Katharina Franke

Language Variation in #berlin

48

NET.WORX
DIE ONLINE-SCHRIFTENREIHE DES PROJEKTS SPRACHE@WEB

NETWORX

REDAKTION
www.mediensprache.net | networx@mediensprache.net
Die genauen Anschriften und E-Mail-Adressen siehe weiter unten

HERAUSGEBER Jens Runkehl, Peter Schlobinski, Torsten Siever
EDITORIAL-BOARD Prof. Dr. **Jannis Androutsopoulos** (Universität Hannover) für den Bereich websprache & medienanalyse;
Prof. Dr. **Christa Dürscheid** (Universität Zürich) für den Bereich Handysprache;
Prof. Dr. **Nina Janich** (Technische Universität Darmstadt) für den Bereich Werbesprache;
Prof. Dr. **Ulrich Schmitz** (Universität Essen), für den Bereich Websprache.
ISSN 1619-1021
ANSCHRIFT **Niedersachsen:** Universität Hannover, Deutsches Seminar, Königsworther Platz 1, 30167 Hannover
Hessen: Technische Universität Darmstadt, Institut für Sprach- und Literaturwissenschaft, Hochschulstrasse 1, 64823 Darmstadt
Internet: www.mediensprache.net/networx/
E-Mail: networx@mediensprache.net

ZU DIESER ARBEIT

AUTOR & TITEL Franke, Katharina: Language Variation in #berlin.
VERSION 1.0 (2006-10-18)
ZITIERWEISE Franke, Katharina (2006): Language Variation in #berlin. <http://www.mediensprache.net/networx/networx-48.pdf>. In: Networx. Nr. 48. Rev. 2006-10-18. ISSN: 1619-1021.

Zitiert nach Runkehl, Jens & Torsten Siever ([3]2001). Das Zitat im Internet. Ein Electronic Style Guide zum Publizieren, Bibliografieren und Zitieren. Hannover.

MANUSKRIPTE

EINSENDUNG Die Einsendung von Beiträgen und Mitteilungen sind an folgende E-Mail-Adresse zu richten: networx@mediensprache.net oder an die Postadresse: Jens Runkehl, Institut für Sprach- und Literaturwissenschaft der Technischen Universität Darmstadt, Hochschulstrasse 1, Darmstadt.

AUTORENHINWEIS Mit der Annahme des Manuskripts zur Veröffentlichung in der Schriftenreihe Networx räumt der Autor dem Projekt sprache@web das zeitlich, räumlich und inhaltlich unbeschränkte Nutzungsrecht ein. Dieses beinhaltet das Recht der Nutzung und Wiedergabe. Ein Recht auf Veröffentlichung besteht nicht.

BEGUTACHTUNG Die Begutachtung eingesandter Beiträge wird von den Herausgebern sowie den Vertretern des Editorial Board vorgenommen.

Networx

ist die Online-Schriftenreihe des Projekts Sprache@web. Die Reihe ist eine eingetragene Publikation beim Nationalen ISSN-Zentrum der Deutschen Bibliothek in Frankfurt am Main.

» Einsenden?

Möchten Sie eine eigene Arbeit bei uns veröffentlichen? Dann senden Sie uns ihren Text an folgende E-Mail-Adresse:

networx@mediensprache.net

» Homepage

Alle Arbeiten der Networx-Reihe sind kostenlos im Internet downloadbar unter:

http://www.mediensprache.net/networx/

» Copyright

» Informationsstand

Stand der hier angegebenen Informationen – soweit nicht anders vermerkt – ist:

01. August 2005

HINWEISE FÜR DEN BENUTZER

Dieses Internet-Dokument ist zitierbar! Diese wichtige Eigenschaft für wissenschaftliche Dokumente wird durch den vom Projekt sprache@web erarbeiteten Leitfaden ⟶🌍 »Das Zitat im Internet« erreicht. Die bibliografische Aufnahme für dieses Dokument ist ⟶🖹 hier verzeichnet; einen ⟶🌍 ShortGuide für alle wichtigen weiteren Fragen sowie nützliche Tipps zum Zitieren stehen kostenlos zum ⟶🌍 Download zur Verfügung.

Obwohl die NET.WORX als PDF-Dokumente für die Lektüre auf Papier besonders geeignet sind, unterstützen sie als Netzarbeiten natürlich auch Hyperlinks:

⟶🖹 : Link, der auf eine Textstelle innerhalb des vorliegenden Dokuments verweist. Bei einem Klick auf den Pfeil, bzw. den dahinter stehenden Begriff wird zu der entsprechenden Textstelle *innerhalb* der NET.WORX gesprungen.

⟶🌍 : Link, der auf eine Quelle im Internet verweist. Wird *bei einer bestehenden Internetverbindung* auf den Pfeil, bzw. den dahinter stehenden Begriff geklickt, wird der Nutzer mit der Quelle im Internet verbunden.

Bei direkten oder indirekten Verweisen auf fremde Internetseiten (»Links«) gilt, dass sich das Projekt sprache@web ausdrücklich von allen Inhalten aller gelinkten/verknüpften Inhalte distanziert und auch nicht für deren Inhalt verantwortlich ist. Für illegale, fehlerhafte oder unvollständige Inhalte und insbesondere für Schäden, die aus der Nutzung oder Nichtnutzung solcherart dargebotener Informationen entstehen, haftet allein der Anbieter der Seite, auf welche verwiesen wurde, nicht derjenige, der über Links auf die jeweilige Veröffentlichung lediglich verweist. Im übrigen gelten die ⟶🌍 Nutzungsbedingungen des Projekts sprache@web. **Bitte beachten Sie auch die Benutzungshinweise im Editorial.**

Die Herausgeber, 2005

INHALTSVERZEICHNIS

1 INTRODUCTION[1]

Computer-mediated communication (CMC) takes place through the use of computer networks, in the form of electronic newsgroups or bulletin boards, mailing lists, e-mail, chat, or virtual worlds (MUDs[2]), etc. The medium of CMC makes it necessary to distinguish between different modes of interaction: (a) interaction online occurs either synchronous or asynchronous, and (b) transmission of messages takes place either in a one-way or two-way mode (Herring 2001). Table 1 gives an overview of different CMC modes.

Table 1: Interaction Modes

	One-way transmission	Two-way transmission
Synchronous	Chat (IRC, web chat); MUDs	Instant Messenger Systems (e.g. ICQ)
Asynchronous	E-mail; Newsgroups; Mailing Lists	

Classification of CMC forms according to Interaction Modes (Adapted from Herring 2001:615)

Synchronous and asynchronous refers to whether interaction occurs in real time (e.g. Internet Relay Chat[3]) or through time delays (e-mail). Whereas in ICQ (and similar systems) participants see letters and corrections being typed at the time (two-way transmission), in one-way transmission systems, participants are not able to observe the writing process.

---

[1] This paper is based on my BA-Honours Thesis (Monash University, Melbourne, Australia), submitted November 2004. I would like to thank my thesis supervisor, Dr. Ana Deumert, for her excellent guidance and many helpful comments on earlier drafts of the thesis.

[2] MUD is the abbreviation for multi-user domains, dungeons, or dimensions, based on the multiplayer computer game Dungeons and Dragons (Cherny 1999:42).

[3] For an introduction to the more technical aspects regarding IRC, see Runkehl et al. (1998a).

Computer-mediated communication (CMC) research has covered a broad range of issues, ranging from early publications on the effects of technology on language change (cf. Baron 1984), to detailed analyses of discourse structures (cf. Herring 1996a), descriptions of various CMC-specific phenomena (cf. Werry 1996), as well as investigations on language play and humor (cf. Baym 1995, Danet et al. 1997). The relationship between language and identity in cyberspace has also been of interest to CMC researchers.[4] For instance, Bechar-Israeli (1995) investigates the use of nicknames on IRC as relating to the notion of identity, pointing out that nicknames in CMC are the »critical means of presenting ourselves« (Bechar-Israeli 1995:2) in a virtual environment.

Although CMC has received much attention in the past ten years, in-depth linguistic, and sociolinguistic studies of language use and variation in CMC are still sparse considering the vast amount of discourse and interaction oriented studies. The present study seeks to contribute towards detailed investigations of language use and variation within CMC from a sociolinguistic perspective. It ties in with Androutsopoulos & Ziegler's (2003) findings from a German IRC channel, #mannheim, which suggested that the use of regionalisms is restricted to certain conversational contexts (e.g. shifts in modality, constructions of social stereotypes). Furthermore, Androutsopoulos & Ziegler (2003) argue that processes of reallocation (cf. Trudgill 1987) have occurred in the IRC channel #hamburg in the use of the non-local, regional negation variant ned/net as a stylistic marker to signal informality and experience as an IRC participant.

The focus of the present study is language variation in the German IRC channel #berlin. Following a brief literature review, ethnographic information regarding #berlin will be provided. Next, language variation in #berlin is examined in detail; I

[4] This question of ›virtual identity‹ has been investigated in various disciplines including anthropological, sociological and socio-psychological fields (cf. Turkle 1995, Baird 1998, Dyson 1998, Döring 1999).

will first consider lexical regionalisms, followed by a discussion of negation variants, concluding by with suggestions for further research.

2 LITERATURE REVIEW

As a result of the text-based nature of most CMC modes, ›new‹ forms of non- and para-verbal communication strategies and cues, e.g. emoticons and acronyms, have developed to compensate for the restrictions as imposed on the CMC participant by the text-based computer environment. These features have been described and analyzed by numerous researchers. One of these earlier studies, examines the use of emoticons in newsgroup messages in relation to gender differences (Witmer & Katzman 1996). There are ample descriptions of various CMC phenomena (e.g. shortenings, action simulations, emoticons) as well as new communication practices that have emerged within CMC (cf. Hentschel 1998, Runkehl et al. 1998b, Schlobinski 2000, Crystal 2001, Günthner & Schmidt 2003). The nature of turn-taking strategies in synchronous CMC has received particular attention (cf. Werry 1996, Hinrichs 1998, Herring 1999, Cherny 1999, Panyametheekul & Herring 2003). Various discursive aspects have been studied, such as openings and closings in synchronous modes (cf. Hinrichs 1998, Rintel et al. 2001), the question of interactional coherence has been addressed (cf. Herring 1999), and also gender differences in language use and discourse online (cf. Kramarae & Taylor 1993, Herring et al. 1995, Herring 1996b, Witmer & Katzman 1996, Rodino 1997, Herring 2003). Soldo and Metzner (2003) analyze communicative CMC principles in terms of conversational maxims as postulated by Grice (1975), and Luginbühl (2003) investigates the occurrence and structure of arguments in Swiss German chat communication.

Recent years, however, have seen a shift from mere descriptive studies to detailed analyses of CMC phenomena, language variation, and language use in CMC. Cherny (1999), for example, provides a linguistic study of a MUD community from an ethnographic perspective. She discusses various syntactic and morphological phenomena, acronyms and shortenings, turn-taking and back channeling practices, as well as the use of the simple present tense for action or gesture simulations.

Androutsopoulos (2003) argues that a shift from descriptive towards empirical analyses of sociolinguistic variation is needed in order to determine patterns of language use and variation in CMC. Studies examining CMC from a sociolinguistic perspective need to take various aspects into account:

- the situational context of the occurring language variation;
- non-linguistic factors, such as participants' socio-demographics;
- Internet-specific factors, such as whether an IRC participant has the status of a mere guest or of an operator in the IRC channel;
- the concept of ›virtual community‹[5] as an approach to describe language variation (Androutsopoulos 2003:4).

Androutsopoulos & Ziegler (2003) investigate language variation in the German IRC channel #mannheim. Through the use of quantitative and qualitative methods of analysis, they examine the distribution of three regional variables in the channel #mannheim. Their results suggest that regional features may serve as contextualization cues in #mannheim to indicate either conversational shifts or to contribute to the construction of social stereotypes. This study is discussed further below as an exemplary sociolinguistic analysis.

[5] A number of different terms are used in the relevant literature, ranging from ›virtual community‹ (Rheingold 1993, Paolillo 2001), ›on-line community‹ (Baym 1998), to ›cyber-community‹ (Jones 1998) and other terms. For ease of reading, I will use the term ›virtual community‹ throughout this paper.

Paolillo (2001) also examines language variation systematically by using the social network approach (Milroy 1980). This is the only study, as yet, that discusses language variation in CMC from a social network approach.[6]

As yet, there are only a small number of studies that specifically address linguistic aspects of CMC. One of the prominent studies regarding CMC phenomena is Schlobinski's (2001a) examination of so-called »inflectives« and »inflective constructions« in German CMC from a morpho-syntactic perspective. Pankow (2003) furthers Schlobinski's (2001a) analysis, investigating non-verbal behavior, in particular inflectives, in German and Swedish IRC channels. Linguistically oriented studies of CMC focus predominately on morphological and syntactical features of German chat communication and processes of language change (cf. Henn-Mennesheimer 2003, Vogel 2003, Siebenhaar 2003, Burri 2003). In contrast, Deumert (forthc.) discusses language change regarding lexical-semantic features of CMC and semantic-pragmatic change of, for example, the acronym lol.

Determining the linguistic identity of CMC has been a focus of CMC research for the past decade. Although CMC utilizes writing, it has been argued that it displays spoken language features and thus provides interesting data for our understanding of, for example, contemporary German or English. Others have described it as a hybrid of spoken and written language. While some linguists have doubted that the opposition of spoken vs. written language is useful for our understanding of CMC – it should rather be understood as a distinct variety, independent of the conventional spoken/written dichotomy.

The notion that CMC displays speech-like features is common within German CMC research. This view is based on Koch & Oesterreicher's (1994) model, which

[6] Cherny (1999) also makes use of the social network approach in her investigation of a MUD community. However, in contrast to Paolillo (2001), Cherny (1999) seeks to describe the structure of the MUD community from an ethnographic perspective, and not from a sociolinguistic perspective.

classifies human communication in terms of medium and conception.[7] Regarding the medium, communication is either medially verbal, e.g. a telephone conversation, or medially written, e.g. a letter. Koch & Oesterreicher (1994:587) point out that the terms ›verbal‹ and ›written‹ are understood as a medial dichotomy. Conceptually, however, the terms ›verbal‹ and ›written‹ mark the extremes of a continuum; thus a conversation among family members is situated closer to the extreme point ›conceptually verbal‹ than a formal lecture which although spoken is ›conceptually written‹. In order to determine whether a communication mode tends more towards speech or writing, Koch & Oesterreicher (1994:588) list several criteria including spatial-temporal proximity vs. distance of the discourse participants, dialogue vs. monologue, public vs. private context, and intimacy vs. casualness. Schlobinski (2001b:3) points out that Koch & Oesterreicher's (1994) notion of conceptual orality (»konzeptionelle Mündlichkeit«) »has proven itself extremely fruitful, especially for the analysis of e-mail and chat communication«.

