responses would not be used in the data analysis.

The quantitative data was generated using questions that were to be rated on a Likert scale. These ratings were set up on a scale from one to five, and participants were asked to give their level of agreement and disagreement for each of the six questions. The scaled questions incorporate three themes: the pleasingness of the dialects, the character of those speaking the dialects, and how strongly the dialect of a speaker is associated who a speaker is. For example, one question asked if to be a person from Aargau, one must speak the Aargauer dialect, which was then rated on a scale from one to five, with five being the highest. The Likert scale questions were generated in order to cater to the

quantitative methods approach within the thesis. Appendix A provides an overview of the survey used, in English and in German.

Data Collection

In order to collect the data, the questionnaire was distributed to the school classrooms, on paper, with the hopes of being able to gather a heightened amount of responses, rather than if it had been done online. In order to administer the survey, based on guidelines stipulated by the IRB, a third party was sent into the classrooms, who is unaffiliated with the study, in order to relay the recruitment message, the information sheet, and the questionnaire. The questionnaires were collected and then scanned to the researcher. The original copies were also mailed to the researcher.

Data Analysis

For the data analysis, the primary sources, the surveys, were analyzed. The surveys used in the data analysis were those within which the Swiss speakers identified only with the Aargauer dialect and only with the Zürich dialect, by answering a question asking which Swiss dialect that they speak. Those that identified as speaking other dialects were not considered within the results. The analysis of the data was done on two planes: qualitative and quantitative. The qualitative data was analyzed using the data analysis software NVivo. NVivo was appropriate because of the rich, text-based responses that the students generated in order to answer the survey questions. The data coding within NVivo allowed for the emergence of common themes and perceptions, through patterns within the data, which aid in the interpretation of the material.

Initially, the data was coded by looking at positive, negative, and neutral opinions towards dialect and character, so that the researcher could gain a broader idea of the data, and note patterns that emerged. Word frequencies were generated within NVivo, for the data analysis. In order to approach the word frequencies that were established, however, only responses to specific questions were observed. These word frequencies, which will be indicated within the results section, were generated by pooling the answers from the questions that specifically asked for Zürich and Aargau character opinions and dialect opinions. The researcher took into account that a certain word may have come up more than once within a singular answer to a question; if this occurred, said word was only

counted once within the word frequencies. Furthermore, the researcher also took into account if there was a negative or a positive word in front of the word frequencies generated, such as "not". If this occurred, the researcher describes it within the explanations following the word frequency tables.

   The quantitative data, generated from Likert scales, was treated with Matlab. Using this software graphs were created showing the averages for each of the six Likert Scale questions, for each respective dialect: Aargau, Zürich, and those that identified as having their speech influenced by both dialects. This generated histograms, which allow for a comprehensive overview of the range of answers, as well as the distribution. The differences between the averages of the answers for each of the questions, for each group, were plotted on a graph. Next, the Mann Whitney U test was used to look at the data from a different angle. In statistics, the Mann Whitney U test is a means by which one can compare two unrelated samples, meaning that the samples are independent (Corder & Foreman, 2009). In the case of the research for this paper, the answers from the quantitative portion of the Aargauer speakers are compared to the answers from the quantitative portion of the Zürich dialect speakers. The Mann Whitney U test is appropriate because each of the rated answers from the Likert Scales generated by the Aargauer speakers are independent of, or unconnected to, the Zürich speakers, and vice versa. Furthermore, the Mann Whitney U test is a nonparametric test, meaning that no assumptions are made about the distribution being normal, which is why the t-test is not used within this paper, because the t-test is a parametric test that makes assumptions about the parameters (Corder & Foreman, 2009).

CHAPTER 4: RESULTS

This chapter provides the results for the qualitative and quantitative data. It looks at the results from the data treatment within NVivo, for the qualitative data, and within Matlab, for the quantitative data. The section is divided into qualitative data and quantitative data. Within the qualitative data, results from NVivo will be displayed with word frequencies that were generated within the software. These apply to the character and dialect assessment of the Zürcher, by the Aargauer, as well as the Aargauer self-assessment of character and dialect. Furthermore, the qualitative data section also contains a character and dialect assessment of the Aargauer, by the Zürich speakers, and a Zürcher self-assessment of their own character and dialect. The qualitative data also includes results generated from asking about dialect switching and not speaking in ones own Swiss dialect. The quantitative data section shows how the two dialects compare, by looking at the Likert-scale data that was gathered. The final section shows qualitative results from speakers that identified as speaking a mix between the Aargauer and Zürich dialect, as well as briefly showing how the likert-scale questions compare to the quantitative data generated by the Aargauer and Zürich speakers.

Qualitative Data

Within the qualitative data, patterns emerged through the coding of the data. NVivo was used to run queries to generate word clouds of the words most frequently used for the different pattern nodes. First, the Aargauer's opinions on the Zürcher will be reviewed, as well as the Aargauer's own assessment of their dialect. Then, the Zürich dialect will be looked at, in regards to how the Zürcher view the Aargauer dialect and their own dialect. Within this section the common themes will be reviewed and results will be highlighted.

Aargauer Opinions of Zürcher and Self

Within this section, attitudes of the Aargauer, towards Zürich character and Zürich dialect is reviewed. One of the themes that arose from the coding was a negative

attitude of the Aargauer dialect speakers towards the Zürich dialect speakers. When looking at the NVivo software, there were 50 negative references towards those from Zürich, from 36 sources, 20 positive ones, from 17 sources, and 18 neutral references, from 16 sources. This means that, for example, that while there were 50 negative references that were coded, only 36 surveys contained negative comments. *Table 3* displays the 10 most frequent words that arose within the attitudes of the Aargauer Swiss speakers towards the Zürich Swiss speakers. Though there is a general negative theme toward the Zürich speakers and the dialect itself, this word frequency takes dialect out of the equation, and simply looks at the opinions of the Aargauer speakers towards the Zürich Swiss speakers.

Table 3: Aargauer Assessment of Zürich Character

Word	English Translation	Count	Weighted Percentage
arrogant (Adj.)	arrogant (Adj.)	21	20.59%
nett (Adj.)	nice (Adj.)	5	4.90%
anders (Adj.)	different (Adj.)	4	3.92%
gestresst (Adj.)	stressed (Adj.)	2	1.96%
eingebildet (Adj.)	conceited (Adj.)	2	1.96%
hochnäsig (Adj.)	snooty (Adj.)	2	1.96%
Stereotyp (N.)	Stereotype (N.)	2	1.96%
Studenten (N.)	Students (N.)	2	1.96%
vegan (Adj.)	vegan (Adj.)	2	1.96%
arbeiten (V.)	to work (V.)	1	0.98%

Table 3 includes the words in German and in English, along with their associated categories, the amount of times the word occurred in the questionnaire, and the weighted percentage. Weighted percentage means the frequency of the word in relation to the total words that were counted. This is the table format for the tables that appear in the rest of this chapter. The word with the highest frequency was "arrogant" (arrogant). This word came up a total of 21 times, within the surveys of the Aargauer dialect speakers, with a weighted percentage of 20.59%. This means that out of all of the words that came up within the answers to this research question, 20.59% addressed that an identity factor of the Zürich speakers is that they are arrogant. The second most frequent word was "nett"

(nice). It came up a total of 5 times with a weighted percentage of 4.90%. "The third most frequent word that arose was "anders" meaning that the people from Zürich are different. This word came up 4 times with a weighted percentage of 3.92%. "Gestresst" (stressed), "hochnäsig" (conceited), "Stereotyp" (stereotype), "Studenten" (students), and "vegan" (vegan) came up twice each, with a frequency percentage of 1.96%. "Arbeiten" (to work) came up once with a frequency percentage of 0.98%.

When looking just at dialect, the results can be displayed in table format for an easy overview, in *Table 4.* Within the coding software, NVivo, the responses for the open ended question of how the Zürich dialect sounds were assessed and the word frequency was generated from the answers given to this particular question.

Table 4: Aargauer Assessment of Zürich Dialect

Word, German	English Translation	Count	Weighted Percentage
arrogant (Adj.)	arrogant (Adj.)	8	6.96%
Züri (N.)	Zürich (N.)	6	5.22%
anders (Adj.)	different (Adj.)	3	2.61%
komisch (Adj.)	weird (Adj.)	3	2.61%
Züridütsch (N.)	Zürich German (N.)	3	2.61%
hochnässig (Adj.)	stuck-up (Adj.)	2	1.74%
lauter (Adj.)	louder (Adj.)	2	1.74%
normal (Adj.)	normal (Adj.)	2	1.74%
scharf (Adj.)	sharp (Adj.), harsh (Adj.)	2	1.74%
schnorre (N.)	mouth (derog. Phrase, N.)	2	1.74%
speziell (Adj.)	particular (Adj.), specific (Adj.)	2	1.74%
Vokale (N.)	vowels (N.)	2	1.74%
wären (V.)	would be (V.)	2	1.74%
Zöridütsch (N.)	Zürich German (N.)	2	1.74%
behindert (Adj.)	handicapped (Adj.)	1	0.87%

The word that came up most frequently is arrogant; it came up 8 times with a weighted percentage of 6.96%. The second most frequent word was "Züri" (Zürich), which came up 6 times with a weighted percentage of 5.22%. Twice, "Züri" preceded "Schnorre", which is a derogatory phrase in Swiss German. "Anders" (different), "komisch" (weird), and "Züridütsch" (Zürich German) each came up three times with a

weighted percentage of 2.61%. The words that each came up twice, with a weighted percentage of 1.74% are: "anders" (different), "komisch" (weird), Züridütsch (Zürich German), "hochnässig" (stuck-up), "lauter" (louder), "normal" (normal), "scharf" (sharp, harsh), "schnorre" (mouth, derog. Phrase), "speziell" (particular, specific), "Vokale" (vowels), "wären" (would be), and "Zöridütsch" (Zürich German). "Behindert" (handicapped) came up once with a weighted percentage of 0.87%.

