Specific language contact phenomena in the Habsburg Empire and their possible utilization for teaching Czech as a foreign language in Austria

Stefan Michael Newerkla

ABSTRACT:
Not only does pluricentric German display characteristic features of Standard Average European, but it also comprises several distinguishing features in various contact areas with Baltic, Finno-Ugrian and Slavic languages. Like isoglosses, which constitute certain dialect areas in dialectology, bundled language contact phenomena distinguish certain contact areas from others. A major language contact area in Central Europe — merely one out of several — is the contact zone which we can associate with the former centre of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, with German, Hungarian, Czech and Slovak as its core languages as well as Polish, Slovene and others as its only partially involved peripheral languages. From this contact area, a micro-area emerged in Vienna and Eastern Austria that was particularly affected by the influence of Czech on German vice versa. This contribution illustrates how the latter language contact phenomena can fruitfully contribute to the process of teaching Czech as a foreign language in Austria.

KEY WORDS:
Austria, Czech language, German language, language contact, language teaching

In present day Austria, there are seven officially recognized minority languages, i.e. the languages of the six autochthonous ethnic groups officially recognized by the Ethnic Groups Act (Volksgruppengesetz), actually a federal act on the legal status of ethnic groups in Austria dated 7th July 1976 (Bundesgesetz vom 7. 7. 1976 über die Rechtsstellung von Volksgruppen in Österreich), plus the Austrian Sign Language (Österreichische Gebärdensprache) with approximately 9,000 speakers. Several other languages of minorities living here also play an important role.

According to the last census (Volkszählung, 2001), in which people were asked to specify their colloquial language, 2 7,115,780 out of 8,032,926 stated to use only German (which is about 88.24% of all residents of Austria). Just about 1.48%, which

1 This paper was presented under the title The importance of contact linguistics for teaching Czech as a foreign language in Austria at the international workshop Učíme (se) cizí jazyky — Fremdsprachen lernen und lehren (Prague, May 17–18, 2013), organized by the Institute of Czech Language and Theory of Communication, Faculty of Arts of Charles University in Prague, in cooperation with the Department of Slavonic Studies of Vienna University and supported by the bilateral Study and Research Grant program AKTION Austria — Czech Republic, project No. 66p17.

2 This question has not been part of any census after 2001 due to a new upset of the data acquisition process for the census.
is a total of 119,667 residents, were speaking one of the languages of the six autochthonous ethnic groups officially recognized including so-called Windisch, which is an overall term for Slovene dialects spoken in Carinthia (however it is neither mentioned separately nor subsumed under Slovene). The most numerous autochthonous ethnic group language was Hungarian (40,583), followed by Slovene (24,855 without Windisch), Burgenland Croatian (19,412), Czech (17,742), Slovak (10,234) and Romani (6,273). But the really influential colloquial languages apart from German are today others, Turkish (183,445), followed by Serbian (177,320) and Croatian (131,307). Even English (58,582) is used more widely today as a colloquial language than any of the autochthonous ethnic group languages. And languages like Bosnian (34,857), Polish (30,598) or Albanian (28,212) still significantly outnumber residents with Czech as their colloquial language. Today, Czech speaking residents can be best compared in number to those speaking Arabic (17,592) or Romanian (16,885).

Nevertheless, despite their relatively small number today the most important of the aforementioned autochthonous ethnic groups — as far as Vienna is concerned — are the Czechs. They have been living here and around the town at least since the thirteenth century, more accurately since the time of Ottokar II of Bohemia, in Czech Přemysl Otakar II, called The Iron and Golden King. Ottokar II was the King of Bohemia from 1253 until 1278, the Duke of Austria from 1251 until 1276, Styria from 1260 until 1276, Carinthia from 1269 until 1276, and Carniola from 1269 until 1276. On 26th August 1278, Ottokar was killed at the Battle of Dürnkrut and Jedenspeigen on the March while attempting to recover his lost lands in Austria by force. (Veber et al., 2002, pp. 114–121). Slovak settlements can be found in the Eastern regions of Lower Austria for a period even longer than that (Fleck, 2011, pp. 32–33).3

Moreover, Vienna has always been a multicultural city due to its status as a university town (since 1365), commercial and administrative centre and for many centuries also capital of the Habsburg empire. Already in 1548, the schoolmaster of the so-called Scottish Abbey, the Benedictine Abbey of Our Dear Lady to the Scots (in German Schottenstift or Benediktinerabtei unserer Lieben Frau zu den Schotten), a Roman Catholic monastery in Vienna’s first district, which was founded in Vienna in 1155 by Irish monks from Regensburg, Wolfgang Schmeltzl, described the commercial downtown area as multiethnic and multilingual (Schmeltzl, 1548, pp. cjjj_{a,b}):
Teutsch, Frantzösisch, Türkisch, Spanisch, Behaimisch, Windisch, Italienisch, Hungarisch, guet Niderlendisch, Naturlich Syrisch, Crabatisch, Rätzisch, Polnisch und Chaldeisch.