Based on Koch & Oesterreicher's (1994) work, several studies (cf. Aschwanden 2001, Androutsopoulos & Ziegler 2003, Burri 2003, Pankow 2003, Vogel 2003, and references therein) have classified CMC, particularly chat communication, as conceptually verbal. However, these studies often overlook the fact that CMC diverges substantially from face-to-face communication. For example, turn allocation in synchronous CMC modes differs considerably from spoken discourse largely due to technical restrictions, e.g. messages are displayed in the order received by the server (cf. Cherny 1999), whereas in spoken discourse conversationalists interrupt one another, turns may overlap, etc. Moreover, CMC displays features that do not occur in spoken language, such as acronyms and inflectives (cf. Schlobinski 2001a). Hence,

[7] Koch & Oesterreicher (1994:587) define conception (»Konzeption«) as the modality of an utterance, often described in terms of formal vs. informal language, or non-standard vs. standard language.

CMC does not display speech-like features in regards to every linguistic aspect, and thus cannot be classified adequately as conceptually verbal.

Thus it has been argued that CMC is a distinct variety in itself, since it displays various features that occur neither in spoken nor in written language (cf. Haase et al. 1997, Hinrichs 1998, Crystal 2001). Although Hinrichs' (1998:28) analysis is based on the premise that chat communication is conceptually verbal, she suggests that ›chat language‹ can be classified as a group-specific variety (›Sondersprache‹). Crystal (2001:17) also argues that there is a distinct CMC variety, which he terms ›Netspeak‹. He defines ›Netspeak‹ as follows:

a type of language displaying features that are unique to the Internet, […], arising out of its character as a medium which is electronic, global, and interactive. (Crystal 2001:18)

Crystal (2001:91) considers CMC as a distinct variety primarily because it displays lexico-graphological features that occur neither in spoken nor in written language. He furthermore claims that »grammatical variation is less frequent or widespread«[8].

However, not only is e-mail and IRC communication still largely text-based whereas websites might combine text with audio and visual effects, communication purposes of these modes are also extremely manifold (cf. Herring 1996c). Therefore the different styles and registers employed in CMC cannot be subsumed within the one variety ›Netspeak‹. Instead, it is better described as a hybrid of spoken and written language, that is style and register mixing, depending on various factors, such as CMC mode (synchronous vs. asynchronous), communicative purpose, technological restrictions, and social and cultural background of participants[9]. Based on a comparative study of CMC, spoken, and written discourse, Yates (1996:46) also concludes that »the mode of CMC, […], is neither simply speech-like nor simply written-like«,

[8] For critical reviews of Crystal (2001), cf. Schlobinski (2001), Dürscheid (2003).

[9] Cf. Panyametheekul & Herring's (2003) study on different turn-taking strategies in Thai chat rooms as compared to Anglophone chat rooms.

but rather shows both similarities and differences with spoken and written discourse features. Günthner & Schmidt (2003:321) point out that although IRC communication appears to resemble spoken, face-to-face interaction in many ways, it is written communication within which new speech-like features have subsequently emerged. Günthner & Schmidt (2003:321) thus conclude that in IRC communication a form of ›stylized orality‹ (»stilisierte Mündlichkeit«) has developed. Beißwenger (2001:4, cf. also Storrer 2001), on the other hand, refers to IRC communication as ›typed conversations‹ and defines it as a ›conceptual hybrid‹ between spoken and written language. Werry (1996:58) suggests that participants »produce a bricolage of discursive fragments« in IRC communication since there is a tendency to play with language. This results in the production of »hybrid, heteroglossic forms that incorporate all manners of communicative styles« (Werry 1996:58). Runkehl et al (1998b:14) argue that through the process of de- and recontextualization of speech-like features, the use of anglicisms, and grapho-stylistic elements in German IRC communication, new writing styles have emerged which reflect the new medium and discourse of its users. Although subtle differences exist in the various views, i.e. new types of writing styles (Günthner & Schmidt 2003, Runkehl et al. 1998b), and hybrids of spoken and written language (cf. Werry 1996, Beißwenger 2002), they can be subsumed under the umbrella term hybrid mode since they have developed from the mixing of spoken and written language styles and registers.

In conclusion, CMC is characterized by its distinctive, heteroglossic features, which set it apart from both spoken and written language, yet at the same time CMC draws on resources from both language modes. Consequently, it cannot be described as constituting a single variety since CMC communication »manifests itself in different styles and genres« (Herring 1996c:3) due to (a) different technological modes (synchronous vs. asynchronous modes), and (b) different communicative purposes of the respective participants. Instead, different CMC modes bring multiple styles and

registers together, creating a hybrid of spoken and written styles and registers that is distinct and extremely fluid in each CMC community.

3 ETHNOGRAPHIC BACKGROUND OF #BERLIN

3.1 Corpus

This study is based on a linguistic corpus of the IRC channel #berlin, an urban German chat channel with a clear local identity. Conversations were recorded electronically once a week (Tuesdays between 8pm and 10pm) between 25th of November – 16th of December 2003, and 13th of January – 27th of January 2004, comprising a total of 15 hours of chat conversation (seven log files).

#berlin is a relatively busy channel with constant conversations and regular interactions between participants, particularly after work hours. On the nights recorded, #berlin was frequented by a minimum of 20 active participants, thus providing sufficient conversational material for the corpus, comprising approx. 54,000 words including status lines. Excluding status lines, the corpus contains a total of about 38,000 words with an average of 5,300 words per log file. Detailed information is provided in Table 2: Overview of Corpus Length.

Table 2: Overview of Corpus Length

Log-Nr.	Log 1	Log 2	Log 3	Log 4	Log 5	Log 6	Log 7	Total
Date	**25.11.03**	**02.12.03**	**09.12.03**	**16.12.03**	**13.01.03**	**20.01.03**	**27.11.04**	
Words	7,003	5,527	6,742	5,623	5,856	1,998	5,249	**37,998**
Contributions	927	861	962	639	774	335	827	**5,325**
Length of Turn (words)	7,5	6,4	7	8,7	7,5	5,9	6,3	**7,1**

The average number of words per turn is 7.1, which is considerably higher than observed in other chat data. Siebenhaar (2003) reports an average of 3.72 words per turn for his chat corpus, which is even lower than Runkehl's et al. (1998b) chat corpus with approximately 4.2 words per turn. Openings and closings occur to a minimal extent only, i.e. there is less ritualized and more report interaction in #berlin.

All orthographic variation and typing errors have been kept in their original state since (a) orthographic variation is vital for the present analysis, and (b) these variations and errors constitute the participant's own contribution to the conversation and thus, though made in the public domain, are viewed in terms of ›ownership‹, i.e. belonging to the respective participant.

3.2 #berlin as a Virtual Community

Androutsopoulos (2003:4) points out that the concept of virtual communities is crucial for a sociolinguistic understanding of language variation in CMC[10]. Virtual communities are characterized by regular and meaningful contact and interaction between their respective participants who identify themselves as belonging to the same social group and furthermore share personal relationships and common interests. The social structure of virtual communities, particularly of IRC channels, is commonly described in terms of a core group, to which regular and well established members belong, and peripheral groups involving new and infrequent members (Döring 1999, cf. also Paolillo 2001, Androutsopoulos 2003).

#berlin is a social IRC channel with a regional identity. It is predominantly used for social encounters between participants, i.e. there are no predefined topics other than those the participants choose. #berlin has about 109 regular participants who

[10] Regarding the concept of virtual communities, cf., for example, Reid 1991, Rheingold 1993, Baym 1998, Androutsopoulos & Ziegler 2003.

can be classified as constituting the social core of #berlin, whose status is indicated in the log files in the following ways:

(a) members expressing their long commitment to #berlin in their contributions
(b) frequent interaction between participants
(c) the status of a channel operator.[11]

Additionally, intimate conversations between members are taken as indicators of close social bonds. Information is also available from the channel's website[12] where a list of several members of #berlin can be found. A rough indication of the structure of #berlin regarding the social variable sex was determined. The choice of nicknames largely reflects the sex of the respective participant. As indicated in Table 3, of the 109 established participants, 47 participants are male, compared to 34 female participants. It is interesting to note, that #berlin is frequented slightly more by males, but nevertheless it cannot be regarded as male-dominated as reported for various newsgroups (cf. Herring et al. 1995, Herring 1996a), considering the high frequency of female contributions and interactions between female and male participants. Furthermore, as shown in Table 5, the majority of core participants (69%) have the status of channel operators.

Table 4 & 5: Participants and Operator Status by Sex

Table 4: Participants in #berlin by Sex (As indicated in the log files and on the website; Σ 109).

Male		Female		Unknown	
47 %	43 %	34 %	31 %	28 %	26 %

Table 5: Operator Status in #berlin by Sex (As indicated in the log files; Σ 75).

42 %	56 %	28 %	37 %	5 %	7 %

[11] Channel operators are at the top of the social hierarchy of IRC channels, since they have the authority to kick and ban other participants from the channel. The status of an operator can only be conferred upon a participant by another operator, and is thus seen as a privilege. Due to their superiority, operators generally tend to belong to the central core groups of IRC channels (cf. Paolillo 2001).

[12] Available online: <http://www.irc-addicts.de> (last accessed: 29/10/04)

It was not possible, however, to determine the sex of 28 participants since this is neither indicated in their nickname nor in their contributions in the corpus. Neither was information regarding these participants available on the website (last update: 26/10/04); these participants may thus belong the peripheral core group. The channel is also frequently visited by new participants and less established channel members.

Following Androutsopoulos & Ziegler's (2003) characterization of virtual communities, #berlin has a sufficient number of participants[13] who regularly meet and interact in their shared virtual community space, #berlin. Members also appear to have various common interests through which closer personal relationships between regular members are formed. These are often maintained in real life (RL) as members meet regularly outside of the virtual encounters. This suggests that some participants have formed fairly close friendships either prior to joining #berlin or through interaction in #berlin. The majority of core group members probably live in Berlin and the surrounding region since they regularly meet for channel parties in a Berlin pub. This suggests that some participants have formed closer and stronger friendships with members they frequently meet in RL as also argued by Androutsopoulos & Ziegler (2003:253). Most members are either university students or in full-time employment.

Since #berlin is a social IRC channel, conversations range from small talk to various discussions, about financial issues for example (e.g. tax returns), and technical and computer-related conversations. Other topics include entertainment, such as current films, interesting web links, and various other interests. For instance, prior to the release of the final of the ›Lord of the Rings‹ trilogy in mid-December 2003, this was enthusiastically discussed by various participants. The channel is also used as a medium to catch up and share news with each other, like the announcement of

[13] It needs to be noted that ›sufficient number of participants‹ is a very vague notion, leaving it unclear as to exactly how many participants are ›enough‹ for the forming of a virtual community (cf. Rheingold 1993 and Androutsopoulos & Ziegler 2003).

the pregnancy of one of the participants, which was subsequently the topic of much playful interaction and teasing, indicating that, above all, #berlin serves as a medium to have fun, to tease and to make jokes. Conversations between participants are characterized by their light-heartedness, humor and playfulness.

Attitudes by core group members towards participants who visit the channel less frequently as well as towards new participants are generally friendly, though it is expected that the newcomer will establish the first contact usually through a greeting and an initiating question. Furthermore, there are firmly established rules and expectations regarding acceptable behavior and language use, most of which are widespread in other virtual communities across a range of CMC modes. These appear to be well established rules of general CMC practice (cf. Reid 1991, Baym 1998, Crystal 2001).[14] In #berlin, the only acceptable languages are German and English; the use of English is not restricted to any particular context. A large number of core group members appear to be advanced to very advanced second-language speakers of English which may be why English is so well accepted as a medium of interaction between participants. Other well-established rules concern norms, such as no flooding or spaming is tolerated, and rude or obscene language and behavior is socially unacceptable. Participants who do not adhere to these rules receive warnings from the channel operators. Ultimate failure to conform generally results in social sanctions, such as kicks and eventual bans from channel operators. Participants often first discuss whether or not they should exclude another participant from the channel, i.e. the community. Sanctions, such as kicks, are thus not individual but collective decisions, important for the functioning of #berlin as a socially cohesive community group.

[14] Baym (1998:60) notes that »[o]ngoing CMC groups tend to develop behavioral norms as well as shared significances, personalities, and relationships [...]. Users continually reinforce the norms by creating structural and social sanctions against those who abuse the groups' system of meaning«.

#berlin is recurrently visited by non-native German speakers (e.g. Polish, Serbian, Slovenian). Polish speakers frequently try to find other Polish speakers for communication in #berlin, which is somewhat surprising, since #berlin has a clear German identity. Occasionally, Polish speaking participants address German participants in Polish. These contributions can be interpreted as purposefully annoying and provocative behavior. Generally, participants who send contributions in languages other than German or English receive social sanctions (e.g. kicks and bans), often after these participants have been warned in German and/or English by the channel operators.

Non-native German speakers also visit the channel to practice their German language skills and/or to ask for help with translations. In rare cases core group members are willing to help, but more often participants seeking help with translations get kicked off the channel. The reason for this is that they frequently repeat their questions in order to receive help, which is perceived as annoying behavior. Furthermore, regular participants show little inclination to assist new or peripheral members in these requests, being engaged in their own conversations.

As in most informal German IRC channels, non-standard German is used to a great extent in #berlin. Interestingly, standard German is also employed to a considerable degree, though IRC communication in particular is often argued to reflect speech-like and thus non-standard language. The use of dialect can also be observed in #berlin, though only to a marginal extent. The use of the urban Berlin variety predominantly occurs in the present corpus. Dialect mixing occurs to an insignificant degree only. I will address the use of dialect in detail below.

In short, the German IRC channel #berlin can be described as a virtual community whose members have formed close social bonds in both cyberspace and real life. Contact between members is frequent and characterized by socially meaningful interaction. Conversations between participants are playful and light-hearted, though

social sanctions are enforced if infrequent or new participants violate them and do not conform to the community's norms and expectations.