The second prominent theme that arose, when looking at the Aargauer speakers, was a positive evaluation of their own character and their own dialect. *Table 5* shows a summary of the most frequent words that appeared within the coded data where the Aargauer speakers described their own character, minus dialect aspects.

Table 5: Aargauer Assessment of Aargauer Character

Word	English Translation	Count	Weighted Percentage
nett (Adj.)	nice (Adj.)	9	9.09%
normal (Adj.)	normal (Adj.)	8	8.08%
freundlich (Adj.)	friendly (Adj.)	7	7.07%
ländlich (Adj.)	rural (Adj.), agrarian (Adj.)	4	4.04%
cool (Adj.)	cool (Adj.)	3	3.03%
arrogant (Adj.)	arrogant (Adj.)	2	2.02%
extrovertiert (Adj.)	extroverted (Adj.)	2	2.02%
bodenständig (Adj.)	down-to-earth (Adj.)	2	2.02%
grosse	big (Adj.)	2	2.02%
mix	mix (Adj)	2	2.02%
zwischen	between (Adj.)	2	2.02%
anders	different (Adj.)	1	1.01%

The three most frequent words that arose, pertaining to the Aargauer character were "nett" (nice), which came up nine times, at 9.02%, "normal" (normal), which came up eight times with a weighted percentage of 8.08%, and "freundlich" (friendly), which came up 7 times with a weighted percentage of 7.07%. "Ländlich" (rural) came up four times with a weighted percentage of 4.04%. It is important to note that "arrogant" (arrogant), also came up within the Aagauer self-evaluation. It arose twice, with a weighted percentage of 2.02%, however tone of the two times it was accompanied with a

"nicht" (not), in order to compare the Aargauer speakers to the Zürich speakers, by saying that they are not as arrogant as the Zürich speakers. The remaining words came up twice each with a weighted percentage of 2.02%. These are "extrovertier" (extroverted), "bodenständig" (down-to-earth), "grosse" (big), "mix" (mix), and "zwischen" (between).

   Next, the Aargauer evaluation of their own dialect will be looked at. The dialect nodes that were coded were divided into negative, positive, neutral, stereotype related, versus Zürich, stereotype related, and descriptive. *Table 6* includes the 15 most frequent words that came up when the Aargauer dialect speakers evaluated their own dialect.

Table 6: Aargauer Assessment of Aargauer Dialect

Word	English Translation	Count	Weighted Percentage
normal (Adj.)	normal (Adj.)	11	11.58%
gemisch (N.)	mixture, blend (N.)	5	5.26%
Mix (N.)	mix (N.)	4	4.21%
neutral (Adj.)	neutral (Adj.)	3	3.16%
Aargauerdütsch (N.)	Aargauer German (N.)	2	2.11%
Bern (proper name)	Bern (proper name)	2	2.11%
besser (Adj.)	better (Adj.)	2	2.11%
geil (Adj.)	cool (Adj.)	2	2.11%
Solothurn (proper name)	Solothurn (proper name)	2	2.11%
Teil (N.)	Part (N.)	2	2.11%
verschieden (Adj.)	diverse (adj.)	2	2.11%
Akzent (N.)	accent (N.)	1	1.05%

   Table 6 shows that the word that had the most frequency within the surveys, was "normal" (normal), which was counted 11 times with a weighted percentage of 11.58%. "Gemisch" (mixture, blend), and "mix" (mix) and are synonyms for the same concept, that the Aargauer dialect is a mixture made up of multiple dialects. These were counted, respectively, 5 times and 4 times, with weighted percentages of 5.26% and 4.21%. "Neutral" (neutral) arose 3 times with a weighted percentage of 3.16%. The next seven words arose twice, each, with a weighted percentage of 2.11%. These are "Aargauerdütsch" (Aargauer German), "Bern" (Bern), "besser" (better), "geil" (cool), "Solothurn" (Solothurn), "Teil" (part), "verschieden" (diverse). "Akzent" (accent) came up once with a weighted percentage of 1.05%.

Zürich Views of Aargau and Self

Common themes also arose when looking at the Zürich speakers' opinions towards the Aargauer dialect and its speakers, as well as their own dialect and its speakers'. This section will look at the opinions of the individuals from Zürich, towards the Aargauer character and the Aargauer dialect. It will also assess the Züricher opinions of themselves and their own dialect. It is important to note that the amount of survey data gathered from the Zürich speakers is considerably lower than the surveys collected from the Aargauer dialect speakers. However, the word frequency will still be able to establish whether or not there are trends that arise from the data, but word clouds will not be generated.

When looking at personality and character of the Aargauer speakers, the Zürich speakers had eleven negative references that were coded within the NVivo software, seven neutral references, and four positive ones. *Table 7* shows the word frequency for the character and personality assessment of the Aargauer, by the Zürcher.

Table 7: Zürich Assessment of Aargau Character

Word	English Translation	Count	Weighted Percentage
nett (Adj.)	nice (Adj.)	3	9.68%
normal (Adj.)	normal (Adj.)	3	9.68%
Autofahrer (N.)	car driver (N.)	2	6.45%
fahren	to drive (verb)	2	6.45%
agressiv (Adj.)	aggressive (Adj.)	1	3.23%
altmodisch (Adj.)	old-fashioned (Adj.)	1	3.23%
Auto (N.)	car (N.)	1	3.23%
dumm (Adj.)	dumb (Adj.)	1	3.23%
durschnittlich (Adj.)	average (Adj.)	1	3.23%
intelligent (Adj.)	intelligent (Adj.)	1	3.23%

Since the amount of surveys collected from the Zürich speakers were much less than those collected from the Aargauer speakers, the word frequencies that present itself are lower, however trends can still be observed. "Nett" (nice) and "normal" (normal) came up three times, each, with a weighted percentage of 9.68%. "Autofahrer" (car

driver) and "fahren" (drive) came up twice with a weighted percentage of 6.45%. The next six words came up once with a weighted percentage of 3.23%. These are "agressiv" (aggressive), "altmodisch" (old-fashioned), "Auto" (car), "dumm" (dumb), "durschnittlich" (average), and "intelligent" (intelligent).

Next, just dialect will be looked at, in how the Zürcher view the dialect of the Aargauer speakers. Fort this, the word frequency was also calculated and patterns emerged, which will be discussed in the analysis section of the paper. *Table 8* contains the word frequencies for the Zürich speakers' views on the Aargauer dialect.

Table 8: Zürich Assessment of Aargauer Dialect

Word	English Translation	Count	Weighted Percentage
anders (Adj.)	different (Adj.)	3	9.38%
vokal (N.)	vowel (N.)	2	6.25%
normal (Adj.)	normal (Adj.)	2	6.25%
Züridütsch (N.)	Zürich German (N.)	2	6.25%
Ausnahme (N.)	exception (N.)	1	3.12%
betonung (V.)	to emphasize (V.), to stress (V.)	1	3.12%
benutzen (V.)	to use (V.)	1	3.12%
geschwollen (Adj.)	overblown (Adj.)	1	3.12%
bestimmten (Adj.)	certain (Adj.)	1	3.12%
doof (Adj.)	stupid (Adj.)	1	3.12%

The most frequent word that comes up is "anders" (different). This word appeared three times, with a weighted percentage of 9.38%. The second most frequent word is "vocal" (vowel), which appears twice, with a weighted percentage of 6.25%. "Normal" (normal), "Vokal" (vowel), and Züridütsch (Zürich German) appear twice, with a weighted percentage of 6.25%. The remaining words appear once and are displayed in order to analyze the theme present in the analysis. These are "Ausnahme" (exception), benutzen (to use), "Bestimmten" (certain), "Betonung" (pronunciation), "doof" (stupid), and "geschwollen" (overblown).

Additionally, word frequency was also generated for the Zürich speakers describing their own character. This, again, takes dialect out of the equation, looking first only at character and personality. *Table 9* shows these results.

Table 9: Zürich Assessment of Zürich Character

Word	English Translation	Count	Weighted Percentage
arrogant (Adj.)	arrogant (Adj.)	5	7.46%
gestresst (Adj.)	stressed (Adj.)	3	4.48%
normal (Adj.)	normal (Adj.)	3	4.48%
anders (Adj.)	different (Adj.)	2	2.99%
meist (Adj.)	mostly, often (Adj.)	2	2.99%
Mittelpunkt (N.)	center point (N.)	2	2.99%
nett (Adj.)	nice (Adj.)	2	2.99%
Schweiz (N.)	Switzerland (N.)	2	2.99%
sehen (V.)	to see (V.)	2	2.99%
distanziert (Adj.)	aloof (Adj.)	2	2.99%
sympathisch (Adj.)	personable (Adj.)	2	2.99%
verschlossen	withdrawn (Adj.)	1	1.49%

As displayed in *Table 9*, the most frequent word that arose was "arrogant" (arrogant), coming up 5 times, with a weighted percentage of 7.46%. "Gestressed" (stressed) and "normal" (normal) came up three times each, with a weighted percentage of 4.48%. The words that came up twice, with a weighted percentage of 2.99% are "anders" (different), "meist" (mostly, often), "Mittelpunkt" (center point), "nett" (nice), "Schweiz" (Switzerland), "sehen" (to see), "distanziert" (aloof), and "sympathisch" (personable). "Verschlossen" (withdrawn) came up once with a weighted percentage of 1.49%.