Translation (SMN):

Eventually, as I came to the Lugeck,¹ there were many merchants of all nations in their clothing. Several languages and tongues can be heard there, I thought, I had come to Babel, where all languages originated from. And heard strange talking and shouting of several beautiful languages. Hebrew, Greek and Latin, German, French, Turkish, Spanish, Czech, Slovene, Italian, Hungarian, good Dutch, Syrian of course, Croatian, Serbian, Polish and Chaldean Neo-Aramaic.⁵

At the turn of the 18th to the 19th century, Vienna already counted somewhat about 230,000 inhabitants, and many of them had Czech background. From the first half of the 18th century they had regularly gathered for Czech masses (Schamschula, 1973, p. 145), and in 1761, the first Viennese newspaper in Czech was published — the so-called C. k. privilegované české vídeňské poštovní noviny (Duchkovitsch, 1980; 2004; Vintr — Pleskalová, 2004, p. 118). Because of the many Czech migrants to Vienna, an imperial decree of 1778 even ordered all announcements in the suburbs of Wieden (today Vienna's fourth district and parts of its tenth district Favoriten) to be made both in German and Czech (John — Lichtblau, 1990, p. 251).

Throughout the 19th century, Vienna witnessed an enormous increase in population, so that in 1910 it eventually counted 2,031,498 inhabitants, a number almost ten times as high as around 1800. Simultaneously, we can see huge Czech migration to Vienna, especially during the second half of the 19th century. Even in official statistics, their number increased from 25,186 persons with Czech, Moravian or Slovak as their common means of communication in 1880 to 102,974 in 1900. But in reality,

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¹ The Lugeck is a place in Vienna’s first district (Inner City) between Rotenturmstraße, Köllnerhofgasse, Sonnenfelsgasse and Bäckerstraße.

⁵ Chaldean Neo-Aramaic is not to be confused with the original “Chaldean language” (= Urartian, Vannic) referring to the late Old Aramaic dialect of the Chaldean Dynasty of Babylon (6th century BC). Most speakers of Chaldean Neo-Aramaic are Chaldeans adhering to the Chaldean Catholic Church.
their number must have been at least two times as high, since we know, that after the break-up of the Habsburg monarchy about 150,000 Czechs re-emigrated back from Vienna to the new Czechoslovak Republic, leaving around 80,000 persons with Czech mother tongue still in Vienna in 1923. These numbers would provide us with a sum of about 230,000 persons with Czech background during the years between 1900 and 1918. The number of Slovaks living in Vienna and the Moravian field (Marchfeld) also reached its highest point during these years (Brousek, 1980, p. 23; Rattensperger, 2003, pp. 52–53).

In parallel to the impressive growth of Vienna’s Czech community during the 19th century up to its heyday after the turn of 19th and 20th century, there was also a steady rise of language as the source and main indicator of national identity. During those years, Czech had reached a level of dissemination, on which it could no longer remain in its underprivileged role mainly as a home language. It had to challenge the traditional hegemony of the German language in Vienna by penetrating into domains so far reserved for the dominant language. As Eric John Hobsbawm (1990, p. 96) aptly remarks in his book on nations and nationalism since 1780, “linguistic nationalism was and is essentially about the language of public education and official use”. No wonder that the demand for national autonomy increased as rapidly now as the claim for education in Czech. Thus, besides from Czech associations, first independent Czech schools were founded during the end of the 19th century.

In retrospect, it is not really surprising that such endeavours triggered anti-Czech resentments in parts of Vienna’s German speaking population, incited by the populist politics of the then mayor Karl Lueger and his Christian Social Party. After the break-up of the Habsburg monarchy, there even existed a certain fear that the Czechs could become too influential in the city council. This disquiet is nicely illustrated by the lyrics of a Viennese song of that time (Glettler, 1985, p. 33):

(2) Wer wird uns in Wien jetzt regier’n?
Wer wird uns in Wien jetzt regier’n?
Der Tschechoslowak mit’n Zylinder und Frack,
Der wird uns in Wien jetzt regier’n!

Translation (SMN):

Who will govern in Vienna now?
Who will govern us now?
The Czechoslovaks, with top hats in tails,
will govern us in Vienna now.

However, such worries and anxieties were quite unfounded since the vast majority of the Czechs, who stayed in Vienna as loyal Austrians, very soon switched completely from their first language to German. Nonetheless, by doing so, they left many traces of Czech in the Viennese variety of German and thereby influenced in the long run also the language of Vienna’s non-Czech population and in certain instances the Austrian standard variety of German itself. Even further afield, these distinctive in-
interference phenomena such as certain loan words, phrases and idioms eventually became distinguishing expressions of the Viennese dialect, which speakers of this variety of German are proud of up to this day.