4 KEY CONCEPTS

Since an understanding of the key concepts of (a) contextualization cues and (b) reallocation is critical for the present study, a brief outline follows, including a summary of Androutsopoulos & Ziegler's (2003) exemplary study, since their study is the only sociolinguistic analysis of German IRC channels, and this study seeks to continue their approach by providing further empirical results.

4.1 A Note on Terminology: Standard, Non-Standard, and Dialect

Since the terms *standard, non-standard,* and *dialect* are frequently used in this paper, I will briefly outline what they refer to and how they are to be understood here.

Swann et al. (2004:295) define *standard variety* as a »relatively uniform variety of a language which does not show regional variation« that is generally codified in grammars and dictionaries[15]. The *standard variety* is commonly the dominant variety in society serving various communicative functions, e.g. medium of instruction in schools, official language. It generally has a more prestigious status than other *non-standard varieties* whose »norms are not accepted in formal speech and writing« (Swann et al. 2004:224). In the case of the German language, standard German is the codified norm, which phonetically follows the more prestigious »deutsche Hochlautung« (Barbour & Stevenson 1998:53). Moreover, numerous *non-standard varieties*

[15] Cf. also Barbour & Stevenson (1998:53; 145) for a definition of standard variety.

exist, often grouped under the umbrella term *Umgangssprache* (cf. Barbour & Stevenson 1998 for a detailed discussion of *Umgangssprache*). The term *non-standard variety* refers to, often localized, elements of language, e.g. lexical items, pronunciation, that are not officially codified and sanctioned by norm setters. *Non-standard varieties* are regularly used in casual, every-day encounters and often command covert prestige (Labov 1972). Regarding German, Barbour & Stevenson (1998:150) further distinguish between *standardnahe* and *dialektnahe Umgangssprache* since a fluid continuum exists between standard, non-standard and dialect varieties of German.

The terms *colloquial variety* or *vernacular* may also be used to describe non-standard varieties. However, vernacular specifically refers to »relatively homogeneous and well-defined non-standard varieties« (Swann et al. 2004:327) used by certain regional, ethnic, or social groups »in opposition to a dominant standard variety«, e.g. African American English (Swann et al. 2004:327).

The term *dialect* refers to the speech characteristics of a region or geographical area[16], but may also be applied to describe features of a »group of people defined by social or occupational characteristics« (Mesthrie et al. 2000:45). Furthermore, *rural* and *urban* dialects are sometimes distinguished, since *urban dialects* are often characterized by dialect convergence and mixing, whereas *rural dialects* may display older dialect structures (Swann et al. 2004:76). In the case of *urban dialects,* it is sometimes difficult to establish whether they constitute a *dialect* or a *non-standard variety,* since (a) convergence towards the standard, and (b) dialect mixing/leveling leading to the emergence of urban non-standard norms occurs (cf. also Barbour & Stevenson (1998) for a discussion of urban vs. rural German varieties). As a result, linguistic boundaries may not be clear-cut, for example, the Berlin variety has been referred to as an urban dialect (Rosenberg 1986), a semi-dialect (Schönfeld 1989), and an urban vernacular (cf. Dittmar & Schlobinski 1988).

[16] As Barbour & Stevenson (1998:61) point out, within German linguistics the term dialect is usually understood as only refering to »rein räumlich definierte[n] Sprachformen«.

In this paper, the term *dialect* refers only to the speech habits of regional groups, and does not include varieties that may be distinctive of social groups. *Standard variety* refers to the codified norm, i.e. standard German. The term *non-standard variety* is used to describe colloquial language use, i.e. *Umgangssprache,* and does not refer to dialect varieties.

4.2 Gumperz' (1982) Concept of Contextualization Cues

In spoken discourse, the intended purpose and interpretation of any utterance by a conversationalist not only depends on its syntactic grammaticality, and its semantic content, but also on the context in which it was made. In regards to this, Gumperz (1982:130) suggests that: »any utterance can be understood in numerous ways, and that people make decisions about how to interpret a given utterance based on their definition of what is happening at the time of interaction.«

The interpretation of an utterance depends on »conventionalized co-occurrence expectations« (Gumperz 1982:131) of both the speaker and the listener. The speaker signals and the listener interprets how the semantic content of an utterance is to be understood and how it may relate to previous and/or following conversations or activities.

In order to communicate effectively, conversationalists communicate verbally as well as non-verbally. These verbal and/or non-verbal features, which contribute to »the signaling of contextual presuppositions« (Gumperz 1982:131), are what Gumperz (1982) terms contextualization cues. In order to signal the context of an utterance, code, dialect, and style switching processes, change in prosody, lexical choice, or formulaic expression may take place. For example, the adoption of certain tone of voice or a switch to a different language variety may indicate that a comment is to be taken ironically.

Gumperz (1982:131) points out that for the most part contextualization cues are used habitually by conversationalists and are only rarely consciously noted. Thus the meaning very much »depends on the participants' tacit awareness of their meaningfulness« (Gumperz 1982:132). When discourse participants are unaware of the inferred meaning of an utterance, i.e. they have not perceived the employed contextualization cues, possibly leading to misunderstandings. This may ultimately result in a communication breakdown between participants. Gumperz (1982:132) states that a »shift in context is always a matter of social conventions«. Miscommunication might therefore be due to different social conventions regarding what counts as »marked kinds of rhythm, loudness, intonation and speech style« (Gumperz 1982:132). However, the failure to communicate effectively is often attributed to unfriendly or uncooperative attitudes and behavior by the participants involved. Yet it is more likely that the conversationalists have failed to notice a shift in prosody or a change in pronunciation due to different conventionalized expectations.

In short, contextualization cues signal how utterances are to be understood in regards to the current conversational interaction, either by stylistic means, lexical choices, prosodic cues, dialect use, etc. They always indicate a shift in context and meaning. However, social conventions and expectations regarding unmarked and marked kinds of appropriate prosody, style, etc. vary between different social groups (Gumperz 1982:132).

Following Androutsopoulos & Ziegler's (2003) application of the concept of conceptualization cues to CMC, I will argue that the use of dialect in #berlin generally serves to signal shifts in context, i.e. dialect switching is employed as a contextualization cue. The concept of contextualization cues can also be extended to apply to the use of certain negation variants in #berlin.

4.3 Trudgill's (1986) Concept of Reallocation

In his study of new dialect formation, Trudgill (1986:126, italics in original) defines reallocation as a process by which »variants originally from different regional dialects may in the new dialect become *social-class dialect variants, stylistic variants, areal variants,* or, in the case of phonology, *allophonic variants*.«

Trudgill (1986) examined Domingue's (1980, 1981) linguistic data from Mauritius, Milroy & Milroy's (1978) data from Belfast, and his own corpus from Norwich. In all three studies, new-dialect formation had taken place due to urbanization and migration of speakers from different regional dialect areas. As a consequence, Trudgill (1986:118) observes that »in dialect mixture situations forms originally from different dialects may be retained as alternatives rather than levelled out«. These retained variants co-exist and may be redistributed in the new dialect to various functions: (a) *socially,* as in the case of Norwich, where different pronunciations of retained variants indicate different social-class status of the speakers; (b) *stylistically,* as in Mauritius, where retained variants differ in terms of degree of formality; (c) as *areal variants,* as in Belfast, where variants are redistributed regionally, or (d) as *allophonic variants,* i.e. phonological redistribution, also observed in Belfast (Trudgill 1986:109-126).

Extending Trudgill's (1986) study, Androutsopoulos & Ziegler (2003) apply reallocation to regional lexical items in #hamburg. I also argue that not only phonetic variants can be reallocated but also lexical items. I return to the concept of reallocation below in the discussion of the use of regionalisms in #berlin.

4.4 Androutsopoulos & Ziegler's (2003) Study

Based on the premise that interaction in IRC environments generally displays salient features of spoken language, Androutsopoulos & Ziegler (2003) argue that the use

of regionalisms within urban IRC channels reflects dialect features of their respective regions. Their argument is based on an empirical analysis of the IRC channel #mannheim, a city in South-West Germany, in the Rhine Franconian dialect area. They investigated three linguistic variables regarding standard, non-standard, and dialect variants:

- The use of negation particles with the variants *nicht* as standard, *nich* as non-standard, and *ned/net* as dialect variant.
- The distribution of the coronalization of the consonant in the 1st person pronoun *ich* (*ich* [ç] as standard and *isch* [ʃ] as dialect variant; no non-standard variant for this variable).
- The phonetic/phonological realization of the copula verb *sein* in the 2nd person singular form, present tense (*bist* as standard, *biste* as non-standard, and *bisch* as the dialect variant).

Androutsopoulos & Ziegler (2003:267) report a significant use of regional markers for negation by the participants of #mannheim: 52% of negated clauses are realized through the use of the dialect negative particle ned/net. This contrasts starkly with the use of the dialect variants of the other variables, which appear to a much lesser extent: the variant *isch* occurs in 9% of all cases and *bisch* in 28% of all cases. Consequently, Androutsopoulos & Ziegler (2003:269) conclude that the negative particle *ned/net* is to be considered the unmarked variant due to its overall frequency within the participants' interaction. In contrast to less frequent dialect features such as *bisch* or *isch,* this negation particle belongs to the stylistic norm of the channel #mannheim and therefore does not function as a contextualization cue. Accordingly, lesser-used regionalisms serve various pragmatic functions as contextualization cues within the overall interaction. Regionalisms in #mannheim can be used to mark a

shift to a frivolous and playful modality in order to enact aggressiveness or rituals (Androutsopoulos & Ziegler 2003:270). Regionalisms are also used to structure the discourse, and frequently appear in openings and closings, e.g. *morsche* and *alla gud* (Androutsopoulos & Ziegler 2003:271). Further functions include the use of regionalisms in the construction of social stereotypes, i.e. broad dialect is used to imitate different social groups perceived as stereotypical dialect users.

In a second analysis, Androutsopoulos & Ziegler (2003) compare the use of the negation variant *ned/net* in #mannheim with other German IRC channels: #hamburg, #bremen, and #koeln[17]. They report the use of *ned/net* in #hamburg and #bremen despite their initial assumption that no dialect variants were to be expected. Androutsopoulos & Ziegler (2003:268) conclude that participants in #hamburg[18] use the dialect variant in order to either enhance their linguistic repertoire or to provide dialect variants for non-existent ones. Androutsopoulos & Ziegler (2003) relate this process to Trudgill's (1986) concept of reallocation, concluding that participants in #hamburg have reallocated the regional variant as a stylistic variant, i.e. as a marker of informality and IRC experience.

[17] For #koeln, Androutsopoulos & Ziegler (2003) report the use of the regional negation variant nit. Since nit does not occur in the present corpus, findings for #koeln will therefore be set aside. The reader is referred to Androutsopoulos & Ziegler (2003) for findings of the study regarding the channel #koeln.

[18] Androutsopoulos & Ziegler (2003), however, do not explain as to why the negation variant ned/net is used in #bremen.

5 DIALECT VARIANTS IN #BERLIN

Regionalisms are generally viewed as conceptually verbal in nature (cf. Günthner & Schmidt 2001), and thus display aspects of spoken language in written form. Runkehl et al. (1998b:103) suggest that regionalisms are carried over from spoken language to IRC communication, in particular phonetic/phonological features and to a lesser extent lexical and syntactic features of dialects. Since the use of dialect variants is relatively marginal in #berlin, I will argue that in #berlin the use of regionalisms is context-dependent within specific situations and serves various communicative functions, including marking of linguistic playfulness and humor, emphasis, and softening.

5.1 Features of the Urban Berlin Variety

Berlinisch has been developing as a distinct urban dialect[19] since the 15th century and displays features of Low German, Upper Saxon varieties, and New High German. As many northern and middle German dialects, the Berlin variety also experienced significant stigmatization, particularly since the end of the 18th century when *Berlinisch* ceased to be used by the upper middle class as a local prestige variety.

---

[19] As mentioned earlier, Berlinisch has also described as a semi-dialect since it »shows a wealth of regionalisms« (Schönfeld 1989:117) and a vernacular (cf. Dittmar & Schlobinski 1988). Schlobinski (1988:1259) points out that »describing the Berlin variety of German is a challenge for German sociolinguistics, for it does not fall between the two extremes of dialect and standard«. However, since the precise classification of Berlinisch is not relevant here, for ease of reading it will subsequently be referred to as a dialect.

Standard Feature	Dialect Feature	Example
/g/	fricative before vowels: [j]	gut [ju:t]
/-Я/	vocalized after vowels: [a]	wieder [vi:da]
/ai/	Monophthongization: [e:] (lexicalized)	kein [ke:n]
/ao/	Monophthongization: [o:] (lexicalized)	auch [o:x]
/ɪ/	[y]	nichts [nyʃt]
/ç/	[k] (lexicalized)	ich [ik]
/s/	[t] (lexicalized)	was [vat]; das [dat], [dɛt], or [dit]
/g/	[ç] (lexicalized)	weg [weç]
Accusative Case	Dative Case	mit die Bahn; lass mir in Ruhe
Standard Plural Marking	Plural Markers -s or -n	Häusers, Stiefeln

Table 5: Overview of Selected Features of the Berlin Variety

Berlinisch differs from standard German in its sound system, lexical items, morphological and syntactical features, and furthermore varies from standard German in some pragmatic aspects (cf. Schlobinski 1984, Schönfeld 1989, Barbour & Stevenson 1998). Features that occur in the present corpus are listed in Table 5.

In terms of pragmatic features, speakers of the Berlin variety are said to tend towards a mixture of verbal aggressiveness (*Großschnäuzigkeit*), exaggeration, linguistic playfulness, humor and wittiness, often referred to as the ›Berliner Schnauze‹.

5.2 The Use of Dialect Variants in #berlin

5.2.1 Quantitative Analysis

Figure 1 indicates the distribution of selected dialect features in #berlin; these four variables have been selected since they are common and well-known features of the Berlin variety (cf. Schlobinski 1987).

The variable *das* is realized in #berlin as the local variant *dat* in only 2% of all cases; the use of the dialect variant *wat* for *was* is only marginally higher, amounting to 3%.

Furthermore, the variant *wus* for was also occurs in the corpus (4%); bringing the use of variants of *was* to 7%. It is unclear whether the variant *wus* comes from spoken non-standard language or whether it is specific to the language use in the channel #berlin, given that the variant *wus* does not constitute a regional dialect variant of any of the German dialects. As displayed in, for example, the Wenker dialect maps, variants of the standard form *was* are *wat, wot, was,* and *wos.* [20] The use of the regional variant for the verb *sagen* (*sach-* realized as [sa:x]) amounts to a slightly higher proportion, namely 17%.