The Zürich dialect speakers were also asked to assess their own dialect. These Results are displayed in *Table10*.

Table 10: Zürich Opinion of Zürich Dialect

Word	English Translation	Count	Weighted Percentage
verständlich (Adj.)	understandable (Adj.)	3	6.00%
Aussprache (N.)	pronunciation (Adj.)	2	4.00%
Hochdeutsch (N.)	Standard German / High German (Adj.)	2	4.00%
schnell (Adj.)	fast (Adj.)	2	4.00%
Züridütsch (N.)	Zürich German	2	4.00%
ausgeprägter (Adj.)	distinct (adj.)	1	2.00%

The most frequent word is "verständlich" (understandable), which came up three times with a weighted percentage of 6.00%. "Aussprache" (pronunciation), "Hochdeutsch" (Standard German / High German), "schnell" (fast), and "Züridütsch" (Zürich German) came up twice, each, with a percentage of 4.00%. "Ausgeprägter" came up once with a frequency percentage of 2.00%. In the next section, the quantitative data will be assessed.

Quantitative Data

This section displays the results for the quantitative data, generated by six Likert Scale questions within the survey. First the results for the Aargauer dialect are displayed in *Table 10.* Then, the results for the Zürich dialect speakers are displayed in *Table 11*. To review, the questions asking for ratings are on a five-point scale. The first question asks for an assessment of how pleasing the Zürich dialect sounds. The second question asks for a rating of how pleasing the Aargauer dialect sounds. The third question asks for an assessment of the character of the Aargauer people and the fourth questions asks for an assessment of the character of the Zürich people. Question five and six ask whether or not one must speak the Aargauer dialect, or the Zürich dialect, to be considered an Aargauer or a Zürcher, respectively. The questions will be numbered 1 through 6, respectively in the tables that follow throughout the next sections.

Aargauer Assessment of Zürich and Self

The Aargauer dialect speakers' opinions will be addressed first, in regards to their own canton and towards those from the canton of Zürich. Then, the Zürich dialect speakers' assessment of their own canton and those from the canton of Aargau will be looked at. *Table 11* displays a comprehensive summary of the results for each of the six questions for the Aargauer. For each of the Likert-Scale rated questions, the endpoints of the continuum were one and five, with one being completely disagree, and five being completely agree.

Table 11: Means and Standard Deviations of Likert-Scale Questions for Aargau Dialect
Speakers, rated on a scale from 1 (lowest) to 5 (highest)

Aargau Questions	Mean	Standard Deviation
1: Pleasingness of Zürich dialect	3.43	0.93
2: Pleasingness of Aargau dialect	3.83	0.86
3: Character of Zürich dialect speakers	2.67	1.37
4: Character of Aargau dialect speakers	4.34	0.82
5: To be an Aargauer one must speak the Aargauer dialect	2.71	1.38
6: To be a Zürcher one must speak the Zürich dialect	2.86	1.86

Within the *Table 11*, question 1 shows that the mean rating for how pleasing the Zürich dialect sounds, according to the Aargauer dialect speakers, is 3.45 with a standard deviation of 0.93. Question two, asking to rate the pleasing sound of the Aargauer dialect is 3.83 with a standard deviation of 0.86. Question three asked for a rating of the Zürich speaker's character, which produced a mean of 2.67 with a standard deviation of 1.37. Question four asked for the rating of the Aargauer's character, which produced a mean of 4.33 with a standard deviation of 0.82. The fifth question addressed whether or not one must speak the Aargauer dialect to be considered an Aargauer. This produced a mean of 2.71, with a standard deviation of 1.38. The sixth question asked for a rating of whether or not one must speak the Zürich dialect to be considered a Zürcher, which produced a mean of 2.86 with a standard deviation of 1.86. These values can be comprehensively viewed on the following graphs in *Figure 1*, which shows the mean and standard deviation for each of the six Likert-Scale rated questions.
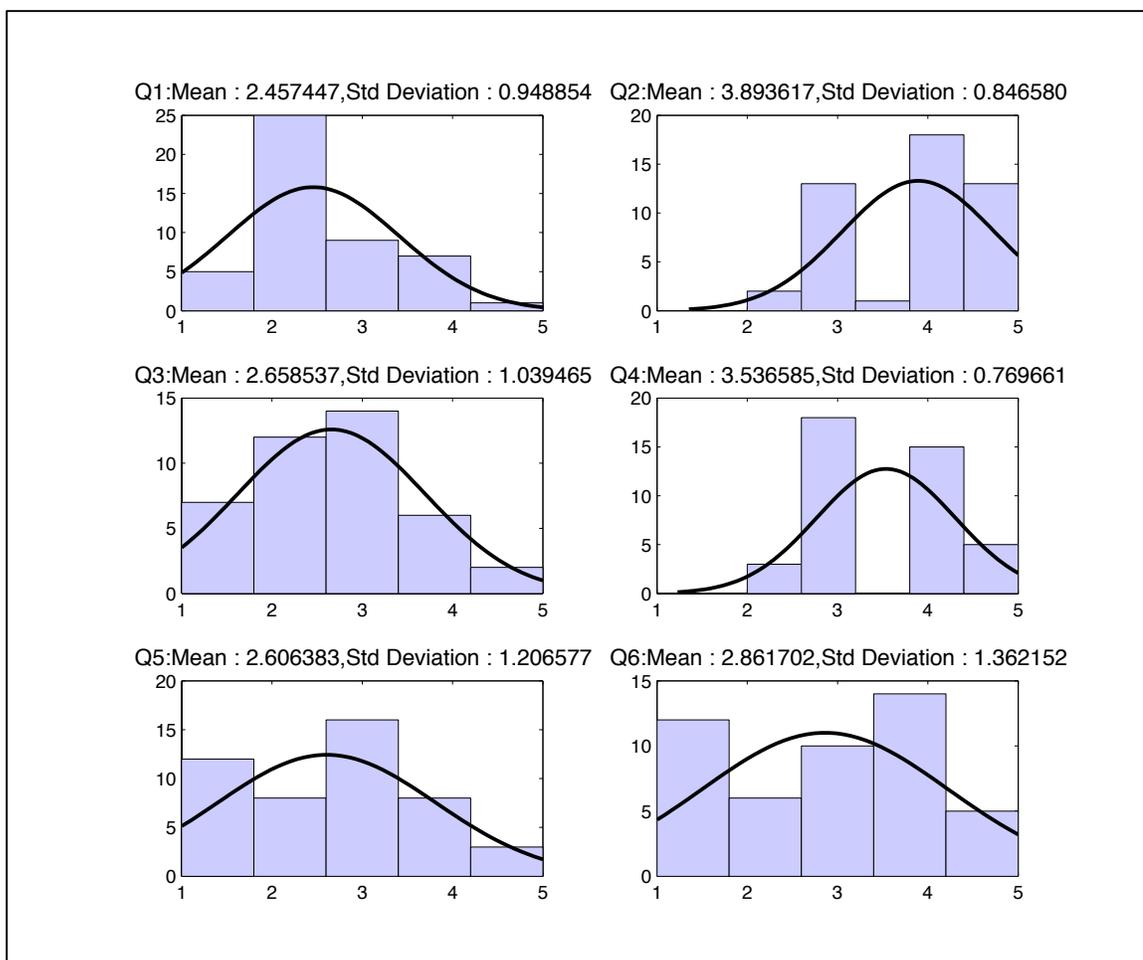
Figure 1: Bar graphs of Likert-Scale Survey Questions for Aargauer dialect speakers' assessment of Zürich dialect speakers.

Zürcher Assessment of Aargau and Self

The Zürich speakers were asked the same set of Likert scale questions that the Aargauer speakers were asked. Within the questions they evaluated themselves and the Aargauer dialect. Question 1, generated a mean of 4.70 and a Standard Deviation of 0.56. Question 2 generated a mean of 2.83 with a standard deviation of 0.97. Question 3 has a mean of 3.91 with a standard deviation of 1.05. Question four has a mean of 3.73 with a standard deviation of 0.72. Question 5 generated a mean of 2.74 with a standard deviation of 1.18. Lastly, question 6 generated a mean of 3.48 with a standard deviation of 1.31.

Table 12 demonstrates the values for standard deviations and means and *Figure 2* gives the values on a graph.