However, this knowledge of the Czech origin of many words and phrases typical of the German variety in Austria is no longer present in the speakers of this variety today. They just use them naturally and do not think about them, unless they are confronted with speakers of other varieties of German who often react with amusement to some specific Austrian language phenomena. Now, for Austrians learning Czech this knowledge of the Czech origin of certain words, phrases and idioms in the Austrian variety of German can be utilized in an interesting way to make Austrian learners of Czech aware of the linguistic and cultural heritage in their own language in order to make them realize that Czech is not really foreign to them at all. We have already shown in other papers (Newerkla, 2007c; 2007d; 2013a) that for teaching Czech as a foreign language in Austria, it can be very useful to rediscover these interference phenomena and bring them into focus again.6

This is especially important, because after the break-up of the Habsburg Empire there had been no necessity to teach Czech at any Austrian schools any more — except for the private minority schools of the Vienna-based Comenius School Association (Školní spolek Komenský). As our analysis of the history of teaching Czech in Austria and the present day situation proved, Czech had become a thoroughly exotic language to learn in Austria almost until the end of the 20th century. It was taught only to specialists at Vienna University, in Austrian Federal Army, etc. Beginning with Velvet Revolution and the fall of the communist regime in former Czechoslovakia, the interest in Czech language, literature and culture intensified again. But after an initial period of euphoria, this interest has only been growing slowly, if not stagnating or deteriorating until today, even through the times of transformation and integration of the Czech Republic into the European Union (Newerkla 2007e; 2007f; 2008; 2013b).

Among the reasons mentioned for the disinterest in learning Czech are assumptions, e.g. that Czech people can speak German (older generation) or English (younger generation) anyhow, which renders the tedious task of learning a language (that is so difficult to learn in the eyes of many Austrian) a less appealing and useless effort. Certainly, it would be worthwhile in further research to look at this attitude of Austrians towards Czech by the means of language ideology concepts as elaborated by linguistic anthropologists such as Silverstein (e.g. 1979; 1985; 1998), Kroskrity (e.g. 1993; 2000), Errington (e.g. 2001), Blommaert (e.g. 2006), and others, or applied to the contemporary Central European context by Nekvapil and Sherman (2013) among others. However, this is not the intention of this article.

For a certain period of time, another reason for turning students off from learning Czech might also have been the lack of modern and attractive course books and

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6 Utilizing Czech-German contact phenomena as such, the Goethe Institute in the Czech Republic has launched a similar campaign in the opposite direction by pointing to the fact that many (mostly non-standard) words used in contemporary Czech are German in origin or at least loan words that were transferred to Czech via German (e.g. Newerkla, 2004; 2011a).
language teaching material for Czech. This is no longer true for the present-day situation, although in this context, we are witnesses of a phenomenon that is quite widespread in language learning with regard to German — the almost exclusive orientation on the variety of Standard German as spoken in Germany and the disregard of the pluricentricity of German, i.e. other varieties of Standard German as for example spoken in Austria, Switzerland, Belgium, etc. This is really a pity for Austrian learners of Czech, even more so, since Czech is still taught — if at all — in adult education, or as a supplementary language at certain schools (mostly in comparison to Russian as the main subject), thus in the context of philology and area studies. It is because of this that it makes sense to utilize the heritage of specific language and cultural contact phenomena in the Habsburg Empire in a meaningful way for teaching Czech as a foreign language in Austria more efficiently. By making Austrian learners aware of certain shared features and parallels between Czech and the Austrian variety of German on several language levels, Czech also loses the whiff of the exotic and becomes a familiar language again. Beyond that, the process of learning Czech is thus often at the same time a process of discovering knowledge about the learners’ first language, which has often already been buried due to the levelling influence of the German variety of German on its Austrian variety. Thus, the whole language learning process becomes an intimate and highly welcome experience.

It is important to note that we do not speak in favour of an exclusive Austrian approach to Czech language teaching and learning, since not all Austrian learners have the same language background and we want to include all German speaking learners in our approach. But my colleagues and I myself, we have made the experience in our language teaching courses at university, secondary schools and institutions for adult education and proven with our language teaching course books and other material (Newerkla, 1998; Sodeyfi — Newerkla, 2002; 2004; 2007; Sodeyfi — L. Newerkla, 2012) that taking into account parallel structures and shared features of the Austrian variety of German and Czech help Austrian learners remember Czech words, idioms, phrases and grammatical structures more easily and efficiently. Moreover, even our German students are glad to get this help, some even say that thanks to learning Czech they now would understand the Austrian variety of German much better than before, which is quite evident with an abundance of words such as Czech rybíz ‘currant’ (German in Austria Ribisel, German Johannisbeere’), celer ‘celeriac’ (German in Austria Zeller, German Sellerie) or malta ‘mortar’ (German in Austria Malter, German Mörtel) or phrases such as Czech to vyjde ‘this turns out well/badly, works out all right’ (German in Austria das geht sich aus, German das klappt, das passt), etc.

Now, in order to proceed systematically, which phenomena can in particular be regarded as worth utilizing in such a language learning context? First of all, we have to mention the clear convergence of the vocabularies of at least Czech, Slovak, Hungarian and the varieties of German as spoken in Old Austria. Of course, there are many German loans in Czech, Slovak and Hungarian that derive from German words which are still or at least were in use solely in the Austrian variety of High German.