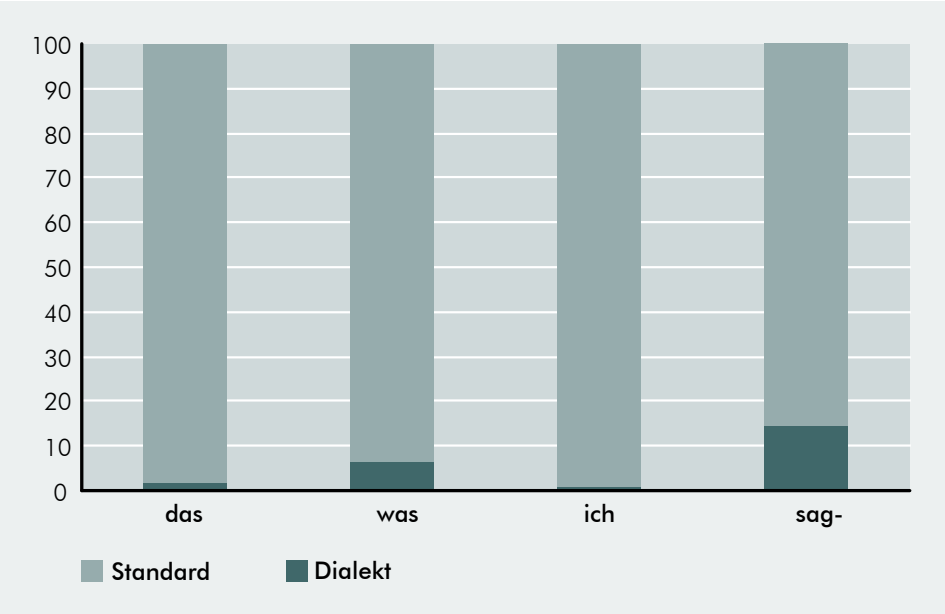

Figure 1: Realization of Four Dialect Features in #berlin

The well-known Berlin variant *ick* is hardly realized at all (1%) in #berlin. This is surprising since, as Schlobinski (1987:149) points out, the variant *ick* is one of the most frequently used Berlin dialect variants. There are a few other dialect features, not shown in Figure 1, of which participants make use in their contributions; however, since their occurrence is very marginal, they will be illustrated in examples below

[20] Available online: http://137.248.81.135/DiWA/ECW.asp?ID1=602&V=0&S=0 (last accessed: 02/10/04)

only. As evident in Figure 1, the use of some of the typical features of the Berlin variety is rare in the IRC channel #berlin. In other words, participants make use of standard and non-standard language in their conversations to a much greater extent than, for example, as has been reported by Androutsopoulos & Ziegler (2003) for #mannheim, or as seems to be the case in Swiss German chat rooms where the use of written dialect plays a significant role (Aschwanden 2001). In #berlin the use of dialect features serves certain communicative functions, e.g. to mark general shifts in modality to indicate wittiness, humor and playfulness, to emphasize participants' contributions, and/or to soften participants' comments.

5.2.2 Shift in Modality: Linguistic Playfulness

Consider the following example (1), which illustrates the use of a number of dialect features of *Berlinisch* by *Zora* and *Franziska*[21].

(1) – Log 1

322 <Zora> mir scheints, es gibt ne münchen-enklave hier *g*

323 <Willy> Zora: jap, aussenposten sued oder so :)

324 <Franziska> Zora: das nennt sich »diaspora« :)

326 <Zora> Fran, geh mir **wech** mit **die** fremwörters.

329 <Franziska> Zora: du meinst, mit **die** fremdworte kann **ick dir janich** imprägnieren? ;)

335 <Zora> Fran, nee, so gar nich.

[21] All nicknames have been changed to protect online-identities of participants.

Gloss[22]

322 <Zora> it seems we have a munich-enclave here *g*

323 <Willy> zora: yep, outpost south or something :)

324 <Franziska> zora: that's called »diaspora« :)

326 <Zora> Fran, just go away with those foreign words.

329 <Franziska> zora: you mean, i can't impress you with those foreign words? ;)

335 <Zora> Fran, nope, not at all.

Here, participants are discussing that a number of core group members of #berlin do not live in the Berlin region. *Franziska* joins the conversation at this point and suggests the word ›diaspora‹ for the various locations from which participants log on. In turn, *Zora* remarks that she does not want to have anything to do with those foreign and educated words, as exemplified through the use of various dialect features. She uses the plural marking -s on *fremwörters,* the dative article *die* for standard German accusative *den,* as well as the phonetic spelling of standard German *weg* as [veç] since the phoneme /g/ is realized as a velar fricative in this case. In short, *Zora* makes use of language forms which are associated with lack of schooling and working class groups. On the one hand, the use of local dialect variants may thus indicate a playful shift to working class register. On the other hand, however, the use of dialect is employed to contrast strongly with the discussion of Munich. *Zora* employs the various dialect features to show difference from Bavarian and to enact a strong sense of a Berlin identity that is essential to #berlin as a regional IRC channel. *Franziska* responds by using dialect as well, though she does not pick up on every one of *Zora's* features, i.e. *Franziska* uses standard form *fremdworte.* Besides using the sociolinguistically highly marked (and rarely used; cf. Figure 1) variant *ick, Franziska* also draws

[22] Glosses given in this paper are approximate translations only, i.e. they are not stylistic translations and do not represent German dialect features, but are meant to provide the non-German-speaking reader with a sense of what is taking place in the examples.

on other dialect features, such as the variant *janich* for standard *gar nicht,* and the use of dative for accusative case: die for den as well as *dir* for *dich.* After this brief and playful exchange, *Zora* switches back to the use of non-standard German marking the end of this particular exchange.

This particular interaction between *Zora* and *Franziska* shows that the use of dialect can be topic-related, i.e. to contrast with the topic Munich/Bavaria. It also illustrates other important aspects of dialect use in #berlin, such as that dialect occurs mainly in language play, to shows one's wittiness and informality, and to indicate a ›not to be taken seriously‹ mode of communication that so frequently characterizes the conversations between participants in #berlin.

5.2.3 Marker of Emphasis

Dialect mixing occurs in #berlin, though only very rarely. Here, dialect mixing refers to the mixing of various regional German dialects within the same contribution, and not to the mixing of standard German and dialect. Dialect mixing is illustrated in example (2), in which the use of dialect is used as a marker of emphasis.

(2) – Log 2

287 <Franziska> so, essen machen und dann noch was arbeiten

322 * Franziska is now known as FranWork

501 <FranWork> ach man, ich muss doch arbeiten *irc wegklick*

700 <Sarah> FranWork wie gehts mit deiner arbeit voran *duck*

705 <FranWork> Sarah: *hüstel* erst vier seiten :)

708 <Sarah> FranWork und wieviel brauchste und bis wann?

712 <Waltraud> seiten?

713 <FranWork> Sarah: hmmm *blätter* noch ungefähr 200 bis freitag :)

715 <FranWork> Waltraud: korrekturlesen

716 <Sarah> FranWork ach des geht doch *räusper*

718 <FranWork> Sarah: **gell**? **sach ick** ja **ooch** :)

Gloss

287 <Franziska> well, have something to eat and then a bit more work

322 *Franziska is now know as FranWork

501 <FranWork> man, i really need to work *clicks off irc*

700 <Sarah> FranWork how's it goin with your work *ducks*

705 <FranWork> sarah: *embarrased cough* only four pages :)

708 <Sarah> FranWork and how many d'you need to do and when's due?

712 <Waltraud> pages?

713 <FranWork> sarah: hmmm *flicks pages* still about 200 til Friday :)

715 <FranWork> waltraud: revision

716 <Sarah> FranWork well that's ok then *erm*

718 <FranWork> sarah: right? i'd say that too :)

Although *Franziska* is logged on to #berlin, she is currently also attempting to work (cf. the symbolic change of *Franziska's* nickname in line 322). *Sarah* enquires as to whether *Franziska* is making any progress with her work. *Waltraud* joins the conversation, though previously she had not followed *Sarah* and *Franziska's* conversation closely (cf. line 712 where she enquires about the pages that *Franziska* had mentioned in line 705). Since *Franziska's* work involves proofreading numerous pages, *Sarah* points out, somewhat ironically, that the workload is not too bad after all. Her use of the inflective **räusper** in line 716 indicates in a shift in modality, i.e. signals *Sarah's* contribution as ironic. In her affirmative, though also rather ironic, response to *Sarah, Franziska* employs the non-local regionalism *gell* as well as various features of the local Berlin variety: the variant ick for ich, the phonetic spelling for the standard variant sag to represent the dialect variant [sa:x] with a word-final velar frica-

tive; furthermore, monophthongization of the standard variant auch – realized as [o:x] – occurs. Here, the use of dialect functions as a marker of emphasis. However, what is particularly intriguing in example (2) is the use of *gell,* which is clearly not a feature of the Berlin variety but occurs in various Southern German dialects, such as Swabian, and Bavarian. The use of *gell* in this instance might be used as a symbolic reference to a recently shared time in Munich, Bavaria (mentioned elsewhere in the log files). On the other hand, the use of *gell* might indicate that it has been reallocated as a general marker of informality, i.e. in terms of stylistic reallocation, since *gell* is also used in spoken non-standard language outside of Bavaria or Swabia (A. Deumert, p.c.).

5.2.4 Softening

Example (3) exemplifies the use of the local Berlin dialect by *Sebastian* as a softening device.

(3) – Log 5

583 <Silvio> . o O (Kuh-Tee iss irgendwie... bäghs)

588 <Sebastian> space oeeeh kuhT?? also kuhtipps ja, aber oeeehm

590 <Michaela> Sil? Kuh-Tee?

593 <Michaela> ach T mit Milch! *plink*

594 <Sebastian> Michaela*g* haste **keen** der dir **sacht**, dassde das a **vagessen** hast wa? ;O)

595 <Silvio> Sebastian/krebs: ich bastle gerade QT zusammen und das **suckt** einfach n **bissl** ;)

599 <Sebastian> Sil quicktime?

604 <Waltraud> Sebastian nee linux zeugs

635 <Michaela> aber eine interpretation von T mit Milch fuer Kuh-Tee war auch nich schlecht *find* ;oO

Gloss

583 <Silvio> . o O (Cow-Tea is somehow… yuck)

588 <Sebastian> Sil huh cowT?? well cowtips yeah, but ahhm

590 <Michaela> Sil? Cow-Tea?

593 <Michaela> oh T with milk! *ding*

594 <Sebastian> Michaela*g* ain't no one tol ya what ya've forgotten, hey? ;O)

595 <Silvio> Sebastian/krebs: i'm putting QT together and that sucks a bit ;)

599 <Sebastian> Silvi quicktime?

604 <Waltraud> Sebastian nah linux stuff

635 <Michaela> but my interpretation of T with milk for Cow-Tea wasn't bad either *thinks* ;oO

In this interaction, *Michaela* is briefly dumbfounded by *Silvio's* mentioning of *Kuh-Tee* (phonetic spelling of ›QT‹, but also literally expressing ›cow-tea‹) as a way of relating to linux-based computer equipment (cf. line 595). *Michaela,* however, mistakes the meaning of *Kuh-Tee* as implying ›tea with milk‹. Subsequently, *Sebastian* comments that *Michaela* has obviously forgotten what *Kuh-Tee* denotes. Only later does *Michaela* realize that her interpretation was incorrect, nonetheless she is pleased about her creative talent in relating *Kuh-Tee* to ›tea with milk‹.

There are several interesting features in this sequence. Firstly, *Sebastian* uses several local dialect features and secondly, *Silvio* makes use of the anglicism *suckt* (›*to suck*‹) and the non-local regionalism *bissl.* I will return to the use of the variant *bissl/bissel* below. The dialect variants here involve the phonetic spelling of *kein* as [ke:n], *sagt* as [sa:xt] and the vocalization of /r/ in *vergessen.* By switching into dialect, *Sebastian* is able to soften his reproof regarding *Michaela's* interpretation of *Kuh-Tee* without causing offence. He corrects her misunderstanding in a teasing and joking manner, as furthermore evident in the use of the acronym *g* at the beginning of his comment.

As shown above, participants in #berlin employ various lexical features of the Berlin dialect[23] as well as other non-local dialect variants. However, regionalisms occur to a very marginal extent only and their use is generally context-dependent. Regionalisms in #berlin serve as markers of linguistic playfulness, emphasis, informality, and to soften participants' comments.

5.3 The Variable bisschen

5.3.1 Quantitative Analysis

In contrast to the marginal use of linguistic features characteristic of *Berlinisch,* the regionally marked variant *bissl/bissel* (standard German *bisschen*) appears to a considerably higher degree, as shown in Figure 2. The variant bissl/bissel is, however, not a feature of the Berlin variety but a dialect variant in different (predominantly South-West) German dialect areas, such as in the Franconian, Hessian, and Palatinate dialect regions.[24]

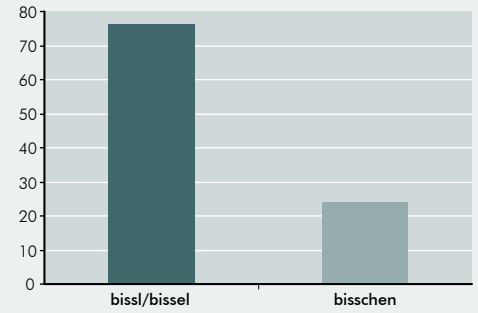

Figure 2: Realization of the Variable bisschen in #berlin

As mentioned previously, Androutsopoulos & Ziegler (2003) argue that the negation variant *ned/net* has been reallocated into the register of participants of the channel #hamburg; I suggest that a similar reallocation process has occurred concer-

[23] Language use in #berlin also displays features of the Berlin variety in terms of pragmatic aspects. For example, Zora' contribution (<Zora> *Willy, das is bestimmt toster-sprache. musstu dumm sein wie toastbrot, um zu verstehn.*) illustrates pragmatic features of the Berlin dialect, i.e. linguistic playfulness, wittiness and enacted verbal aggressiveness, generally referred to as *Berliner Schnauze.* Since their use and effect can be very subtle and difficult to identify, they can be misunderstood as, for example, enactments of *Kanak Sprak,* or not recognized at all by native speakers of other German dialect regions (A. Deumert, p.c.).