Table 12: Means and standard deviations of Likert-Scale Questions for Zürich dialect speakers

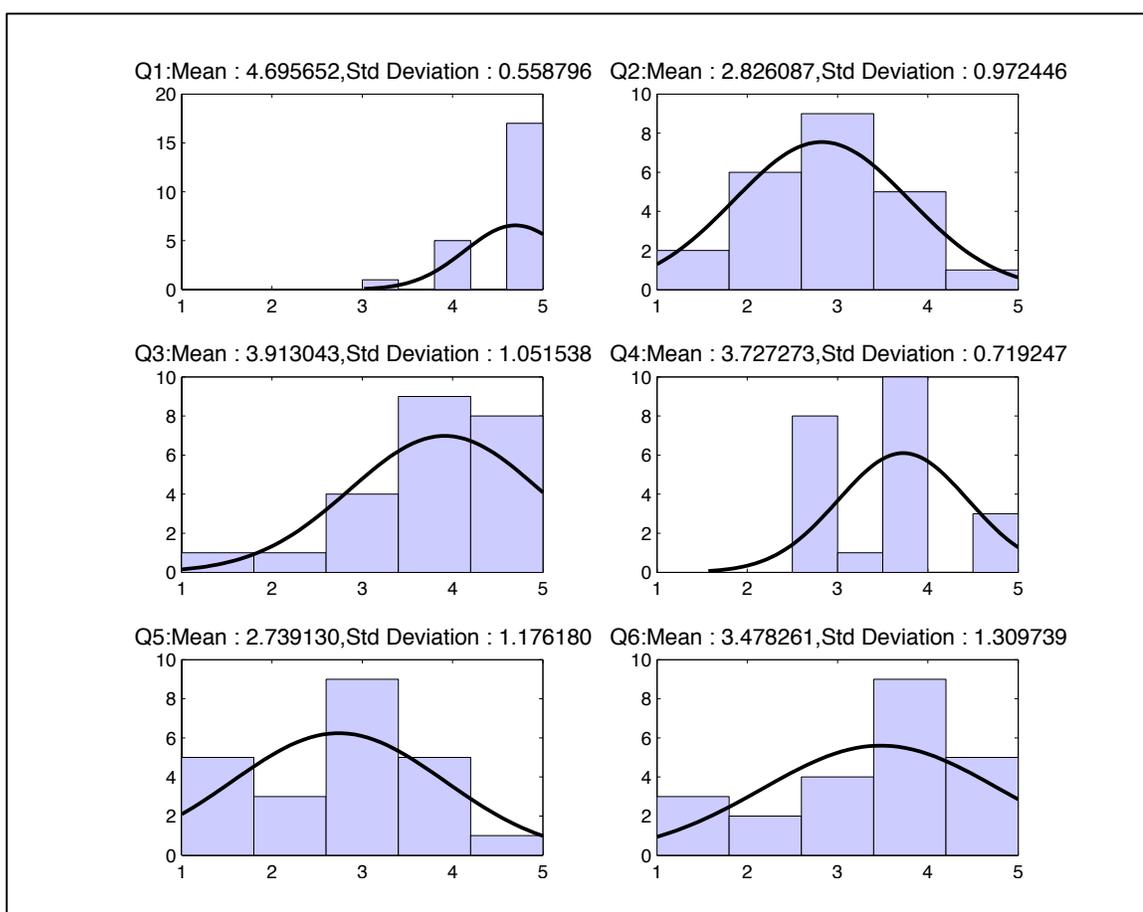| Zürich Questions	Mean	Standard Deviation
1: Pleasingness of Zürich dialect	4.70	0.56
2: Pleasingness of Aargau dialect	2.83	0.97
3: Character of Zürich dialect speakers	3.91	1.05
4: Character of Aargau dialect speakers	3.73	0.72
5: To be an Aargauer one must speak the Aargauer dialect	2.74	1.18
6: To be a Zürcher one must speak the Zürich dialect	3.48	1.31

Figure 2: Bar graphs of Likert-Scale Survey Questions for Zürich Dialect Speakers

Comparison between Aargauer and Zürich Dialects

Two methods were used to compare the two dialects. First, a plot was generated to demonstrate the differing means, and second, the Mann Whitney U Test. *Figure 3* demonstrates both dialects to show the visual differences between the ways that both dialect groups answered the questions.
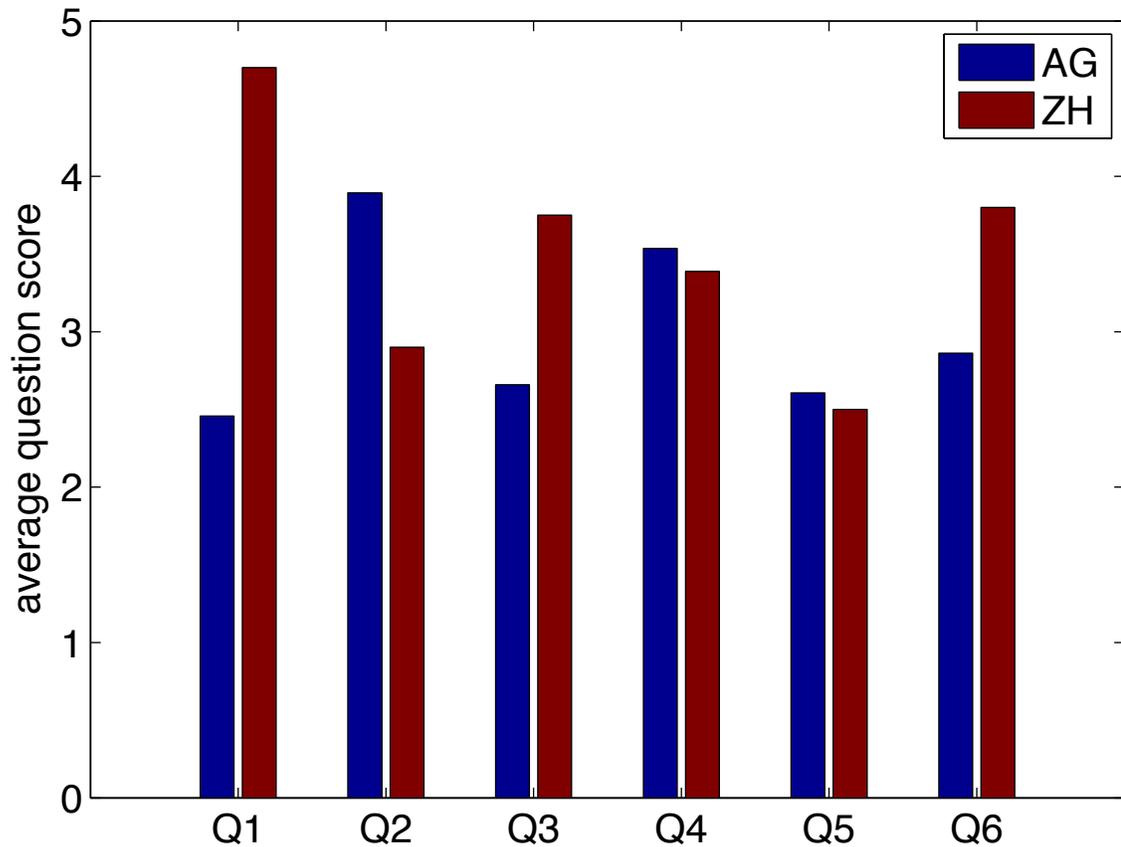
Figure 3: Comparison of Quantitative Data Questions between Zürich and Aargau

The quantitative data was further analyzed with the Mann Whitney U test, p-values were generated, along with the scores for each of the questions. The p-values for each of the questions are 6.729e-11 for questions 1, 2.947e-05 for question 2, 2.097e-05 for question 3, 0.186 for questions 4, 0.325 for question 5, and 0.0368 for question 6. These values show the probability of the two unrelated samples having the same answers for each of the questions. The values show that the Aargau and Zürich groups are different because the p-values are less than .05, except for question 5, where the p-value is more than 0.5.

The next section of the paper will use the results generated by the qualitative and quantitative data, in order to relate them back to the initial research questions. Significant patters and themes will be related back to the definition of identity within the literature review of the paper.

Mixed Aargauer and Zürich Dialect Speakers

Within the surveys that were sent out, there were seven individuals that identified as having a mixed dialect, between the Aargauer dialect and the Zürich dialect. While these results do not pertain to the current thesis topic, they could be considered for future Swiss German dialect research. Since the mixed dialect is not an aspect that is being investigated within the thesis, only the results will be listed, however they will not be factored into the analysis. Within the results, four aspects were looked at. These are the trends that arose pertaining to the Aargauer dialect, the Zürich dialect, the Aargauer character, and the Zürich character. Since there were only seven questionnaires that fit into this aspect, the trends will be minimal, but the surveys show that trends can be established.

First, the opinion of those speaking the mixed Aargauer and Zürich dialect, towards the Zürich character will be looked at. Word frequency was also established and it showed the three most frequent words being "arrogant" (arrogant), which came up twice, "hochnäßig" (stuck-up, adj), which also came up twice, and "nett" (nice, adj.), which also came up twice. Other words that came up, that pertain to character of the Zürich dialect speakers, such as "billig" (cheap, adj.), "hilfsbereit" (helpful, adj.) and "nicht" (not, adv.), but they only appeared once within the surveys. The "nicht" arose within the context of describing the Zürich speakers as not being nice. Within those words, there was no trend that could be established towards the general Zürcher character, except that the mixed Aargau and Zürich dialect speakers have varied views of the Zürich character.

When dialect was added into the word frequency results, the most frequent words were "lustig" (funny, amusing, adj.). This word came up twice. The next word, "betont" (stressed, adj.), only came up once and was used in the linguistic sense, so describe that some words are more stressed in the Zürich dialect. "Bünzlimässig" also came up once.

This words has a negative connotation in Swiss German and is used to describe someone that seems like a "petty bourgeoise" person who is a philistine, meaning that they are hostile or indifferent to cultural aspects and the arts. Other terms that came up once were "umlauten" (vowels, N) and "schnell" (fast), which were used to describe the nature of the dialect.