7 I have repeatedly touched upon this matter on other occasions (e.g. Newerkla, 2007a; 2007b; 2009; 2011a, pp. 76–86).
On the other hand, many Slavic, Hungarian and also Romance words found their way into German of Old Austria and thus set to a great extent the typical character of the Austrian variety of standard High German, e.g.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adjunkt</td>
<td>‘assistant director’ (one of the innumerable titles of civil servants in the Habsburg Empire)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Automatenbuffet</td>
<td>‘automat’</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bartwisch</td>
<td>‘hand-brush’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biskotten</td>
<td>‘biscuits’</td>
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<tr>
<td>Buchtel</td>
<td>‘yeast pastry’</td>
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<tr>
<td>Busserl, Bussi</td>
<td>‘little kiss, peck’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chauffeur</td>
<td>‘chauffeur’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dekagramm</td>
<td>‘10 grammes = 154.324 grains’ (troy and avoirdupois)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evidenz</td>
<td>‘register’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fasching</td>
<td>‘Shrovetide’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fauteuil</td>
<td>‘armchair’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fesch</td>
<td>‘smart’</td>
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<tr>
<td>Garçonnière</td>
<td>‘bed-sitter’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hetz</td>
<td>‘fun’</td>
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<tr>
<td>Karfiol</td>
<td>‘cauliflower’</td>
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<tr>
<td>Klobasse</td>
<td>‘hard smoked sausage’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kukuruz</td>
<td>‘Indian corn’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lavoire</td>
<td>‘wash-basin’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lizitieren</td>
<td>‘sell by auction’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malter</td>
<td>‘mortar’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matura</td>
<td>‘school-leaving exam’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palatschinke</td>
<td>‘pancake’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paprizieren</td>
<td>‘spice with paprika’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plafond</td>
<td>‘ceiling’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pogatsche</td>
<td>‘pancake with greaves’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ribisel</td>
<td>‘currant’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sekkieren</td>
<td>‘pester’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semmel</td>
<td>‘(Vienna) roll’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trafik</td>
<td>‘tobacco-shop’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Werkel</td>
<td>‘barrel-organ’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zeller</td>
<td>‘celeriac’</td>
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<tr>
<td>Zipp</td>
<td>‘zip-fastener’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Many of these words were again passed on to other languages of the Habsburg Empire through the medium of Austrian German, the lingua franca of that time. Moreover, the vocabularies of German, Czech, Slovak, Hungarian etc. are not only distinguished by this manifest lexical convergence. The close contacts between those languages throughout centuries have also led to many agreements among the distribution of semantic content in their word fields. The Czech scholar Emil Skála (1992, p. 176)
mentions for example the far-reaching conformity of the word field of the about 150 verbs of locomotion in Czech and German with regard to their word sense.

The convergence of Czech, Slovak, Hungarian and Austrian German becomes also manifest on other linguistic levels, e.g. in the grammatical structure of these languages, although again on a deeper layer of semantic content. Take for example the use of prepositions in Austrian German, Czech and Slovak as well as the use of the corresponding suffixes in Hungarian. In English and in German as spoken in Germany we take an examination in a subject such as Russian, mathematics and so on (= eine Prüfung in Russisch, ... ablegen); however, the equivalents in Austrian German, Czech, Slovak and Hungarian are in this succession: eine Prüfung aus Russisch, ... ablegen; vykonat zkoušku z ruštiny, ...; vykonat skúšku z ruštiny, ...; oroszóból, ... vizsgázni. The meaning of the prepositions aus, z/ze and z/zo as well as the Hungarian suffixes -ból/-ből is the same (literally out of, from, of) (Newerkla, 2013a, p. 252).

Correspondingly, in German as spoken in Germany and in English we sit at the table (= am Tisch sitzen); the equivalents in Austrian German, Czech, Slovak and Hungarian are bei Tisch sitzen; sedět u stolu; sedieť pri stole; asztalnál ülni. The meaning of the prepositions bei, u and pri as well as the Hungarian suffixes -nál/-né is the same, again (literally near, close to). A striking feature of Austrian German — especially of its colloquial variety — in contrast to German as spoken in Germany is also the extensive and unmarked use of the preposition auf (= literally on, upon), e.g. auf der Universität ‘at the university’, auf der Post ‘at the post-office’, auf dem Hof ‘in (on) the courtyard’, auf dem Konzert ‘at the concert’, auf dem Markt ‘in (on) the market’. In many cases, this special characteristic can once more be associated with the use of the preposition na in Czech (na univerzitě, na poště, na dvore, na koncertě, na tržišti) and Slovak (na univerzite, na pošte, na dvore, na koncerte, na trhovisku), as well as the use of the Hungarian suffix -n (-on, -en, -ön) with the same meaning (az egyetemen, a postán, az udvaron, a koncerten, a piacon) (Newerkla, 2011a, p. 80).

Obviously, all these examples prove right assertions of Roman Jakobson (1938, p. 52), who pointed out the fact that the limits of language convergence seem to coincide strikingly with boundaries of physical and political geography. By stating so, he anticipated findings of the American sociolinguist Dell Hymes (1974), who claims that different languages can form a speech community under certain political influence and social conditions.

However, we have already shown (Newerkla, 2007a, p. 275; 2007b, pp. 31, 33) that from this major language contact zone in Central Europe which we can associate with the former centre of the Austro-Hungarian Empire (with German, Hungarian, Czech and Slovak as its core languages as well as Polish, Slovene and others as its only partially involved peripheral languages), a micro-area emerged in Vienna and Eastern Austria that was particularly affected by the influence of Czech on German due to the unusually copious migration to Vienna during the second half of the 19th century and the assimilation processes during the first half of the 20th century.