[24] Cf. Wenker dialect maps, available online: http://137.248.81.135/DiWA/ECW.asp?ID1=15&V=0&S=0 (last accessed: 12/10/04)

ning the variant *bissl/bissel* in #berlin. Both variants – the dialect variant *bissl/bissel* and the standard variant *bisschen* – evidently co-occur in #berlin, though in rather different frequencies (76% and 24%, respectively). To some extent, *bisschen* and *bissl/bissel* are used interchangeably by participants of #berlin. The local variant *bisken* does not occur at all, perhaps due to its being an archaic form (Schönfeld 1989:120).

Since the variant *bissl/bissel* occurs very frequently, it generally constitutes an unmarked variant and has been reallocated in #berlin as a general marker of informality. Yet, at the same time, *bissl/bissel* has maintained some of its original marked status as a non-local dialect form and, as such, can be used as a contextualization cue. How the variant *bissl/bissel* has spread into the IRC register of participants of #berlin, can only be hypothesized. On one hand, participants may have encountered the variant bissl/bissel in CMC in general (as suggested by Androutsopoulos & Ziegler, 2003, for the negation variant *ned/net*) and subsequently reallocated *bissl/bissel* into their register. On the other, *bissl/bissel* is also a common feature of non-standard spoken German marking informality and/or playfulness (A. Deumert, p.c.). In this case, participants in #berlin simply transport their spoken language use into the written domain, and use *bissl/bissel* to indicate informality.

5.3.2 Marker of Informality

Example (4) illustrates the use of bissel as a marker of informality by Mirco (cf. also example (3) for use of bissl by Silvio).

(4) – Log 4

593 <Stefan> Mirco: Der ultimative Absenderverantwortliche ist *IMMER* der admin-c/tech-c. Dafuer hat er die hausgestellte Bedeutung, dass er als Contact in einer *technischen* DAtenbank (whois) eingegtragen sein muss. Diese Datenbank ist keine Spielwiese fuer Juristen um Muellanfragen zu versenden wie

»wieviele Mitarbeiter hat ihr unternehmen« sondern um die Funktionsfaehigkeit und Kooperation auch gerade in Notfaellen _techisch sicherzustellen.

594 <Mirco_> so, egal, ich werd nochn **bissel** arbeiten

598 <Mirco_> ja, nen ganzen Tag nichts richtig geschafft

600 <Stefan> Mirco: trink ein Bier, oder zwei :-)

603 <Mirco_> Stefan nee, ich wollt schon vor ner Stunde anfangen

605 <Stefan> Mirco: weija, um 22:00 Uhr anfangen ist auch hart.

606 <Mirco_> Stefan nö, nehm grad antibiotika...

611 <Mirco_> ja, hab mich heut krankschreiben lassen, ganzen Tag nur rumgelitten, jetzt gehts wieder gut, da kann man nochn **bissel** was schaffen

Gloss

593 <Stefan> Mirco: Ultimately it's *ALWAYS* the admin-c/tech-c who's responsible for sending. That's why he has the special position that he has to be entered into a *technical* data bank (whois) as a contact. This data bank is not a playground for lawyers to send crap enquires like »how many employees has your company« but to guarantee the technical function and cooperation especially in emergencies.

594 <Mirco_> well, anyway, im gonna work a little more now

598 <Mirco_> yeah, didn't really get anything done all day

600 <Stefan> Mirco: have a beer or two :-)

603 <Mirco_> Stefan nah, wantd to start bout n hour ago

605 <Stefan> Mirco: hmm, pretty hard to start at 10pm

606 <Mirco_> Stefan nah, taking antibiotics at the moment...

611 <Mirco_> yep, am on sick leave today, suffered all day, now feeling little better, now can get something done

This sequence follows a lengthy and highly technical argument between *Stefan* and *Mirco* regarding computer problems. *Mirco* wants to put the issue aside now since he still needs to work a little longer. In this sequence, the use of *bissel* occurs with other non-standard language features, i.e. the non-standard contraction *nochn* for *noch ein*. Here, *bissel* is used as the unmarked, non-standard spoken language variant to indicate informality in *Mirco's* comments.

In example (5), *Willy* makes use of the standard variant *bisschen,* which illustrates the interchangeable use of the variants *bissl/bissel* and *bisschen* in the language use of participants in #berlin.

(5) – Log 5

515 <Willy> Michaela: ich futter immer nebenzu wenn'ch hier am irc sitz.

517 <Michaela> Willy ich nich

519 <Willy> Michaela: heute zwar nur ne tuete chips und ne halbe tuete marshmallows, aber sonst schon

522 <Michaela> Willy *weurx* ind kombination? bissu schawangaz?!

524 <Michaela> *wyrx*

530 <Michaela> marshmellows ... *weury*

531 <Willy> Michaela: ich? naeh, nur seitlich ueber den hueften ein **bisschen** :)

534 <Michaela> Willy. schwimmringe sind nich schawangaz ;o)

Gloss

515 <Willy> Michaela: i always eat when im on irc.

517 <Michaela> Willy i dont

519 <Willy> Michaela: today only a bag of potato chips and half a bag of marshmallows, but generally…

522 <Michaela> Willy *yuck* both together? ar ya preggers?!

524 <Michaela> *chucks*

530 <Michaela> marshmellows ... *yuck*

531 <Willy> Michaela: me? nah, just bit round the hips :)

534 <Michaela> Willy. love handles aint preggers ;o)

Here, *Willy* mentions that he eats constantly when he is logged on; however, today he has only eaten marshmallows and potato chips. *Michaela* finds this disgusting (cf. the onomatopoetic inflectives *weurx* and *wyrx*, line 522 and 524, respectively) and enquires whether *Willy* is pregnant, since his choice of food is rather unusual. This comment can also be related to recurrent discussions in the channel about *Willy's* wife *Sarah's* pregnancy and her somewhat unusual appetite. *Willy* takes *Michaela's* enquiry with humor and responds that he is only a little ›pregnant‹ around the waist. Here, *Willy* makes use of the standard variant *bisschen* instead of *bissl/bissel,* which shows that both variants co-exist in #berlin and can be employed interchangeably by participants.

5.3.3 Marker of Emphasis

As mentioned above, the variant *bissl/bissel* may, however, still function as a contextualization cue in some cases. Example (6) gives an illustration of the use of *bissl/bissel* as a contextualization cue to mark emphasis.

(6) – Log 1

903 <Sebastian> Willy aeehm du bist normale lohnsteuerzahler?

905 <Willy> Sebastian: jetzt wieder, ja.

906 <Sebastian> axo letztes jahr wartse einkommensteuerzahler Willy?

911 <Willy> Sebastian: jo.

913 <Willy> Sebastian: hatt'ch noch immer **bissl** was nebenbei gemacht

Gloss

903 <Sebastian> Willy uhm you are a normal tax payer?

905 <Willy> Sebastian: now im again, yeah.

906 <Sebastian> right last year you were income tax payer, Willy?

911 <Willy> Sebastian: yep.

913 <Willy> Sebastian: did a bit on the side

This conversation between *Sebastian* and *Willy* revolves around paying taxes and tax returns. *Willy* had previously mentioned that he is being taxed differently due a recent change in jobs. *Sebastian,* who seems to be acquainted with tax laws, gives *Willy* advice on how to obtain a substantial tax return this year. *Willy* indicates that he used to do some work on the side. Here, the use of the variant *bissl* serves to emphasize the point that the extra work involved really was inconsequential.

To sum up, the non-local variant *bissl/bissel* is used frequently by participants in #berlin (76%). Considering the lesser extent to which the standard variant bisschen is employed (24%), it can be concluded that the variant *bissl/bissel* has been reallocated from South-West German dialects and has undergone a functional shift to mark informality. At the same time, it has retained some of its original marked status as a non-local variant and may be employed as a contextualization cue to mark emphasis.

5.4 The Variant *wus*

As mentioned earlier, the variant *wus* does not constitute an attested German dialect variant of the standard form *was.* Furthermore, I have never encountered *wus* as a variant in spoken non-standard language, i.e. *Umgangssprache,* in the Berlin region. I suggest that *wus* constitutes a lexical invention by participants of #berlin, since lexical inventions are a common feature of the Berlin variety. Interestingly, only

six participants (four females and two males) overall do actually use wus in their contributions, which suggests that this variant has not yet (and may never) spread to any significant degree into the linguistic repertoire of participants of #berlin. Furthermore, five of these six participants actually live in Berlin and may use *Berlinisch* regularly outside of #berlin, further supporting the hypothesis that *wus* is indeed an invention.

The variant *wus* generally occurs as a question word by itself (except for one instance, discussed below). It is generally used to seek clarification and/or to mark puzzlement or confusion over the course of a conversation or another participant's comment. Consider the following example:

(7) – Log 4

462 * Ingo sets topic to this channel is temporaily in boring academic yak mode >;-)

466 <Zora> yak-mode?

467 <Sebastian> **wus**?

469 <Zora> nee, nich **wus**. yak.

Gloss

462 * Ingo sets topic to this channel is temporaily in boring academic yak mode >;-)

466 <Zora> yak-mode?

467 <Sebastian> what?

469 <Zora> nah, not what. yak.

Ingo's change of topic arises from the continuing conversation between the participants *Stefan* and *Mirco* about computer technicalities; i.e. both participants are engaged in a highly specialized discourse (cf. also example ()). Since this extremely technical conversation does not appear to hold much interest to any other partici-

pants (no one else joined their conversation), *Ingo* raises this issue by changing the current topic to ›academic yak mode‹. Zora in turn questions *Ingo's* lexical choice.

Sebastian's ›question‹ appears to be a more general enquiry as to what is currently going on in the channel, since he seems to have been inactive (idled) for some time. The use of *wus* here appears to be a request for clarification about what is going on in #berlin, either in terms of current conversations or in regards to *Ingo's* change of topic. *Zora'* use of *wus,* on the other hand, is a playful and humorous response to *Sebastian's* use of *wus* since *Ingo's* topic was set to *yak-mode,* not *wus-mode.*

Example (8) gives another illustration of *wus.* In this instance the use of *wus* allows Zora to express confusion and puzzlement over the course of the conversation.

(8) – Log 3

924 <Waltraud> Zoramausi

926 <Zora> Traudihasi

927 <Waltraud> hach Zora

928 <Waltraud> Zora wollen wir am we was kochen?

929 <Zora> äh, **wus**?

Gloss

924 <Waltraud> Zorahoney

926 <Zora> Traudihoney

927 <Waltraud> hmm Zora

928 <Waltraud> Zora do we wanna cook some food this weekend?

929 <Zora> er, what?

In response to *Waltraud's* question as to whether *Zora* would like to cook together at the weekend, *Zora* seems to be confused as to how to understand this question indicated further by her use of the particle *äh. Zora* employs *wus* here to express her

puzzlement over *Waltraud's* question, which may be construed as an unusual proposition.

However, the hypothesis that the variant *wus* is a lexical invention by participants of #berlin needs to be investigated in further detail, in order to come to an thorough understanding and draw adequate conclusions regarding the origin of *wus* and its frequencies. I suggest that the use of wus in #berlin generally serves to openly seeking clarification and/or mark a participant's confusion or puzzlement over the current turn of the conversation. Its meaning seems to be something like: »Hey, what's going on? I'm not following the conversation. Please explain!«.

To sum up, participants in #berlin make use of various lexical dialect features of the Berlin variety, such as *wat, keen, ick, ooch.* However, frequencies of dialect variants are extremely low as compared to frequencies regarding standard variants. The use of local dialect variants in #berlin is generally marked and context-dependent. In other words, dialect-switching is used as a contextualization cue (a) to indicate shifts in modality to signal linguistic playfulness and humor, (b) as a marker of emphasis, and (c) to function as softening devices. Furthermore, non-local dialect features, such as *gell* and *bissl/bissel,* appear to have been reallocated into the IRC register of participants of #berlin and may be used as general markers of informality. However, the variant bissl/bissel has also maintained some of its original marked status and can still function as a contextualization cue to signal emphasis. The form *wus* seems to be a lexical invention of participants of #berlin, and generally functions as a contextualization cue (a) to seek clarification, and/or (b) as a marker of confusion/puzzlement.

5.5 Negation Variants in #berlin

I now turn to the analysis of negation variants, first briefly summarizing Androutsopoulos & Ziegler's (2003) findings regarding negation variants in various German

IRC channels. I will then consider the frequencies and use of various negation forms in #berlin in detail.

5.5.1 Background

As already mentioned, Androutsopoulos & Ziegler (2003) examine the use of negation in regards to standard (*nicht*), non-standard (*nich*) and dialect variants (*ned/net*) in #mannheim. They also compare the use of negative particles in #mannheim with three regional IRC channels: #hamburg, #bremen, and #koeln[25]. The negative particle *ned/net* is specific to the Mannheim vernacular as well as other Rhine Franconian dialects (Androutsopoulos & Ziegler, 2003:268; cf. Barbour & Stevenson, 1998, or Russ, 1989, for classification of the German dialects). However, Androutsopoulos & Ziegler (2003) also report that the southern form *ned/net* occurs in #hamburg and #bremen. They assume that no autochthonous dialect variety can be expected in these channels. However, since both Hamburg and Bremen belong to the North Saxon (Low German) dialect area (cf. Goltz & Walker 1989) with the dialect negation variants *nitt* and *ni* (the former is reported for Hamburg only)[26], Androutsopoulos & Ziegler's (2003) assumption cannot be maintained. It may be that the use of these dialect variants has not spread widely into either the channels #hamburg or #bremen, since Low German has been in steady decline since the mid-17th century leading to strong stigmatization of the dialect which no longer appears to have any »particular communicative functions« (Goltz & Walker 1989:34).

Androutsopoulos & Ziegler's (2003) findings show that the use of the dialect variant *ned/net* increases from North to South (cf. Figure 3). The use of the standard variant *nicht,* on the other hand, decreases from North to South: frequencies vary between 60% and 70% for #hamburg and #bremen; frequencies are considerably

[25] As mentioned in footnote 16, results for #koeln will be left aside here.

[26] These negation variants are recorded in the Wenker dialect maps; available online: http://137.248.81.135/DiWA/ECW.asp?ID1=444&V=0&S=0 (last accessed: 06/10/04)

lower in #mannheim (18%). In contrast, the use of the non-standard variant *nich* does not appear to reflect the North-South divide evident in standard and dialect use: the use of *nich* amounts to 19% for #hamburg, 25% for #bremen and only slightly higher to 30% for #mannheim. #mannheim displays the highest use of the dialect variant *ned/net,* amounting to 52% of all negated clauses. The occurrences of these dialect variants in the other channels are considerably lower: 18% for #hamburg and 6% for #bremen (Androutsopoulos & Ziegler 2003:268-269). These quantitative patterns are not surprising, since *ned/net* is a local form of Mannheim, not of Hamburg and Bremen. What is surprising, however, is that *ned/net* is used at all in the northern channels. As discussed earlier, Androutsopoulos & Ziegler's (2003:268) suggest that for #hamburg these negation variants have been reallocated into the register of participants as stylistic variants to signal informality and/or IRC-experience.