In regards to the opinion of the Zürcher and Aargauer speakers towards the Aargauer character, the word with the highest frequent was "nett" (nice), which came up three times. The other words that came up within the word frequency generation only appeared once. Those that apply to character are "anders" (different, adj.), "arrogant" (arrogant, adj.), "chillig" (relaxed, adj.), "gemütlich" (homely, adj.), "lässig" (easygoing, adj.), and "locker" (laid-back, adj.). These words have a more positive connotation in their usage within the surveys.

Next, the word frequency for the mixed Aargauer and Zürich dialect, in regards to opinions towards the Aargauer dialect, was generated. Each of these words only appeared once. They are: "aargauish" (term for Aargauer dialect, adj.), "anders" (different, adj.), "gewohnt" (familiar, habitual, adj.), "gröber" (rough, adj.) in comparison to the Zürich dialect, "gut" (good, adj.), "mittelschnell" (medium speed, adj.), "normal" (normal, adj.) and "neutralsten" (to be the most neutral, adj.).

Thus, though there were only seven questionnaires where the speakers identified as having a mixed Aargauer and Zürich dialect, character and dialect descriptions arose from the surveys. In case of the Zürich dialect, the portrayals are more varied, in that both negative and positive terms arise. Positive and neutral terms were more prevalent when describing the Aargauer character and dialect, which falls in line with the Aargauer character and dialect descriptions that arose by the Zürich and Aargauer speakers, separately.

Figure 4 shows a comparison of the Zürich dialect speakers, the Aargau dialect speakers, and the mixed Zürich-Aargau speakers in order to show how the questions that generated the quantitative data compare to each other. The means for the Likert-Scale questions are: question 1 at 3.43, question 2 at 3.83, question 3 at 2.67, question 4 at 4.32, question 5 at 2.71, and question 6 at 2.73.
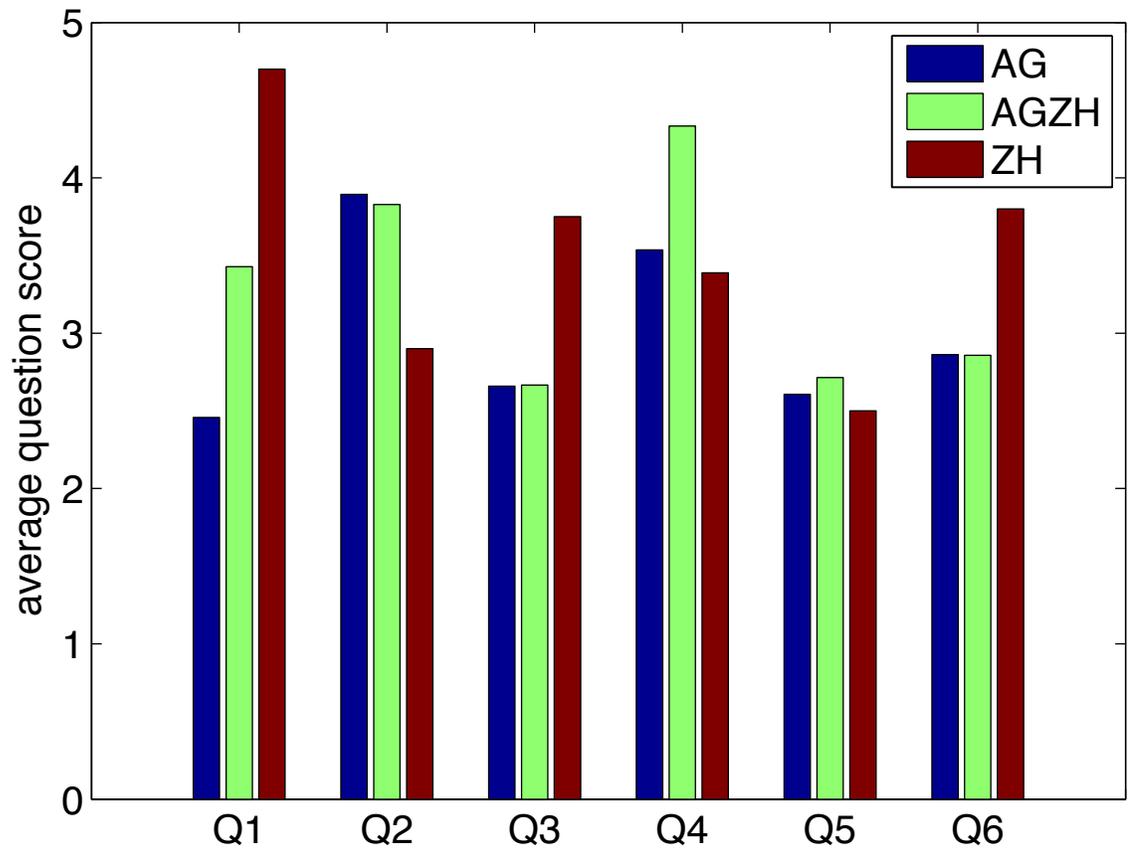
Figure 4: Mixed Dialect Speaker Comparison

CHAPTER 5: ANALYSIS

Within this chapter the results generated from the surveys will be discussed and interpreted. The results will be related back to the research questions, as well as connected to the definition of identity, which arose within the literature review, along with further concepts discussed within the identity section of the thesis. Examples will mainly be pulled from the surveys to show how the results positively support the initially-stated research questions.

The research questions, to which the data will be related back to, are:

1. Do identity traits exist among adolescents that can be associated specifically with the dialect of canton Aargau in Swiss German?

2. Does identity ascription associated with stereotypes toward another Swiss German dialect, by the Aargau dialect speaking adolescents, occur? For example, do these adolescents ascribe identity traits to those that speak the dialect of canton Zürich?

3. Do these traits exist among adolescents from another canton (Zürich)? This means, do adolescents from Zürich ascribe a certain identity to themselves, based off their own dialect, and do they ascribe certain identity traits to those that speak the dialect of canton Aarau?

Research Question 1

The first research question asks if identity traits exist within a Swiss classroom that can be associated with the Swiss-German dialect of canton Aargau. Based on the data reviewed in the results, the Aargauer dialect is described largely in a positive way, aligning itself with the positive character traits that the Aargauer self-ascribed themselves. However, concrete identity traits through the word frequencies did not arise. Yet within the surveys, there are isolated examples of the Aargauer dialect being associated with positive identity traits. For example, when asked how the Aargauer dialect speakers speak (question nine from the dialect survey), one student responded with "freundlich" (friendly, adj.) (AG dialect speaker #18). This term appeared seven

times within the terms generated by the assessment of the Aargauer character. Another student described the Aargauer dialect as not being arrogant (AG dialect speaker #39), which also aligns with the data from the character self-assessment, in that out of the two times that the word "arrogant" arose, it was preceded by a "not" twice once. Thus, two examples arose where the Aargauer dialect speakers associated their own dialect with a specific character trait which arose within the Aargauer character results as well. Furthermore, the predominant description of the Aargauer dialect is "normal". This term came up 11 times in regards to dialect and nine times in regards to Aargauer character.

The aspect of the Aargauer dialect self-assessment of identity that relates to the definition of identity generated within the identity section of the thesis is that the Aargauer speakers cast themselves into a distinct category. They describe themselves as "normal", effectively establishing that there is another category that is "not normal", or in opposition to this "normal" category. How this further relates back to the definition of identity coined within the identity section of the thesis will be addressed along with the second research question.

It is important to address the quantitative data generated for question two and question four from the surveys. Question two asked for a rating of the Aarguer dialect on a scale of one to five, with one being the least pleasing, and 5 being the most pleasing. Question four asked for a rating of the character of the Aargauer dialect speakers, with one being the lowest rating, and five being the highest rating. Question two generated a mean of 3.89 and question four generated a mean of 3.53. The distributions of these two questions, on the histograms that were generated, are bimodal. This means that the Aargauer speakers either rated the Aargauer dialect and character below a three, or above a three, but never at a three. This shows the Aargauer speakers expressing their opinions for their own dialect and character, and that these opinions either lay on the spectrum of being low, at a one or two, or high, at a four of five. Thus, they are split in their opinions towards their own dialect and character.

Research Question 2

The second research question asks whether identity ascription associated with stereotypes toward another dialect within that Swiss German classroom occurs. This was

investigated by looking at Aargauer assessment of Zürich dialect speakers. In this section, the research question will be addressed based on the results and related to the definition of identity within the literature review and discussed in the context of literature related to stereotyping. Within the results there is a definite overlap between the Aargauer assessment of Zürich character and the Aargauer assessment of Zürich dialect. This indicates which shows that there is a clear distinction between the Aargauer dialect speakers and the Zürich dialect speakers in the eyes of the Aargauer. There is a predominately negative theme that arises based on how the Aargauer evaluate the Zürcher. The word "arrogant" arose 21 times in relation to the Zürich character, and eight times in relation to the Zürich dialect. Other words also arose within the surveys when the Zürich dialect was addressed that generated character assessments of the Zürich dialect. These were predominantly negative assessment by the Aargauer speakers. Furthermore, this idea is supported by the Likert-scale question addressing how nice the Zürich dialect sounds. The mean of 2.45 indicates that the Zürich dialect is not pleasant to listen to for a majority of the Aargauer dialect speakers.