Consequently, up to this day we encounter persons in all spheres of Vienna’s public life, whose ancestors were born in the Lands of the Bohemian Crown and Upper Hungary or who at least have Czech or Slovak family names. For example, the first three Austrian heads of state after 1945 — Karl Renner, Theodor Körner, Adolf Schärfer —
were all born outside the territory of today’s Austria despite their German family names. Renner was born in the Moravian village of Dolní Dunajovice (Untertannowitz), Körner in today’s Slovak-Hungarian border town Komárnó/Komárom (Komorn) and Schärf in the Moravian town of Mikulov (Nikolsburg) (Newerkla, 2005, p. 159). Similarly, the family background of the former Austrian chancellor Bruno Kreisky or the former Viennese mayor as well as former head of state Franz Jonas was Moravian. Many Austrian politicians have Czech family names (Newerkla, 2009, p. 8), e.g.:

\[(4)\]  

- **Blecha**  
  - `blecha` ‘flea’
- **Busek**  
  - `Bušek`, a diminutive of Buš derived from the name Budimír, Budislav, Budivoj or Bohuslav
- **Cap**  
  - `čáp` ‘stork’
- **Ceska**  
  - `čieška` ‘small bowl’ in Old Czech
- **Dohnal**  
  - `dohnal` ‘he who caught up with’
- **Klestil**  
  - `klestil` ‘he who pruned’
- **Klima**  
  - `Kliment` (= lat. Clemens, both a Late Latin masculine given name and a surname meaning ‘merciful’)  
- **Kukacka**  
  - `kukačka` ‘cuckoo’
- **Lacina**  
  - `laciný` ‘cheap’

In this context, one also has to mention the fact that the official Austrian census of 2001 (Volkszählung, 2001) still counted 54,627 persons of Czech origin.\(^8\) Only 46,100 (about 84.4%) of them had already gained Austrian citizenship, but — as mentioned in the beginning — just 17,742 (approximately 32.5%) put a cross next to Czech as their colloquial language (Newerkla, 2013a, p. 257).

These extralinguistic processes have fostered language contact phenomena and also influenced the varieties of German spoken by the inhabitants of the city and the agglomeration area of Vienna. Nevertheless, recent scientific studies on the matter based on empiric research are rare (the last comprehensive ones being by Steinhauser, 1978, and to a certain extent also Zeman, 2003; 2009), although there are simultaneously many popular descriptions of these phenomena comprising often unverified information and passing on language myths (a typical representative of this group was for example Peter Wehle, 1980; 1996; 1997). Therefore, we hope that we will soon be able to come up with an exhaustive project on German as used in Austria with regard to aspects of language contact in the framework of a Special Research Program by the Austrian Science Fund (FWF) on German in Austria.\(^9\) Our subproj-

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\(^9\) At the moment, the proposal is under review. Speaker and applicant of this Special Research Program is Alexandra Nicole Lenz, Department of German Studies, University of Vienna, in cooperation with Stephan Elspaß, Department of German Studies, University of Salzburg. The seven principal investigators and three co-leaders of projects are in alphabetical order Gerhard Budin (Vienna), Monika Dannerer (Salzburg), Stephan Elspaß
ext intends to culminate in a detailed overview of contact-induced Slavic influences on the varieties of German in Austria over time by concentrating on the exemplary situation in the urban area of Vienna. At this moment, however, these ideas are just visions of hoped-for prospects in the near future. Here and now, we can only briefly recapitulate and summarize the results of our previous research in the field so far (especially Newerkla, 2007a; 2007b; 2007c; 2007d; 2009; 2011b; 2013a).

As we know today, even in the first half of the 19th century the knowledge of Czech loan words in Vienna was already solid. For that reason, the well-known Austrian actor, singer and playwright Johann Nepomuk Eduard Ambrosius Nestroy could make use of them in his comedies and other dramatic pieces. We can identify at least 50 words ranging from ale ‘but’ in his play Martha oder Die Mischmonder Markt-Mägde-Mietung (1848) to the pejorative denotation of Czechs as Zopak, derived from copak ‘what?’, in his play Eisenbahnheiraten oder Wien, Neustadt, Brünn (1844). Other expressions used by Nestroy (Newerkla, 2009, p. 9) and thus commonly known are e.g.:

(Salzburg), Manfred Glauninger (Vienna), Alexandra Nicole Lenz (Vienna), Stefan Michael Newerkla (Vienna), Arne Ziegler (Graz), and Peter Mauser (Salzburg), Sylvia Moosmüller (Vienna) as well as Hannes Scheutz (Salzburg). Rosita Schjerve-Rindler (Vienna) was originally part of the team, but unfortunately died unexpectedly after having finished her work on the proposal.