5.5.2 Quantitative Analysis

Negation variants that occur in #berlin are the standard form *nicht,* the non-standard form *nich,* and the local dialect form with a t-apocope and a vowel change *nisch/nuesch* [nyʃ]. Furthermore, participants in #berlin also make use of the non-local (Franconian) negation variant *ned/net.* Figure 3 shows that the dialect variants (both local as well as non-local) are used only marginally in #berlin, whereas the standard and non-standard variants both occur in high frequencies.

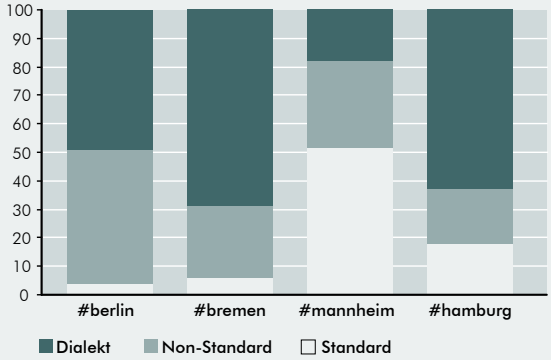

Figure 3: Realization of the Negative Particle ***nicht*** *in Four German IRC Channels (Partially Adapted from Androutsopoulos & Ziegler 2003:269)*

The non-local negation variant *ned/net* and the local Berlin variant *nisch/nuesch* are considered dialect negative

particles for #berlin as illustrated in Figure 3. The use of dialect variants in #berlin is considerably lower than in the other channels, amounting to merely 4% of all negated clauses. Furthermore, only 1.5% of the dialect variants are local variants (*nisch* or *nuesch*), the other 2.5% of negated clauses are realized through the non-local variant *ned/net*. This suggests that the use of *ned/net* has spread only marginally into the linguistic repertoire of the participants of #berlin when compared with #hamburg and #bremen. In contrast to the borrowing and heavy use of the dialect variant *ned/net* and its subsequent shift in pragmatic function (marker of informality), the minimal use of *ned/net* in #berlin indicates that reallocation has not (yet) occurred. However, the dialect variant ned/net serves other communicative functions in #berlin, as discussed below.

As indicated in Figure 3, the use of the standard variant *nicht* and the non-standard *nich* amount to nearly identical percentages in #berlin: 49% and 47%, respectively. This also stands in contrast to the findings of Androutsopoulos & Ziegler (2003) who report noticeably higher rates for the use of the standard variant *nicht* for #hamburg and #bremen and accordingly lower rates for the use of non-standard *nich*. The considerable use of the standard variant *nicht* in all channels except #mannheim shows that *nicht* is an unmarked negation variant in channels where standard and non-standard German play a far greater role than German dialects. In #berlin, non-standard German has taken over various pragmatic functions of traditional dialects, such as marking informality and closeness between conversation partners. Particularly in regions where the use of dialect is no longer widespread, e.g. North and North-East Germany, a continuum ranging from standard German to non-standard German and dialect can be observed. Non-standard German has a much stronger status than dialects in these regions and is used in most every-day encounters (Barbour & Stevenson 1998:152). Since the non-standard variant *nich* occurs nearly as frequently

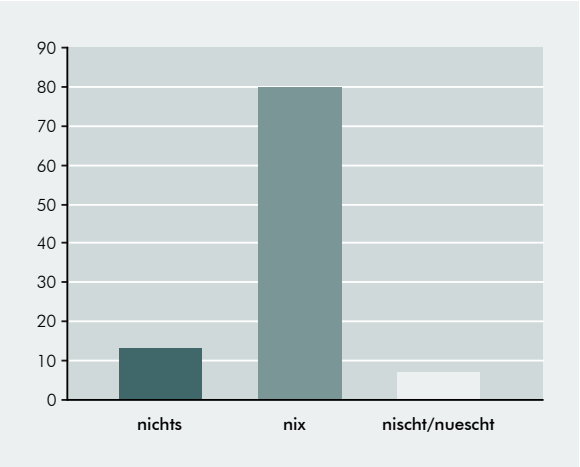

Figure 4: Realization of the Negative Pronoun nichts in #berlin

as the standard variant *nicht* in #berlin, it can thus be seen as constituting another unmarked negation variant.

Frequencies of the negation pronoun *nichts,* however, are very different in contrast to those of the negative particle *nicht*. As indicated in Figure 4, the standard variant *nichts* is realized as non-standard *nix* in 80% of cases, whereas the use of standard *nichts* is only 13%. Furthermore, the Berlin dialect variant (characterized by an s-apocope) *nischt/nuescht* [nyʃt] is realized in only 7% of all cases.

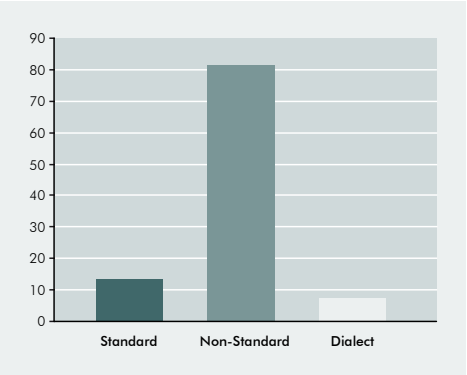

Figure 5: Realization of the the Negative Pronoun ***nichts***

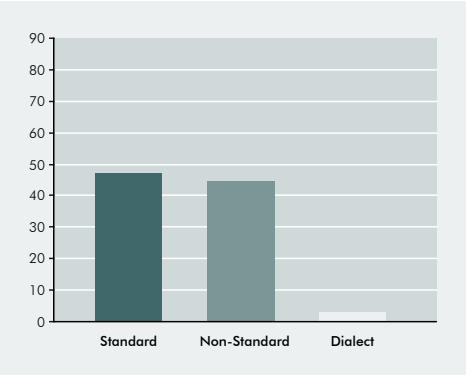

Figure 6: Realization of Negative Particle ***nicht***

The varying frequency of the two negators *nicht* and *nichts* is surprising. The negative pronoun *nichts* is overwhelmingly realized as the non-standard variant *nix* whereas the negative particle occurs as the standard variant *nicht* and the non-standard variant *nich* to similar degrees (49% and 47% respectively), indicating that they are used interchangeably. This distinction is highlighted in Figure 5 and Figure 6.

The standard and non-standard variants of both, the negative particle and the negative pronoun, constitute unmarked variants in #berlin. The high frequency of non-standard *nix* might be due to its being a such short variant and only requires three keystrokes, i.e. participants favor *nix* over the dialect variants *nischt/nuescht* and the standard *variant* nicht for reasons of economy.

5.5.3 Qualitative Analysis

The use of standard *nicht* and non-standard *nich* in #berlin is not context-dependant. They are unmarked, co-occurring variants between which participants alternate, occasionally even within the same turn as illustrated in example (9).

(9) – Log 6

307 <Verena> kleine Michaela-kazze *kraul* :o)

318 <Michaela> Verena *schnuuurrrrr*

319 <Michaela> Verena: *aufn ryggn waelz* *boYchlein hinreck* *beinchen zappel*

321 <Verena> Michaela *kraulisier*

327 <Krebs> sind es die Wehen?

328 <Verena> hey Krebs .o)

331 <Verena> ich hoffe doch **nicht** ... gar **nich** genug heisses wasser und leinen da oder was man da so braucht .o)

Gloss

307 <Verena> little Michaela-kitty *pets kitty* :o)

318 <Michaela> Verena *purrrrs*

319 <Michaela> Verena: *sprawls on back* *sticks out tummy* *kicks legs*

321 <Verena> Michaela *hypnopets kitty*

327 <krebs> are ya in labour?

328 <Verena> hey krebs .o)

331 <Verena> i certainly hope not ... not enough hot water and linen or whatever you need then .o)

Here, *Michaela* pretends to be a little cat that is ›petted‹ by *Verena*. *Krebs* joins in, inquiring whether *Michaela* has gone into labor since she ›is lying‹ on her back with her legs moving. *Verena* replies that she does not hope this is the case since she has not got enough hot water and linen ready for such an occasion. Here, *Verena* uses both the standard variant *nicht* as well as the non-standard *nich,* showing that these two variants are used interchangeably in #berlin.

The participants' rare use of the local and non-local dialect negative particles reveals their status as marked variants. They frequently function as contextualization cues, signaling linguistic playfulness and humor, hedging, and/or are used to soften participants' responses.

5.5.3.1 Softening

Consider the following example where a number of different negative particles and negative pronouns are employed. Here the use of *ned* functions as a contextualization cue to soften *Jana's* response.

(10) – Log 3

1144 <Jana> ach ich wollt dir nur nen platz bei mir und Verena auf der couch anbieten

1145 <Verena> jana, wem?

1150 <Jana> dem captn da

1159 <Verena> jana, ich seh **kein** captn **nich** :o)

1161 <Jana> Verena: sei **ned** so hart

1163 <Verena> Jana ich seh **nix** :o)

Gloss

1144 <Jana> well i just wanted to offer you a seat on the couch with me and Verena

1145 <Verena> jana, who?

1150 <Jana> the captn there

1159 <Verena> jana, i don't see no captn :o)

1161 <Jana> Verena: don't be so mean

1163 <Verena> Jana i don't see nothing :o)

This sequence concerns *Jana* inviting *Verena* and another participant *captn* to ›join‹ her on her couch. *Verena* pretends she does not see *captn* (using a double negative), causing *Jana* to seemingly rebuke *Verena*. However, she softens her reproof by using the marked form *ned* instead of unmarked *nich* or *nicht*. *Verena*, however, continues the teasing and pretence, using the non-standard form *nix*, and thus reflecting again the playful nature that characterizes language use in #berlin.

This short interaction is particularly interesting since it depicts various negation variants and structures of non-standard language use and dialect use. Double negation is ungrammatical in standard German, however, as evident here it does occur in non-standard German (and in some German dialects): in line 1159 the null quantifier *kein* as well as the (non-standard) negative particle *nich* both refer to Verena not seeing *captn*. The semantics of this particular clause are that of a simple negated clause, since the negative quantifier *kein* and the negative particle *nich* occur within the same verb phrase (VP-internally), which is permitted in, for example, Bavarian and Low German. Regarding Bavarian, Bayer (1990:16) makes the generalization that:

NC [negative concord, K.F.] in Bavarian can only hold between a (primary) negative element X and a negative quantified constituent Y if both X and Y are VP-internal.

I suggest that *Verena's* use of double negation is highly contextualized and serves as a marker of linguistic playfulness. The use of double negation marks a shift into playful mode, within which *Verena* is able to pretend that she does not see anyone. This is manifested further in *Verena's* use of emoticons (smileys) as well as her insistence in continuing the play, as evident in line 1163 where she makes use of the non-standard variant *nix* instead of *nicht* to signal playfulness. *Jana* nevertheless reproves of *Verena's* comment; however, through the use of *ned, Jana* is able to soften her criticism of *Verena's* behavior.

5.5.3.2 Hedging

Example (11) gives another illustration of the use of double negation serving as a contextualization cue. Here, double negation indicates *Daniel's* uncertainty regarding *Willy's* question, i.e. it functions as a hedging device.

(11) – Log 1

304 <Willy> Daniel: weisst du ob der lan da is montag?

308 <Daniel> Willy: anzunehmen. aber wissen tu ich **nix** genaues **nicht**.

Gloss

304 <Willy> Daniel: do you know whether lan is there on monday?

308 <Daniel> Willy: i assume. but i don't know nothing definitely.

In this instance, the negation pronoun *nix* co-occurs with the standard negative particle *nicht*. In contrast to *Verena's* use of double negation to indicate a shift in modality (playfulness), in this example the use of double negation functions as a contextualization cue to express uncertainty (hedging).

5.5.3.3Shift in Modality: Playfulness, Humor, and Teasing

The use of *ned/net* also functions as contextualization cue: in this instance *Michaela* makes use of *net* in order to switch into a playful modality.

(12) – Log 1

557 <Michaela> Willy: nein, nur megahungrig .. und offenbar noch immer unterzuckert

558 <Willy> Michaela: unterzuckert *denk*

562 <Willy> Michaela: coke ausm kuehlschrank?

566 <Michaela> Willy. habsch **net** da.

568 <Willy> Michaela: dannanschogglad.

572 <Michaela> Willy: schoki magsch **net**

574 <Willy> Michaela: aschoggladkannsch**ned**leide?

576 <Willy> Michaela: oh, dann wirds aber kompliziert

Gloss

557 <Michaela> Willy: no, just superhungry .. and obviously still lacking sugar

558 <Willy> Michaela: lacking sugar *thinks*

562 <Willy> Michaela: coke out of fridge?

566 <Michaela> Willy. havent got any.

568 <Willy> Michaela: then chocolate.

572 <Michaela> Willy: don't like chocky.

574 <Willy> Michaela: don't like chockies?

576 <Willy> Michaela: well, that makes it very complicated

At the beginning of this sequence, *Michaela* employs standard German and only when responding to *Willy's* question as to whether she has coke in her refrigerator, does *Michaela* switch into non-local (Franconian) dialect by using the variant *net,*

and the variant *habsch* instead of the standard *habe ich*. This switch from standard and non-standard German to Franconian dialect is in turn picked up by *Willy*, who suggests chocolate to feed *Michaela*. *Willy* carries this play with dialect further by stereotyping spoken dialect through his irregular spelling, i.e. imitating the dialect pronunciation in which sentence constituents are merged together. In this way, the creative play with dialect variation continues between the two participants until *Willy* switches back to using non-standard German.

The use of the *Berlinisch* negative particle *nisch/nuesch* follows similar patterns though – as noted above – occurs to an even lesser extent than the variant *ned/net*. The dialect form *nisch/nuesch* serves both to mark emphasis and to signal playfulness and humor.

(13) – Log 1

837 <Sebastian> Willy *lol* ja das machen is ja eher noch guenstig, bei vorhandener williger partnerin, aber das kinder denn haben...uiuiui....kinder sind der armutsgrund nummer eis in DE

838 <Sebastian> eins

842 <Ingo> Sebastian: des glaubsch **nich** nummer 1 sind bestimmt frauen >;-)

843 <Willy> Ingo: *hehe*

846 <Willy> Ingo: naeh, bei mir **nich**. hatte glueck.