Identity

This above-mentioned concepts are significant in regards to this paper's definition of identity, specifically when referring to Antaki and Widdicombe's (1998) concept that "someone who displays, or can be attributed with a certain set of features, is treatable as a member of the category with which those features are conventionally associated" (p. 4). The Zürich speakers are associated with the Zürich dialect, thus categorizing them as a member of the Zürcher dialect-speaking group. Within this membership category, the feature "arrogant" becomes salient in relation to dialect opinions towards the Zürich dialect.

The terms that arose further relate to the definition of identity coined in the literature review, specifically in regards to Auer (2007). Auer's (2007) ideas highlight that collectivities express their own individual character based on their language (p. 2). This idea is expressed within the surveys that the Aargauer speakers took, in that they relate their own dialect to the Aargauer character and the Zürich dialect to the Zürich character. Thus, the collectivity of the Aargauer dialect becomes highlighted when the

Aargauer describe their own character in a positive manner, in relation to their own dialect. Further highlighting of the Aargauer dialect occurs when the Aargauer contrast their own dialect and character with the Zürich character and dialect, which are both described negatively.

When taking Tjafel's ideas into consideration, one can think of the Aargauer dialect group as making social categorizations towards the Zürich group, which gives each of these entities a separate group. This propagates the idea of the "self" and the "other", which Tjafel (1981) addresses as an aspect of membership within social categorizations (p. 258). Examples of the Aargauer dialect speakers categorizing the Zürich dialect speakers, in relation to Tjafel, arose from the questionnaires. Through the Aargauer speakers making comparisons of their own character and dialect to the Zürich character and dialect, these categories become clear. Many of the comparisons are in regards to dialect differences. For example, one student says that the words in the Zürich dialect sounds more drawn-out and louder (AG dialect speaker #39). Another student describes the dialect as being faster and more pointed (AG dialect speaker #62). These comparisons also arise in regards to identity traits, such as when one student describes that the Zürich dialect sounds more uppity and stuck-up, when compared with the Aargauer dialect (AG dialect speaker #61). These comparisons also arise in regards to character. For example, when one student states, that the Zürich Swiss appear to be more arrogant than the rest of the Swiss Speakers in Switzerland, but that this is a stereotype (AG dialect speaker #94). That the Aargauer build social categories between themselves and the Zürich speakers is furthered by the general theme of the Zürich speakers being "different" than the Aargauer speakers, as well as appearing as arrogant and strange, which are common terms that arose within the questionnaires. Thus, identity is a salient feature that arises for the Aargauer, in regards to the Zürich dialect.

Stereotyping

The second research question specifically addresses stereotypes, and whether or not they arise from the Aargauer dialect speakers, in relation to the Zürich dialect speakers. The significant ideas regarding stereotyping behavior that apply to this thesis were reviewed in the literature review. To reiterate, a portion of this research looks at

language traits being assessed by others. In this case, it focuses on the Aargauer assessing the Zürich dialect, in order to generate opinions on the Zürich personality traits (Hudson, 1980/1986, p.202). The Aargauer are assessing the way that the Zürich speakers speak in order to define their opinions of the Zürich speakers, and these opinions are not linguistically based. This becomes evident from *Table 3* in that the Aargauer speakers are assigning traits to the Zürich speakers, such as "arrogant", "weird", and "stuck-up", which are not seen as being linguistically based, since they encompass identity and character traits.

Furthermore, the idea that the Aargauer speakers assign personality traits to themselves and to the Zürich speakers directly applies to ideas introduced by Bailey (2007). Bailey (2007) focuses on how individuals and groups mark themselves as being the same as other groups, or different from other groups, which creates a "self" and a "other", and involves identity ascription. This is done by the Aargauer dialect speakers, towards the Zürich dialect speakers: identity traits are being assigned to the Aargauer themselves, and to the Zürich speakers, by the Aargauer.

For example, an Aargauer speaker states, "Im Allgemeinen sind Zürcher eher arrogant und oberflächlich. Blicke sagen mehr als 1000 Worte" [Generally Zürcher are rather arrogant and superficial. Looks say more than one thousand words] (AG dialect speaker #39). In this quote, the Zürcher are being directly ascribed identity traits, which shows that the Aargauer speakers see them as the "other". This is further demonstrated by the same speaker, making a contrast between the Aargauer and Zürich speakers by stating that the Zürich speakers are "oberflächlicher" [more superficial] than the Aargauer individuals (AG dialect speaker #39). Thus, this speaker is ascribing identity traits to the Zürich speakers, while also speaking to the "self" in that the Aargauer are less superficial than the Zürich speakers.

Further stereotype examples can be assessed in accordance with Maass, Arcuri, and Semin's (1989) Linguistic Bias Intergroup Model. As described in the literature review, according to this model, positive in-group and negative out-group behaviors are often described in abstract terms, whereas negative in-group and positive-out group behavior is often explained in concrete terms (Maass & Arcuri, 1996, 206). In order to

address this model. Word frequencies will be looked at, as well as specific answers pulled from the surveys.

Within word frequency *Table 3*, seven out of the ten most frequent words are adjectives. This shows that the Aargauer speakers described the identity of the Zürich people at the highest level of abstraction, following the proposition that high abstraction is used to describe the outgroup negatively. However, the Linguistic Bias Intergroup Model refers to describing behaviors. Within the survey, a question was posed with the intent of prompting the Aargauer dialect speakers to describe an event that involved a Zürich speaker, be that negative or positive. While many chose to not answer this question or answered that they had not had such an interaction, nineteen students gave examples of specific behavior. Out of these nineteen answers, fourteen were negative, two were neutral, and three were positive. Negative behaviors were described at the highest level of abstraction seven times, at the lowest level of abstraction six times, and at the second level of abstraction once. Thus, while there is evidence that the Aargauer speakers describe the Zürich speakers' negative behaviors with the highest level of abstraction in a large amount of cases, this is not the outstanding trend. The Aargauer speakers also described the behaviors with the lowest level of abstraction, which does not follow the projections by the Linguistic Intergroup Bias model.

Furthermore, the positive behaviors of the Zürich dialect speakers were exclusively described at the highest level of abstraction, and the neutral behaviors were described once at the lowest level of abstraction and twice at the highest level of abstraction. Indeed, this does also not follow the Linguistic Intergroup Bias model, in that the model projects that positive outgroup behavior is described in more concrete terms. However, this was not the case within the surveys.

To investigate the extent of the Linguistic Intergroup Bias model applying to how the Aargauer self-describe their own behaviors, the Aargauer speakers were also asked to recount an event, be that negative or positive, that occurred with an Aargauer speaker (Question 12). According to the model, the Aargauer speakers should describe their positive in-group behaviors in abstract terms, and their negative in-group behaviors in concrete terms. Behavior descriptions were not elicited within the surveys. Rather, many students relayed that they have experienced both negative and positive events, since they

are primarily in contact with other Aargauer speakers. Thus, these aspects cannot be investigated.

Based on the examples and evidence reviewed, within a Aargauer Swiss classroom, identity ascription associated with stereotypes toward the Zürich dialect speakers does occur in regards to identity as well as language. Aspects of the "self" and the "other" clearly arise. As mentioned in the literature reviewing stereotype concepts, However, there is not enough evidence to show that the Linguistic Intergroup Bias Model is followed.

Research Question 3

This section addresses the third research question within the thesis. It is divided into three sections. The first section looks at the identity that the Zürich speakers assign to themselves. The second section looks at the identity traits that the Zürich speakers assign to the Aargauer speakers and how this fits into the definition of identity coined in the literature review. The third section looks at stereotypes generated within the answers and how this fits into the stereotype theories from the literature review.

Zürich Identity

As with the Aargauer and their own identity, the Zürich dialect speakers ascribe their own identity to themselves. The ascriptions arose from both the word frequencies focusing on just character and the word frequencies focusing on just Zürich dialect. The theme of the Zürich self-assessment of their own character was both negative and positive. However, based on the Likert-scale questions, they rated the Zürich character high, with a mean of 4.70 for dialect and 3.91 for character. In regards to the word frequencies, the total count of the negative terms was almost equal to the positive words. For example, one Zürich speaker states, "Züricher sind oft nicht offen und wirken dadurch etwas arrogant / unfreundlich – v.a. auf der Strasse sind die Menschen nicht daran interessiert, neue Kontakte zu knüpfen" [Zürcher are often not open and seem a little bit arrogant because of this / unfriendly – The people on the streets, especially, are not interested in establishing new connections / socializing] (ZH Dialect Speaker #9). Another student from Zürich states that those from Zürich are "Nett aber distanziert,

sehen sich als Mittelpunkt der Schweiz" [Nice, but distanced. They see themselves as the center of Switzerland] (ZH Dialect Speaker #15).