Whereas one part of our research is aimed at the historic dimension of language contact in which Czech was the dominant contact language, the other will address the present-day situation in which Serbian, Croatian, Bosnian and Polish are the most important Slavic varieties in contact with the German spoken in Vienna and thus enable the identification of parallels with and contrasts to the former situation. In particular, we want to be able to find comprehensive answers to the following research questions: What was the effect of language contact with Czech and other Slavic languages on the different language levels of the varieties of German in the city and agglomeration area of Vienna, especially during the peak of Vienna’s Czech minority in the last decades of the Habsburg Empire? What is the effect of language contact with Slavic languages, especially Serbian, Croatian, Bosnian and Polish, on the individual language levels of the varieties of German in the urban area of Vienna today? Can we identify any comparable, special or universally applicable aspects of language contact in this area? The specific language corpora that either preexist or are to be created in the context of the subprojects of this Special Research Program will be embedded in an operational online research platform, which already exists in an initial stage at the Institute for Corpus Linguistics and Text Technology (ICLTT) of the Austrian Academy of Sciences and makes use of the so-called Common Language Resource and Technology Infrastructure (CLARIN) to facilitate linguistic research. The project is multidimensionally integrated into the national and international research landscape, one of the cooperating partners of our planned subproject on German and Slavic languages in Austria is prof. PhDr. Karel Šebesta, CSc., Institute of Czech Language and Theory of Communication, Charles University in Prague.

The Czech loan words were identified and counted by Martina Kuklíšová (Banská Bystrica) within the framework of a seminar paper in one of my courses at Vienna University.

Over and above that, it is known that the influence of Czech and Slovak was especially substantial in the semantic field related to cooking (kitchen words, denotations of food and meals) with words such as for example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Czech</th>
<th>Slovak</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>heidipritsch</td>
<td>‘totally gone’ (&lt; onomatopoetical hajdy and pryč ‘gone’)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hubitschko</td>
<td>‘peck on the cheek’ (&lt; hubička ‘little kiss’)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaluppe</td>
<td>‘dilapidated, ramshackle hut’ (&lt; chalupa ‘hut’), also in the German diminutive form Kalupperl</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Leschak</td>
<td>‘lay-about’ (&lt; ležák)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>nemam</td>
<td>‘have-not’ (&lt; nemám)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>petschieren</td>
<td>‘seal’ (&lt; zapečetit)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>powidalen</td>
<td>‘tell’ (derived from the preterite form of povídat)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rosimi</td>
<td>‘wits’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(-sim-/sum-)</td>
<td>(&lt; rozum)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

But also

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Czech</th>
<th>Slovak</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bramuri</td>
<td>‘potatoes’ &lt; brambory</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buchtel (B-/W-)</td>
<td>‘yeast pastry’ &lt; buchta</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Livyanze</td>
<td>‘pancakes’ &lt; lívanec</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leschak</td>
<td>‘lay-about’ (&lt; ležák)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Klobasse (-e/-i)</td>
<td>‘hard smoked sausage’ &lt; klobása</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kolatsche (K-/G-)</td>
<td>‘small yeast cake with filling’ &lt; koláč ‘cake’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oblate</td>
<td>‘fine wafer’ &lt; oplatka; the Austrian form is stressed on the first syllable as in Czech</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palatschinke</td>
<td>‘jam-filled pancake’ &lt; palačinka (&lt; Hungarian palacsinta &lt; Romanian plăcintă)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Powidl</td>
<td>‘plum jam’ &lt; povidla</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skubanki</td>
<td>‘sweet noodles with poppy seeds’ &lt; škubánky</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

and others are commonly known in Vienna up to this day (Newerkla, 2013a, p. 254).13 Word formation is another sphere of mutual contact phenomena (Newerkla, 2013a, pp. 254–255).14 For instance, the language contact with Czech influenced the colloquial variety of German in Vienna in a way that the use of the Czech word formation suffix -ák became possible even in words not known in Czech, such as

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14 Cf. also Jakob (1980/1929).
and so on. But also the use of Czech stems with German word formation suffixes can be found, such as

(9) **Tschunkerl** ‘mucky pup’ < čuně ‘piglet’ and the Bavarian diminutive suffix -erl

or mixed suffix forms, such as

(10) **Armutschkerl** ‘poor wretch’ with two combined diminutive suffixes (< Czech -č(e)k- and Bavarian -erl).

Even German verbs were derived from Czech words, such as

(11) **verdobrischen** ‘squander, blow’ < dobrý ‘good’

An attraction on its own is the great number of Czech family names in Austria, especially in Vienna. Some of them are already uncommon in the Czech Republic due to their pejorative meaning, but still in use in Vienna. Other Czech family names became denotations of certain typical characters, e.g. **Březina**, **Novák** and **Trávníček**, in expressions such as

(12) **Na servus Brežina!** in order to express unpleasant surprise

**Er ist immer der Nowak.** in the sense of ‘he is always the victim, he is always abused’

*Trawnitschek* is the embodiment of the typical petty bourgeois, known in Austria as the *alter ego* of the actor Helmut Qualtinger. If there was some kind of unbelievable story, one talked about telling something to Mrs **Blaschke** (cf. **Blažek**, **Blažková**), who was the prototype of a naive person. Originally, **Drahánek** was the name of a favourite popular musician and then became the expression used when accidently meeting a known person. The family name *Macháček* became as *Machtatschek* the expression for ‘doer, pompous ass’ (Newerkla, 2009, p. 9).