847 <Ingo> Willy: nueh wenns doch so is >¦o)

848 <Sebastian> Ingo *g* aber bedenke, das da ein gewisser zusammenhang besteht zwischen frauen und kindern *g*

850 <Ingo> Willy: oh ne billige frau *knuff* man sag sowas **nuesch**

Gloss

837 <Sebastian> Willy *lol* yeah making is a bargain with a willing partner, but bringing up kids…well well…kids are the number on reason for poverty in Germany

838 <Sebastian> one

842 <Ingo> Sebastian: i don't think so number 1 is definitely women >;-)

843 <Willy> Ingo: *haha*

846 <Willy> Ingo: nah, not with me. was lucky.

847 <Ingo> Willy: nah, but im telling ya so. >¦o)

848 <Sebastian> Ingo *g* but don't forget that there's a certain link between women and kids *g*

850 <Ingo> Willy: hm a low-cost woman *cuff* don't say that

Ingo first employs non-standard *nich* (line 842), then switches to the highly marked variant *nuesch* later in the conversation (line 850). This switch into dialect marks a shift in modality, i.e. the use of the variant *nuesch* highlights that *Ingo's* comment should be understood as a joke. Furthermore, as this example shows, the use of non-local dialect variants does not necessarily function as a trigger for further dialect use. In line 842, *Ingo* first uses the non-local dialect variant *glaubsch* followed by the non-standard negative particle *nich.*

Participants in #berlin make use of a range of negation variants extending from standard to non-standard to dialect variants. However, frequencies for standard and non-standard variants vary considerably between negative pronoun variants and negative particle variants. The non-standard negative pronoun *nix* occurs much more frequently than the standard form nicht and the local dialect form *nischt/nuescht.* In contrast, the frequencies for the standard and non-standard negative particles (*nicht* and *nich,* respectively) are very similar, indicating that these variants are used inter-

changeably as unmarked variants. The use of dialect variants, however, (whether it is the non-local variant *ned/net* or the local variant *nisch/nuesch*) as well as the use of double negation is generally context-dependent and limited to a number of communicative functions.

In #berlin, regional negation variants and double negation function as contextualization cues to signal linguistic playfulness and/or humor, to express uncertainty or to soften participants' comments. These findings stand in contrast to Androutsopoulos & Ziegler's (2003) study of the IRC channels #hamburg and #bremen, where the non-local negation variant *ned/net* functions as a reallocated markers of informality and IRC-experience.

6 CONCLUSION

The present study examined lexical regionalisms as well as negation variants in the German IRC channel #berlin from a sociolinguistic perspective. Analysis of autochthonous regionalisms in #berlin reveals that the use of Berlin dialect features is extremely marginal and generally context-dependent. In contrast, the non-local dialect variant *bissl/bissel* occurs much more frequently. I suggested that *bissl/bissel* has been reallocated into the IRC register of participants in #berlin, and as such has undergone a functional shift as a general stylistic marker to indicate informality. At the same time, however, the variant *bissl/bissel* has retained some of its original marked status and may also be employed as a contextualization cue to give emphasis. Moreover, I have put forward the hypothesis that the unattested variant *wus* could be an invention of participants of #berlin since lexical inventions are a common feature of *Berlinisch.* The variant *wus* appears to function as a contextualization cue in #berlin to seek clarification and/or express confusion.

This study also clearly shows that extensive language variation exists in #berlin regarding the use of negation variants. Standard and non-standard variants of the negative particle (*nicht* and *nich,* respectively) occur in similar frequencies and are generally used interchangeably. Dialect variants (the local variant *nisch/nuesch* and the non-local variant *ned/net*) are used only marginally and generally function as contextualization cues (markers of linguistic playfulness and humor, hedges, softening devices). In contrast, the non-standard negative pronoun *nix* is primarily used as compared to the standard variant *nicht* and the dialect variant *nischt/nuescht.* Particularly

the latter variant occurs to a very marginal extent only and generally functions as a contextualization cue to mark verbal playfulness. In addition, non-standard double negation constructions occur in #berlin; their infrequent use is nonetheless context-dependent (hedging devices, markers of playfulness and humor).

In conclusion, language use in #berlin is characterized by systematic variation regarding lexical regionalisms and negation variants. Similarly to Androutsopoulos & Ziegler's (2003) findings that regionalisms in #mannheim may function as contextualization cues, the use of lexical regionalisms in #berlin is also context-dependent. However, communicative functions of regionalisms in #mannheim and #berlin are markedly different: whereas regionalisms in #mannheim are employed for the construction of social stereotypes and/or to indicate shifts in modality to enact verbal aggressiveness, regionalisms in #berlin indicate shifts in modality to signal linguistic playfulness and humor, mark emphasis, and/or soften comments. Furthermore, the negation variant *ned/net* has not been reallocated in #berlin as a general marker of informality (as in #hamburg, cf. Androutsopoulos & Ziegler 2003) but retains its highly marked status and functions as a contextualization cue.

In short, broad generalizations about language use and variation in CMC (as implicit in e.g. Crystal 2001, Androutsopoulos & Ziegler 2003) cannot be maintained, since sociolinguistic variation occurs not only within the same CMC mode, IRC (i.e. across channels), but also within the same standard variety, German. Virtual communities differ markedly from another in their language use, similarly as to how real-life communities are characterized by the differing use of linguistic features.

This study has examined language variation of lexical regionalisms and negation structures in the IRC channel #berlin only. Further research could investigate various other syntactic structures of language use with reference to language variation in CMC, such as elliptic clauses, subordinate clauses, do-support. In order to come to a more comprehensive understanding of sociolinguistic variation in, for example, Ger-

man IRC channels, further comparative studies are also necessary. These could focus on investigating particular syntactic phenomena, as mentioned above, in a range of IRC channels. In brief, further sociolinguistically-oriented studies of language variation in CMC are needed in order to gain further insights and arrive at a thorough understanding of language use in virtual communities.

7 BIBLIOGRAPHY

Androutsopoulos, J. (2003). Online Gemeinschaften und Sprachvariation: Soziolinguistische Perspektiven auf Sprache im Internet. Zeitschrift für Germanistische Linguistik, 31:3, 173-197.

Androutsopoulos, J. & E. Ziegler (2003). Sprachvariation und Internet: Regionalismen in einer Chat-Gemeinschaft. In: J. Androutsopoulos & E. Ziegler (Eds.), ›Standardfragen‹ – Soziolinguistische Perspektiven auf Sprachgeschichte, Sprachkontakt und Sprachvariation (pp.251-279). Frankfurt a. M.: Peter Lang.

Aschwanden, B. (2001). ›Wär wot chätä?‹ Zum Sprachverhalten deutschschweizerischer Chatter. Networx, 24. <http://www.mediensprache.net/networx/networx-24.pdf> (last accessed: 23/06/04).

Baird, E. (1998). ›Ain't Gotta Do Nothin But Be Brown and Die‹: Introduction to the Internet and an American Indian Chat Room. <http://www.december.com/cmc/mag/1998/jul/baird.html> (last accessed: 03/07/04).

Barbour, S. & P. Stevenson. (1998). Variation im Deutschen: Soziolinguistische Perspektiven. Berlin & New York: de Gruyter.

Baron, N. (1984). Computer Mediated Communication as a Force in Language Change. Visible Language, 18:2, 118-141.

Bayer, J. (1990). What Bavarian Negative Concord Reveals about the Syntactic Structure of German. In: J. Mascaró & M. Nespor (Eds.), Grammar in Progress: GLOW Essays for Henk van Riemsdijk (pp.13-23). Dordrecht & Providence, RI: Foris.

Baym, N.K. (1995). The Performance of Humor in Computer-Mediated Communication. Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication, 1:2. <http://www.ascusc.org/jcmc/vol1/issue2/baym.html> (last accessed: 13/04/05).

Baym, N.K. (1998). The Emergence of On-line Community. In: S.G. Jones (Ed.), Cybersociety 2.0: Revisiting Computer-Mediated Communication and Community (pp.35-68). Thousand Oaks et al.: Sage.

Bechar-Israeli, H. (1997). From <Bonehead> To <cLoNehEAd>: Nicknames, Play, and Identity on Internet Relay Chat. Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication, 1:2. <http://www.ascusc.org/jcmc/vol1/issue2/bechar.html> (last accessed: 25/06/04)

Beißwenger, M. (Ed.) (2001). Chat-Kommunikation: Sprache, Interaktion, Sozialität & Identität in synchroner computervermittelter Kommunikation. Perspektiven auf ein interdisziplinäres Forschungsfeld. Stuttgart: ibidem.

Burri, G. (2003). Spontanschreibung im Chat. Linguistik Online, 15. <http://www.linguistik-online.de/15_03/burri.pdf> (last accessed: 23/06/04).

Cherny, L. (1999). Conversation and Community: Chat in a Virtual World. Stanford, CA: CSLI.

Crystal, D. (2001). Language and the Internet. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Danet, B. et al. (1997).»Hmmm… Where's That Smoke Coming From?« – Writing, Play and Performance on Internet Relay Chat. Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication, 2:4. <http://www.ascusc.org/jcmc/vol2/issue4/danet.html> (last accessed: 14/04/04).

Deumert, A. (2006). Semantic Change, the Internet, and Text Messaging. Pergamon Encyclopa-

edia of Language and Linguistics. Oxford: Pergamon Press.
Dittmar, N. & P. Schlobinski (Eds.) (1988). The Sociolinguistics of Urban Vernaculars: Case Studies and their Evaluation. Berlin & New York: de Gruyter.
Domingue, N. (1980). Syntactic Innovations in Mauritian Bhojpuri. Unpublished MS.
Domingue, N. (1981). Internal Change in a Transplanted Language. Studies in the Linguistic Sciences, 4, 151-159.
Döring, N. (1999). Sozialpsychologie des Internets: Die Bedeutung des Internets für Kommunikationsprozesse, Identitäten, soziale Beziehungen und Gruppen. Göttingen: Hogrefe.
Dürscheid, C. (2003). Netzsprache – ein neuer Mythos. <http://www.ds.unizh.ch/lehrstuhlduerscheid/docs/netzsprache.pdf> (last accessed: 24/08/04).
Dyson, E. (1998). Release 2.1: A Design for Living in the Digital Age. London: Penguin.
Goltz, R.H. & A.G.H. Walker (1989). North Saxon. In: C.V.J. Russ (Ed.), The Dialects of Modern German: A Linguistic Survey (pp.31-58). Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
Grice, H.P. (1975). Logic and Conversation. In: P. Cole & J. Morgan (Eds.), Speech Acts (pp.41-58). New York: Academic Press.
Gumperz, J. (1982). Discourse Strategies. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Günthner, S. & G. Schmidt (2003). Stilistische Verfahren in der Welt der Chat-Groups. In: I. Keim & W. Schütte (Eds.), Soziale Welten und kommunikative Stile (pp.315-337). Tübingen: Narr.
Haase, M. et al. (1997). Internetkommunikation und Sprachwandel. In: R. Weingarten (Ed.), Schrift computerbasierter Medien und der Bildung sprachlicher Normen (pp.51-85). Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag.
Henn-Mennesheimer, B. (2004). Syntaktische Minimalformen: Grammatikalisierungen in einer medialen Nische. In: F. Patocka & P. Wiesinger (Eds.), Morphologie und Syntax deutscher Dialekte und Historische Dialektologie des Deutschen. Wien: Editions Präsens. Also available at <http://www.phil.uni-mannheim.de/germanistik/linguistik/doc/minimalf_artikel_internetausz.pdf> (last accessed: 24/08/04).
Hentschel, E. (1998). Communication on IRC. Linguistik Online, 1. <http://www.linguistik-online.de/irc.htm> (last accessed: 19/10/04).
Herring, S. (1996a). Two Variants of an Electronic Message Schema. In: S. Herring (Ed.), Computer-Mediated Communication: Linguistic, Social and Cross-Cultural Perspectives (pp.81-106). Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
Herring, S. (1996b). Posting in a Different Voice: Gender and Ethics in Computer-Mediated Communication. In: P.A. Mayer (Ed.), Computer Media and Communication: A Reader (pp.241-265). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Herring, S. (1996c). Introduction. In: S. Herring (Ed.), Computer-Mediated Communication: Linguistic, Social and Cross-Cultural Perspectives (pp.1-28). Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
Herring, S. (1999). Interactional Coherence in CMC. Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication, 4:4. <http://www.ascusc.org/jcmc/vol4/issue4/herring.html> (last accessed: 19/10/04).
Herring, S. (2001). Computer-Mediated Discourse. In: D. Schiffrin et al. (Eds.), The Handbook of Discourse Analysis (pp.612-634). Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.
Herring (2003). Gender and Power in Online Communication. In: J. Holmes & M. Meyerhoff (Eds.), The Handbook of Language and Gender. (pp.202-228). Oxford: Blackwell.
Herring, S. et al. (1995). »This Discussion Is Going Too Far!« – Male Resistance to Female Participation on the Internet. In: K. Hall & M. Bucholtz (Eds.), Gender Articulated: Language and the Socially Constructed Self (pp.67-96). New York & London: Routledge.
Hinrichs, G. (1998). Gesprächsanalyse Chatten. Networx, 2. <http://www.mediensprache.net/networx/networx-2.pdf> (last accessed: 23/06/04).
Jones, S.G. (1998). Information, Internet, and Community: Notes Toward an Understanding of Community in the Information Age. In: S.G. Jones (Ed.), Cybersociety 2.0: Revisiting Computer-Mediated Communication and Community (pp.1-34). Thousand Oaks et al.: Sage.
Koch, P. & W. Oesterreicher (1994). Schriftlichkeit und Sprache. In: H. Günther & O. Ludwig