Within the surveys and the word frequency generated for Zürich identity, the word "normal" (normal) arose three times. Thus, aspects of the Zürich dialect speakers establishing that there is an additional category that is different from the Zürich "normal" also arose. Collective identity traits arose from the word frequencies, in that specific adjectives occurred which describe the self-assessed Zürich identity. Within the word frequencies generated from the Zürich dialect self-assessment, identity traits were not generated. Furthermore, the surveys did not contain any terms or adjectives that brought out identity traits within the dialect assessment. Rather, only aspects of the dialect were described. For example, one student stated, "Es ist ein nicht allzu ausgeprägter Dialekt, wie z.b. der Bernerdialekt oder wie die Menschen in Basel sprechen Ich würd ihn als neutral bezeichnen" [It is not very distinct, such as the Bern dialect or how the people from Basel speak. I would describe it as neutral] (ZH Dialect Speaker #9). Additionally, two students stated that Zürich German is the best dialect and the prettiest dialect (ZH Dialect Speaker #15 & #6). Thus, aspects of comparison arose within the surveys, indicating that the Zürich speakers are placing themselves into a collectivity as well as casting themselves into a category that is different from other categories. Furthermore, question 6 of the Likert-Scale questions stated that to be a Zürcher one must speak the Zürich dialect.

Auer (2007) also states that collectivities convey their individual character through the language that they speak. This idea was not visible within the word frequency tables. However, an aspect that can be related to this idea does come up: within the surveys, when asked what dialect the Zürich speakers speak, the Zürich speakers often answered with the term "Zürich German". However, this term was often not expressed in standard German, which the rest of the questionnaires were written in, rather this, and only this, term was often written in Swiss German. Writing this term in dialect could show that they are expressing their character through their language, thus making them a collectivity.

Aargau Identity

In this section, the extent of the Aargau identity ascription by the students from Zürich will be reviewed. Moreover, this section will also address how this applies to the specific Aargauer dialect identity. Within the word frequencies pertaining to Aargauer identity in *Table 7* the positive and neutral descriptions outweighed the negative descriptions of the Aargauer. The character of the Aargauer speakers was rated high, at a mean of 3.73, generated from the Likert-scale questions. Dialect was rated lower, but still above the mid-point of 2.5, at 2.83.

Membership association, according to Antaki and Widdicombe (1998) is present within the Zürich identity ascription of the Aargauer. The Zürcher are casting the Aargauer into the category of being Aargauer speakers: some are comparing the Zürich dialect to the Aargauer dialect. For example, one speaker states that they speak "Möchtegern-Züridütsch" [Wannabe-Zürich German] (ZH Dialect Speaker #6). Furthermore, the Zürich speakers also describe the dialect of the Aargauer. For example, one student states, "Sie sprechen viel mit 'e' und 'o'" (ZH Dialect Speaker #17). This also shows that the Zürich speakers differentiate between their own dialect and the Aargauer dialect, further casting the Aargauer into a category. Additionally, there are also negative references to the character of the Aargauer speakers such as "Tönt ein wenig doof", further showing that the Aargauer are being cast into a category. Their dialect is being negatively spoken about [Sounds a little stupid] (ZH Dialect Speaker #2).

These above-mentioned examples also bring out Tjafel's (1981) concepts, in that they contain aspects of contain aspects of an 'us' and a 'them'. This contributes to social categorization between the Aargauer and the Zürich dialect speakers, in that the Zürich dialect speakers are comparing the Aargauer dialect to their own. There are aspects of emotional significance present, in that the Zürcher are also mentioning negative aspects of how the Aargauer dialect sounds (Speaker #2).

The final aspect of the definition of identity coined for this project involve collectivities, by Auer (2007.) In the results there are no overlaps between the word frequencies generated by the Zürcher about the Zürich dialect and Zürich identity, and Aargauer dialect and Aargauer identity. However, aspects of the Zürich dialect speakers seeing themselves as a collectivity arise. Auer (2007) defines collectivities as being

distinctive entities that have features in common that give these entities their own, individual character. This can be seen with the Zürich speakers, when one speaker states that the Zürich speakers, "Haben ihre eigene Sprache" [Have their own language] and that the Aargauer dialect sounds "Komisch für Zürcher" [weird for the Zürich speakers] (ZH Dialect Speaker #11). Within this example the speaker is categorizing the Zürich speakers as having their own language, effectively designating that Zürich speakers are a collectivity, because the Zürich speakers have the aspect of their own language in common. This is then placed in opposition to the Aargauer speakers, which sound "weird" for the Zürich speakers.

The definition of identity coined within the literature review can thus also be applied to how the Zürich dialect speakers view the Aargauer dialect speakers. It gives insight into identity and language processes for this group, in comparison and contrast with the Aarguaer dialect speakers. The next section will look at stereotyping from the Zürcher point of view, towards the Aargauer.

Stereotyping

This section looks at the extent of stereotypes that arise from the Zürich speakers, towards the Aargauer speakers. It is important to note that this occurs limitedly, since there were a small number of Zürich speakers that took the surveys. The Zürich speakers are also assessing the way that the Aargauer dialect speakers speak, in order to define their opinions of the Aargauer speakers, without linguistically basing these opinions. Traits are assigned to the Aargauer speakers, based off of *Table 8* in the results, such as "stupid" and "overblown". These terms link to identity are used to describe dialect, thus not being linguistically based. Therefore, stereotypes arise from the surveys, based off of descriptions of dialect. These terms also show that the Zürich dialect speakers assign identity traits to themselves and to the Aargauer speakers, which shows that aspects of "self" and "other" are also propagated and identity ascription occurs. However, these terms only occur once, each, and further evidence would need to be gathered in order to clearly distinguish that this is a trend.

From the surveys, aspects that can be related to the Linguistic Bias Intergroup Model by Maas, Arcuri, and Semin (1989) also arise, which are assessed by looking at

question 11 and 12 from the surveys. Again, this stereotype theory projects that positive in-group and negative out-group behaviors are often described in abstract terms, whereas negative in-group and positive-out group behavior is often explained in concrete terms (Maass & Arcuri, 1996, 206).

In the coded data, there were seven students that referenced Zürich behavior. Among these, four positive and four negative behavior episodes were recounted. The positive in-group behaviors were described at the highest level of abstraction twice, and at the lowest level of abstraction twice. The negative behaviors were also described twice at the highest level of abstraction and twice at the lowest level of abstraction. Thus, since the answers are split evenly between abstract and concrete terms, more evidence is needed to show if the behavior assessment by the Zürich speakers concretely fits within the model. What can be concluded form this section is that there is evidence of stereotyping occurring, however since there are so few surveys from the Zürich dialect speakers, more data should be gathered in order to show more concrete examples of stereotyping and see if the trends indicated are furthered.

A Note on Switching Dialects

Within the survey, question five asked for examples of when Aargauer speakers would not speak in the Aargauer dialect, and question six asked if there are examples of the Aarguaer dialect speakers switching between different dialects of Swiss German.

In regards to question 5, many of the Aargauer dialect speakers elaborated that they would not speak in dialect at school, with people from other countries, or if they had to switch to another language, such as while traveling. Additional themes also arose. Out of the 48 Aargauer dialect speaker surveys, eight respondents said that they always speak in dialect, six said that they do not speak in this dialect if they are with family or friends from other Areas of Switzerland, in that they will take on the other speakers' dialect traits. Three respondents stated that they will not speak in their own dialect to make fun of other dialects, and two adolescents specified that they will change their dialect when they are in another region of Switzerland, in order to adapt to the dialect of that area.

Question six generated a similar response. Out of the 48 Aargauer speakers, 18 answered that they do not switch dialects, but 13 specified that they will switch to make

fun over other dialects or people speaking other dialects. Another 11 specified that they will switch for fun, in order to emulate other dialects, three respondents said that they will switch dialects when visiting family in other areas, and two specified that they switch in order to adapt to the dialect of others.

Pertaining to question five, Zürich speakers stated that they will not speak in dialect if they are speaking another language, or in school, where they speak Standard German. Three respondents answered that they always speak in dialect, one respondent said that they will not speak in their own dialect to make fun of other dialects, and an additional adolescent responded that they would not speak in their own dialect to adapt to the dialect of others.

The responses to question, asking if and in which contexts Zürich dialect speakers switch their dialect, showed that that six individuals answered with no, they do not switch dialects. Seven adolescents answered that they will switch dialects to make fun of other dialects and the speakers thereof, and two adolescents answered that they switch dialects when around other dialect speakers, in order to adapt to the dialect of others.

These questions were posed to see if stereotyping behaviors exist among Swiss German dialect speakers. The answers given, by both the Aargauer dialect and Zürich dialect speakers, which reveal that speakers will switch dialects to make fun of another dialect or speaker, show that aspects of stereotyping arise between Swiss German dialect speakers. While this may not exactly be between Aarguaer and Zürich speakers, the Swiss speakers are using dialect switching in order to place other speakers into a category that is different from them. Dialect switching can indicate that the speakers are projecting aspects of the "self" and the "other". By addressing the "other" through the emulation of the "others'" dialect they are indicating that the speaker or speakers in opposition to them are different than themselves.

Conclusion

This section investigated how the results from the data give insight into each of the three originally posed research questions. Specific examples from the surveys were used to illustrate particular points and define how identity concepts arose. It is fitting to take Preston's (2013) views into account in this concluding statement. Preston (2013)

used survey techniques that were similar to the ones used in this paper, in that respondents were asked to name any speech characteristics that came to mind for certain regions in the United States (p.170). Within his research, as in the research here, these open ended questions generated judgments on the language of the speakers in these areas. Relationships exist between the Aargauer and Zürich dialect, which indicate stereotypes of those language speakers in relationship to their own dialect and the dialect placed in opposition, which portrays the social identities of these speakers. The following chapter makes concluding remarks in the form of a summary, implications, and directions for future research.

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION

Summary

Switzerland is considered a linguistically diverse country, where even within the Swiss German speaking area, many dialects and language differences become nuanced in a relatively small area (Rash, 2002). These dialects contribute to different social identities existing between the different dialect groups, which those that live in the Swiss German areas are well aware of (Staub, Tobler, & Schoch, 1885; Dürscheid, 2006). However, relationships between dialects have not been extensively investigated, especially in regards to stereotype dynamics and identity research. Furthermore, the limited sociolinguistic treatment of the Aargauer dialect contributed to the Aargauer-Zürich dialect pairing being chosen, as well as the fact that these two dialects, in opposition to each other, remain largely unexplored.

With the three research questions posed, this research investigated the extent of identity traits and stereotypes between the Aargauer and Zürich dialects. A definition of identity, and aspects of stereotype theories, were applied to the results from the data collection, which will be summarized here. The overarching conclusion from the research is that the Aargauer dialect speakers described their own dialect in a positive manner, but did not link it to identity traits. However, the Aargauer speakers ascribed identity traits to the Zürich speakers, in respect to the Zürich speakers' dialects. The Zürich speakers' opinions of the Aargauer were also guided by an overarching negative theme. The Zürich speakers did not ascribe identity traits to themselves, however they did ascribe identity traits to the Aargauer speakers, based off of the dialects that each group speaks. These attitudes were upheld by quantitative data that was generated by the surveys, in that the Aargauer and Zürich dialect speakers evaluated their own dialects and characters higher than that of the dialect placed in opposition with their own.

The theories used to coin the definition of identity for the project, as well as the stereotyping theories that contributed to the analysis were applied to the data. The definition of identity focused on social and group identity, as well as ascription of identity to others. The data collected spoke to the social and group identity in that it

showed trends of how the Aargauer speakers and the Zürich speakers described themselves, as well as the opposing group; this is where the positive aspects of "self" and the negative aspects of "other" arose, specifically in regards to character, and also, although less pronounced, in regards to dialect. From the data, it became clear that both the Aargauer and Zürich speakers cast themselves into distinct categories, that are different from the opposing dialect speakers. This too, brings out aspects of "self" and "other" in that by the Aargauer and Zürich speakers casting themselves into their own categories, they are implying that other categories exist, that are different from their own.

Implications and Future Research

The research reviewed is significant for themes within identity and stereotyping research. It shows that these concepts exist in one language, Swiss German, which contains multiple dialects. This means that dialect identity and stereotyping can occur and affect dialects that, upon first glance, do not seem very different from each other. A theme that arose within the background research for this project is that the Aargauer dialect speakers, as a cantonal entity, do not feel as if they have an Aargauer identity and that identity aspects within the Aargauer dialect entity are fragmented (Fischer De Santi, 2015; Meier, 2011). Within the research for this thesis, the data showed that the Aargauer dialect speakers do portray themselves as having their own category, in that they are opposing themselves to the Zürich dialect speakers. Though no specific identity traits in relation to the Aargauer evaluating their own dialect arose, themes relating to Aargauer identity arose from the Aargauer self-evaluations of their own character. The Aargauer dialect speakers see themselves in a largely positive light; they ascribe themselves aspects of identity based off of an assessment of their own character. Thus, the research gives an indication that there is an Aargauer identity.

The treatment of these two dialects is relevant in that it shows that aspects of identity and stereotypes exist within and between the Aargauer and Zürich dialect. Within the data, isolated aspects of class appeared, in that it was referenced that the Aargauer are rural people and the Zürcher are city dwellers. This implies that there is room for a discussion on class. Researching the root of the social stereotypes and identity ascriptions would mean that class is a topic that could be taken into consideration. However, the

research gave a very limited window into the language situation within Switzerland, especially in that it only treated two dialects. Future research could benefit from a comparison between additional dialects, to generate further data and analysis within Swiss German.

Future research may also expand on dialect switching. Based off of question five and question 6, which addressed dialect switching, evidence cam up that the Swiss speakers will switch their dialect sin order to make fun of other dialects and other people. This is an idea to consider in future Swiss language research, whether that be on a broad scale or specifically between two dialects.

Limitations

There were two main limitations to the current study: the surveys and the number of adolescents that took the surveys. In future treatment of the dialects it would be beneficial to conduct follow up interviews with the students that completed the surveys. Though the surveys generated useful and meaningful data, since the survey questions were open ended, it would be beneficial to ask follow up questions as to why the students gave the answers that they did. Furthermore, sociolinguistics encompasses a wide variety of useful and effective survey techniques. Using such techniques in addition to the surveys, such as Matched-Guise (Lambert, 1967), would help generate additional data on the current subject.

There is room for expansion of the number of students that were surveyed. The data generated by the Zürich dialect speakers was especially limited, as compared to the amount of surveys that were collected from the Aargauer speakers. Surveying additional students would be beneficial to solidifying themes that arose in the data and maybe even generating new ones.

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APPENDIX

SURVEY IN GERMAN

Fragebogen

Bitte lesen und beantworten Sie die folgenden Fragen. Die Antworten dürfen ausführlich oder kurz sein.

1. Welchen Schweizer Dialekt sprechen Sie?
2. Welche Region(en) beeinflussen Ihren Dialekt?
3. Was motiviert Sie diesen Dialekt zu sprechen?
4. Wie oft sprechen Sie in diesem Dialekt?
5. Gibt es Beispiele wo Sie nicht in diesem Dialekt sprechen? Bitte führen Sie aus
6. Wechseln Sie manchmal ihren Schweizer Dialekt um in einem anderen Schweizer Dialekt zu sprechen? Wenn ja, erklären Sie bitte in welchem Kontexts diese Wechsel passieren und wann.
7. Wie reden die Leute aus Zürich?
8. Wie sind die Leute aus Zürich?
9. Wie reden sie Leute aus dem Aargau?
10. Wie sind die Leute aus dem Aargau?
11. Haben Sie schon ein negatives oder ein positives Ereignis erlebt, das mit einem Zürcher zu tun hatte? Wenn ja, beschreiben Sie bitte das Ereignis etwas ausführlich.
12. Haben Sie schon ein negatives oder ein positives Ereignis erlebt, das mit einem Aargauer zu tun hatte? Wenn ja, beschreiben Sie bitte das Ereignis etwas ausführlich.

Bewerten Sie bitte die folgenden Fragen auf einer Skala:

1. Auf einer Skala von 1 bis 5, wo 5 am schönsten ist und 1 am wenigsten schön ist, wie schön tönt der Zürcher Dialekt?

2. Auf einer Skala von 1 bis 5, wo 5 am schönsten ist und 1 am wenigsten schön ist, wie schön tönt der Aargauer Dialekt?

3. Auf einer Skala von 1 bis 5, wo 1 die niedrigste Einschätzung ist, und 5 die höchste Einschätzung ist, wie würden Sie den Charakter von den Zürcher Einschätzen?

4. Auf einer Skala von 1 bis 5, wo 1 die niedrigste Einschätzung ist, und 5 die höchste Einschätzung ist, wie würden Sie den Charakter von den Aargauer Einschätzen?

5. Um ein Aargauer zu sein muss man den Aargauer Dialekt sprechen. Bitte kreuzen sie an

   1= Stimme nicht zu

   2= Stimme eher nicht zu

   3= Weder noch

   4= Stimme eher zu

   5= Stimme zu

6. Um ein Zürcher zu sein muss man den Zürcher Dialekt sprechen. Bitte kreuzen sie an

   1= Stimme nicht zu

   2= Stimme eher nicht zu

   3= Weder noch

   4= Stimme eher zu

   5= Stimme zu

SURVEY IN ENGLISH

Survey

Please read and answer the following questions. The answers may be detailed or short.

1. Which Swiss dialect do you speak?
2. Which Regions of Switzerland influence your dialect?
3. What motivates you to speak in this dialect?
4. How often do you speak this dialect?
5. Are there examples of when you would not speak in this dialect? Please elaborate
6. Are there ever times when you switch dialects or speak in a different Swiss dialect? If yes, please elaborate on when and in what contexts.
7. How do Swiss German speakers from Zürich speak?
8. How do the Zürich Swiss people seem?
9. How do Swiss German speakers from Aargau speak?
10. How do the Aargau Swiss people seem?
11. Have you ever had a negative or a positive experience with, or involving, a Zürich Swiss individual? Please recount the experience and elaborate.
12. Have you ever had a negative or a positive experience with, or involving, a Aargau Swiss individual? Please recount the experience and elaborate.

Please rate the following questions on a scale:

1. On a scale of 1 to 5, with 5 being the highest (best) rating and 1 being the lowest (worst), how pleasing does the Zürich dialect sound?
2. On a scale of 1 to 5, with 5 being the highest (best) rating and 1 being the lowest (worst), how pleasing does the Aargau dialect sound?
3. On a scale of 1 to 5, with 1 being the lowest (worst) rating and 5 being the highest (best) rating, how would you judge the character of the Zürich dialect speakers?
4. On a scale of 1 to 5, with 1 being the lowest (worst) rating and 5 being the highest (best) rating, how would you judge the character of the Aargau dialect speakers?

5. To be an Aargauer you must speak the Aargauer dialect. Please choose from the scale

   1= Strongly disagree

   2= Disagree

   3= Neutral

   4= Agree

   5= Strongly Agree

6. To be a Zürcher you must speak the Zürich dialect. Please choose from the scale

   1= Strongly disagree

   2= Disagree

   3= Neutral

   4= Agree

   5= Strongly Agree