The most important TV programme for children by the Austrian broadcasting corporation (ORF) between the years 1975 up to 1993 was called *Am dam des* and began with the children rhyme

(13) **Am dam des,**
**diese male press,**
**diese male pumperness,**
**am dam des.**
This is nothing else than a bowdlerization of the Viennese Czech rhyme

\[(14)\]  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Am dam des,} \\
\text{ty jsi malý pes,} \\
\text{ty jsi malý pumprnes,} \\
\text{am dam des.}
\end{align*}
\]

originally

\[(15)\]  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Uno duo tres,} \\
\text{ty jsi malý pes,} \\
\text{ty jsi malá veveřice,} \\
\text{ty si zůstaň kdes.}
\end{align*}
\]

Translation (SMN):

One two three,  
you are a little dog,  
you are a small squirrel,  
stay where you are.

adapted for the Austrian broadcasting corporation by the author Leo Parthé (Newerkla, 2007d, p. 440). The long coexistence of Czech and German with a lot of code switching from Czech to German fostered also the characteristic use of some prepositions in the Viennese colloquial variety of German. Take for example the following equivalent prepositional phrases (Newerkla, 2007a, p. 281; 2007b, p. 40):

\[(16)\]  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{auf Urlaub fahren} & < \text{jet na dovolenou ‘go on holiday’, German in Urlaub fahren} \\
\text{auf zwei Tage nach Prag fahren} & < \text{jet na dva dny do Prahy ‘go to Prague for two days’, German für zwei Tage nach Prag fahren} \\
\text{auf jmdn./etw. denken} & < \text{myslet na někoho/něco ‘think of someone’, German an jmdn./etw. Denken} \\
\text{Vorbereitungen auf etw.} & < \text{přípravy na něčo ‘preparations for something’, German Vorbereitungen für/zu etw.} \\
\text{in der Nacht auf Sonntag} & < \text{v noci na neděli ‘in the night to Sunday’, German in der Nacht zum Sonntag}
\end{align*}
\]
sich auf jmdn./etw. erinnern | < vzpomenout si na někoho/něco ‘remember someone’, German sich an jmdn./etw. Erinnern

auf jmdn./etw. vergessen | < zapomenout na někoho/něco ‘forget someone’, German jmdn./etw. vergessen

And also the use of hypocoristics and diminutives in the colloquial variety of German in Vienna was supported by similar language phenomena in Czech and the languages of other Slavic immigrants such as Anči for Anna or Mamitschka for mummy (< mamička). The so-called double negation of the type er hat kein Geld nicht g’habt ‘he did not have any money’ or sie hat niemandem nichts gesagt ‘she did not tell anyone’ was not only preserved longer due to Vienna’s position at the periphery of the German-speaking area, but got also backed up by equivalent constructions in Standard Czech, in this case neměl žádné peníze and nikomu nic neřekla (Newerkla, 2009, p. 10).15

Very useful for teachers and learners of Czech as a foreign language in Austria is also the knowledge of phrases typical of today’s Viennese colloquial variety of German and their similar or often even identical counterparts in Czech. The following fall into this category (Newerkla, 2007a, p. 281; 2007b, p. 41):

(17) Er/sie soll sich ausstopfen lassen!
< Ať se jde vycpat! in the sense of Zum Kuckuck mit ihm/ihr!
‘Damn him/her!’

Ohne Arbeit gibt’s keine Kolatschen!
< Bez práce nejsou koláče! in the meaning of Ohne Fleiß kein Preis!
‘no pains, no gains’

die Kinder spielen sich
< děti si hrají, German die Kinder spielen ‘the children play’

Sonst bist g’sund?
< Jinak si zdravý? in the sense of Bist du (noch) bei Trost?
‘Have you gone mad?’

die Patschen strecken
< natáhnout papuče/bačkory for German versterben ‘pass away’

sich etw. aus dem Finger zuzeln
< něco si vycucat z prstu in the meaning of etw. erahnen, erfinden ‘make something up’

15 Cf. also Grzega (2001, pp. 7–26).

..................................................................................................................................................................................
es steht (sich) (nicht) dafür
< (ne)stojí to zato in the meaning of es lohnt sich (nicht)
‘it is (not) worth the effort’

seine sieben Zwetschken packen
< sbalit si svých pět švestek (in Czech there are just five plums),
in the sense of sein Hab und Gut packen und gehen ‘to pack
everything one owns and move to another place’

das geht sich (nicht) aus
< to (ne)výde for German das klappt (nicht) ‘turn out well/badly,
work out all right’

Das ist nicht mein Gusto!
< To není mé gusto! in the sense of Das ist nicht mein Geschmack!
‘This is not to my liking!’

Over time, phrases like these have become integrated into Austrian German to such
an extent that they are no longer perceived as foreign today, but highly valued lan-
guage elements typical of the Austrian variety of German. For example, the well-
known Austrian poet H(ans) C(arl) Artmann, who died in December 2000, expressed
his dissatisfaction in his early poem collection med ana schwoazzn dintn ‘with black
ink’ (1958) written in Viennese dialect with the common denotations for passing
away, if someone af guad deitsch de potschn streckt ‘in good German departs this life’. Or the Austrian singer-songwriter Wolfgang Ambros makes use of the phrase denn
es steht si ned dafür ‘it does not pay, it is not worth the effort’ in the lyrics of his song

Other phrases typical of the Viennese colloquial variety of German equivalent
to their Czech counterparts are for example (Newerkla, 2007a, p. 281; 2007b, p. 41):