(Eds.), Schrift und Schriftlichkeit. Writing and Its Use. Ein interdisziplinäres Handbuch internationaler Forschung (pp.587-604). Vol 1. Berlin & New York: de Gruyter.
Kramarae, C. & H.J. Taylor (1993). Women and Men on Electronic Networks: A Conversation or a Monologue? In: H.J. Taylor, C. Kramarae, & M. Ebben (Eds.), Women, Information, Technology, and Scholarship (pp.52-61). Urbana, IL: Center for Advanced Study.
Labov, W. (1972). Language in the Inner City: Studies in the Black English Vernacular. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
Luginbühl, M. (2003). Streiten im Chat. Linguistik Online, 15. <http://www.linguistik-online.de/15_03/luginbuehl.pdf> (last accessed: 23/06/04).
Mesthrie, R. et al. (2000). Introducing Sociolinguistics. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
Milroy, J. & L. Milroy (1978). Belfast: Change and Variation in an Urban Vernacular. In: P. Trudgill (Ed.), Sociolinguistic Patterns of British English (pp.19-36). London: Edward Arnold.
Milroy, L. (1980). Language and Social Networks. Oxford: Blackwell.
Pankow, C. (2003). Zur Darstellung nonverbalen Verhaltens in deutschen und schwedischen IRC-Chats: Eine Korpusuntersuchung. Linguistik Online, 15. <http://www.linguistik-online.de/15_03/pankow.pdf> (last accessed: 23/06/04).
Panyametheekul, S. & S. Herring (2003). Gender and Turn Allocation in a Thai Chat Room. Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication, 9:1. <http://www.ascusc.org/jcmc/vol9/issue1/panya_herring.html> (last accessed: 19/10/04).
Paolillo, J. (2001). Language Variation on Internet Relay Chat: A Social Network Approach. Journal of Sociolinguistics, 5:2, 180-213.
Reid, E. (1991). Electropolis: Communication and Community on Internet Relay Chat. Honours Thesis. Melbourne: University of Melbourne. <http://www.aluluei.com/electropolis.htm> (last accessed: 23/06/04)
Rheingold, H. (1993). Virtual Communities. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.
Rintel, E.S. et al. (2001). First Things First: Internet Relay Chat Openings. Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication, 6:3. <http://www.ascusc.org/jcmc/vol6/issue3/rintel.html> (last accessed: 19/10/04).
Rodino, M. (1997). Breaking out of Binaries: Reconceptualizing Gender and its Relationship to Language in Computer-Mediated Communication. Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication, 3:3. <http://www.ascusc.org/jcmc/vol3/issue3/rodino.html> (last accessed: 09/10/04).
Rosenberg, K.-P. (1986): Der Berliner Dialekt – und seine Folgen für die Schüler. Tübingen: Niemeyer.
Runkehl, J. et al. (1998a). Sprache und Kommunikation im Internet: Überblick und Analysen. Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag.
Runkehl, J. et al. (1998b). Sprache und Kommunikation im Internet. Muttersprache, 2, 97-109.
Russ, C.V.J. (1989). The Dialects of Modern German: A Linguistic Survey. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
Schlobinski, P. (1984). Berlinisch für Berliner und alle, die es werden wollen. Berlin: Arani.
Schlobinski, P. (1987). Stadtsprache Berlin. Eine soziolinguistische Untersuchung. Berlin & New York: de Gruyter.
Schlobinski, P. (1988). Berlin. In: U. Ammon, N. Dittmar, & K.J. Mattheier (Eds.), Sociolinguistics: An International Handbook of the Science of Language and Society (pp.1258-1263). Vol 2. Berlin & New York: de Gruyter.
Schlobinski, P. (2000). Chatten im Cyberspace. In: K.M. Eichhoff-Cyrus & R. Hoberg (Eds.), Die deutsche Sprache zur Jahrtausendwende: Sprachkultur oder Sprachverfall? (pp.63-79). Mannheim et al.: Duden.
Schlobinski, P. (2001a). *knuddel – zurueckknuddel – dich ganzdollknuddel*: Inflektive und Inflektivkonstruktionen im Deutschen. Zeitschrift für Germanistische Linguistik, 29:2, 192-218.

Schlobinski, P. (2001b). Review of David Crystal's (2001) Language and the Internet. <http://www.websprache.net/literatur/rezensionen/0521802121.pdf> (last accessed: 19/10/04).
Schönfeld, H. (1989). East Low German. In: C.V.J. Russ (Ed.), The Dialects of Modern German: A Linguistic Survey (pp.91-135). Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
Siebenhaar, B. (2003). Sprachgeographische Aspekte der Morphologie und Verschriftung in schweizerdeutschen Chats. Linguistik Online, 15. <http://www.linguistik-online.de/15_03/siebenhaar.pdf> (last accessed: 23/06/04).
Soldo, M. & C. Metzner (2003). Gricesche Interaktionspostulate und Internetkommunikation. Muttersprache, 113:2, 165-181.
Storrer, A. (2001). Getippte Gespräche oder dialogische Texte? Zur kommunikationstheoretischen Einordnung der Chat-Kommunikation. In: A. Lehr et al. (Eds.), Sprache im Alltag. Beiträge zu neuen Perspektiven in der Linguistik (pp.439-465). Berlin & New York: de Gruyter.
Swann, J. et al. (2004). A Dictionary of Sociolinguistics. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
Turkle, S. (1995). Life on the Screen: Identity in the Age of the Internet. London: Weidenfeld & Nicholson.
Trudgill, P. (1986). Dialects in Contact. Oxford: Blackwell.
Vogel, P.M. (2003). Passiv in deutschsprachigen Chats: Eine Korpusanalyse. Linguistik Online, 15. <http://www.linguistik-online.de/15_03/vogel.pdf> (last accessed: 23/06/04).
Werry, C.C. (1996). Linguistic and Interactional Features of Internet Relay Chat. In: S. Herring (Ed.), Computer-Mediated Communication: Linguistic, Social and Cross-Cultural Perspectives (pp.47-63). Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
Witmer, D.F. & S.L. Katzman (1996). On-Line Smiles: Does Gender Make a Difference in the Use of Graphic Accent? Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication, 2:4. <http://www.ascusc.org/jcmc/vol2/
issue4/witmer.html> (last accessed: 19/10/04).
Yates, S.J. (1996). Oral and Written Aspects of Computer Conferencing: A Corpus Based Study. In: S. Herring (Ed.), Computer-Mediated Communication: Linguistic, Social and Cross-Cultural Perspectives (pp.29-46). Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

ALLE NETWORX-ARBEITEN IM ÜBERBLICK

Networx Einführung

Jens Runkehl, Peter Schlobinski & Torsten Siever
Sprache und Kommunikation im Internet (Hannover, 1998)
web**sprache** • medien**analyse**

Networx Nr. 1

Lena Falkenhagen & Svenja Landje
Newsgroups im Internet (Hannover: 1998)
web**sprache**

Networx Nr. 2

Gisela Hinrichs
Gesprächsanalyse Chatten (Hannover, 1997)
web**sprache** • medien**analyse**

Networx Nr. 3

Julian Hohmann
Web-Radios (Hannover, 1998)
web**sprache**

Networx Nr. 4

Silke Santer
Literatur im Internet (Hannover, 1998)
web**sprache**

Networx Nr. 5

Peter Schlobinski
Pseudonyme und Nicknames (Hannover, 1998)
web**sprache** • medien**analyse**

Networx Nr. 6

Jannis K. Androutsopoulos
Der Name @ (Heidelberg, 1999)
web**sprache**

Networx Nr. 7

Laszlo Farkas & Kitty Molnár
Gäste und ihre sprachlichen Spuren im Internet (Hannover, 1999)
web**sprache**

Networx Nr. 8

Peter Schlobinski & Michael Tewes
Graphentheoretisch fundierte Analyse von Hypertexten (Hannover, 1999)
web**sprache** • medien**analyse**

Networx Nr. 9

Barbara Tomczak & Cláudia Paulino
E-Zines (Hannover, 1999)
web**sprache**

Networx Nr. 10

Katja Eggers et al.
Wissenstransfer im Internet – drei Beispiele für neue wissenschaftliche Arbeitsmethoden (Hannover, 1999)
web**sprache** • medien**analyse**

Networx Nr. 11

Harald Buck
Kommunikation in elektronischen Diskussionsgruppen (Saarbrücken, 1999)
web**sprache**

Networx Nr. 12

Uwe Kalinowsky
Emotionstransport in textuellen Chats (Braunschweig, 1999)
web**sprache**

Networx Nr. 13

Christian Bachmann
Hyperfictions – Literatur der Zukunft? (Zürich, 1997)
web**sprache**

Networx Nr. 14

Peter Schlobinski
Anglizismen im Internet (Hannover, 2000)
web**sprache** • medien**analyse**

Networx Nr. 15

Marijana Soldo
Kommunikationstheorie und Internet (Hannover, 2000)
web**sprache** • medien**analyse**

Networx Nr. 16

Agnieszka Skrzypek
Werbung im Internet (Hannover, 2000)
web**sprache** • werbe**sprache**

Networx Nr. 17

Markus Kluba
Der Mensch im Netz. Auswirkungen und Stellenwert computervermittelter Kommunikation (Hannover, 2000)
web**sprache**

Networx Nr. 18

Heinz Rosenau
Die Interaktionswirklichkeit des IRC (Potsdam, 2001)
web**sprache**

Networx Nr. 19

Tim Schönefeld
Bedeutungskonstitution im Hypertext (Hamburg, 2001)
web**sprache** • medien**analyse**

Networx Nr. 20

Matthias Thome
Semiotische Aspekte computergebundener Kommunikation (Saarbrücken, 2001)
web**sprache** • medien**analyse**

Networx Nr. 21

Sabine Polotzek
Kommunikationssysteme Telefonat & Chat: Eine vergleichende Untersuchung (Dortmund, 2001)
web**sprache**

Networx Nr. 22

Peter Schlobinski et al.
Simsen. Eine Pilotstudie zu sprachlichen und kommunikativen Aspekten in der SMS-Kommunikation (Hannover, 2001)
web**sprache** • handy**sprache**

Networx Nr. 23

Andreas Herde
www.du-bist.net. nternetadressen im werblichen Wandel (Düsseldorf, 2001)
web**sprache** • werbe**sprache**

Networx Nr. 24

Brigitte Aschwanden
›Wär wot chätä?‹ Zum Sprachverhalten deutschschweizerischer Chatter (Zürich, 2001)
web**sprache** • medien**analyse**

Networx Nr. 25

Michaela Storp
Chatbots. Möglichkeiten und Grenzen der maschinellen Verarbeitung natürlicher Sprache (Hannover, 2002)
web**sprache** • werbe**sprache** • medien**analyse**

Networx Nr. 26

Markus Kluba
Massenmedien und Internet – eine systemtheoretische Perspektive (Hannover, 2002)
web**sprache** • medien**analyse**

Networx Nr. 27

Melanie Krause & Diana Schwitters
SMS-Kommunikation – Inhaltsanalyse eines kommunikativen Phänomens (Hannover, 2002)
handy**sprache**

Networx Nr. 28

Christa Dürscheid
SMS-Schreiben als Gegenstand der Sprachreflexion (Zürich, 2002)
handy**sprache**

Networx Nr. 29

Jennifer Bader
Schriftlichkeit & Mündlichkeit in der Chat-Kommunikation (Zürich, 2002)
web**sprache** • medien**analyse**

Networx Nr. 30

Olaf Krause
Fehleranalyse für das Hannoversche Tageblatt (Hannover, 2003)
medien**analyse**

Networx Nr. 31

Peter Schlobinski & Manabu Watanabe
SMS-Kommunikation – Deutsch/Japanisch kontrastiv. (Hannover/Tokyo, 2003)
handy**sprache**

Networx Nr. 32

Matthias Wabner
Kreativer Umgang mit Sprache in der Werbung. Eine Analyse der Anzeigen- und Plakatwerbung von McDonald's (Regensburg, 2003)
werbe**sprache**

Networx Nr. 33

Steffen Ritter
Kohärenz in moderner, interaktiver und handlungsbasierter Unterhaltung. Die Textwelten von Adventures (Mannheim, 2003)
werbe**sprache**

Networx Nr. 34

Peter Schlobinski
Sprache und Denken ex machina? (Hannover, 2003)
werbe**sprache**

Networx Nr. 35

André Kramer
Rechtschreibkorrektursysteme im Vergleich. DITECT versus Microsoft Word (Hannover, 2003)
werbe**sprache** • medien**analyse**

Networx Nr. 36

Samuel Spycher
»I schribdr de no…« (Solothurn/Schweiz 2004)
handy**sprache**

Networx Nr. 37

Sabine Leitner
»Die Partei als Marke«? Eine Untersuchung der Wahlwerbung mit einem Vergleich zur Wirtschaftswerbung (Regensburg 2004)
werbe**sprache** • medien**analyse**

Networx Nr. 38

Tanja Stöger
Die Heilige Schrift in der Werbung. Religiöse Elemente in der Werbesprache (Regensburg 2004)
werbe**sprache** • medien**analyse**

Networx Nr. 39

Beat Schmückle & Tobias Chi
Spam - Linguistische Untersuchung einer neuen Werbeform (Zürich 2004)
web**sprache** • medien**analyse**

Networx Nr. 40

Jucker, Andreas H.
Gutenberg und das Internet. Der Einfluss von Informationsmedien auf Sprache und Sprachwissenschaft
(Zürich 2004)
web**sprache** • online**publishing**

Networx Nr. 41

Androutsopoulos, Jannis et al.
Sprachwahl im Werbeslogan. Zeitliche Entwicklung und branchenspezifische Verteilung englischer Slogans in der Datenbank von slogans.de
(Hannover 2004)
werbe**sprache**

Networx Nr. 42

Schlobinski, Simone
Smarte Kommunikation im Internet– Analyse und Beurteilung ausgewählter Marken der Automobilindustrie
(Osnabrück 2004)
werbe**sprache**

Networx Nr. 43

Siebenhaar, Beat
Varietätenwahl und Code Switching in Deutschschweizer Chatkanälen
(Zürich 2005)
web**sprache**

Networx Nr. 44

Andrea Nowotny
Daumenbotschaften. Die Bedeutung von Handy und SMS für Jugendliche
(Bonn 2005)
handy**sprache**

Networx Nr. 45

Olaf Grabienski
Internetauftritte literarischer Buchverlage. Form und Funktion ihrer medialen Gestaltung
(Hamburg 2005)
online**publishing**

Networx Nr. 46

Peter Schlobinski & Torsten Siever (Hrsg.)
Sprachliche und textuelle Merkmale in Weblogs. Ein internationales Projekt
(Hannover 2005)
web**sprache**

Networx Nr. 47

Kai Richter
Zielgruppe Kind. Sprachliche Veränderungen der Anzeigenwerbung in 50 Jahren Micky Maus
(Darmstadt 2006)
werbe**sprache**

Networx Nr. 48

Katharina Franke
Language Variation in #berlin
(Hannover 2006)
web**sprache**