(18) auf Lepschi gehen
‘enjoy oneself’ equivalent to Czech jít na lepší

außer Obligo sein
‘be free of any obligation’ < být z obliga

bridsch sein
in the sense of ‘be gone, be lost’ < pryč;

na servus!
meaning ‘fancy that’ and expressing unpleasant surprise
in equivalence to no nazdar! resp. no servus!

pomáli, pomáli! ‘not so fast!’
< Moravian Czech or Slovak pomaly ‘slow’
But this is only one side of the coin. The influence of the Czech and Slovak language on German in Vienna and Austria has been deteriorating throughout the 20th century, which has also brought about a significant change in the importance of the several ethnically Slavic minority groups in Vienna, as we can see by the figures of the languages of the residents of Austria given in the beginning of this article. The number of Poles (after 1978), but especially Serbs, Croats and Bosnians, successively grew throughout the second half of the 20th century. And they arrived even more in large numbers in the wake of the war in the Balkans in parallel with the increase of immigrant workers from Turkey. It is no surprise that one of the linguistic consequences of this development is the vanishing of several former Czech and Slovak loan words from the colloquial vocabulary of Viennese speakers of German (Newerkla, 2009, p. 11; 2011b, pp. 208–209),16 such as

(19)  
| Babutschen | ‘fabric slippers’ < papuče |
| fix Laudon | ‘blasted!’ in equivalence to fix Laudon |
| geh’ zum Tschert | ‘go to hell!’ < jdi k čertu |
| Howno | ‘shit’ < hovno |
| Klitsch | ‘key’, primarily in the sense ‘skeleton key’ < klíč |
| Kudlička | ‘simple penknife’ < kudlička |
| Mamlas | ‘coward, idiot’ < mamlas |
| motz | ‘much’ < moc |
| Naschi-Vaschi | ‘a (forbidden) card play’ < naši – vaši ‘yours – ours’ |
| Nusch (N-/K-) | ‘knife’ < nůž |
| Penise | ‘money’ < peníze |
| Piwo | ‘beer’ < pivo; platti/zaplatti ‘pay’ < platiti, zaplatiti |
| potschkai troschku | ‘wait for a moment’ |
| (keinen) | < Moravian Czech and Slovak počkaj trošku |
| schezko jedno | ‘no matter (who, what, when, where, why, how)’ |
| Schwerak | ‘comedian, rogue’ < čtverák |
| spatni | ‘bad’ < špatný |
| Tamleschi | ‘clumsy person’ < tam leží ‘(s)he is lying there’ |
| Tanzowat | in denoting a dance club for Czech maids and soldiers < tancovat ‘dance’ |
| Topanken | ‘thick-soled ankle boots’ < Slovak topánky ‘shoes’ |
| Wetsch | ‘button, small ball’ < veteš ‘junk, rubbish’ in merging with věc ‘thing’ |
| Wojak | ‘soldier’ < voják |

In parallel to this development, language contact with Serbian, Croatian, Bosnian and other languages from former Yugoslavia has become the most important factor

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16 Cf. also Kuklišová (2005) and Zeman (2003; 2009).
among the Slavic languages in influencing the colloquial variety of many speakers of German in Vienna, especially young ones, during the second half of the 20th century. Apart from these Southern Slavic languages, there are only two other languages with equally significant or even more substantial influence, i.e. English and Turkish. Especially among the younger generation, we can witness frequent code switching between German and the varieties of the languages they speak at home. Of course, this situation fosters language contact phenomena and also influences the variety of German spoken by the inhabitants of Vienna (Brodnig, 2010). One can hear sentences such as

\[(20)\quad \text{Volim te über alles.} \quad \text{‘I love you more than anything’}
\]
\[\text{Nema problema.} \quad \text{‘No problem’}\]

The colloquial variety of German in Austria can certainly cope with this situation as it has not only successfully coped with, but also profited from the influence of Czech around the turn of 19th and 20th century. Even if all those traditional linguistic and cultural contact phenomena mentioned above as well as the long-term and intense contact of Czech and German in Vienna and the East of Austria are already past, the re-discovery of common knowledge about linguistic and cultural contact phenomena in the Habsburg Empire can still be of advantage for teaching and learning Czech as a foreign language and, as we have shown above, still be utilized to help Austrian learners (but not only them) acquire Czech more effectively than just on the basis of conventional approaches that unfortunately disregard the pluricentricity of German and thus the many shared features of Czech and German as used in Austria.

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17 This fact is also reflected in the language policy of the city of Vienna. Although neither Serbs nor Turks nor any other of these ethnic groups have been granted official minority status in Austria, one can find instructions for buying tickets in Vienna trams and buses in those languages mentioned. Several publications of the city of Vienna for their inhabitants are published not only in German, but also in Turkish and Serbian, Croatian and Bosnian, sometimes even combined (e.g. the magazine Welt & Stadt ‘world and town’). Vienna’s web site can be read in German, English, Bosnian — Croatian — Serbian and Turkish. And quite a few newspapers are published in these Southern Slavic varieties (the most important of which is KOSMO with 120,000 copies per circulation), radio programs are produced, etc.
REFERENCES:


Newerkla, Stefan Michael (2012): Pischinger, Zierfandler, Kaisersemmel und Zuckerkandl:


