

**The relationship between English and German in
Germany: A sociolinguistic study of the use of English
and anglicisms, and attitudes towards them**

Katherine Truslove

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A thesis submitted for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Trinity 2020

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Abstract

This thesis contributes to the study of language and globalisation by exploring the impact of English on German, a ‘supercentral’ language in De Swaan’s terms (2013: 77), at a time when public expressions of concern about English influence on German have become more salient and when some commentators have linked these concerns about language to broader political trends such as the growth of far-right parties in certain parts of the country. Conducted in two phases - the first focusing on the domains considered most at risk of ‘domain loss’, the academic and corporate domains, and the second looking at wider society - this study examines the linguistic impact of English on German (e.g. through the borrowing of vocabulary and the use of English alongside German in Germany) and the social impact this has on Germany by considering how linguistic practices and attitudes vary according to demographic variables, in particular age, level of education, urban/rural and east/west place of residence. It is argued that the alarmist warnings expressed in the media and voiced by politicians and language protectionist groups about English and anglicisms damaging the German language and leading to domain loss are overstated, and that the situation should instead be regarded as one of linguistic gain. Although it was found that young, university-educated German speakers tend to use more English and anglicisms, and be more proficient in English than older, non-university-educated people, and particularly older former East Germans, the majority of informants rejected the idea of German society being divided into English-speaking ‘haves’ and non-English-speaking ‘have-nots’ (Phillipson 2001a). Nonetheless informants acknowledged that people with lower levels of proficiency in English could be marginalised by the increasingly widespread use of English and anglicisms. Given that English is taught as the first foreign language to almost all children across Germany, it is expected that the effect of age and east/west location on linguistic practices and attitudes will subside; the association between educational background and proficiency, usage and attitudes, however, shows no signs of waning, and the issue of exclusion relating to education level and social class is an ongoing concern for the future.

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List of Abbreviations

AfD	<i>Alternative für Deutschland</i>
BER1 - BER5	Interviewees in Berlin
DRE1 - DRE20	Interviewees in Dresden
EBE1 - EBE19	Interviewees in Eberswalde
EFL	English as a Foreign Language
EMI	English medium instruction
ERK1 – ERK28	Interviewees in Erkelenz
ESL	English as a Second Language
<i>FAZ</i>	<i>Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung</i>
FRA1 – FRA42	Interviewees in Frankfurt am Main
FRG	Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany)
GDR	German Democratic Republic (East Germany)
HAN1 - HAN6	Interviewees in Hanau
KON1 - KON5	Interviewees in Konstanz
KProf1 – KProf4	Lecturers in Konstanz
KT	Interviewer
L1	First language
L2	Second language
LMU	Ludwig Maximilian University
MProf1 – MProf5	Lecturers in Munich
MUN1 - MUN4	Interviewees in Munich
N	Not university-educated
n.d.	No publication date available
n.p.	No page number
S	School pupil for whom it was unclear what type of school they attended
SN	School pupil unlikely to go to university
SU	School pupil likely to go to university
U	University-educated
VDS	<i>Verein Deutsche Sprache</i> (German Language Association)

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Chapter 1 - Introduction

1.1 English in Germany: the rise of neo-purism

The position occupied by the English language in Germany reflects a specific set of historical circumstances. Whereas English established itself as the pre-eminent global lingua franca - in De Swaan's (2010: 57) terms the 'hypercentral' language of the world language system - largely as a result of 'the long-lasting economic superiority of Anglophone countries, with Britain leading in the eighteenth and nineteenth century and the US in the twentieth' (Ammon 2010: 117), it took hold in Germany against the backdrop of the National Socialist era. As Eugen Ruge (2018a: 15) points out, it is 'understandable that the progressive and anti-fascist elites in West Germany oriented themselves towards America, more precisely: towards the USA'.¹² Meanwhile, US and British army bases, English-speaking enclaves, were set up across West Germany as part of the Allied occupation of Germany, and some have remained there ever since.³ Thus, Germans came into increasing contact with English in the second half of the twentieth century both from afar and from within.

American cultural and linguistic influences were able to take hold relatively unquestioned in the post-war period. As Dodd notes, from 1945 until the mid-1990s, language 'purist discourse was largely dormant' (Dodd 2015: 60) and this is likely to be part of a wider avoidance in post-war Germany of honouring any national symbols, such as flags and national anthems (von Polenz 1999: 287). In essence, linguistic purism was

¹ All quotes from German secondary sources will be glossed in English in the main text, with the original German provided in a footnote. All quotes from German primary sources (i.e. the data collected in this study) will appear in the main text followed by an English translation.

² Verständlich [...], dass die aufklärerischen und antifaschistischen Eliten Westdeutschlands sich nach Amerika hin orientierten, genauer: nach den USA.

³ Whilst American troops continue to be stationed at US army bases in Germany, the final British troops were rebased from Germany to the UK by 2020 (British Army n.d.).

avoided on the grounds of being too nationalistic and, even in the present, there is a tendency for concerns about the future of the German language to be disregarded, with those expressing them falling under suspicion of being right-extremists who ‘want to get the “lost eastern territories” back’ (Ruge 2018b: n.p.).⁴ Yet something changed in the 1990s – perhaps due to a shift in the political situation or a sense among German people that Anglo-American influence had gone too far - when a ‘neo-purism’ developed in the newly reunified Germany (Dodd 2015: 61). The *Verein Deutsche Sprache* (VDS, German Language Association) was founded in 1997 with the aim of preserving German as a language of culture and scholarship, and defending it against being superseded by English (Verein Deutsche Sprache 2020). It has been at the forefront of political attempts to protect the German language, most notably when it submitted petitions in 2010 and 2011 to the *Bundestag* (federal parliament) demanding that it be stated in the *Grundgesetz* (German constitution) that German is the official national language (Dodd 2015: 62). Thus, since the mid-1990s, there has been growing discussion at the political level around the relationship between English and German.

Debates around the relationship between English and German in Germany have also surfaced in the German media with articles such as ‘Dümmer auf Englisch’ (More stupid in English, Klein 2007), ‘Sprechen Sie doch deutsch!’ (Do speak German!, Spahn 2017) and ‘Say it in English, please’ (Janert 2008). Perhaps most interesting are those contributions in the public domain from academic, or at least well-informed, commentators. For instance, a debate between Professor Jürgen Schiewe (Professor of German Philology at the University of Greifswald) and Thomas Paulwitz (editor of *Deutsche Sprachwelt*, a purist publication) on the question ‘The influence of English on

⁴ Die ‘verlorenen Ostgebiete’ zurückhaben will.

German today: Grounds for concern?’ took place at the University of Birmingham in 2012 (Dodd 2015: 58), indicating that concerns are substantial enough for academics to feel the need to address them. More startling was the 2017 interview on Deutschlandfunk (a public-broadcasting radio station in Germany) given by the linguist Wolfgang Klein, vice-president of the German Academy for Language and Literature, in which he said:

German has approximately 100 million speakers hence it is not immediately threatened, but it is already receding very very clearly as an international language and I would not be surprised if German were an extinct language in let’s say two or three hundred years’ time.⁵

(Smiljanic 2017: n.p.)

This prompted Eugen Ruge, an author and winner of the German Book Prize, to speak on the topic ‘Versuch über eine aussterbende Sprache’ (An essay on a dying language) at the Dresdner Reden (Dresden Talks) in February 2018 (Ruge 2018a). His speech was also printed in an abridged form, ‘Verschwindet unsere Sprache?’ (Is our language disappearing?), in *Die Zeit* in March 2018 (Ruge 2018b). Here he gives a reasoned argument for how the German language could disappear in the foreseeable future. Ruge notes that English is on the rise in the German cultural scene, at universities, in state research institutions, in large companies, in retail and was even used at a meeting of homeowners at his apartment block in Berlin. Thus people are able to live and work in Germany, or at least in certain parts of Germany, without speaking German. This is a situation that Ruge predicts will become more widespread. He refers to an article in *Die Zeit* by Alexander, Count Lambsdorff (a Free Democratic Party politician), in which Lambsdorff says that Germany will be six million skilled personnel short by 2025 for

⁵ Das Deutsche hat als schätzungsweise 100 Millionen Sprecher, da ist das nicht unmittelbar bedroht, aber es geht als internationale Sprache schon ganz, ganz deutlich zurück, und es würde mich nicht wundern, wenn das Deutsche in sagen wir mal in zwei-, dreihundert Jahren eine ausgestorbene Sprache wäre.

reasons of language: ‘The majority of highly qualified professionals, he writes, speak English, not German. For this reason English must become an administrative language in Germany, in the medium term perhaps even an official language’ (Ruge 2018b: n.p.).⁶ Ruge brings more informed commentators into his argument: he quotes Günther Oettinger, once EU Commissioner for Digitalisation and Economy, as saying ‘German remains the language of the family, of leisure time, the language, in which one reads in one’s personal life, but – English will be the work language’,⁷ which prompts the linguist Jürgen Trabant’s response: ‘If English is the work language – why should migrants learn German? They already have a family language, they don’t need another’.⁸ Thus Ruge constructs a sequence of events that could plausibly lead to the demise of the German language. Linguists have often treated such popular concerns as ill-founded and therefore unworthy of serious attention, but from the sociolinguistic perspective adopted in this thesis the emergence of this public debate in Germany, whether or not we find arguments like Ruge’s reasonable, raises questions that merit closer examination.

Interestingly, responses to the growing presence of English and anglicisms in German differ between Germany, Austria and German-speaking communities in Switzerland. In their study of language policies and practices in Austria, Smit and Schwarz (2020: 300, 309) note that whilst there is some criticism of ‘unnecessary borrowings’, the use of English in certain contexts in Austria is largely accepted and a policy of ‘globalized bilingualism’ prevails, whereby German is the main language and English is the ‘default additional language’. Whilst anglicisms come in for similar criticism in Germany, the

⁶ Die Mehrzahl hoch qualifizierte Fachkräfte, schreibt er, spricht englisch, nicht deutsch. Deshalb muss Englisch in Deutschland Verwaltungssprache werden, mittelfristig vielleicht sogar Amtssprache

⁷ Deutsch bleibt die Sprache der Familie, der Freizeit, die Sprache, in der man Privates liest, aber – Englisch wird die Arbeitssprache.

⁸ Wenn Englisch die Arbeitssprache ist – warum sollen Migranten dann Deutsch lernen? Eine Familiensprache haben sie schon, sie brauchen keine zweite.

discussion above suggests that there are greater concerns around the use of English in Germany than in Austria in public discourse in the respective countries. In Switzerland, on the other hand, public and political debate centres around education policy regarding the order in which additional languages should be learnt. In order to maintain the country's delicate multilingual balance, it is customary for the first L2 to be one of the four national languages, but a furore broke out in the early 2000s following decisions in some cantons to teach English as the first L2, and there is ongoing debate at the federal level as to which language or languages should be taught at primary schools (Pfenninger & Watts 2020). Linked to this, there is concern in Switzerland that English might become 'an intranational lingua franca, whose use discourage[s] mutual linguistic reciprocity among those who hail from Switzerland's four national language communities' (Demont-Heinrich 2005: 78). Whereas English is perceived as a threat to German as an L2 used by French, Italian or Romansch speakers in Switzerland, it is considered a threat to German as an L1 in Germany. As illustrated here, English is perceived as a more significant threat to German in public discourse in Germany than in Austria or Switzerland, which underlines that the issue has arisen at this point in time in Germany for specific reasons which merit detailed investigation.

1.2 Why now? English and social polarisation in post-reunification Germany

One general question the emergence of the debate raises is about the social and political conditions that have made the status of English a relevant concern in Germany at the moment. In recent years Germany has become a more polarised society, and this polarisation has a regional dimension. The most recent German parliamentary elections in 2017 saw the right-wing party *Alternative für Deutschland* (AfD) get 12.6% of the votes

and become the third-largest party in parliament. This reflects a wider trend in an age of globalisation for populations to be increasingly polarised and for marginalised groups to turn to nationalism, as seen in the Brexit referendum result in the UK, the election of Donald Trump as US president in 2016, the election of explicitly nationalistic parties to government in Poland in 2015 (and re-elected in 2019) and in Hungary and Italy in 2018, and nationalist parties' move from fringe to mainstream in France, Sweden and Austria. A more detailed look at the election results shows huge regional variation in the AfD's success. Whilst the AfD secured around 8-10% of the vote in north-western regions, and 10-16% in the south, their proportion of the votes in the east was typically between 20 and 25%, with it rising to as much as 35.5% in the electoral district just south of Dresden (Sächsische Schweiz-Osterzgebirge) (Clarke 2017), as depicted in Figure 1.

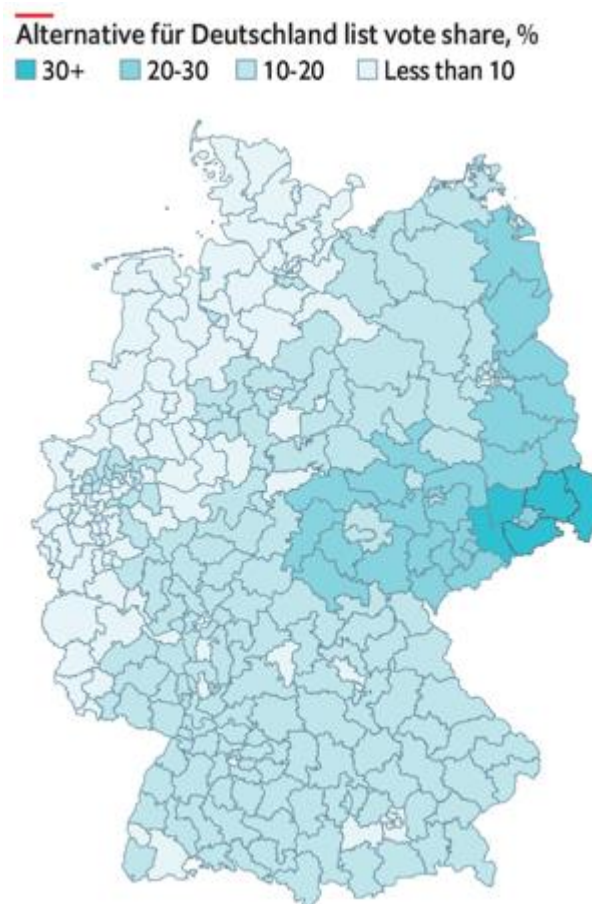
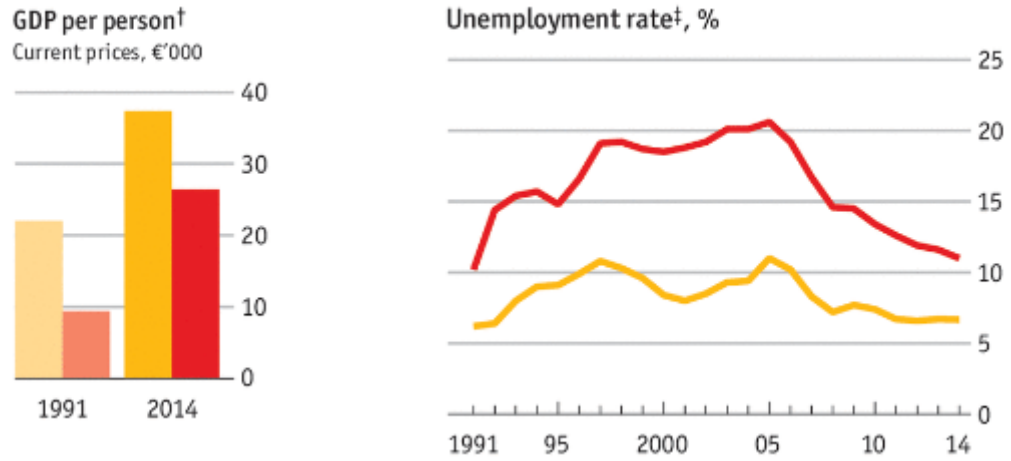


Figure 1: AfD share of vote in 2017 German parliament elections (The Economist 2017)

The state elections (*Landtagswahlen*) in Saxony and Brandenburg in September 2019 and in Thuringia in October 2019 saw the AfD become the second largest party in these state parliaments, receiving 27.5%, 23.5% and 23.4% of the votes in the three states respectively, thus further indicating the considerable support for the AfD in eastern Germany.

The political polarisation just outlined is evidently related to the recent history of Germany, which was, from 1949 to 1990, two distinct states: the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG, West Germany) and the German Democratic Republic (GDR, East Germany), and, as the election results indicate, differences between east and west live on in Germany. Eastern Germany is economically much less prosperous than the west, with a lower GDP per capita and higher unemployment rate, resulting in net migration from east to west as indicated in Figure 2.

PRE-REUNIFICATION* vs EASTERN STATES
 POST-REUNIFICATION/TODAY vs WESTERN STATES
 *Or immediately following



Population change by state
1989-2013, %

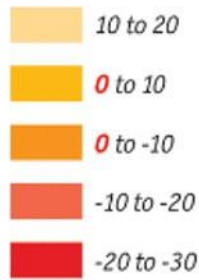


Figure 2: Comparison of GDP, unemployment rate and population change in eastern and western Germany (The Economist 2015)

The 2017 general election results, reinforced by the 2019 state election results, and Germany's economic situation paint a picture of a marginalised, 'left-behind' east, which is not seeing the benefits of globalisation. One of the questions I am interested in addressing is how the linguistic situation in Germany interacts with this. As Eugen Ruge comments, 'Already today English is a door to the job market, an entrance ticket into society. Anyone who cannot speak English is tainted with a blemish; they are, if not today, then tomorrow, an odd person tending towards intellectual precarity – which by the way may be one of the many reasons why many east Germans feel left behind or excluded' (Ruge 2018b: n.p.).⁹ During the period of separation between the FRG and GDR the influence of anglophone countries and of English was much stronger in the West than the East, with Russian and not English being the first foreign language for East Germans. Consequently East Germans had significantly weaker English skills than West Germans at least until the early 1990s (Janert 2008) and potentially beyond, particularly for the older generation who grew up in the GDR. With weaker English skills limiting one's access to the job market, popular culture, social media and the wider world, it does not seem unreasonable to suppose that there might be linguistic as well as other reasons for east Germans being and feeling left behind and expressing their dissatisfaction politically.

1.3 Language and globalisation

This investigation into the relationship between English and German in Germany is a contribution to the study of language and globalisation and connects with debates about the

⁹ Schon heute ist Englisch eine Tür zum Arbeitsmarkt, eine Eintrittskarte in die Gesellschaft. Wer kein Englisch kann, ist mit einem Makel behaftet; er ist, wenn nicht heute, dann morgen, ein Sonderling mit Tendenz zum geistigen Prekariat – was übrigens einer von vielen Gründen dafür sein mag, dass viele Ostdeutsche sich abgehängt oder ausgeschlossen fühlen.

influence of English on other languages, particularly other Germanic languages, about which similar concerns have been raised.

The position of English as the pre-eminent global language is undisputed. English is an official or administrative language in more countries in the world than any other language and it is the most widely learnt foreign language, both with regards to the number of pupils and hours of instruction (Ammon 2013: 138; Crystal 2003: 5, 60; Knapp 1990: 20). In addition, English has acquired the status of a lingua franca across a number of international domains: it has become the language of international diplomacy and is the official working language of 85% of international organisations, including the United Nations (Burmasova 2010: 76; see also Crystal 2003: 87-90). Even in those institutions, such as the European Union, which officially have multiple working languages, English often dominates in practice (Knapp 1990: 20) and it is noteworthy that English is the only working language at the European Central Bank, despite it being situated in Frankfurt am Main and neither Britain nor the USA being members of the European Monetary Union (Burmasova 2010: 76). As illustrated by Jane Setter's article, 'Will Brexit spell the end of English as an official EU language?', published in December 2019 in *The Guardian*, there have been recent discussions about whether English will continue to dominate the EU post-Brexit, given that it is no longer any member-state's official language (Setter 2019). Despite the claim made in May 2017 by Jean-Claude Juncker, president of the European Commission, that 'slowly but surely English is losing importance in Europe' (Rankin 2017: n.p.), the consensus seems to be that English will remain a working language. Similarly, in the world of international travel, English plays a dominant role. As of 2008, 'all Air Traffic Controllers and Flight Crew Members engaged in or in contact with international flights must be proficient in the English language' (Aviation English Specialists n.d.: n.p.) and Seaspeak, the official language of the seas since 1988, is based

on English (NOAA 2020). English has also taken on the role of the international language of academia; Ammon reports that over 90% of science publications in 2005 were in English (Ammon 2013: 136), whilst Knapp notes already in 1990 that at conferences where English native speakers are in the minority or even where none are present, the working language is typically English (Knapp 1990: 20). Furthermore, English is widely used in business to communicate with international customers and partners, and a substantial amount of popular culture that is enjoyed worldwide (music, radio, television, film, social media, the internet) is in English. A UNESCO study (Pimienta, Prado & Blanco 2009: 40) found, for instance, that 45% of all webpages on the internet in 2007 were in English, down from 75% in 1998, whilst Clement (2020: n.p.) reports that ‘English was the most popular language online, representing 25.9 percent of worldwide internet users’ in January 2020, indicating English’s ongoing, though decreasing, dominance on the internet.

As well as being the dominant language of international communication, English is the source of many recent borrowings into other languages. *Le weekend*, *le parking* ‘car park’ and *un afterwork* ‘after-work drinks/socialising’ have taken hold in French, the verbs *skydiven* and *bungeejumpen* have entered Dutch, Italian has adopted *Camping* ‘campsite’ and in Japanese a ‘white-collar worker’ is called a *Salaryman*, to name but a few examples. Schelper (1995: 117-118) identifies the following eighteen reasons (loosely translated and paraphrased from the German) for this widespread borrowing from English:

1. Great Britain’s colonialism and trade across the world in the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries.
2. The emergence of the USA as a world power in the 20th century.
3. Shift of the centres for fashion, art, science/academia and technology from Europe to the USA after 1945.

4. Adoption of the achievements of modern America's industrial and consumer society and the equation of Anglo-American things with values such as freedom, progress, youth, emancipation, success and modernity.
5. Leading role of the USA in world literature, popular music and film and TV production.
6. High number of speakers.
7. Language expansion policy of Great Britain and the USA.
8. Great Britain's tolerance towards different varieties of English and to the English of non-native speakers; English as the official language of international organisations and congresses.
9. Dependency of western mass media on English-language news agencies.
10. Some instances of texts not being translated or of mistakes in translations due to deadline pressures, the difficulty of the texts or lack of qualified translators.
11. Tendency towards increased economic, political and cultural globalisation.
12. Assimilation of international terms in academia.
13. Development of English as the leading language in schools worldwide and as the second language of educated people.
14. Acceleration of worldwide communication.
15. Ubiquitous presence of English.
16. Peer pressure to use borrowings like other people in the speech community.
17. Resignation to the overwhelming dominance of English.
18. Interaction between microstructural influences (borrowings) and macrostructural functions of English (language of academia, lingua franca).

Although also acknowledging some linguistic reasons for the high rate of borrowing from English, such as the alleged shortness of English words (note, however, that Pergnier's (1989) observation that English has the same proportion of one, two and three syllable words as French undermines this), Schelper concludes that the non-linguistic reasons (such as those listed above) are most convincing. In this, she is supported by Denison (1981) who similarly believes that the prestige of English outweighs all other reasons for borrowing.

The increasing influx of loanwords from English and the growing use of English has led to discussion as to whether English poses a threat to other languages, with Fandrych and Salverda (2007: 19) stating that the ‘real or perceived threat of English as the language of globalisation is perhaps the most important sociolinguistic issue of the twenty-first century’. One recurring theme is the notion that English ‘endanger[s] the vitality’ of other languages (Mufwene 2010: 48): English has been described as ‘the *Tyrannosaurus rex* of the linguistic grazing ground’ (Swales 1997: 376) and a ‘killer language’ (Pakir 1997: 171), and De Swaan depicts English as being ‘like a black hole devouring all languages that come within its reach’ (2010: 57). A concern here is that a quasi-diglossic situation may emerge (or in the case of Scandinavia, the Netherlands and Israel is already emerging), whereby English is used in certain domains, such as academia, at the expense of the native language, which is then confined to other domains, such as the home and private communication (Knapp 1990: 21).

A further concern is ‘whether the globalized new economy is really a form of neo-colonialism, and one in which the “native speaker,” especially the native speaker of English, will have an unfair advantage’ (Heller 2010: 358). Viereck (1996: 20) notes the emergence of a belief among academics that one has to ‘publish in English or perish’ and Knapp (1990: 29-30) observes that it is not unusual for academic work by non-native speakers of English to be rejected by English-speaking publications or for them to lose out on career opportunities on the basis of inadequate language skills. Thus Phillipson fears that we are living in a ‘world of English-speaking haves, and non-English-speaking have-nots’ (2001a: 2) and advocates ensuring that decisions regarding language choice are made equitably and that the linguistic human rights of speakers of all languages are respected (2001a: 12). Others, such as Dürmüller (1986), Wardhaugh (1987) and Daoust (1990), however, reject this idea that English’s use as a lingua franca amounts to neo-colonialism

and instead take the view that English is no longer associated with English-speaking cultures: ‘In contrast to French, English is no longer connected to a particular nation, race, culture, religion, social system, value system or world view’ (Schelper 1995: 95).¹⁰ Thus English can be conceived of as a neutral, stateless language, or as Erling (2004: 10) puts it ‘international property’, with the power to bring people together (House 2001; Van Parijs 2013). Perhaps a distinction should be made here depending on who the interlocutors are. When two non-native speakers of English communicate in English, this could be considered ‘fair, since both interlocutors are then at the same linguistic disadvantage of using a foreign tongue’ (Hilgendorf 2001: 134). On the other hand, when a native speaker and a non-native speaker communicate in English, then the non-native speaker is typically at a disadvantage in terms of being able to express themselves fluently and accurately. Given this inherent ‘unfairness’ for non-native speakers, some academics are calling for English acquired as a second language (described, for instance, as Italian English, French English and German English, depending on the variety (Berns 1985: 117)) to have the same status as native English, and thus extend ownership of the language to its L2 speakers (Earls 2016: 91), with the idea that second-language speakers would no longer be competing on an unequal playing field with native speakers since their L2 variety would be equal in prestige to L1 varieties.

There are also concerns that differences in English skills may contribute to social inequality in certain countries. Phillipson asserts that ‘a significant proportion of the Danish population, the 20% with limited or no proficiency in English, mostly but definitely not exclusively those aged over 50, are being marginalised as consumers and citizens’

¹⁰ Im Unterschied zum Französischen sei das Englische nicht mehr an eine bestimmte Nation, Rasse, Kultur, Religion, Sozialsystem, Wertesystem oder Weltanschauung gebunden.

(2001b: 25) and Preisler (2003), similarly, identifies two groups in Danish society: those who know and use English (the ‘haves’) and those who lack English skills and therefore cannot access communication that takes place in English (the ‘have-nots’). A more recent survey conducted in Finland (Leppänen et al. 2011: 164) distinguishes between three groups: the ‘haves’ (around 78 per cent of the population who are involved with English in some way), the ‘have-nots’ (approximately 6 per cent of the population who have no involvement with English) and the ‘have-it-alls’ (around 16 per cent of the population for whom English plays a significant role). Leppänen et al. note that ‘[t]hose who actively use English, have good proficiency in it, and need to use it are more likely to have high social status, a high level of education, and an urban and international lifestyle’ (2011: 166) and wonder ‘whether English skills are somehow connected with being well-off’ (2011: 103). Thus, studies in the Nordic countries have raised the possibility that English is contributing to inequality in countries traditionally regarded as being in the ‘Expanding Circle’ (Kachru 1985, see further below).

Discussions about the influence of English have surfaced across the world, particularly in European and post-colonial contexts, such as Singapore and India (Chand 2011; Pakir 1997). There have been long-standing debates in France on the ‘Anglo-Saxon cultural invasion’ with the Toubon Law¹¹ coming into effect in 1994 (Chazan 2016: n.p.) and a law was introduced in Poland in May 2000, which stipulates that ‘any advertising, product descriptions, and commercial, legal or cultural announcements must appear (also or solely) in Polish’ (Wood 2001: 636-638). On an academic level, there has been discussion as to how theoretical frameworks can account for the influence of English

¹¹ Law 64-995 of 4 August 1994 relating to usage of the French language (also known as the Toubon Law) mandates that French is used in all workplaces, official government publications and advertisements, among other contexts and states that at least 40% (revised to 35% in 2016) of songs on the radio in France must be in French.

across the world. A particularly prominent theory is Kachru's (1985) Three Circles Model, which consists of the Inner Circle (countries, such as the USA, UK, Australia and New Zealand, where English is the primary language and is described as norm providing), the Outer Circle (typically post-colonial countries, such as Singapore, India and Nigeria, where English serves as an additional or co-official language and is norm developing) and the Expanding Circle (countries, such as France, Brazil and Japan, where English is used for international communication and is norm dependent, that is, the target forms are the codified varieties of the Inner Circle). This framework was, however, developed to account for post-colonial contexts and a question which some academics have addressed is where exactly non-postcolonial countries, which are seeing considerable growth in the use of English, fit. Berns (1995: 9), for instance, applied Kachru's model to the European Union and created a new category, the Expanding/Outer Circle, to account for the Netherlands, Germany and Luxembourg, where English is used 'in various social, cultural, commercial, and educational settings' (as in Outer Circle countries) and not just as a foreign or international language (as in Expanding Circle countries). Hilgendorf (2007: 144-145) used Kachru's model to re-evaluate the status of English in Germany, concluding that the situation in Germany is 'particularly dynamic' and that English's growing functional range, including its use for intranational purposes, 'suggest a shift in the status of the language from that of a foreign language to that of an additional language'. Edwards (2010) found that the use of English in the Netherlands has gone beyond that of an Expanding Circle country, but has not yet reached the levels found in Outer Circle countries, whilst Gerritsen, van Meurs, Planken and Korzilius (2016) applied the six criteria of Kachru's model (1985: 12-13) to the situation in the Netherlands and concluded that English in the Netherlands should be classified as an Expanding Circle variety. Overlapping with this is the question whether English is still a foreign language in these

countries (EFL, roughly coinciding with the Expanding Circle) or whether it can now be considered a second language (ESL, coinciding with the Outer Circle). It has been argued that English is no longer a foreign language, rather it has acquired the status of a second language in many European contexts (Berns 1995: 6; De Swaan 2001a: 151; Görlach 2002a: 139; Hult 2003: 43; Leppänen et al. 2011: 168; Phillipson 2001c). Thus there is a growing body of work on the status of English in what have been traditionally evaluated as Expanding Circle settings.

What is interesting, however, is that the nature of the debate seems to be different in Germanic-speaking countries, particularly the Nordic countries, compared to other countries affected by English, with a great deal of discussion centring on what is called ‘domain loss’, the idea that the combined effect of borrowing from and switching to English will make it impossible to discuss certain topics in the national language because there will be no relevant terminology (Hultgren 2016a). Furthermore, the issue is perceived as being particularly acute in Germanic-speaking countries. One explanation for this is that since Germanic languages belong to the same language family as English, it may be easier for Germanic-speaking people to learn English and for elements of English to be borrowed into Danish, Swedish, Norwegian, Dutch and German. This seems unlikely as English is in many ways an anomaly among Germanic languages (Harbert 2007: 13). Alternatively, it may be that there are cultural similarities between these Germanic-speaking countries and Britain, which means people feel an affinity with English and are consequently influenced by it. However, this ignores the fact that much of the influence of English stems from American and not British culture (Gottlieb 2004: 43). Perhaps the most likely reason is that there is a high standard of English proficiency in these countries (partly due to the cultural and linguistic factors outlined above), which extends to some extent throughout society. This, combined with the fact that Danish, Swedish, Norwegian

and Dutch are spoken by relatively few people, may explain why concerns about domain loss are expressed most acutely in Germanic-speaking countries.

1.4 Concerns about domain loss to English in Germanic-speaking countries

A key concept in the academic literature relating to the impact of English on other Germanic languages, particularly the Nordic languages, is the notion of domain loss,¹² and this is used in two inter-connected ways. On the one hand, it is used in relation to lexical borrowing and, on the other, it describes a shift from the national language to English in certain domains (Hultgren 2013: 168). Although some linguists seek to separate the two aspects of domain loss, it makes more sense to see them as ‘two sides of the same coin’ (Hultgren 2013: 169) since large-scale lexical borrowing often precedes domain shifts to the dominant language. Indeed, it is the combined effect of borrowing from and switching to English that, over time, will hypothetically make it impossible to discuss certain topics in the national language because there will be no relevant terminology. This would result in the national language no longer being ‘society-bearing’, as it is phrased in the Swedish policy document *Mål i mun* (Swedish Language Committee 2002) – in other words, the language would no longer be elaborated for all functions, which is one of the defining features of a standard national language (Haugen 1966). The domains most frequently cited as at risk of domain loss are academic/scientific and corporate domains.

¹² See Haberland (2005) for a discussion of the term ‘domain’, in which he ‘distinguishes three domain concepts: the naïve domain concept (Schmidt-Rohr [1932]), the classical domain concept (Fishman [1972]) and the extended domain concept (later Fishman and successors)’ and states that ‘it should be clear that only the extended domain concept can deal with the kind of domains usually assumed in an analysis of modern societies with a dominant majority language but widespread elite multilingualism for out-of-group interaction’ (2005: 236).

Domain loss in the Scandinavian languages has received significant attention from the media, academics and governments as a result of the increasing use of English in Denmark, Norway and Sweden. Lønsmann notes that, in 2007, 25 per cent of Danish companies used English as a corporate language (Lønsmann 2011: 4) and 40 per cent of companies traded on the Oslo stock exchange in 2006 used English or Swedish as their business language (Linn & Oakes 2007: 82). The figures for tertiary education are even higher: 80 per cent of all doctoral dissertations in Norway are written in English (Linn & Oakes 2007: 82) and as early as 1993-4 the University of Uppsala in Sweden reported that 89-100 per cent of all doctoral theses, conference papers and academic articles in the fields of technology, science, pharmacology and medicine were written in English (Linn & Oakes 2007: 62-3). Similar figures have been reported for Denmark, where 27-41 per cent of research reports in the humanities and 80-85 per cent of reports in the natural sciences and medicine are published in English (Preisler 2003: 112). English is also gaining ground as a language of instruction. In 2000, 15 per cent of upper secondary schools in Sweden taught some subjects in English and this trend continues at tertiary level with 10-25 per cent of undergraduate courses and 20-40 per cent of graduate courses being taught in English in the Nordic countries (Hultgren 2018: 78; Linn & Oakes 2007). In these countries, concerns have been raised that a quasi-diglossic situation is developing, with English being used in business, education and administration and the national languages being downgraded to being languages of the home (Phillipson 2001b; Preisler 2003: 112). There are fears that if the national languages are not used in certain domains, such as science, then they will not develop and keep up with changes in the field and eventually it will no longer be possible to use the national language to talk about scientific knowledge (Jensen, Denver, Mees & Werther 2013: 88).

As in the Nordic countries, English is used widely in the Netherlands, particularly in the domains of academia and business, but also in cultural and even governmental/state domains, and this has attracted media, academic and governmental attention. The Netherlands is the ‘largest provider of English-language higher education in continental Europe’ (Edwards 2014: 44; Wächter & Maiworm 2008), with some faculties or even whole institutions operating entirely in English (Edwards 2014: 44) and around 80% of Masters programmes across the country being delivered in English (Van Oostendorp 2012: 257). Academic research is also increasingly published in English and only English-language publications seem to have any value in the Netherlands. This appears to be the case in both the humanities and sciences: the Dutch historian Henk Wesseling commented in 2014 that ‘You might as well not write a book if it’s in Dutch: it doesn’t move you up in the pecking order’ (Gerritsen et al. 2016: 464), whilst the Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research (NWO) ‘decided not to consider Dutch-language publications as research output’ when evaluating psychology departments in the Netherlands (Edwards 2014: 47). Similarly in the corporate domain, many large Dutch corporations, such as Ahold, Aegon, Heineken and Philips switched in the early 2000s to publishing their annual report in English rather than Dutch and it is reported that a third of Dutch companies listed on the Dutch Stock Exchange do not publish a Dutch version of their annual report and, indeed, it is the English version that is legally binding (De Groot 2008; Gerritsen et al. 2016: 465).

As in other countries, English is prevalent in the cultural domain in the Netherlands; already 20 years ago, 76 per cent of series and 65 per cent of films on Dutch television were in English with Dutch subtitles (Blockmans 1998) and more recently it was found that 85 per cent of music played on public radio stations is in English (Nederlandse Taalunie 2010). The extent of English use in the cultural sphere is also illustrated by the

announcement by Amsterdam's Stedelijk Museum, a museum of contemporary visual art and design, in 2010 that the museum language would henceforth be English (Stichting Taalverdediging 2012). More striking still is the use of English in some governmental/state functions. Some parliament members, such as the former Labour Party (PvdA) leader Wouter Bos, have been known to deliver entire speeches in English even when in the Netherlands and, during official state visits both at home and abroad, Queen Beatrix consistently disregarded the usual protocol of using her mother tongue and providing a written translation in the other party's native language, choosing instead to give speeches in English, even when the visiting dignitary did not speak English, as was the case when the Brazilian president Lula da Silva visited the Netherlands in April 2008 (Edwards 2014: 56, 61; Stichting Taalverdediging 2008: 2). Furthermore, some official governmental reports, such as 'Lessons from the Nordics' in 2006 and 'Local and regional participation' in 2009 are only available in English and English is increasingly prevalent in the public sector: members of the Royal Marechaussee, one of four branches of the Netherlands Armed Forces who perform military and civilian police duties, often wear uniforms with *POLICE* rather than the Dutch *POLITIE* on their backs and, from 2010, English is the language of major Dutch military operations (Edwards 2014: 56-58; Klopper 2010). As in Scandinavia, fears are expressed in the media and by language organisations, such as the *Stichting Taalverdediging* (Foundation for Language Defence), that Dutch is in danger of being replaced by English, bringing with it the loss of Dutch national identity (Nortier 2011: 113-117). The notion of *domeinverlies* (domain loss), that Dutch may lose certain domains to English, also surfaces in the literature (Gerards 2017: 78; Janssens & Marynissen 2005: 252; Van Hoorde 1998: 6; Wilkinson 2012: 11-12), although it is not as prevalent as it is in the Nordic countries where '*domæne* has become a household word, and every journalist concerned with language policy is familiar with it, and by now also

their readers' (Haberland 2005: 227), and few studies evaluate the extent to which domain loss is occurring in the Netherlands, unlike in Scandinavia.

These concerns have received government attention. After increasing public debate around the use of English in Sweden in the 1990s, the report *Mål i mun* (Speech) was published in 2002. It stated that 'Swedish should remain a "complete and society-bearing language"' (Milani & Johnson 2008: 3). Norway followed suit by publishing *Norsk i hundre!*¹³ in 2005. Like *Mål i mun*, the Norwegian document made proposals for a national language policy, whose main goal should be to ensure Bokmål and Nynorsk remain complete languages, serving and uniting Norwegian society (Linn & Oakes 2007: 84). Two reports have been published in Denmark: *Sprog på spil* (Language at stake) in 2003 and *Sprog til tiden* (Language in time) in 2008. Both concluded that it is not necessary to protect the Danish language through legislation, but the second report did find that a language law might be needed to ensure that Danish continues to be used at universities (Siiner 2010). The question of whether to protect the national language through legislation has had more mileage in Sweden, which 'is the first of the Germanic countries to have a language law' (McLelland 2009: 106). Following an unsuccessful attempt to introduce a language law in 2005 (the bill was narrowly defeated by 147 votes to 145) (Milani & Johnson 2008: 4), a Language Act was passed in 2009, which explicitly states that one of its purposes is to protect the Swedish language (Swedish Ministry of Culture 2009). There have also been some attempts to protect Dutch through legal means. In 2010, for instance, a bill was proposed (but to date has not been passed) to amend the Dutch Constitution so that it states that Dutch is the official language and the motivation for this was to

¹³ According to Linn (2010: 119), 'Its title, *Norsk i hundre!*, is an ironic reference to the semi-serious prognosis (advanced by Language Council Director, Sylfest Lomheim) that, without political action, Norwegian would die out within 100 years, but "i hundre" is also an idiom meaning something like "at full speed"'.

counteract the perceived threat from English: ‘English in particular is increasingly gaining ground in the Netherlands through the process of internationalization. This bill is to guarantee that the Dutch language can continue to be utilized at all times in the Netherlands’ (De Nederlandse Grondwet n.d.: n.p.; Gerritsen et al. 2016: 460). In June 2011, the Dutch parliament passed a motion stipulating that 35 per cent of music on Radio 2 (the main public pop channel) must be in Dutch, but this measure was ultimately rejected as it met with such opposition from broadcasters (Edwards 2014: 66). Despite the failure of these parliamentary motions, the establishment in April 2007 of a Centre for Dutch-language technical terminology (*Steunpunt Nederlandstalige Terminologie*) indicates the government’s commitment to ensuring Dutch remains a ‘complete’ language ‘that can be used in all domains and social situations’ (Nederlandse Taalunie 2007: 17). Although Sweden is the only Germanic-speaking country with a language law, domain protection is enshrined in policy in some way in each of Denmark, Sweden, Norway and the Netherlands. As McLelland (2009: 101) notes, ‘[t]he similarities between language policies of the Nordic countries are scarcely surprising—they share a Nordic Language Council—but it is interesting that Dutch language policy is heading in the same direction’.

1.5 Research on domain loss to English in Germanic-speaking countries

Following the increased public and governmental interest in the growing use of English in Germanic-speaking countries from the 1990s, the early 2000s have seen considerable academic interest in the issue. Many of these investigate the academic domain itself, looking at whether domain loss is occurring and how English is used as a medium of instruction. Similarly, studies in the corporate domain have looked at language choice and whether the use of English as a corporate language is leading to domain loss. For reasons

of space, I focus here on the contributions which have most influenced the present study, particularly the first research phase discussed in Chapter 4.

In the academic domain, one of the most relevant studies is Hultgren's empirical investigation into lexical borrowing from English into Danish in the sciences (Hultgren 2013). Hultgren's aim was to assess whether domain loss is occurring and she did this by attending and recording lectures and classes aimed at second-year undergraduates in chemistry, physics and computer science at the University of Copenhagen. She recorded eleven different teaching sessions delivered in Danish and transcribed the first five minutes of each audio-recording. She then coded whether or not each word was a lexical borrowing from English and calculated the frequency of lexical borrowing in each of the three subjects. Hultgren found that there was a lot of variation between the three scientific subjects (the proportion of English loans was 1.83% in computer science, 0.49% in chemistry and 0.30% in physics) and she concluded that 'there seems to be as much variation within the science domain as between the science domain and the "non-science domain"' (Hultgren 2013: 176). In relation to the notion of domain loss, Hultgren concludes that loss is the wrong word since the English terms tend to add to rather than replace items in the Danish language. Furthermore, she notes that the loanwords tend to be proper nouns and that they are 'relatively unproblematically compounded with Danish lexis and morphology', which casts doubt on whether it makes sense to treat them as 'foreign' rather than 'Danish' (Hultgren 2013: 175-176).

Hultgren's study addresses one aspect of domain loss (lexical borrowing) in the academic domain, whilst Söderlundh (2013) looks in more detail at the other aspect: the shift to English in certain contexts. Söderlundh looks at English-medium education in Sweden, examining in particular 'when, how and with whom it is appropriate – or inappropriate – to speak English' (Söderlundh 2013: 113). Söderlundh's study focusses on

six courses at a Swedish university in engineering, computer science and business studies. She conducted interviews with students and staff and made video recordings of study situations (Söderlundh 2013: 118). In general, Söderlundh found that English is used for on-task interaction in class, whilst Swedish may be used for off-task interactions, such as taking the register or addressing queries about group projects or upcoming exams (Söderlundh 2013: 124). Söderlundh also observed differences between the six courses, concluding that ‘norms for language choice might differ between local contexts, and that norms can be constructed by participants on a local course basis’ (Söderlundh 2013: 125). In the courses Söderlundh observed, it was the Swedish students who typically determined the language to be used and interestingly she notes occasions where Swedish is used in whole-class teaching even when non-Swedish-speaking exchange students are present (Söderlundh 2013: 125, 128).

The focus in the corporate domain has largely been on what it means in practice to have English as a corporate language. Sørensen (2005) distributed a questionnaire to one employee at each of 70 companies in Denmark, asking why they use English and trying to ascertain what English’s role is as a corporate language. He found that declaring English to be a corporate language of the firm did not indicate how much English was used and in what contexts. He concluded that ‘English is the preferred language when board and executive meetings are attended by non-Danish speakers and when oral communication is carried out between HQ and subsidiaries’ (Sørensen 2005: 70). The most influential of the studies looking at the corporate domain is Lønsmann’s PhD thesis (2011), for which she carried out fieldwork at Lundbeck, a Danish pharmaceutical company. Lønsmann had two research questions: ‘In what situations do Danes use English at work and why? Can the use of English as a corporate language be said to constitute a “domain loss” for Danish?’ (Lønsmann 2011: 4). The project comprised three phases: participant observation and

ethnographic interviews, self-recordings of the daily activities of five participants, and focus group interviews with employees from a range of departments (Lønsmann 2011: 53). Lønsmann found that English was spoken with those who did not understand Danish and likewise if there was a non-Danish-speaking reader (or potential future reader) of a document then the text was written in English (Lønsmann 2011: 130-131). Lønsmann noticed that these norms were more relaxed in informal conversations, for instance at lunch and either side of a meeting, and that people often spoke in Danish at these times even if non-Danish speakers were present (Lønsmann 2011: 133-134).

These studies addressing the two aspects of domain loss, borrowing from English and switching into English, in Nordic countries do not provide empirical support for the strongest claims regarding domain loss, and have suggested that popular anxieties about the threat English poses to the vitality or ‘society-bearing’ status of smaller Germanic languages go beyond what the evidence currently shows. In terms of borrowing, Hultgren (2013) found that the use of anglicisms varies as much within the scientific domain as between the scientific and non-scientific domains, and viewed anglicisms as enriching rather than diminishing the Danish language. As for using English, the studies by Sørensen (2005), Lønsmann (2011) and Söderlundh (2013) confirm the general trend towards more English or more bilingual practice in the domains concerned, but primarily in contexts involving, or potentially involving, people who do not speak the national language.

Compared to other Germanic languages, particularly the Nordic languages, there has been relatively little work on the impact of English on German, perhaps because it is regarded as less threatened by English: it has a large number of speakers (100 million native speakers compared with less than 10 million native speakers of each of Danish, Swedish and Norwegian (Durrell 2007: 42)), it is a first language in several countries and it is still widely taught as a foreign language. German’s strength as a language makes it a

particularly interesting case to study in relation to the impact of English on other languages; whilst studies of the Nordic languages show how English is influencing ‘central’ languages, this study of the relationship between English and German in Germany explores the impact of English on a ‘supercentral’ language (De Swaan 2013: 77).

This thesis will consider what the relationship between English and German is in practice, as well as how it is ideologically represented, paying attention both to the linguistic impact of English on German (e.g. through the borrowing of vocabulary) and to the social impact of its increasingly widespread use within Germany. Thus, this investigation contributes to the descriptive study of language attitudes and language change in contemporary German, as well as to a number of ongoing debates in sociolinguistics and linguistic anthropology, among them whether ‘English is endangering the vitality of other continental European languages and driving western Europe towards monolingualism’ (Mufwene 2013: 67), the related question of whether we can speak of ‘domain loss’ to English in Europe, and societal questions raised by the dominance of English, such as whether we are living in a world of English-speaking haves and non-English-speaking have-nots (Phillipson 2001a: 2).

The next chapter provides more detail on the German context, including an overview of the research on the impact of the growing presence of English in Germany. In Chapter 3, I introduce my methodology and discuss contextual factors affecting my research participants, such as the German school system and the teaching of English in Germany, which influenced my design decisions. Building on previous work on ‘domain loss’ in Scandinavia, Chapter 4 presents my findings on the relationship between English and German in two domains considered most at risk of domain loss, namely the academic and corporate domains. In light of these findings and the recent political developments

outlined above, I expanded the scope of my study to investigate the use of English and anglicisms, and attitudes towards them, across a broader cross-section of society in both east and west Germany, and these findings form the basis of Chapter 5. In the final chapter I summarise my findings and suggest areas for future research.

Chapter 2 – English and German in Germany

2.1 English in Germany: a brief history

The first contact between English and German came about through the Anglo-Saxon missions to the German-speaking lands in the 8th century, which introduced a number of loan translations mostly of religious terms into German. From 1300, the Hanseatic League extended its trade network to include England and as a result a limited number of anglicisms relating to trade or the seas, such as *Boot* ‘boat’ and *Export*, came to be used particularly in coastal areas (Lehnert 1990: 17; Schelper 1995: 88). Prior to the 17th century, however, the influence of English on German was minimal: studies by Stiven (1936), Ganz (1957) and Palmer (1950, 1960) covering the time frame 1200 to 1640 document no more than 31 anglicisms (Hilgendorf 2007: 134).

The first significant wave of borrowing came in the 1600s as the political events in England (the Civil War, 1642-48; the execution of King Charles I in 1649; Cromwell’s republic of 1649-60; and the Glorious Revolution of 1688) generated overseas interest in England (Schelper 1995: 88). In order to describe these events to their contemporaries in Germany, scholars coined new terms influenced by English, such as the direct loans *Bill* and *Debatte* ‘debate’, and the loan translations *Oberhaus* ‘upper house’ and *Unterhaus* ‘lower house’ (see section 2.3 for further discussion of the categorisation of loan words and the issue of indirect loans) (Hilgendorf 2007: 133). The literary and philosophical achievements of the English Enlightenment further increased German interest in Britain with the effect that most borrowings in the 18th century were in the intellectual domain. As a result of Britain’s leading role in the Industrial Revolution, many of the borrowings in the 19th century were scientific or technical terms, for instance *Tunnel* and *Lokomotive* (Schelper 1995: 1). By the end of the 19th century, the influence of English had become so

substantial that it began to challenge French as ‘the code of social prestige’, and borrowings such as *Gentleman*, *Toast* and *Cocktail* became commonplace in fashionable circles (Hilgendorf 2001: 80). Hilgendorf (2007: 132) characterises this period from 1640 to 1900 as a time of ‘increasing contact’ between English and German.

The period from 1900 to the present is, by contrast, one of ‘extensive contact’ (Hilgendorf 2007: 132), with substantial borrowing: Carstensen and Busse’s *Anglizismen-Wörterbuch* (Dictionary of Anglicisms) (1993, 2001) records more than 100,000 borrowings into German from English in the 50-year period from the end of World War II alone. In the early 20th century, anglicisms entered German ‘in fields like music, dance, motor cars, and aviation’ (Busse & Görlach 2004: 14). After 1945, the impact of English grew considerably, particularly on West Germany, which came under increased British and American influence through the post-war occupation (1945-55) and presence of military personnel, Marshall Plan, re-education policy, numerous exchange programs and increased collaboration in the fight against communism. As a reaction to the Nazi past, West Germans wanted to do away with the old National Socialist terminology and were receptive to new formulations imported from English. West Germans orientated themselves towards American popular culture and were able to access this through the Armed Forces Network Radio and Television. Despite being under Russian influence, and with a government which opposed anglicisms, East Germany also saw an increase in borrowings from English, although to a lesser degree than West Germany, as Busse’s (1993) analysis of different editions of the German Duden dictionary indicates. Whilst anglicisms constituted 3.46 per cent of all entries in the 1986 West German Duden dictionary (3,746 anglicisms out of 108,100 entries), they made up 2.77 per cent of all entries in the 1985 East German Duden (2,074 anglicisms out of 74,900 entries), though this represents a substantial increase from 1.36 per cent in 1880 (385 out of 28,300

entries). Busse and Görlach (2004: 20) attribute this to English's 'ubiquitousness in domains like pop music, technology, and the media (e.g. on western TV)'. Since German reunification in 1990, contact with English has increased yet further. The influence of American culture has intensified and the advent of the internet means that English-language media are widely accessible. Globalisation and the growth of multinational corporations also means that more Germans come into contact with English in their professional lives. Furthermore, in order to attract more international students and prepare German students for a professional or academic career where English language skills are a pre-requisite, English is increasingly used as a medium of instruction at German universities, with the number of English Medium Instruction programmes increasing from 65 in 2002, to 214 in 2008, 748 in 2011 and 949 in 2015 (Earls 2016: 2). As this final comment indicates, contact with English occurs partly through education, and the evolution of the teaching of English in Germany will be discussed further in Chapter 3.

With English and borrowings from English being increasingly used in Germany, it is apparent that German society is multilingual and this raises the question of how we conceptualise such multilingualism. In the western world multilingualism has traditionally been regarded as a situation of 'additive bilingualism', whereby speakers speak two or more languages as if they were monolinguals in each, with the expectation that the languages are kept pure and free of interference from one another. More recently the Council of Europe has adapted this notion of multilingualism, introducing the aim that Europeans should be plurilingual through being partially competent, rather than fully competent, in multiple languages. Blommaert similarly takes the view that 'no one knows *all* of a language' and proposes the idea of "'truncated" multilingualism': multilinguals have 'truncated' repertoires, which are more or less developed for different functions depending on people's biographies (Blommaert 2010: 23, 103, 106). A German may, for

instance, be highly competent in using English in business contexts, but have low communicative competence in colloquial English; conversely, their German may be highly developed in colloquial and everyday contexts, but less developed in business contexts. Both additive bilingualism and the Council of Europe's notion of plurilingualism rest on the idea that languages are distinct, but this has been challenged by Makoni and Pennycook (2005) among others, who argue that languages were invented by Europeans, who regarded their own monolingualism as the norm. Translanguaging, in contrast, starts from the premise that the language practices of bilingual speakers are the norm and, building on the 'disinvention' of languages, translanguaging 'considers the language practices of bilinguals not as two autonomous language systems as has been traditionally the case, but as one linguistic repertoire with features that have been societally constructed as belonging to two separate languages' (García & Li 2014: 2; see also Canagarajah 2011; García & Otheguy 2020; Pennycook 2017). Following this conceptual framework, the multilingual situation in Germany described above arises from speakers with features derived from both English and German in their repertoire 'select[ing] features *strategically* to communicate effectively' (García 2013: 1). As for the notion of domain loss, the situation whereby features of English are being assigned to specific domains in Germany and other countries would be reinterpreted under translanguaging theory not as language endangerment, but a case of linguistic resources becoming specialised for particular uses (Blommaert 2010: 134). These different concepts of multilingualism should be kept in mind as we consider in more detail the linguistic situation in Germany.

2.2 Language ideologies in Germany

Linguistic purism has a long history in Germany with the first language societies being founded in the early 17th century to combat borrowings from Latin and French. The most important among them was the *Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft* (Fruitbearing Society), which was established in Weimar in 1617 and whose members included some of the most prominent intellectuals of the time, such as Andreas Gryphius, Georg Philipp Harsdörffer, Martin Opitz and Justus Georg Schottelius (Hilgendorf 2001: 180). Attempts to form a national language academy akin to the *Accademia della Crusca*, founded in Italy in 1582, and the *Académie française*, founded in France in 1635, were unsuccessful and purist efforts continued to be led by individuals with little or no government support throughout the 18th and 19th centuries (Hilgendorf 1996: 8). Lehnert (1990: 15) comments, ‘the linguistic purism which has been common in many European countries for centuries is usually closely connected to a targeted political activation of the inhabitants’ sense of national identity’¹⁴ which explains why, after the 17th century when people in the German-speaking lands felt under cultural and linguistic threat due to the influx of foreign soldiers during the Thirty Years War (1618-48), the next period of heightened linguistic purism was in the 19th century at the time of German unification. Notably, the *Allgemeiner Deutscher Sprachverein* (General German Language Association) was founded in 1885 by Herman Riegel and it was at its general meeting in 1899 that Hermann Dunger spoke ‘Wider die Engländerei in der deutschen Sprache’ (against the craze for Englishisms in the German language). This marked a turning point in language purist discourse in Germany, which up until that point had been directed mainly against French.

¹⁴ Der seit Jahrhunderten in vielen Ländern Europas anzutreffende Sprachpurismus steht in der Regel in engem Zusammenhang mit einer gezielten politischen Aktivierung des Nationalgefühls der Bewohner.

Under National Socialism there was another surge of nationalism and linguistic purism, although the Nazis' stance towards borrowings was somewhat contradictory. As Berns (1988: 39) explains, '[w]ords of non-Germanic origin were to be replaced by "pure Germanic" lexemes in business and administration, while words of Greek and Roman origin were to remain in speeches, for example, for ideological reasons; they were retained for the positive, "magical" effect they had on the population, which could at best only partially understand them.'

Since World War II, concerns have continued to be expressed about the spread of English. The *Allgemeiner Deutscher Sprachverein* continued its work to maintain the German language under its new name, *Gesellschaft für Deutsche Sprache* (Society for the German Language), from 1945 and in 1980 there was an attempt to introduce a *Sprachreinigungsgesetz* (language purification law) modelled on the 1975 French law, Bas-Lauriol (Berns 1988: 39). Meanwhile, the GDR imposed a requirement on radio stations that 60 per cent of the music they broadcast should be from East Germany (Glutzmann 2016) and the official response to anglicisms in East Germany 'proceeded through initial silence, moderate criticism, fierce condemnation finally to tolerance and acceptance'¹⁵ (Lehnert 1990: 23).

Following reunification in 1990, Germany has seen another wave of national sentiment and simultaneously further developments in the linguistic purist movement, which Eisenberg regards 'as a reflection of a more general identity discourse'¹⁶ about Germany's role after the *Wende* (2013: 60). 1997 saw the foundation of the *Verein zur Wahrung der Deutschen Sprache* (Association for the Preservation of the German

¹⁵ Verließ [...] über anfängliches Stillschweigen, gemäßigte Kritik, heftige Ablehnung schließlich zu Duldung und Anerkennung.

¹⁶ Als Reflex eines allgemeineren Identitätsdiskurses.

Language), which in 1999 was renamed the *Verein Deutsche Sprache* (VDS, German Language Association). The VDS draws attention to what it considers to be unnecessary uses of anglicisms through initiatives such as the *Sprachhunzer* (language murderer) of the month and *Sprachpanscher*¹⁷ of the year awards. In December 1998, for instance, the German airline Lufthansa ‘won’ the *Sprachhunzer des Monats* award for the sentence ‘Mit dem Standby oneway upgrade voucher kann das Ticket beim check-in aufgewertet werden’ (Wood 2001: 632). The VDS has also sought political means of protecting the German language. In July 2001, members of the VDS wrote an open letter to the government asking for German to be reinstated as the language of academia and in the same year Berlin’s Interior Minister, Eckart Wertebach, proposed a language purification law to protect German (Erling 2004: 149). The legislation aimed to prevent anglicisms from being used unnecessarily, especially in public domains, and to promote German alternatives for common English borrowings (Erling 2004: 144). Although the motion for nationwide legislation was not passed, a law was passed in the Berlin senate requiring people working in government offices in the city-state of Berlin to communicate only in German. Foreign expressions are only permitted when unavoidable and when they do not reduce understanding (Erling 2004: 146). Further attempts have been made since 2008 to insert a clause relating to the German language in the *Grundgesetz*. In November 2010 and November 2011, the VDS submitted petitions with 46,317 and 75,000 signatures respectively, advocating amending Article 22 of the *Grundgesetz* so that it states ‘the language of the Federal Republic is German’. On both occasions, the motions were defeated on the basis that such a policy would discriminate against minority and immigrant groups (Earls 2016: 97). Since 1996, there have also been calls for a quota on radio

¹⁷ A *Sprachpanscher* is a person who uses a lot of English expressions in German.

stations to limit the presence of Anglo-American music and ensure up-and-coming German musicians are heard. In 2004, the Bundestag introduced a voluntary agreement, whereby radio stations should play 35 per cent German-language music, but most broadcasters do not adhere to this (Glotzmann 2016). In recent years and in association with the AfD, language politics has become more prominent and opposition to English and anglicisms is being used ‘as a medium for nationalism and rejecting internationality’,¹⁸ as noted by Henning Lobin, director of the Leibniz Institute for the German Language (Lobin 2020: n.p.). In their *Programm für Deutschland* ‘Manifesto for Germany’ (Alternative für Deutschland 2016), the AfD formulates a number of goals, among them that ‘as a central element of German identity the German language [...] must be stipulated as the official language in the constitution’¹⁹ (AfD 2016: 93) and that ‘German should continue to be the language of instruction’²⁰ at German universities (AfD 2016: 102), and the party expresses concern at ‘how the German language is being replaced by English as part of a misunderstood notion of “Internationalisation”’²¹ (AfD 2016: 93). As yet, linguistic purist efforts in Germany have lacked efficacy at the political level, but it will be interesting to see how they fare in the future given the linguistic policies of the third-largest party in parliament.

Berns (1988: 39) confines such negative attitudes to ‘special interest groups’ and maintains that ‘the general population has generally held positive attitudes towards English’. Schelper (1995: 1) corroborates this, saying that ‘in the German-speaking countries, particularly however in the FRG, it is not considered good manners to take a

¹⁸ Als ein Medium für Nationalismus und die Ablehnung von Internationalität.

¹⁹ Als zentrales Element deutscher Identität muss die deutsche Sprache [...] als Staatssprache im Grundgesetz festgeschrieben werden.

²⁰ Deutsch soll als Lehrsprache erhalten werden.

²¹ Wie die deutsche Sprache im Sinne einer falsch verstandenen „Internationalisierung“ durch das Englische ersetzt [...] wird.

critical attitude towards loanwords'.²² She goes on to say that the nationalistic undertones of such linguistic purism do not sit easily with the National Socialist past (Schelper 1995: 85), but that there is also a long-standing lack of linguistic consciousness and loyalty to their language among German speakers (Schelper 1995: 103, 106) as illustrated by Dunger's criticism at the beginning of the twentieth century of 'the Germans' inborn overestimation of foreign things, a regrettable lack of German self-assurance, the not lamented enough contempt of their own national customs and traditions and native language, and vain flaunting of their knowledge of other languages'²³ (Dunger 1909: 73). As a result, some attempts at raising the profile of the German language are opposed by German speakers themselves as was the case when, in 1993, German Chancellor Helmut Kohl proposed that German should become the third working language of the European Community, a suggestion which opponents within Germany described as 'anachronistisch' (anachronistic) and 'nationalistisch' (nationalistic), and they accused him of 'Großmachtsucht' (an obsession with being a great power) and of "'uneuropäisches" Verhalten' ('uneuropean' behaviour) (Schelper 1995: 107). Schelper (1995: 108) notes that it is difficult to discuss anglicisms in Germany or among Germans for fear of being seen as nationalistic and members of the VDS are also aware of the fine line they tread, saying about themselves 'Wir sind keine Sprachpuristen, wir treiben keine nationalistische Deuschtümelei (We are not language purists, we promote no nationalistic German jingoism)' (Wood 2001: 626). Despite the presence of language societies, most Germans seem to have 'a positive and accommodating, even deferential, attitude towards English'

²² In deutschsprachigen Staaten, besonders aber in der BRD, gehört es nicht zum guten Ton, Fremdwörter gegenüber eine kritische Haltung einzunehmen.

²³ Die dem Deutschen angeborene Überschätzung des Fremden, ein bedauerlicher Mangel an deutschem Selbstgefühl, die nicht genug zu beklagende Mißachtung des eigenen Volkstums und der Muttersprache und eitles Prunken mit Sprachkenntnissen.

(Hilgendorf 2007: 141) and are reluctant to engage with activities to protect the German language.

As with purist attitudes to anglicisms, criticisms of the use of English in Germany regularly surface in the media; as I noted briefly in Chapter 1, for instance, in August 2017 Jens Spahn, Germany's junior finance minister at the time, complained that too much English is used in Berlin (Spahn 2017; see also Bollmann 2017) and in February 2018 Eugen Ruge raised a similar concern in his speech at the Dresdner Reden (2018a). Such attitudes are reflective of 'conventional conceptions of national identity in Germany in which the idea of a common national language plays a central part' (Stevenson 2015: 77). What is particularly interesting is that these ideas are not applied uniformly to speakers of other languages and there is evidence of a double standard being applied to newcomers in Germany:

With English-speaking foreigners, certain behaviours are accepted which would be unacceptable if carried out by foreigners of other backgrounds. Ahmed and Asmaa are expected to speak functional German and be gainfully employed, whilst this is not so much the case with Amy and Adam.²⁴

(Clermont 2018: n.p.)

Thus it is not unusual for American or British residents in Germany, particularly in cosmopolitan cities like Berlin, to speak little or no German after multiple years of living and working there. This double standard also extends to the language used to denote newcomers: whilst Americans, Brits and Australians who take up residency in Germany are called *Expats*, those from Ghana, Eritrea and Syria among other places are regarded as

²⁴ Bei englischsprachigen Ausländern werden Verhaltensweisen akzeptiert, die bei Ausländern anderer Herkunft inakzeptabel wären. Von Ahmed und Asmaa werden funktionales Deutsch und Erwerbstätigkeit erwartet, von Amy und Adam aber nicht so sehr.

Migranten (Clermont 2018). This illustrates how English and by association English speakers are granted a higher status than other languages and their speakers in Germany.

Similarly, double standards prevail regarding multilingualism, both in learning languages and acquiring languages as native languages. The state education system offers pupils the opportunity to study ‘the canonical set of “modern foreign languages” (typically English, French, and Spanish) and the “classical languages” Latin and Ancient Greek’, whilst the languages of large and settled migrant communities, such as Turkish, are rarely taught at schools and, if they are, this is typically outside of regular school hours (Stevenson 2015: 77). This leads Stevenson (2015: 77) to conclude that ‘[t]he state education system is therefore still characterized by an implicit distinction between elite and vernacular multilingualism, the former widely perceived as a mark of cultivation and *Weltoffenheit* (cosmopolitanism), the latter as an impediment to social cohesion’. Preseau (2018: 18) likewise draws attention to a language hierarchy that exists in Germany, whereby only knowledge of certain foreign languages is considered valuable:

Sociolinguistically, German-English bilingualism in Germany is classified as a situation of “additive bilingualism,” where both the first language (German) and the second language (English) are highly valued in society. The second language is widely taught in schools, prevalent in media, and commonly serves as a lingua franca in the workplace and in institutional contexts. Bilingualism in Turkish, Arabic, Farsi, and other migrant languages, on the other hand, is considered “subtractive bilingualism” in the German context. These second languages are often viewed by laypeople as impediments to acquisition of “correct” German.

That such views prevail is corroborated anecdotally by the experiences of a British friend living in Germany with her German husband and German-English bilingual children. She speaks English to her children all the time, both at home and in public spaces, and finds people respond neutrally or even positively to this. A Russian friend of hers who started off raising her children bilingually in the same way, on the other hand, found she received

so much unfriendliness in response to her speaking Russian to her children in public that she has switched to using German with her children in public and Russian only in private.

Preseau (2018), in her work on Kiezdeutsch (which she defines as ‘a linguistic variety associated with multiethnic and multilingual populations in Berlin’ (2018: 3-4)) and the linguistic practices of refugees arriving in Germany in 2015/2016, also uncovers social injustice in attitudes towards the use of English as a second language in Germany. She observes how whilst migrants feel they speak English well and indeed have used it as a lingua franca to communicate with other refugees on their long journey to Germany, teachers and social workers regard their English as poor. Preseau interprets this as ‘a conflict between the staff’s own careful, rigid, academic English clashing with the more interactive, casual English spoken by students among themselves in the courtyard and in the common room’ (2018: 72), indicating that standard English as taught in German schools is privileged over ethnolectal and non-standard varieties as often spoken by refugees. Preseau also draws attention to how this recent wave of migration has meant that English is now perceived not only to threaten German ‘from above’ through its use by the educated and wealthy in the upper echelons of society, but also ‘from below’ through its use as a lingua franca by Germany’s growing migrant population with the result that ‘negative linguistic ideologies surrounding English – particularly those which paint English-speakers as a threat to German language and culture – are beginning to take on a more sinister, xenophobic tone’ (Preseau 2018: 76). Based on Preseau’s observations, it seems that English provokes different responses when spoken by marginalised populations in Germany as opposed to the majority population, with marginalised groups’ competence in English often going unrecognised, perhaps reflecting ‘a fear on the part of the socially powerful that the social value of English may no longer only lie in the hands of the elite’ (Preseau 2018: 79).

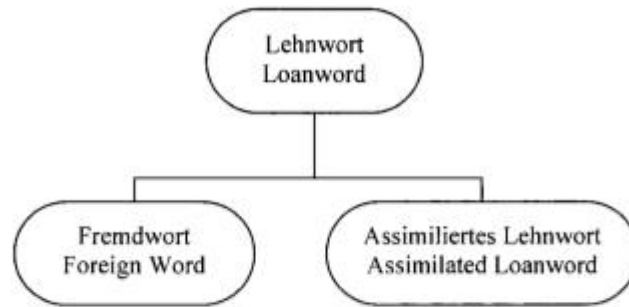
The discussion here has indicated that there is a contrast between the often strongly negative opinions about the influence of English which are expressed by language societies and which surface in the public domain, and the broadly positive attitudes in the general population, which views attempts to protect the German language as overly nationalistic. Delving a little deeper, it seems that there is generally more concern among Germans about the use of anglicisms than speaking English and German as distinct languages in Germany. Indeed, speaking English, or at least the standard English taught and rewarded in the German education system, is highly valued in society, but to the detriment of migrants whose own native languages are deemed less valuable and whose non-standard varieties of English go unrecognised. Thus, in addition to the possibility that ‘the use of Anglicisms can lead to a new social split among readers and writers according to the criteria of English knowing vs. non English knowing’ (Moser 1985: 1702), double standards regarding the use of English result in linguistic and social injustices, which adversely affect migrants to Germany who are not from Inner Circle countries. Furthermore, the conventional linguistic nationalist notion that a common national language is central to German national identity applies selectively to speakers of other languages: migrants with native languages other than English are expected to speak German in order to be considered integrated, whereas English speakers from Inner Circle countries are exempt from this requirement. This indicates that linguistic nationalism and purism in Germany do not apply uniformly to all languages which co-exist with German, but are instead selectively xenophobic, with some languages and their speakers being treated more favourably than others. The next sections will look in more detail at previous academic work on the influence of English in Germany, starting with what this section has found to be commonly perceived as the biggest threat: the use of anglicisms.

2.3 Research into the use of anglicisms in German

A much commented on and fundamental issue in the research on anglicisms in German is how to define an anglicism and classify different types of borrowing. Most researchers draw on the terminology developed by Betz (1936, 1959), who created his typology to account for borrowing into German from Latin, and Fink (1970) and so I will give a brief overview of their respective typologies so as to introduce the terminology used by other researchers in the field and in my own discussion.

Betz (1936: 2) introduced three new concepts to the study of language contact: *Lehnübersetzung* (loan translation), *Lehnbildung* (loan formation) and *Lehnschöpfung* (loan creation). These added to the categories already known of *Lehnwort* (loanword) and *Lehnbedeutung* (loan meaning, such as *realisieren*, which originally just meant ‘to make real or actualise’, but under English influence has taken on the meaning ‘to comprehend completely or correctly’ (Berns 1988: 44)). A loan translation is when each part of the original word is translated into German lexical material (for instance, *Stilleben* for English ‘still-life’), whereas a loan formation is where just part of the foreign word is translated literally and the rest is rendered more freely in the receiving language. An example is *Wolkenkratzer*, literally cloud-scraper for skyscraper, where *sky* has been more freely replaced in German with *cloud*. A loan creation, on the other hand, is a neologism which has come about under the influence of a foreign word, but without bearing any formal similarity to the foreign word (for example, *Ausstand* for ‘strike’). Betz develops on this model in his 1959 work and Onysko (2007: 13) provides a helpful summary, reproduced here as Figure 3.

(a) Direct loan influences



(b) Indirect loan influences

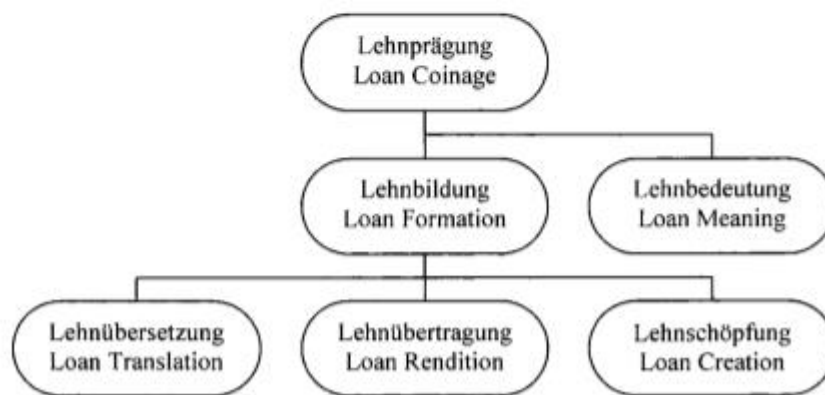


Figure 3: Onysko's (2007: 13) reconstruction of Betz' classification of loan influences (1959: 128)

The key difference here is that Betz now uses *Lehnbildung* as an umbrella term and *Lehnübertragung* is used instead to denote German words which are partial translations of English ones. This diagram is particularly helpful in that it clearly distinguishes between direct and indirect borrowings, which is a recurring distinction made in subsequent work although using different terminology. Carstensen (1979: 90) divides borrowings into 'evidente und latente Einflüsse' (evident and latent influences), whilst Yang (1990: 16) describes this same distinction as 'äußeres Lehngut' (external borrowings) and 'inneres Lehngut' (internal borrowings).

Whilst Betz' definition rests on a binary distinction between loanwords and loan coinages, Fink (1970: 12-15) distinguishes between three main categories: *Keine Substitution* (zero substitution), *Teilsubstitution* (partial substitution) and *Vollsubstitution* (complete substitution). Zero substitutions cover words which consist entirely of English components, such as foreign words, loanwords and pseudo-loanwords. There is a long history of separating borrowings into *Fremdwörter* (foreign words) and *Lehnwörter* (loanwords), the difference being the degree to which they have been integrated into the German language. Foreign words retain all their features from the original language, whereas loanwords show signs of assimilation into the phonological, morphological and/or orthographic systems of the receiving language. Schelper (1995: 31-32), however, believes that this distinction can no longer be applied due to the speed with which the use of anglicisms changes. Pseudo-loanwords (*Scheinentlehnungen*) are items which use English word material but which do not exist in English itself. Well-known examples are *Handy* 'mobile phone', *Dressman* 'male model', *Twen* 'someone in their twenties' and *Gin Tonic* 'gin and tonic'. Partial substitutions are compounds that are composed of English and German word material, such as *Nebenjob* 'side job', *Popmusik* 'pop music' and *Internetadresse* 'internet address'. Complete substitutions are words, compounds and phrases made entirely of German word material, but modelled on the equivalent word, compound or phrase in English. Examples include *Gehirnwäsche* 'brainwashing' and *Wolkenkratzer* 'skyscraper'. Many researchers exclude complete substitutions from their definition of an anglicism on the basis that it is hard to be sure that the German word is modelled on the English and is not the result of a parallel development in German (Schelper 1995: 326). As these examples indicate, both Betz' and Fink's definitions account for the same borrowed material, just in different ways. Fink renames Betz'

category of loan coinages complete substitutions and divides direct loan influences into the categories of zero substitution and partial substitution.

As for identifying borrowings, researchers vary in the criteria they apply when defining the scope of their studies. Some define anglicisms based on form and in doing so select certain forms from the above typologies which they believe to be clearly borrowed from English. Pseudo-loans and complete substitutions are two categories on which there is some variation between researchers with some excluding one or both of these types of borrowing from their analysis. Yang (1990: 4), for instance, takes as his object of study: ‘direct borrowing (foreign word, loanword, pseudo-loans) and mixed compounds (compounds made up of English and German components), whilst latent influence (loan formation and loan meaning) is disregarded’.²⁵ Within this, some limit their definition to just lexical borrowing, whilst others include phrasal and syntactic influence (such as *im selben Boot sitzen* modelled on ‘to be in the same boat’). A further criterion some scholars apply is when the borrowing entered the German language. Schelper (1995: 21) notes that much work conducted prior to her own usually sets 1945 as the cut-off point and excludes anglicisms borrowed before 1945, whereas more recent studies, such as those by Yang (1990), Schelper (1995) and Onysko (2007), no longer apply this criterion. Finally, some researchers, most notably Carstensen and Galinsky (1963, 1967) and Fink (1970) limit their scope to just borrowings from one variety of English, in the case of these studies, American English. It is now common for researchers to include borrowings from all varieties of English and to call them anglicisms. This considerable variation between

²⁵ Direkte Übernahme (Fremdwort, Lehnwort, Scheinentlehnungen) und Mischkomposita (Komposita aus engl. und dt. Komponenten), während der latente Einfluß (Lehnbildung und Lehnbedeutung) unberücksichtigt bleibt.

studies regarding what is included and excluded in the term anglicism makes direct comparisons between different studies difficult.

Initial work on anglicisms in German focused on identifying and documenting them. Dunger, for instance, counted 148 borrowings from English in 1882, reported 392 anglicisms in the first edition of *Wider die Engländerei in der deutschen Sprache* in 1899 and included 900 loanwords in the 1909 second edition (Carstensen 1965: 31). Stiven's 1936 PhD dissertation, *Englands Einfluß auf den deutschen Wortschatz* (England's influence on German vocabulary), investigates the influence of English on German from the 13th century until 1935, thus continuing this documentation of borrowed terms, but in a more scholarly way. The work of identifying and recording anglicisms has continued in *Fremdwörterbücher* (dictionaries of foreign words), such as those published by Duden, and, most notably, Carstensen and Busse's three volume *Anglizismen-Wörterbuch* (Dictionary of Anglicisms), published in 1993, which contains around 3,500 entries and documents about 100,000 examples of borrowings from 1945 until its publication.

Zindler's 1959 dissertation, *Anglizismen in der deutschen Pressesprache nach 1945* introduced a new area of study: anglicisms in the language of the press, and extensive research has been done on borrowings from English in German-language newspapers, most commonly in the Federal Republic, but also in Switzerland, Austria and East Germany (among them, in chronological order, Carstensen & Galinsky 1963; Carstensen 1965; Fink 1970, 1980, 1997; Carstensen, Griesel & Meyer 1972; Meyer 1974; Engels 1976; Kristensson 1977; K. Viereck 1980; Yang 1990; Schelper 1995; Lee 1996; Fink, Fijas & Schons 1997; Zürn 2001; Onysko 2007; Rathmann 2007; Kontulainen 2008; Burmasova 2010; Seidel 2010). These studies quantify the number of anglicisms (often as the number of anglicisms per page, but increasingly from 2007 as a proportion of the total number of words) and discuss interesting observations about the borrowings, such as their

function (discussed later in this section) and how they are integrated into German (see section 2.4). The quantitative findings are summarised in Appendix I for ease of comparison, although it should be remembered that the number of words per page can vary considerably between publications due to different font sizes, page sizes and layouts used, with some devoting more space to advertising and images than others, and so comparisons of the number of anglicisms per page must be made with caution. Likewise, as discussed above, there is little consistency between studies in terms of how an anglicism is defined with some authors limiting their definition to borrowings from American English (e.g. Fink 1970) and studies showing variation as to whether they include certain types of borrowings, such as complete substitutions. Yang (1990), for instance, excludes borrowings not composed at least in part of English lexical material, whilst Schelper (1995) includes these. Despite these shortcomings in comparability, some notable trends in the findings can be identified.

Firstly, all the diachronic studies and those studies focusing on the same news publication as a previous study find an increase in the frequency of anglicisms used in the press over time, indicating that the influence of English on German at least in terms of quantity of borrowings used has increased from 1945 to the present day. This can be seen clearly for *Der Spiegel* (as reported successively by Yang 1990, Onysko 2007, Kontulainen 2008 and Seidel 2010) and *Die Welt* (Engels 1976; Burmasova 2010). Yang (1990) finds a steady rise in the number of anglicisms per page of *Der Spiegel*, with 2.7 per page in 1950, 2.35 in 1960, 3 in 1970 and 3.25 in 1980, whereas Kontulainen (2008) observes a large shift in the proportion of anglicisms used between 1967 and 1977 and less dramatic increases thereafter. Burmasova (2010), in her replication of Engels' 1976 study, similarly finds that the rate of increase in the use of anglicisms in *Die Welt* has slowed down from increasing 2.8 times between 1954 and 1964 to increasing 1.7 times between

1994 and 2004. Seidel (2010: 34), on the other hand, notes a substantial jump from 1990 (6.62 tokens per page in *Der Spiegel*) to 2000 (15.12 tokens per page), which he attributes to the rise of the internet and computer technology. Thus studies differ in their conclusions about whether and when there are sharp increases in the use of anglicisms, but they agree that the use of anglicisms in the German-language press has increased from 1945 to the present.

Secondly, the studies generally indicate that anglicisms were used more frequently in West Germany than East Germany (Ihlenburg 1964; Kristensson 1977). Not all studies agree, however, with Schelper (1995: 319) reporting very similar frequencies in East and West (44.57 types and 61.71 tokens per page of the West German newspaper *Die Welt*, compared to 41.05 types and 61.13 tokens per page of the East German *Neues Deutschland*), although this finding is unlikely to be reliable, since comparing anglicisms per page is only possible if the pages of the different newspapers have roughly the same number of words. As in West Germany, the use of anglicisms was found to be increasing in the GDR (Kristensson 1977; Schelper 1995), and was not inconsiderable; Oschlies (1988: 209) concludes that the GDR has ‘linguistically thrown itself unrestrainedly into the arms of the “imperialistic” English’,²⁶ whilst Lehnert (1990: 231) writes that ‘the Anglo-American influence on the German standard language in the GDR is much larger and goes much deeper than is commonly assumed’.²⁷ Given that the influence of English on the language of the GDR is found to be less than on the language of the FRG, some studies investigate whether the use of anglicisms increased in the new federal states (i.e. those that were previously in East Germany) following reunification (Fink, Fijas & Schons 1997; Lee

²⁶ Sprachlich dem “imperialistischen” Englisch recht hemmungslos in die Arme geworfen.

²⁷ Der anglo-amerikanische Einfluß auf die deutsche Standardsprache in der DDR doch weit größer ist und tiefer geht, als man gemeinhin annimmt.

1996). Both these studies find the number of anglicisms used in the east German press increased after reunification and, from his analysis of the West German Duden and East German Duden both published in 1990, Lee notes that most anglicisms which came into use in East Germany at the time of his study were already used or known in West Germany, suggesting that they entered the language of East Germany through mass media, particularly via the radio and television (Lee 1996: 132). He concludes that it is apparent that following reunification, anglicisms will no longer enter the east German vocabulary later than they entered the west German lexicon (Lee 1996: 176). On the whole, studies have found that anglicisms were used less frequently in East Germany than West Germany, but there are indications that differences in terms of anglicisms between east and west are levelling out following reunification.

As well as quantifying the frequency of anglicisms used, studies also comment on the word class of the borrowings. All the studies discussed here find that nouns are the most frequently borrowed word category, with most studies finding that over 90 per cent of all borrowings in their corpus are nouns: 92% of Yang's anglicisms are nouns (1990: 29), whilst 96% of all tokens in Seidel's corpus are nouns or nominal phrases (2010: 35). It is also widely accepted that adverbs are the least frequently borrowed word class, with Yang (1990: 30) finding they make up just 0.22% of the total number of anglicisms in his corpus and Onysko (2007: 131) recording only marginally more with a frequency of 1.01%. There is some debate as to which the second and third most frequently borrowed word classes are with Yang (1990) finding more verbs than adjectives, but others, such as Fink (1970: 156) and K. Viereck (1980) finding a greater proportion of adjectives than verbs. In most cases, the difference between the proportion of adjectival borrowings and verbal borrowings is minimal (for instance, 4.59% of anglicisms were verbs compared to 3.03% which were adjectives in Yang's 1990 study and Onysko (2007: 131) found 5.64%

of anglicisms were adjectives and 5.49% verbs), but K. Viereck (1980) found 6.9% of anglicisms in her corpus to be adjectives whilst just 0.8% were verbs. What most studies do not take into consideration is what proportion each word class makes up of text or speech. Supposing nouns make up 90% of all words written or spoken in German then it would be no surprise that they also constitute 90% of borrowings. One way to address this would be to calculate the proportion of anglicisms among words of each word class and compare these percentages (as I do in the present study). Burmasova (2010) takes a different approach and investigates the rate of increase for each word class separately. She finds that nouns increase 1.74 times, verbs 1.69 times and adjectives 1.56 times over her period of study and concludes from this that the differences are so minimal that it is not the case that nouns are borrowed more than other word classes (Burmasova 2010: 223).

Some of the aforementioned studies also comment on the semantic fields in which borrowings most commonly occur. Dunger (1909), for instance, noted anglicisms occurring in the home and public life, in the field of food and drink, relating to clothing, trade, transport, technology and academia, but stated ‘the English weed proliferates most abundantly in the field of sport’²⁸ (Dunger 1909: 60). Yang (1990), Zürn (2001) and Burmasova (2010) similarly found that anglicisms are most prolific in the field of sport, and Altleitner (2007: 307) likewise observed that most anglicisms occurred in the area of entertainment and social life, a broader category which sport comes under, whereas the other two semantic fields she investigated (politics and current affairs, and the economy and professions) had a lower rate of anglicisms in the three daily papers under consideration. In contrast to this, Fink (1970: 183) found the greatest number of Americanisms occurred in the fields of economics and politics. Whilst there seems to be

²⁸ Am üppigsten wuchert das englische Unkraut auf dem Felde des Sports.

general consensus that there is a high rate of borrowing in sport, the other semantic fields vary between studies as to where they rank. This may be because anglicisms are typically prevalent

in two registers – the technical and the colloquial. The first category ranges from terms adopted to designate industrial processes and products in the nineteenth century to sports expressions and nowadays to highly specialized items in pop music, computer technology, and drug vocabulary, whereas fashionable colloquialisms are found in all fields, but are most frequent in journalese (including advertising) and in youth language.

(Busse & Görlach 2004: 18)

Thus, any semantic field which involves technical language and innovation taking place primarily in the English-speaking world can have a high proportion of anglicisms and so the studies most likely differ in their findings because the relative proportions depend on the particular topics of the articles and what is going on in current affairs at the time the newspapers and news magazines went to print.

Not all studies into anglicisms have used print news media. Although still using printed texts, Busse (1993) focuses his attention on anglicisms in dictionaries, rather than in the press and compares the percentage of anglicisms in different editions of the Duden dictionary. He finds 1.36 per cent of items in the 1880 edition were anglicisms, compared to 3.46 per cent in the 1986 West German Duden and 2.77 per cent in the 1985 East German Duden, corroborating findings in the press that anglicisms were less prominent in East than West Germany. More recently, Eisenberg (2013) has analysed the use of anglicisms in a corpus of functional, media, academic and literary texts, designed to be representative of standard written German. For the period 1995-2004, he found 3.60% of all types and 0.5% of tokens were anglicisms, which is substantially less than the roughly 1.2% of tokens found in studies of printed media texts around the same time (e.g. Burmasova 2010; Onysko 2007), and he attributes this difference to the press being ‘a

gateway for anglicisms'²⁹ (Eisenberg 2013: 78-79). Other studies have moved away from written language to include spoken language. Herbst (1994), for instance, investigates anglicisms which entered German as a result of literal translations in dubbed films and TV serials. Glahn (2000) also investigates language on television and takes as his corpus 1080 minutes composed of 30 television programmes broadcast on public TV channels in September and October 1998. He finds that on average a borrowing occurs every 56.6 seconds. Fink, Fijas and Schons (1997) compile a corpus of both written media and spoken language on the television and radio in former East Germany and find a lower rate of borrowing than Glahn did: one anglicism every 1 minute 11 seconds on the radio and every 3 minutes and 4 seconds on television (1997: 73, 77). There are comparatively few studies on spoken language in the media and, given the disparity in their findings in terms of frequency of anglicisms, the field would benefit from more research in this area.

Finally, there has been some research into the functions anglicisms have and why people use them. Galinsky (1967) was the first to consider this question in detail and listed the following seven stylistic uses of anglicisms:

- (1) Providing national American colour of settings, actions, and characters
- (2) Establishing or enhancing precision
- (3) Offering or facilitating intentional disguise
- (4) Effecting brevity to the point of terseness
- (5) Producing vividness, often by way of metaphor
- (6) Conveying tone, its gamut ranging from humorous playfulness to sneering parody on America and "Americanized" Germany
- (7) Creating or increasing variation of expression.

(Galinsky 1967: 71)

²⁹ Ein Einfallstor für Anglizismen.

Fink (1980) also examined the function played by anglicisms, but in a particular genre: youth magazines. He concluded that anglicisms are used to achieve six main objectives: ‘A. exaggerated effect, B. euphemism, C. objectivity, D. text composition, E. need, F. ingratiating or gaining favour’³⁰ (Fink 1980: 202). Although expressed in different ways, these functions broadly overlap and the only function highlighted by Galinsky which Fink does not acknowledge is (1), the use of anglicisms to create a sense of America. This may be due to the sources they chose to analyse; Galinsky drew upon literature, the press and politics whereas Fink investigated the youth magazines *Bravo* and *Freizeit-Magazin* and it seems reasonable to assume that one would find more anglicisms being used to create an impression of America in literature set in America or for depicting literary characters from America than in magazines published in Germany and targeting a German domestic market. Alternatively, it may be that Fink dissociates anglicisms from a particular culture, as expressed by Schelper (1995: 119):

Anglicisms don’t represent the English language, but rather a permissive society (Pergnier 1989), the technical language of the successful world and the new, which separates the youth from their parents. German, on the other hand, stands for the smell of roast potatoes of the parental home.³¹

Thus, anglicisms arguably create an impression of modernity and cosmopolitanism, which are of course embodied by America, but without referring exclusively to America. This conclusion is in the same spirit as Kristensson’s observation (1977: 231) that, despite the prevalence of critical or even anti-American sentiment, many young West Germans made use of anglicisms, suggesting that these were not strongly associated with America

³⁰ A. Übersteigerte Wirkung, B. Euphemismus, C. Sachlichkeit, D. Textgestaltung, E. Bedürfnis, F. Anbiederung.

³¹ Anglizismen repräsentieren nicht die englische Sprache, sondern eine permissive Gesellschaft (Pergnier 1989), die Fachsprache der Erfolgswelt und das Neue, das die Jugend von ihren Eltern trennt. Deutsch hingegen steht für den Bratkartoffelgeruch des Elternhauses.

specifically. A similar observation was made more recently by Meyerhoff and Niedzielski (2003), who noted an increasing preference for US English terms rather than the traditional British English terms in New Zealand English (*truck* for *lorry*, *pants* for *trousers*) but cautioned against claiming that New Zealanders are trying to sound more American, instead proposing viewing these changes ‘as part of the globalisation of the vernacular base’ (2003: 547).

Berns (1988) identifies a further function of anglicisms: ‘[a]mong pre-teens and teens, English words have been observed to create solidarity among speakers and readers by emphasizing the shared basis of familiar, although foreign, language elements, thus creating an anti-language which distinguishes “us” from “them”’ (Berns 1988: 45). Given that knowledge of English and familiarity with anglicisms in Germany have increased substantially among a broader section of the population due to English’s dominance as the first foreign language taught in schools (see section 3.4.3), it will be interesting to see whether anglicisms continue to be used as a youth anti-language thirty years on from Berns’ study. Although few studies have addressed the stylistic function of anglicisms since the 1980s, it seems from the guidance in the most recent Duden *Fremdwörterbuch* (Kunkel-Razum, Bills, Pellengahr, Hikl & Palz-Heinz 2015: 28-29, 34) that the functions remain largely the same:

A foreign word or borrowing can be necessary when German words can only paraphrase its meaning in a long-winded or incomplete way, when one wishes to express a slight difference in meaning, avoid unwanted associations, create a culture-specific atmosphere, allude to cultural knowledge, express a certain feeling, vary the statement stylistically or tighten the sentence structure.³²

³² Ein Fremdwort kann dann nötig sein, wenn etwas mit deutschen Wörtern nur umständlich oder unvollkommen umschreiben werden kann, wenn man einen graduellen inhaltlichen Unterschied ausdrücken, unerwünschte Assoziationen vermeiden, ein kulturspezifisches Kolorit erzeugen, auf Bildungsinhalte anspielen, ein bestimmtes Lebensgefühl zum Ausdruck bringen, die Aussage stilistisch variieren oder den Satzbau straffen will.

2.4 Integration of anglicisms

A number of studies which quantify the use of anglicisms also provide an analysis of how and to what degree borrowings from English are assimilated into German; that is, how much anglicisms take on German linguistic features as opposed to retaining English ones. The assimilation of borrowings is often regarded as an indicator of nativisation, which has a bearing on arguments about domain loss; Hultgren (2013, 2016a: 154-155), for instance, argues that the high degree of assimilation of borrowings from English in Danish means that the borrowed words are not/no longer ‘foreign’ and thus do not constitute domain loss. Scholars of German have used these recent additions to the language as test cases for investigating the workings of German morphology in particular (e.g. Onysko 2007). A further question which arises is whether anglicisms which have been in use for longer and/or are more frequently used are more integrated than more recent and/or less frequent borrowings (Yang 1990: 4). The integration of a borrowing takes place on a number of levels - the main ones being orthographic, phonological, morphological and semantic – and this section will review each of these in turn.

2.4.1 Orthography

There are three main areas of interest in terms of the orthographic assimilation of anglicisms: the capitalisation of nouns, the form of compounds as one word, multiple words or a hyphenated word, and the retention of English graphemes or replacement of them with German ones.

Considering first of all the capitalisation of nouns, corpus studies have found a few nominal anglicisms appearing without an initial capital letter, thus retaining their English form and violating the rule in German that all nouns start with a capital letter (Seidel 2010;

Yang 1990). It is widely noted that those nouns which appear without an initial capital letter are either very new borrowings, nonce words or quoted English terms, which explains their very infrequent though occasional appearance. With increased use they are soon capitalized and their appearance with an initial capital letter is considered an indication of their integration (Burmasova 2010: 98; Carstensen 1965; Schelper 1995: 294; Zifonun 2002: 5).

The orthographic representation of compound nouns composed partly or entirely of anglicisms is also thought by some to vary depending on the level of integration of the noun. In English, compound nouns are often written as two or more separate words (for example *apple cake*) and Burmasova (2010: 99) notes that, although this contravenes German norms where compounds are written as one orthographic word (such as *Apfelkuchen*) or as a hyphenated form (e.g. *Mehrzweck-Küchenmaschine* ‘multipurpose food processor’), many borrowed compounds are initially written as separate orthographic words, as in *Depositary Shares* and *Late Night Show*. As such anglicisms become increasingly integrated, they are no longer written as separate words, but are hyphenated instead (e.g. *Business-Class*, *Cash-Cows*), which ‘can [...] be interpreted both as denoting foreignness and as a reading aid’³³ (Eisenberg 2013: 82). At a later stage of integration, compound nouns conform further to German conventions and are written as one word, as in *Liftgirl* ‘female lift operator’. Schelper’s findings (1995: 302) contradict this, however, and she concludes that

As the data in all the newspapers show, writing compounds with or without hyphens, together or separately is clearly not governed by any rules. [...] Neither the length of the individual components nor the degree of

³³ Sie können [...] als Fremdheitsmerkmal wie als Lesehilfe verstanden werden.

familiarity nor whether it is made up of two English components or just one has an effect on how the compound is written.³⁴

Nonetheless, she does agree with Burmasova that only little-known recently borrowed compound nouns or specialist terminology, which often indicate their lack of assimilation in other ways (for instance, through lack of capitalisation or quotation marks), are typically written as separate orthographic words. Thus it is only the least integrated compounds which can be found written as separate words, contravening German orthographic rules, whilst more integrated forms conform more to German conventions, appearing either as one orthographic word or as a hyphenated form.

Regarding the spelling of anglicisms, there are a number of graphemic substitutions which may occur. The main ones are:

- <β> instead of <ss>: *Busineß, Fitneß*
- <k> instead of <c>: *Klub, Klan, Disko*
- <sch> instead of <sh> or <ch>: *Schock, Scheck* ‘cheque’, *Ketschup*
- <ys> instead of <ies>: *Babys, Ladys, Hobbys*
- A German diphthong instead of an English written monophthong: *Streik* ‘strike’, *kraulen* ‘to crawl’.

It is widely observed that most anglicisms borrowed since the start of the 20th century have retained their original spelling and many anglicisms which had been assimilated

³⁴ Wie die Daten aller Zeitungen zeigen, wird die Schreibung von Komposita mit oder ohne Bindestrich, zusammen oder auseinander offensichtlich ohne jede Regel gehandhabt. [...] Weder die Länge der einzelnen Bestandteile noch deren Bekanntheitsgrad noch die Tatsache, ob es sich um zwei englische Bestandteile oder nur um einen handelt, sind von Auswirkung auf die Wahl der Kompositaschreibung.

graphemically into German have subsequently returned to their unassimilated form (Munske 2010: 42; Onysko 2007: 62; Seidel 2010: 88; Yang 1990: 169). In some cases, this is due to the 1998 spelling reform, which stipulates, for instance, that <ss> is to be written after short vowels, but <ß> is retained after long vowels or diphthongs. This therefore means that only <ss> is permissible in *Business* and *Fitness* and many similar anglicisms, which previously could be written with <ß>. Similarly, under the spelling reform only the *ys*-plural should be used (Busse & Görlach 2004: 23). As Johnson (2000: 113) notes, however, the spelling reform did not resolve the inconsistency for the other graphemic variants and both the original and germanicised versions are accepted. Nonetheless, most studies find a preference for the English spelling, regardless of how frequent the anglicisms are (Schelper 1995: 295; Seidel 2010: 88). Onysko (2007: 68) suggests a number of reasons for this ‘trend towards zero orthographical assimilation’, the main ones being that Germanization is regarded suspiciously due to the lasting effect of the Nazi regime on the German mindset and the fact that knowledge of English among the German-speaking population has increased so there is less need to assimilate anglicisms to aid comprehension.

A final way in which English affects German orthography is in the use of an apostrophe in the Saxon genitive: *Peter's Laden* ‘Peter’s shop’ as opposed to the correct German form, *Peters Laden*. Carstensen (1965: 36) describes this as ‘the clearest invasion of English in written German’³⁵ and notes that it is used most often with proper nouns and in advertising.

³⁵ Der deutlichste Einbruch des Engl. in die dt. Schreibung.

Although the capitalisation of borrowed nouns and to some degree the written form of compound anglicisms indicate that anglicisms become more assimilated orthographically over time, the trend towards retaining and even returning to English graphemes contradicts ‘the truism that diachronic persistence of a borrowed form will lead to a gradual adaptation in the RL [receptor language]’ (Onysko 2007: 316).

2.4.2 Phonology

The level of phonological integration of anglicisms is dependent on a number of factors, such as the speaker’s level of English, level of education, age and dialect, as well as the communicative context (Carstensen & Busse 1993: 81, 2001: 81; Zifonun 2002: 4). Nonetheless, anglicisms which contain phonemes that are unknown to the German phonemic system are often pronounced slightly differently to their English pronunciation and anglicisms frequently undergo the same phonological processes as other German words (see Munske 2010 for a detailed analysis). In the case of unknown phonemes, these are replaced by German phonemes with similar features; thus, the onset of English *job* [dʒ] is typically pronounced as [tʃ] by native German speakers. *Job* also illustrates how anglicisms undergo German phonological processes: the final voiced consonant [b] is subject to final devoicing and so is realised by German speakers as [p]. In sum, this means that whereas *job* is pronounced as [dʒɒb] in English, it is usually pronounced as [tʃɔp] in German. As with the spelling of anglicisms, it is widely observed that older loans tend to be more phonologically assimilated, whereas recent loanwords retain their English pronunciation as far as possible (Busse & Görlach 2004: 20; Carstensen 1965: 37); indeed,

Schelper (1995: 295) comments that ‘Germanization is frowned upon nowadays’.³⁶ As a result of this, some borrowings from English violate phonotactic constraints in German: *Speed*, for instance, is pronounced with an initial [sp-], rather than the German onset cluster [ʃp-] and other anglicisms are attested with both onset clusters, e.g. *Spot* ‘commercial’ is pronounced as both [spɔt] and [ʃpɔt] (Munske 2010: 37).

2.4.3 Morphology

The morphological integration of anglicisms spans gender assignment, plural formation and declension of nouns, the inflection of verbs and adjectives, and word-formation through compounding and derivation.

Looking first of all at nominal anglicisms, there is considerable uncertainty as to how grammatical gender is assigned in German and many scholars have used their studies of anglicisms to shed further light on this theoretical issue. A number of criteria have been identified, according to which gender may be assigned to anglicisms in German (Burmsova 2010: 106-107; Busse & Görlach 2004: 23-24; Durrell 2002: 2-13; Onysko 2007: 152; Schelper 1995: 277; Yang 1990: 153-157):

- a) Sex reference – male or female animates take the gender which matches their biological sex: *die Lady, der Gentleman*.
- b) Semantic analogy – the gender is the same as the nearest native equivalent or its native hypernym: *die City* (< *die Stadt*), *der Sound* (< *der Laut*), *das Girl* (< *das*

³⁶ Eine Eindeutschung ist heutzutage verpönt.

Mädchen), *der Collie*, *der Spaniel* (< *der Hund*), *das Backgammon*, *das Badminton* (< *das Spiel*).

- c) Semantic field – nouns in certain semantic fields take a specific gender, e.g. masculine for alcoholic drinks (*der Cocktail*) and neuter for young persons and animals (*das Baby*).
- d) Suffix – nouns with certain endings are assigned a particular gender, e.g. nouns ending in *-ence* (*Assistence*), *-y* (*Academy*), *-ness* (*Business*), *-ship* (*Championship*), *-ity* (*Identity*) and *-ance* (*Outperformance*) are feminine, those ending in *-er* (*Babysitter*) and *-or* (*Bachelor*) are masculine, and those ending in *-ment* (*Entertainment*), *-ing* (*Banking*), *-et* (*Ticket*) and *-al* (*Musical*) are neuter.
- e) Orthographic or phonological analogy – some nouns take the gender of orthographically or phonologically similar German words: *die Show* – *die Schau*, *der Drink* – *der Trunk*, *der Room* – *der Raum*, *das House* – *das Haus*.
- f) Phonology – most monosyllabic words are masculine: *der Boom*, *der Pool*.

A problem arises, however, when these criteria are in conflict and it is unclear why one principle is chosen above the others to determine gender in a particular instance (Schelper 1995: 278). To overcome this, Steinmetz (1986, 2001) postulates a default hierarchy of gender, which places masculine before feminine before neuter and Onysko follows this approach in the analysis of his corpus, concluding that '[t]he interaction of a default hierarchy of gender assignment and various semantic, morphological, and phonological rules is able to account for the vast majority of masculine, feminine, and neuter anglicisms' (Onysko 2007: 177-178). If gender assignment is strictly governed by rules, then we would expect there to be no variation in gender, yet this is not the case for certain anglicisms, including *der/das Output*, *das/die E-Mail*, *der/das Movie* (Burmasova 2010:

106; Onysko 2007: 174; Zifonun 2002: 5). Some view this gender variation as a temporary phase, indicative of less integrated recent borrowings, before the noun settles on one gender (Schulte-Beckhausen 2002: 164-165), and Schelper (1995: 275) provides evidence of one gender becoming established over time for certain nominal anglicisms: *der/das Radio* and *der/das Trick* have now settled on *das Radio* and *der Trick*. Nonetheless, she points out that it is not always the case that one gender becomes dominant, giving the example of the longstanding Turkish borrowing *Joghurt*, which can take any of the three genders in German depending on the speaker's idiolect (Schelper 1995: 276). Thus, previous research goes a long way to explaining gender assignment, but there is ongoing uncertainty regarding the order in which the criteria apply and the presence of some nominal anglicisms showing gender variation raises theoretical questions.

A further theoretical question is how anglicisms are assigned plural endings, particularly given the overrepresentation of the *s*-plural on anglicisms compared to German nouns as a whole. There are seven regular ways in which nouns form their plural in German (Durrell 2002: 15):

- 1) No ending: *der Lehrer* 'teacher' – *die Lehrer*
- 2) No ending, with umlaut: *der Vogel* 'bird' – *die Vögel*
- 3) Add *-e*: *der Arm* 'arm' – *die Arme*
- 4) Add *-e*, with umlaut: *der Stuhl* 'chair' – *die Stühle*
- 5) Add *-er*, with umlaut if possible: *das Tal* 'valley' – *die Täler*, *das Kind* 'child' – *die Kinder*
- 6) Add *-n* or *-en*: *die Frau* 'woman' – *die Frauen*, *die Wiese* 'meadow' – *die Wiesen*
- 7) Add *-s*: *das Auto* 'car' – *die Autos*.

It is widely noted that just four of the five endings appear with anglicisms: *-(e)n*, *-e*, *-Ø* and *-s*, as in *Agitator-en*, *Utopie-n*, *Import-e*, *Bandleader (Ø)* and *Airline-s* (Onysko 2007: 139; Schelper 1995: 164-165; Yang 1990: 160). The plural ending *-er* is not found on any anglicisms and is unproductive in modern German (Schelper 1995: 264). The only instance of an anglicism with an umlaut in the plural is the borrowing *Frack* ‘tailcoat’ (from English *frock*), which forms its plural with an umlaut and *-e* as *Fräcke* (Schelper 1995: 264). As with the assignment of noun genders, some nouns have more than one possible plural: *Lifts/Lifte*, *Tests/Teste*, *Toasts/Toaste* (Schelper 1995: 263). Contrary to non-anglicism German nouns, of which ninety per cent form their plural with either *-e*, *-en* or *-Ø* (Eisenberg 1998: 223-224) and just seven per cent form their plural with *-s* (Pinker 1998: 239), it is repeatedly found in corpus studies of anglicisms that the *s*-plural and *Ø*-plural are most numerous (Glahn 2000: 166; Onysko 2007: 139; Schelper 1995: 165; Yang 1990: 160). The *Ø*-plural on nominal anglicisms ending in *-er* is analysed as following the rule that most masculine nouns ending in *-er* form their plural without an ending or umlaut (Burmasova 2010: 105; Durrell 2002: 17; Schelper 1995: 263). The dominance of the *s*-plural on anglicisms, however, is harder to explain. There have been some suggestions that the *s*-suffix is borrowed together with the noun from English, rather than being the result of morphological processes in German (Allenbacher 1999; Busse 1993; Carstensen 1981; Glahn 2000; Görlach 2002b; Schelper 1995). Some view the *s*-ending as a temporary plural applied to foreign words and neologisms before they eventually acquire a native plural form (Wegener 2003), but this ignores the fact that many longstanding and fully integrated anglicisms retain their *s*-plural, as in *Klubs*, *Streiks* and *Trends* (Schelper 1995: 263-264). Pinker (2000), Marcus, Brinkmann, Clahsen, Wiese and Pinker (1995) and Bartke, Rösler, Streb and Wiese (2005) argue that *s*-suffixation is the regular and underlying plural ending in German, which, under the Dual Mechanism Model of

language, is applied to all forms for which no irregular form is stored in the mental lexicon (Pinker & Prince 1988, 1994). This would then explain why new forms not listed in the mental lexicon, such as anglicisms, receive the *s*-plural ending. As indicated here, plural formation in anglicisms can be used to identify productive plural formation processes in German and contribute to the theoretical debate surrounding the status of the *s*-plural.

Corpus studies focusing on anglicisms have also looked at whether nominal anglicisms are integrated into the German case system. Case is marked on regular nouns with *-n* in the dative plural (except when the plural suffix is *-s*) and, in the case of masculine and neuter nouns, with *-(e)s* in the genitive singular. There is also a class of weak masculine nouns, such as *Bär* ‘bear’, *Nachbar* ‘neighbour’ and *Held* ‘hero’, which take *-(e)n* throughout the plural and in all singular cases except the nominative, as well as a marginal group of one neuter and eight masculine irregular nouns. Anglicisms have entered both the class of regular nouns (examples include *der Film*, *das Team*, *die City*) and weak masculine nouns (such as *der Experte*, *der Favorit*). Previous research indicates that the dative plural *-n* suffix is consistently applied to nominal anglicisms, as in *Thrillern*, *Teenagern*, *Top-Performern* and *Computern* (Burmasova 2010: 106; Zifonun 2002: 5). The genitive *-s* suffix is also found on some masculine and neuter anglicisms, but it is widely noted that genitive marking is not applied consistently to anglicisms (Onysko 2007: 141; Schelper 1995: 168, 270), and some anglicisms show free variation between the *-s* inflection and zero marking: *des Crash* – *des Crashes*, *des Entertainment* – *des Entertainments* and *des Laptop* – *des Laptops* (Onysko 2007: 189). Contrary to the widespread notion that the genitive *-s* is only missing from less integrated recent borrowings, Onysko (2007: 189-190) points out that the most frequent anglicism in his corpus, *Internet*, also varies between *des Internets* and *des Internet* and, indeed, the irregular form *des Internet* is far more frequent than the regularly marked *des Internets*.

Onysko concludes from this that '[t]he beliefs that assimilation is a necessary consequence of diachronic persistence of a borrowing and that the frequency of a borrowing as a token of its lexical acceptance ultimately leads to morphological convergence in the RL [receptor language] are not substantiated by anglicisms in the genitive case' (2007: 190). The lack of consistency in marking the genitive on anglicisms may also be reflective of the fact that the genitive is on the decline in German as a whole, with it mainly being restricted to certain registers, especially written ones (Durrell 2002: 37).

Turning our attention now to the integration of verbal anglicisms, such borrowings form their infinitive in four main ways, listed in order of frequency:

- a) anglicisms ending in *-en*: *shoppen* 'to shop', *interviewen* 'to interview', *parken* 'to park'
- b) anglicisms ending in *-ieren*: *boykottieren* 'to boycott', *digitalisieren* 'to digitalise', *investieren* 'to invest'
- c) anglicisms ending in *-ern*: *chartern* 'to charter', *ordern* 'to put in order', *twittern* 'to tweet'
- d) anglicisms ending in *-eln*: *doubeln* 'to do stunts, be somebody's double', *modellern* 'to model', *recyceln* 'to recycle'.

In addition, borrowed verbs can occur with both particles (*ausflippen* 'to flip out', *heraufjazzen* 'to jazz up') and prefixes (*betanken* 'to fuel/refuel', *verfilmen* 'to film').

Verbal anglicisms are, however, only used as reflexives if a close conceptual equivalent already exists in German: *sich einloggen/ausloggen* for *sich anmelden/abmelden* 'to log in/out' (Onysko 2007). Both Busse and Görlach (2004: 25) and Onysko (2007: 230) find that the suffix *-ieren* is only used with anglicisms with neoclassical roots which originated in the 19th century and is not found on any recent borrowings, and they conclude that it has

lost its productivity in the borrowing process. On the whole, English verbs are unproblematically assigned an infinitival ending when borrowed into German, but problems do arise with English verbs ending in open syllables, as in **sightsee-en* (Burmasova 2010: 102).

Most verbal anglicisms are also seamlessly integrated into the German inflectional system. They take weak inflectional endings and follow the usual inflectional rules of German. Thus the verb *foulen* ‘to foul’ has the principle parts *foult, foulte, hat gefoult*. Similarly, morphologically complex verbal anglicisms, such as particle verbs and inseparable prefix verbs, inflect as one would expect: *flippt aus, flippte aus, hat ausgeflippt* and *verfilmt, verfilmte, hat verfilmt* respectively. As with native German verbs, the presence of the formative *ge-* in the past participle of verbal anglicisms is prosodically conditioned with *ge-* not being added when the main stress is not on the first syllable (Fertig 2020: 201). Thus anglicisms ending in *-ieren* and those with an initial unstressed syllable form their past participle without the prefix *ge-*, as in *computerisiert* ‘computerised’ and *relaxt* ‘relaxed’. Likewise, verbal anglicisms whose stem ends in *-d* or *-t* add an epenthetic *-e-* (*startet, startete, hat gestartet*) as is the case for non-borrowed verbs such as *arbeiten* ‘to work’. Nonetheless, a few issues do arise. Some variation in conjugated forms is found in verbal anglicisms which are derived from English verbs ending in *-e*: Busse and Görlach (2004: 25) draw attention to the past participle variants *getimt – getimet – getimed* ‘timed’ and *recycelt – recyclet – recycled – recykelt* ‘recycled’. Eisenberg (2013: 114) and Zifonun (2002) also note the difficulty of conjugating verbal anglicisms such as *downloaden* ‘to download’ as there can be some uncertainty as to whether these are analysed as particle verbs (examples in bold) or one continuous form (underlined). Thus, one finds the variants ***er loadet down*** – *er downloadet*, ***er hat downgeloadet*** – *er hat gedownloadet*. They note, however, that this problem is not limited

to anglicisms; Zifonun (2002: 5) gives the example of *bauchlanden* ‘to belly-land’ (in other words, ‘to land an aircraft on its underside without aid of landing gear’ (The Free Dictionary n.d.)), which appears fine as a particle verb in *er ist bauchgelandet*, but less acceptable in the present tense *er landet Bauch*. Hausmann (2006: 42-43) observes variation in whether the past participle is formed with *-(e)t* or *-ed* in internet texts and her 2005 results find that the English *-ed* form predominates for two out of the fourteen verbs she analysed: *releasen* ‘to release’ and *replien* ‘to reply’. Nonetheless, a comparison of her 2001 and 2005 findings shows ‘a slow but visible shift in favour of the German *-(e)t* ending’³⁷ (Hausmann 2006: 44). Onysko (2007: 234-235) also finds in his corpus of published news media just over a dozen past participle forms of anglicisms which retain their English *-ed* suffix rather than the German *-(e)t*, one example being *gefaked* ‘faked’, but notes that these forms are mostly used as adjectives and are often part of quotations, suggesting they have not undergone morphological reanalysis (Onysko 2007: 235). On the whole, verbal anglicisms are inflected in accordance with the usual German morphological rules, but there are a few marginal issues which arise, among them the conjugation of verbs with English stems ending in *-e*, the analysis of some verbs as particle verbs or continuous forms, and the appearance of past participles ending in English *-ed* rather than German *-(e)t*.

Like indigenous German adjectives, adjectival anglicisms are usually inflected to agree in gender, number and case with the associated noun when used attributively (*eine faire Verständigung* ‘a fair agreement’) and uninflected when used predicatively (*die Verständigung ist fair* ‘the agreement is fair’). In addition, borrowed adjectives form their comparative and superlative forms in accordance with German morphological rules: *fairer*,

³⁷ Eine zwar langsame, aber sichtbare Verschiebung zugunsten der deutschen Endung *-(e)t*.

fairste. It is widely noted that adjectives ending with an open syllable, such as *sexy*, *tabu*, *trendy* and *tricky*, resist inflection when used attributively because ‘the word final sequence of consonant and vowel forms an unusual environment for the following [e] or reduced schwa of the German adjectival agreement suffix’ (Onysko 2007: 251), and some cannot occur in attributive position: **Ich gab dem happy Mädchen einen Ballon* ‘I gave the happy girl a balloon’ (Seidel 2010: 81). Similarly, adjectives such as *super* and *top* do not inflect when used attributively (**superes Angebot* ‘super offer’, **tope Leistung* ‘top performance’), which Burmasova attributes to the presence of competing compounds: *Superangebot* and *Topleistung* (Burmasova 2010: 103), but this does not explain why *pink* cannot be inflected in **pinkes Kleid* as *Pinkkleid* is not a competing alternative. In some cases, this issue is circumvented by hybrid forms composed of the English stem and a German adjective ending, which function as an attributive complement to their predicative equivalent: *trickreich* ~ *tricky*, *trendig* ~ *trendy*, *tabuisiert* ~ *tabu*, *pinkfarben* ~ *pink* (Busse & Görlach 2004: 24; Onysko 2007: 251; Seidel 2010: 82). On the whole, adjectival anglicisms abide by German inflectional and syntactic conventions, but those ending in an open syllable resist attributive inflection for phonotactic reasons.

Busse and Görlach (2004: 26) note that borrowings in German are ‘freely used in compounding’ and a wide range of hybrids involving anglicisms occur (Yang 1990: 261). Onysko finds that a relatively small number of anglicisms are used for compounding and these are typically the most frequent individual types of anglicisms in his corpus (2007: 196). Anglicisms more commonly occur as the first part of the compound (determinant) than the second part (determinatum) (Burmasova 2010: 55; Eisenberg 2013: 90; Onysko 2007: 198), which Krause-Braun (2002: 160) attributes to the fact that the determinatum contributes more to the meaning of the word and determines the word’s inflectional properties. An area of particular interest in the formation of compounds is the use of

linking elements (-e-, -er-, -(e)n-, -(e)ns- or -(e)s-) between the constituents as these sometimes defy explanation even when used between non-borrowed constituents. The reasons for the use of linking elements in compounds involving anglicisms also ‘remain[-] opaque’ (Onysko 2007: 209). One finds, for instance, *Filmemacher/Filmemacherin* ‘film-maker’ and *Filmeresser* ‘film eater’ yet in other plural contexts (*Filmproduzent* ‘film producer’) or other phonologically similar environments (*Filmmuseum* ‘film museum’) no linking element is found. There can also be variation between forms, further indicating the linking element’s vagueness: Onysko finds both *Filmeresser* and *Filmfresser* in the same *Der Spiegel* article (2007: 209). Nonetheless, some patterns can be observed in the use of linking elements in compounds involving anglicisms. Schelper (1995: 169, 272) notes that linking elements are restricted to use with old and very integrated, often Latinized English determinants: *Elektrizitätsversorgung* ‘electricity supply’, *Koalitionsregierung* ‘coalition government’, *Expertennkreis* ‘body of experts’. The only exception to this observation that linking elements are no longer productive with non-Latinized anglicisms is the determinant *Training*, which is connected with an -s- to the determinatum: *Trainingsshose* ‘tracksuit bottoms’, *Trainingsmethodik* ‘training method’. This seems to be a lexical idiosyncrasy, however, since other determinant anglicisms ending in -ing (such as *Holding* and *Marketing*) do not add a linking -s- and even phonologically and semantically similar words have no linking element: *Jogginghose* ‘tracksuit bottoms’ (Onysko 2007: 210).

A further way in which anglicisms form part of more complex words is through derivation, in particular through affixation, and this affects all major word types: nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs. Looking first of all at nouns, the most common affixed nominal anglicisms are those composed of a German, Latin or Greek affix (underlined in the examples) and a base anglicism, as in *Filmchen* ‘short film’ and *Makrotrends* ‘macro-trends’ (Onysko 2007: 222-225). Some anglicisms also appear as derivational affixes,

although these are much less numerous than the German, Latin or Greek affixes; the only examples found in Onysko's corpus are *Non-*, *Top-*, *Cyber-*, *Dotcom-* and *E-* (2007: 227). In terms of verbs, both bound and free morphemes can be affixed to anglicism bases. *Er-* and *ver-* (as in *erjobben* 'to acquire by hard work' and *verfilmen* 'to film') are examples of the former, whilst *durch-*, *ein-* and *um-* (as in *durchboxen* 'to force through', *einscannen* 'to scan in' and *umdribbeln* 'to dribble round') are examples of the latter. Complex verbal anglicisms prefixed by a free morpheme can be particle verbs or inseparable verbs depending on the stress: inseparable verbs have unstressed prefixes, whilst particle verbs have stressed prefixes. Onysko notes in his corpus that particle verbal anglicisms are much more common than inseparable ones; indeed, *umdribbeln* is the only example of an inseparable verbal anglicism in his corpus (2007: 239-241). Adjectival anglicisms can be affixed by a range of suffixes and a few prefixes, as in *supercool*, *trainierbar* 'trainable' and *uncorrect* 'incorrect'. In Onysko's corpus the only instance of a loan affix that is attached to adjectives is *-like*, as in *ladylike* and *gentlemanlike* (2007: 258-261). Finally, adverbial anglicisms can also undergo derivation: for instance, *fairerweise* 'in order to be fair' and *testweise* 'tentatively' (Onysko 2007: 263). In cases where the complex forms are identical in English and German (e.g. *ladylike*, *unfair*), it is unclear whether the derivation process has happened in German or whether the derived form was borrowed wholesale from English. However, the presence of other German words involving these affixes, which do not have an identical equivalent in English (such as *uncorrect* and *FAZ-like*³⁸ in Onysko's corpus (2007: 258, 261)), indicates that they are also productive in German.

³⁸ FAZ is an abbreviation for the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, a daily newspaper with a nationwide readership.

2.4.4 Semantics

Looking finally at semantics, it is noted that the meaning of English terms can be narrowed, broadened or shifted in the borrowing process. Narrowing is very common, with Seidel (2010: 19) and Yang (1990: 167) both commenting that it is unusual for a polysemous English term to be borrowed into German with all its meanings. The English word, *trainer*, for instance, means ‘a person who trains people or animals; (informal) an aircraft or simulator used to train pilots; (Brit.) a soft shoe, suitable for sports or casual wear’ (Soanes & Stevenson 2006: 1529), yet *Trainer* in German only bears the first meaning (Seidel 2010: 51). Similarly, the verb *to chat* is used to refer to informal communication between people both in person and online in English, whereas *chatten* is limited to chatting on the internet in German (Onysko 2007: 232). The anglicism *Start* has undergone semantic broadening in German and has been extended to domains in which it is not used in English: *Start* and *starten* are used in German in the context of an aeroplane ‘starting’, whereas English uses *take-off* (Busse & Görlach 2004: 27). An example of semantic shift is the anglicism *Shootingstar*, which in English means ‘a small, rapidly moving meteor burning up on entering the earth’s atmosphere’ (Soanes & Stevenson 2006: 1331), but in German denotes a person who suddenly becomes famous and successful (Carstensen & Busse 2001). These examples illustrate that anglicisms rarely have exactly the same semantic value in German as the original word form has in English.

2.4.5 Assimilation of anglicisms

As illustrated in this section, anglicisms are assimilated to different degrees along each of the linguistic levels discussed here. Whereas anglicisms, bar a few marginal exceptions, converge to German inflectional and derivational rules and take on Germanized meanings,

there is a growing trend for anglicisms to retain their English spelling and pronunciation, which Krome and Roll attribute to widespread familiarity with English among the German population (2017: 54-55). In some cases, the age and frequency of anglicisms also affect their degree of integration: the longer and more frequently a nominal anglicism is used in German, the more likely it is that it will be capitalized, be productively used to form compounds and be written as one (sometimes hyphenated) word in the case of compounds. However, there are also instances of anglicisms not becoming more Germanized the longer or more often they are used in German: there is evidence of older Germanized spellings returning to their English form, new anglicisms generally retain their English spelling and pronunciation, and even the most frequent anglicisms can appear without genitive inflection. Thus, as Onysko notes (2007: 190), assimilation is not necessarily a consequence of diachronic persistence of a borrowing, nor does the frequency of a borrowing always lead to its morphological convergence to the receptor language. Previous work on anglicisms also indicates how studying them can enhance our understanding of German, and this discussion has illustrated how they can be used to gain further insight into the systems of gender assignment and plural formation in German.

2.5 Research into level of comprehension of anglicisms

A further area of investigation on the subject of anglicisms is people's level of understanding of the borrowings. Galinsky (1972: 8) pioneered this area of research with a representative questionnaire conducted in 1963, in which he investigated people's comprehension of the anglicism *Playboy* and found that a third of people, the majority of whom were older and lived in rural areas, had never heard this word before. Nonetheless, as part of their study into the frequency of anglicisms used in the *Mainzer Allgemeine*

Zeitung, Carstensen, Griesel and Meyer (1972) found in an ancillary survey that most foreign terms used in the paper were not understood by German university students. This somewhat contradicts Galinsky's finding, indicating that even those who are young and in urban locations do not necessarily understand anglicisms.

Clyne (1973) presented fifty-two anglicisms to forty informants, of whom twenty were students at Stuttgart university aged 20 to 31, who had all learnt English for at least six years, whilst the remaining twenty were over 35, lived in the Greater Stuttgart area and could speak no, or virtually no, English. They were asked to give the meaning of the words, when they would use them and, if not, whether they had heard or read them before and who would use them. Clyne found that such borrowings which aid communication between language communities could result in communication barriers within the individual language communities and that they can be used as sociolectal identity markers (1973: 164). Thus Clyne finds evidence in support of Phillipson's assertions discussed in Chapter 1 that the use of borrowings can divide society, and this is an area I am interested in exploring further, particularly in terms of whether there is an English-speaking elite and whether divisions fall along east-west lines due to different levels of proficiency in English.

This question of whether one can speak of an English-speaking elite in Germany seems particularly relevant given Fink (1975) found, in a study of 195 people's understanding of thirty anglicisms drawn from advertising, 'a relatively close connection between the level of general school education and the degree of understanding'³⁹ (Fink 1975: 200). If only more educated people understand the anglicisms used in everyday life,

³⁹ Ein verhältnismäßig enger Zusammenhang zwischen dem Maß allgemeiner schulischer Vorbildung und dem Grad des Verständnisses.

then those less educated are arguably being marginalised and may feel they are being excluded from an exclusive elite. Like Galinsky (1972), Fink found that the older the participant, the lower their understanding of the borrowings, which again suggests that age is a relevant factor to consider when investigating the use of anglicisms and attitudes towards them.

K. Viereck, W. Viereck and Winter (1975) investigated in more detail which factors have most influence on people's understanding of anglicisms. Their non-representative survey found the most important criteria affecting someone's knowledge of anglicisms are education and their consumption of TV and news media. In contrast to Galinsky (1972), Clyne (1973) and Fink (1975), they found that knowledge of English and age were less influential than expected on an individual's understanding of anglicisms. A follow-up and this time representative study, discussed in W. Viereck (1980), however, found that people with some knowledge of English, know, understand and use more anglicisms than those who lack these language skills (W. Viereck 1980: 289). In this follow-up study they also found that those aged 18-30 had the highest knowledge, use and understanding of anglicisms, indicating that, contrary to their initial study, speaker age is a significant factor in relation to anglicisms.

Fink (1991, 1996) similarly found age, level of education and knowledge of English to be influential in the extent to which people understood anglicisms used from 1980 to 1990 in economic policy debates in the Bundestag. He found a relatively high level of comprehension among the participants, with 55.8% of his 286 participants having an accurate understanding of the terms, but concluded this passive understanding does not necessarily mean the participants actively use these anglicisms. This high degree of understanding is an interesting finding since some have argued that politicians use anglicisms because of their obscurity (Debus 1984; Hilgendorf 2001: 94), yet given the

high level of comprehension among the general populace it seems laypeople are not misled or confused by anglicisms used in the political sphere. Fink and Rammes (1994) similarly look at how the level of understanding of anglicisms interacts with motivations for their use in a study into the extent to which German sales assistants understand the anglicised names and descriptions of the products they sell. They found that only 42 per cent of the sales personnel understood them, leading them to conclude that anglicisms are used as a sales strategy, and presumably deemed to be a successful marketing strategy given their frequent use, despite a low level of comprehension of them.

Whilst most studies into level of understanding use participants in one geographical location, Effertz and Vieth (1996) sought to compare comprehension of anglicisms between people from former East and West Germany. They chose fifteen anglicisms used in the business news and economics reference books and presented them to 300 people from companies, of whom 140 were from the new federal states and 160 were from the old federal states. They ascertained that the level of understanding among participants from West Germany stood at 62 per cent, compared to 46.4 per cent among the East Germans, and in fact for most anglicisms there was a 20 per cent difference in understanding between East and West Germans. Given the findings elsewhere that comprehension of anglicisms is affected by knowledge of English, it is perhaps not surprising that East Germans lagged behind West Germans in their understanding of borrowings so soon after reunification. It will be interesting in my study, thirty years after the Berlin Wall came down, to see if differences in use of anglicisms and proficiency in English continue between those in the old and new federal states.

The studies discussed here suggest that age, level of education, knowledge of English, urban or rural place of residence, and whether someone was brought up in East or West Germany may be relevant in the extent to which they understand anglicisms.

Although I am not looking at comprehension explicitly, I am interested in proficiency in and use of English, attitudes towards English and anglicisms, and use of anglicisms, which may well be influenced by the same factors. I therefore chose to collect the aforementioned demographic information from my participants, and this will be discussed further in Chapter 3.

2.6 Research into domains in which anglicisms and English are used

As discussed in Chapter 1, the focus in the Scandinavian context has been on the use of English and anglicisms in certain domains and the question of whether the combined effect of borrowing from and switching to English is resulting in domain loss. Similar work has been done in the German context and this will be discussed here.

2.6.1 Business

Early studies into the corporate domain looked at the language choices of West German companies when operating outside of Germany in order to answer the question ‘whether the domain (business) dictates the language to be used (English), or the national affiliation of a corporation (German) determines the language choice’ (Hilgendorf 2001: 101).

Clyne’s 1976 study looks at spoken and written language used between West German companies and their Australian subsidiaries. Clyne finds a clear preference for English even when the majority of the assembled group were native speakers of German; indeed, in two of the five companies it was usual to switch to English in the presence of a non-German, even if they happened to understand German well (Clyne 1976: 118). Ammon’s 1991 study, in which he gathered data on language choices from spokespeople at fourteen internationally prominent German firms, corroborates these findings: six of the companies

use English 50% or more of the time when communicating with subsidiaries abroad, compared with seven companies who use German 50% or more of the time (one company provided no answer) (Ammon 1991: 158). Similarly, Coulmas (1990) finds a preference for English in the banking sector. He notes that Deutsche Bank's vocational college in Tokyo teaches in English and that employees working for Commerzbank in Tokyo are even encouraged not to speak German at work. With Ammon finding both English and German being used roughly equally it seems that there is no definitive answer to Hilgendorf's question, but it is clear from all three studies that, as early as 1991, English played a substantial role in the activities of German companies abroad.

Looking at the domestic front, Hilgendorf (1996) examines job adverts in the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung (FAZ)* to glean a sense of the role English plays in the German business domain. She finds, for instance, numerous examples of English being used for job titles, often side by side with additional descriptions in German, such as: 'Area Sales Manager Fernost' (Far East), although ironically the one geographic reference not in German is Germany: 'Finance Manager Germany' (Hilgendorf 1996: 10). In other cases, English is used in the advert's headline (examples include 'Do you speak European?' and 'Marketing für Klassische Musik') but with the rest of the advertisement in German (Hilgendorf 2007: 137). A particularly striking finding, however, was that some job adverts in the *FAZ* are completely in English, and that this can be the case for German companies recruiting for a position to be filled in Germany. A notable example is Adidas' advert for a regional internal auditor for international operations, which was entirely in English except for the not easily translatable German term 'Wirtschaftsprüfer' (auditor) (Hilgendorf 2007: 137). Hilgendorf concludes that the use of English in such adverts 'conveys the function of English in the company and/or for the position' (2007: 137) and is thus a way of attracting candidates with the right level of English for the role.

Combining the two settings, Fredriksson, Barner-Rasmussen and Piekkari (2006), looked at the use of English at Siemens' German headquarters and at German and Finnish subsidiaries. Their study found that although there may be a corporate language, this does not necessarily mean that language is used in the same way at all levels across the corporation (Lønsmann 2011: 39). This indicates that actual language choice is often determined at the individual level and in response to the particular language capabilities of the group. This is similar to Clyne's observation that speakers switch to English as soon as a non-German is present and thus adapt to changes in the needs of their interlocutors. Nonetheless, Clyne also notes that English might be used between two Germans, as when 'a Greek foreman was the only employee with whom the German paymaster communicated in German, all the Germans being addressed in English' (Clyne 1976: 126). These studies suggest that English is primarily used in the business domain to communicate with non-German speakers, but it is interesting to note that English is sometimes used intranationally among German speakers, as in this anecdote from Clyne and the Adidas advert referred to by Hilgendorf.

2.6.2 Academia

A second domain in which English is particularly dominant is the scholarly domain. There is a tendency for English to be used at international conferences in German-speaking countries, with Skudlik (1990: 296-298) finding that 42% of papers presented in West Germany, Austria and Switzerland were in English compared with 33% in East Germany. More striking is the use of English for intranational purposes too. Denison (1981: 7) observes that German scientists use English to discuss their work with other German L1 speakers because they are so used to doing so and have difficulty using German to discuss

their research. Ammon (1991: 251) similarly cites the example of a 1983 national conference on the subject of 'Biologische Regulation und Proteolyse' (biological regulation and proteolysis), to which only scientists from research institutes in West Germany were invited, yet 19 of the 29 talks were delivered in English. Hilgendorf (2001: 13) points out that by 1983 it was not unusual for non-Germans to work in German research institutes and so there may have been non-native speakers present at the conference, but it is still significant that English is sometimes used for spoken communication between Germans in Germany in the academic domain.

There is also an increasing tendency for academic publications in Germany to be published in English. Ammon (2001: 264) cites figures from Germany's largest publisher in the sciences, the Julius Springer Verlag, that 0.5% of publications were in English and 90% of authors were from German-speaking countries in 1927, whereas in 1989 70% of publications were in English and only 35% of the authors came from German-speaking countries. Maher (1986: 210) finds a similar tendency recording that 90.9% of medical publications in the Federal Republic of Germany were in German in 1960, falling to 81% in 1970, 67.2% in 1975 and 54.3% in 1980. The opposite trend is apparent for English, with 9.2% of medical publications in West Germany being in English in 1960, 17.8% in 1970, 32.3% in 1975 and 45.2% in 1980. It's not just in the sciences that English is becoming increasingly dominant. Ammon (1999: 674, 676) calculates that, by 1995, 82.5% of publications worldwide in the humanities were in English and just 4.1% were in German, which is not far off the 90.7% of publications in the sciences that were in English and 1.2% in German in 1996. At the same time, there has been a shift towards using English as the language of publication for academic journals published by German publishing houses. This transition is reflected in the journals' titles, which were originally German, then often renamed in a Latin formulation, before settling on an English title, as

was the case for *Archiv für Verdauungskrankheiten* (Archive for Digestive Diseases), which took the interim Latin title *Gastroenterologia* and is now called *Digestion* (Hilgendorf 2007: 138). Once the journal has an English title it usually only accepts articles in English and even well-established journals are affected: *Psychologische Forschung*, one of Germany's oldest psychology journals, was renamed *Psychological Research* in 1975 and now only accepts English-language articles (Schelper 1995: 99). Hilgendorf (2001: 140) reflects on the reasons for this shift towards English as the language of publication and suggests that 'this shift is not necessarily a voluntary one, but rather largely motivated by market forces, with publishing in English representing the potential of reaching a larger readership'.

It is for similarly pragmatic reasons that English is growing as a language of instruction on university courses in Germany. In February 2000, the Bundesministerium für Bildung und Forschung (2000: n.p. - Federal Ministry for Education and Research) announced that 'Germany must become internationally more attractive as a place for academic study'⁴⁰ and at the same time data from the Center for Research on Innovation & Society (2000) showed that around 14% of young Germans with a doctoral degree move to the United States. In order to combat this brain drain and create a 'brain gain' instead, efforts have been made to internationalise higher education in Germany and this effectively means making more use of English, particularly as the language of instruction in taught courses. This began with a pilot scheme in 1996 and English Medium Instruction (EMI) was introduced permanently in 2002 (Earls 2016: 2). Since then the number of EMI programmes in German has increased substantially: there were 65 programmes in 2002,

⁴⁰ Deutschland muss als Studienstandort international noch attraktiver werden. Translation in main text is taken from Hilgendorf (2001: 163).

214 in 2008, 748 in 2011 and 949 in 2015 (Earls 2016: 26). Although some of these programmes are designed for international students as part of the Federal Ministry for Education and Research's aim to make Germany more attractive to foreign students, many domestic students also enrol on EMI courses, making this another area in which English is used for communication between German L1 speakers in Germany.

The prolific use of English at academic conferences, in teaching and in scholarly publications means that German technical terms are not being developed as much and those terms which do enter the German language are often borrowed from English or heavily influenced by English. German is thus being downgraded to a second-class language and a diglossia is emerging, according to Schelper (1995: 102). Hilgendorf (2001: 134) considers the use of English for intranational communication in academia (for instance, at national conferences, in communication between colleagues and as the language of instruction on some degree courses) to be the most compelling evidence that a diglossic situation is developing in Germany, whereby English is displacing German as the language in the academic domain.

2.6.3 Mass media

The mass media, encompassing such areas as music, radio, television, film, written publications and the internet, is described by Hilgendorf as '[p]erhaps the most prominent domain of English use, and certainly the area reaching the broadest spectrum of the public' (2001: 144). Drawing on Hilgendorf's various macrosociolinguistic studies on the role of English in Germany (1996, 2001, 2007), as well as other sources, this section outlines the considerable use of English in mass media.

Hilgendorf (2007: 139) analyses the best-selling CDs in Germany for the week of 3rd July 2000 and finds that many of the CDs listed are by performers who are native English speakers, mostly from the USA and the UK, whilst a few are by artists from other European countries, such as A-Ha from Norway and Bomfunk MC's from Finland, who have opted to use English for their music. Of particular interest are the CDs by German artists. Hilgendorf (2007: 139) lists four groups who 'use English for the names of their groups, the titles of their CDs, and/or the titles of songs', and in fact almost all the tracks on the CDs by three of these four groups have English names, and presumably also English lyrics. The primary motive for using English is probably to appeal to an international market and this is particularly apparent from the example of the German rock band Tokio Hotel. After achieving some success, particularly in Germany and Austria, with their first two German-language albums *Schrei* and *Zimmer 483*, they switched in 2007 to releasing albums and songs in English as well as in German and even translated some of their previous German songs into English for re-release. This coincided with them touring the UK and US for the first time in 2007, suggesting that the use of English was a strategy to access a more international English-speaking market. A similar picture of English influence is apparent on the radio, where Ammon (1991: 413) reported findings that 89.95% of all song titles on six commercial West German radio stations in April 1988 were in a foreign language, usually English, and that 59% of music played on public radio stations was foreign in 1980, rising to 64% in 1988. These findings indicate that Germans consume more English-language music than German-language music and, with some German artists producing music in English to be enjoyed domestically (as well as abroad), English is also used for intranational purposes in the domain of music.

Just as the German music chart resembles one that might be found in the USA, so too do television and film listings. With the introduction of commercial television in West

Germany in the 1980s, many more television programmes were needed and many of these came in dubbed form from the United States (Hilgendorf 2001: 151). By the 1990s, cable and satellite television introduced some undubbed foreign language broadcasters, mostly English ones, such as CNN and Sky Channel, to German viewers (Hilgendorf 2001: 252). More recently, the development of online media providers, such as Netflix and Now TV, has made it even easier for Germans to access English-language films and television programmes. As with television, cinema listings are also heavily influenced by English. Hilgendorf (2001: 156-158) analyses the film listings for a cinema in Göttingen for a week in April 1996 and finds that 13 of the 17 films were originally in English (76.5%), 3 were in German (17.6%) and one was from France (5.9%). Although all the English-language films were dubbed into German, only 6 of their titles were translated too. Of the remaining 7 English films, two titles were proper nouns not requiring translation (*Pocahontas*, *Othello*). Interestingly *Mr Holland's Opus* kept the English genitive, even though *Mr Hollands Opus* would have been a straightforward translation, and for the film *12 Monkeys*, the numeral was often pronounced in English. The other three titles (*Sudden Death*, *Dead Man Walking* and *Toy Story*) were left in English, indicating an expectation that they are comprehensible to the German public. Thus, German cinemagoers come into contact with English even when the films themselves are dubbed into German. Increasingly, in large cosmopolitan cities at least, some film listings include English-language films in *OV* (*Originalversion* 'original version') or *OmU* (*Original mit Untertiteln* 'original version with subtitles'). Nonetheless, a 2012 Special Eurobarometer survey found that 57% of Germans totally disagreed and 20% tended to disagree with the statement 'You prefer to watch foreign films and programmes with subtitles, rather than dubbed', whilst just 11% totally agreed and a further 11% tended to agree (European Commission 2012: 119). This indicates that there is still a substantial market in Germany

for dubbed foreign films. Unlike in the domain of music, it is not common for German television and film producers to create English-language programmes and films.

Nonetheless, most German-language Netflix original series have English titles (e.g. *Dark*, *Dogs of Berlin* and *How to Sell Drugs Online (Fast)*), and much of the onscreen text in *How to Sell Drugs Online (Fast)*, such as Facebook posts, text/Facebook messages between otherwise German-speaking characters and Google searches, is in English with German subtitles where necessary in the original version. In addition, some programmes directed at a German audience, such as the satirical news programme, *Heute-Show*, produced by the public-service broadcaster ZDF, make considerable use of anglicisms and rely on the audience having a reasonable knowledge of English and anglophone culture, as in the caption ‘The Forst and the Furious’ used on 31st January 2020 to refer to news about the *Hambacher Forst* (Hambach Forest).

As this discussion indicates, the influence of English on German through the mass media has largely been through music, with Germans listening to more music in English than in German and some German artists choosing to sing in English too. The majority of imported television programmes and films screened in Germany, on the other hand, have hitherto been dubbed into German and so English has only encroached on German to a limited extent, mostly through the use of anglicisms, minimal translations and English titles, in the area of television and film. However, with the advent of subscription-based on-demand services for viewing television and film, which allow viewers to watch the original English-language version and enable German producers to reach an international market easily, it will be interesting to see how this develops in the future.

2.6.4 Politics

The main way in which English influences the German language in the political domain is through borrowings. In a study of economic and political debates in the Bundestag in 1980 and 1990, Fink (1996) found 610 anglicisms used in those two years alone and scholars such as Debus (1984) argue that politicians use anglicisms to be purposely vague or neutral. Of course, in international diplomacy, English is often called for, particularly given the close relationship between the US and Germany since World War II and the growth of the EU, but a situation in which German politicians would use English among themselves is hard to imagine. Nonetheless, there is an expectation among the general populace that their politicians are competent in English; people admired Chancellor Helmut Schmidt for his almost flawless English and ridiculed his successor Dr Helmut Kohl for his embarrassingly poor English, and such mockery continues in the present day with satirical shows like the aforementioned *Heute-Show* poking fun at current politicians, such as Günther Oettinger and Annegret Kramp-Karrenbauer, who speak English badly or with a strange accent. Thus in the political domain, the influence of English is largely limited to anglicisms and international contexts, rather than intranational communication.

2.6.5 Law

The influence of English in law is similarly limited to international contexts and anglicisms. Whereas there are very few borrowings in domestic legal areas such as criminal law, a number of anglicisms appear in the fields of international and comparative law, and business law. These include terms to refer to new concepts or products (*Leasing*, *Computer*), terms for foreign concepts with no equivalent in German (*punitive damages*) and names of foreign/international institutions and businesses for which the English name

has taken hold internationally (*UN*) (Berns & Heil 1994). Berns and Heil (1994: 185) conclude from this that anglicisms in the legal domain are not used for their prestige value, but rather to achieve precision and clarity when denoting things. As in politics, German lawyers may use English to communicate with international clients, but for intranational communication, and above all in the courts themselves, German is used.

2.6.6 Is there evidence of domain loss?

The research presented here looking at the influence of English in the domains of business, academia, mass media, politics and law in Germany corroborates Sing's (2007: 256) observation that 'there are pockets of domain-related bilingual users of English rather than a fully-fledged cline of bilingualism' and the extent of English's impact depends considerably on the domain in question. The domains of politics and law are primarily affected by borrowings and people would only communicate in English when dealing with international clients or partners. In the domain of mass media, again the impact of English is largely through borrowing or contact with English through untranslated titles or very literal translations of dialogue in films and television programmes. People do, however, come into contact with English through English-language music and increasingly original version films and television programmes, although typically people have to seek these out and actively choose to watch the English version, unlike with music where English-language songs make up the majority of music on the radio and in the chart. What is also interesting and sets music apart from the rest of the mass media is that some German bands record music in English rather than in German and thus use English for intranational purposes (alongside the aim of accessing an international market). The example of Tokio Hotel who now produce their music in both English and German and release the different

language versions simultaneously shows, however, that there is still a market for German-language music in Germany and suggests that the intranational use of English in the music industry does not go entirely unquestioned. As for the corporate and academic domains, there is evidence of a large amount of borrowing from English, as well as considerable use of English to communicate with international interlocutors and most significantly between German L1 speakers (as in the case of job adverts targeted at Germans in German national papers and communication between German colleagues to discuss research both informally and at national conferences). Like Hilgendorf, I consider these instances of intranational communication in English to provide the strongest evidence for a quasi-diglossia and even domain loss in Germany, and as this discussion shows this occurs most frequently in business and academia, and to some extent in music. It should be noted, however, that both business and academia are highly transnational and translingual domains, which raises the question of whether it is appropriate to talk about 'intranational communication' in these contexts. As in Scandinavia, the corporate and academic domains appear most at risk of domain loss and so the first part of my study (discussed in Chapter 4) will focus on investigating the question of domain loss in these domains in the German context.

2.7 Research into attitudes towards the presence of English in Germany

A final area of existing research which will be considered here is studies of attitudes towards the use of English in Germany and anglicisms in German. There seems to be some disagreement among scholars as to opinions in the wider public. Knapp (1990: 23) argues that most people have accepted the influence of English on the German language through borrowings, but that the use of English for international communication in academia is not

well received, particularly by the elites who lose out, and that the intranational use of English is criticised more heavily because of concerns that it restricts the development and functions of the national language. Wood (2001: 623), in contrast, finds that the use of ‘Denglisch’ (in other words, a mixture of English and German, which arises through extensive use of anglicisms) is deemed worse than choosing English over German in certain contexts. Fink (1996: 33), on the other hand, states that ‘[t]he presence of English vocabulary in the German language is generally perceived as a modern and normal linguistic phenomenon’ and Hilgendorf (2001: 93-94) extends this to say that ‘the presence of the *English language* in Germany [... is also] regard[ed] as a “modern and normal” occurrence’. In view of these contradictions, it is worth taking a closer look at attitudes towards anglicisms and English in Germany.

2.7.1 Attitudes towards anglicisms in Germany

Research into attitudes towards anglicisms in Germany has been conducted in two main ways: through analysing public discourse on the subject, for instance in newspaper articles, on the television/radio and in internet texts, often in comparison to academic discourse (Onysko 2009; Rocco 2014; Spitzmüller 2005), and through surveys of the general public (Hoberg, Eichhoff-Cyrus & Schulz 2008; Stickel 1987; Stickel 1999; Stickel & Volz 1999; see also Pfalzgraf & Leuschner 2006). Studies generally find that critical views of anglicisms are most common. Spitzmüller (2005: 103-104) found in his corpus of 1380 documents from 1990 to June 2001 that 676 (49%) were critical of anglicisms (*anglizismenkritisch*), whilst 35% were value-free (*wertneutral*; no value judgement given), 13% were favourable towards anglicisms (*anglizismenfreundlich*) and 2.5% were balanced (*ausgewogen*; the advantages and disadvantages balance each other out). A

questionnaire carried out by the Institut für Deutsche Sprache (IDS, Institute for the German language), published in the *Rhein-Neckar-Zeitung* and *Mannheimer Morgen* in 1985, found that 83.7% of the 673 respondents thought that German is changing for the worse (Stickel 1987: 290). Of course, in both these studies those with a strong interest in language will be overrepresented since articles in the public domain on language will have been written by people with a particular interest in, and often strong views about, language and similarly the newspaper readers who chose to complete the questionnaire are likely to be more interested in language questions than the population as a whole and their views are therefore not reflective of the wider population. To address this issue, Stickel (the director of the IDS) conducted a representative survey across Germany in 1997, which found that only a quarter of Germans were concerned about the current changes to their language, above all the increase in borrowings from English (Stickel 1999; Stickel & Volz 1999; Zifonun 2002: 2). Nonetheless, a representative study carried out a decade later by the Allensbach Institute found that 65% of people think ‘the German language is in danger of deteriorating more and more’⁴¹ and, of these, 49% attributed this to the increasing influence of other languages on German (Hoberg, Eichhoff-Cyrus & Schulz 2008: 10-11). In addition, 39% of respondents to the 2008 survey said that anglicisms bother them, compared to 40% who said they don’t (Hoberg, Eichhoff-Cyrus & Schulz 2008: 37). Thus negative views of anglicisms are also found to be widespread in more representative surveys.

Such opponents of anglicisms argue that German has lost its power to integrate borrowings and is on the decline, that German has less prestige and that using English often stems from a desire to show off, and that Germans have too little self-assurance and

⁴¹ Die deutsche Sprache droht immer mehr zu verkommen.

do not recognise the value of their language as part of their identity (Zifonun 2002: 6). In addition, Hoberg, Eichhoff-Cyrus and Schulz (2008: 39) found that 73% of respondents to their questionnaire were concerned that more and more German words are being lost because they're being displaced by English ones, 61% felt that many things which distinguish the German language are being lost and 53% expressed concern that understanding is made more difficult as many people do not understand enough English. Pfalzgraf and Leuschner (2006: 6) note that 'the traditional distinction between unavoidable, avoidable-but-useful and outright unnecessary foreign words'⁴² frequently surfaces in responses to the IDS's 1985 questionnaire and that this distinction is a recurrent feature of neopurist discourse. Busse and Görlach (2004: 26) draw attention to how people may dislike particular anglicisms for reasons of phonology, because the word is too conspicuously an amalgam of two languages, or because they are unnecessary or deemed ugly, as is the case for words ending in *-shop* such as *Brotshop* or *Backshop* to denote a bakery. Particular criticism is directed at anglicisms used by service providers in advertisements or communication with customers, such as *Moonshine-Tarif* and *Call-by-Call* in the telecoms industry and *ServicePoint* and *IntercityNight* used by Deutsche Bahn. This is because these are situations which provide fundamental information to citizens and presenting this information in a phrase borrowed from English rather than in German is annoying and misleading for some people (Zifonun 2002: 4).

At the same time, the studies mentioned above clearly find that a substantial number of people hold positive views of anglicisms. In favour of anglicisms, people argue that the borrowings from English are more concise than the often lengthy German

⁴² Die schon traditionelle Unterscheidung zwischen unvermeidlichen, vermeidbaren-aber-nützlichen und uneingeschränkt überflüssigen Fremdwörtern.

equivalents, that anglicisms often express better what you're trying to say, that an international vocabulary makes global communication easier, and that it enables Germans to participate in an international culture of communication and thus reject German narrow-mindedness (Hoberg, Eichhoff-Cyrus & Schulz 2008: 39; Zifonun 2002: 6). Others view anglicisms as enriching the German language by providing more scope for making semantic distinctions (Schelper 1995: 110) and Adorno similarly states that 'A borrowing is always better in situations where, for whatever reason, the literal translation isn't literal'⁴³ (Adorno 1979: 207). Some also write of how loanwords from English have an 'almost magical suggestive power'⁴⁴ (Wilss 1966: 38) or 'an almost conjuring effect'⁴⁵ (Schelper 1995: 124) on non-English speakers and are attractive to young Germans in particular regardless of whether they hold anti-American views, dislike English or have limited knowledge of English (Schelper 1995: 118-119).

Some studies have sought to investigate which sociodemographic groups are more likely to be in favour of anglicisms and an early study by Fink (1977) found that on the whole both men and women expressed positive attitudes towards the anglicisms presented to them. He found, however, some differences between people of different ages: 'thus young people tend to take an objective view of English borrowings in German, whilst pensioners judge anglicisms emotionally above all'⁴⁶ (Fink 1977: 401). Similarly, the 1985 survey conducted by the IDS found that older participants were more likely to think the German language was changing for the worse than younger people (Stickel 1987), the 1997 IDS survey found that concern for language developments increases with age

⁴³ Überall dort ist das Fremdwort besser, wo aus welchem Grunde auch immer die wörtliche Übersetzung nicht wörtlich ist.

⁴⁴ Fast magische Suggestivkraft.

⁴⁵ Eine fast beschwörende Wirkung.

⁴⁶ So stehen junge Menschen englischem Wortgut im Deutschen eher mit sachlicher Kritik gegenüber, während Rentner Anglizismen vor allem gefühlsmäßig werten.

(Stickel & Volz 1999: 23), and the 2008 study conducted by the Allensbach Institute found that 68% of people aged 60 and over are annoyed by anglicisms, compared to 39% of those aged 45-59, 22% aged 30-44 and 15% aged 16-29 (Hoberg, Eichhoff-Cyrus & Schulz 2008: 38). As part of their study into anglicisms in the new federal states, Fink, Fijas and Schons (1997) compared usage of and attitudes towards anglicisms in former East and former West Germany. Regarding usage, they found that those from East Germany use terms such as *Kids*, *Know-how* and *Marketing* much less frequently than their informants from West Germany (Fink, Fijas & Schons 1997: 104). As for the question of attitudes towards anglicisms, they found ‘an astonishing agreement between East and West in their judgement of anglicisms’⁴⁷ (Fink, Fijas & Schons 1997: 106). People from both groups regarded borrowings as well-known, modern, appealing, precise, simple, useful and memorable and only partly boring, meaningless and excessive (Fink, Fijas & Schons 1997: 106). Nonetheless, they found that 41.3 per cent of the East German participants spoke against the use of English words in German, compared to 33.3 per cent of West Germans (Fink, Fijas & Schons 1997: 108-109). The 1997 IDS survey also found an east-west contrast with 32.2% of people in the east saying they find current developments in the German language concerning compared to 24.9% in the west (Stickel & Volz 1999: 21), and this trend was in evidence a decade later with the Allensbach Institute’s study finding that 46% of respondents in the new federal states report being annoyed by anglicisms compared to 37% in the old federal states (Hoberg, Eichhoff-Cyrus & Schulz 2008: 37). Interestingly, Stickel and Volz (1999: 23) found that people with higher levels of formal education are more concerned about developments in the German language: 38.6% of those with at least *Abitur* report finding current linguistic

⁴⁷ Eine erstaunliche Übereinstimmung von Ost und West in der Beurteilung der Anglizismen.

developments concerning, compared to 26.1% to 33.8% of those with less academic school-leaving certificates or no school-leaving certificate. Hoberg, Eichhoff-Cyrus & Schulz (2008: 10) similarly found that those who rate their own German skills as ‘very good’ (*sehr gut*) or ‘good’ (*gut*) are much more concerned that the language is deteriorating than those who consider their German skills to be ‘not so good’ (*nicht so gut*), again suggesting that those with higher levels of education are more critical about developments in their language. Finally, Hoberg, Eichhoff-Cyrus & Schulz (2008: 38) report that people’s level of English also affects their attitude towards anglicisms: 56% of those who report having no command of English say that they are bothered by anglicisms compared to 29% of those who have knowledge of English. Thus previous studies have found that older people, those in former East Germany, those with a higher level of education and those with weaker English skills are most likely to be worried about the use of anglicisms and the general deterioration of German. These final two factors (high level of education and weak English) seem somewhat contradictory since those with weak English skills usually have less formal education. A possible explanation is that these two groups are concerned about developments in their language for different reasons: people with weak English may dislike anglicisms because they do not always understand them or know how to pronounce them, whereas those with high levels of education may be concerned by them (and other developments such as people reading less and the effect of texting and emails on people’s manner of expression) as they change the nature of German and potentially make their own mastery of standard German less valuable (Cameron 2012: 14).

A related issue probed in these studies is whether people believe the German language should be protected. Many of the documents that Spitzmüller (2005: 116) analysed responded to the introduction of the Toubon Law in 1994 to limit the use of

anglicisms in France and he notes that commentators in Germany rejected legal means of controlling language, but nonetheless perceived there to be increasing anglicisation in Germany and regarded this as a problem. Looking at the wider population, the Allensbach Institute's 2008 study found that 50% of the population agreed with the statement that 'the German language should be protected more from the influence of foreign languages and words',⁴⁸ with older people and those with weak English skills being most likely to hold this view (Hoberg, Eichhoff-Cyrus & Schulz 2008: 40).

2.7.2 Attitudes towards English in Germany

As with attitudes towards anglicisms, studies have found differences in attitudes towards English between younger and older informants. The English in Europe project, which ran between January 2012 and October 2014, found that younger people tend to have both a higher level of proficiency in English as well as more positive attitudes towards the impact of English on their lives than older people (Bermel, Ferguson & Linn 2015; Linn 2016). Edwards and Fuchs' (2018) investigation conducted from 2013 to 2016 into the attitudes towards the use and status of English held by 4,000 Dutch and German people found even more sociodemographic factors which seem to interact with attitudes towards English. Participants in their study, of both nationalities, who held positive attitudes towards English tended to be not only younger, but also 'urban, better educated and more proficient in English than their compatriots with more negative views of English' (Edwards & Fuchs 2018: 653). What is most interesting is that they found that views tended to cluster into two groups (a group holding positive views and one holding negative ones) in each

⁴⁸ Die deutsche Sprache sollte stärker vor dem Einfluss ausländischer Sprachen und Wörter geschützt werden.

country (DE1, DE2, NL1 and NL2) and also into two groups when the dataset was analysed as a whole, suggesting ‘that with respect to the attitudes investigated here, participants have more in common with their peers in the neighbouring country than with their compatriots in the other national group’ (Edwards & Fuchs 2018: 657). The positive groups in each country were on average younger, more highly educated, more likely to live in urban areas and had higher self-reported levels of proficiency in English than people in the negative groups. This patterning of attitudes along socioeconomic lines seems to support the argument in previous studies that English divides the population into English-speaking ‘haves’ and non-English-speaking ‘have-nots’ (Phillipson 2001a; Preisler 2003).

Sing (2007: 249) argues that ‘English goes uncontested in some domains and functions, for instance in business and technology, while the influence of English on other domains is met with considerable opposition’. Müller (2019), for instance, notes that the use of English as a lingua franca (ELF) in the field of academia has been met with heated discussion, with some praising it

as a stateless and neutral medium (House 2001) with the power to unite individuals from all language backgrounds (Van Parijs 2013), whereas its opponents see academic ELF as a construct which functions at the expense or exclusion of speakers of smaller languages (Lillis and Curry 2010). Furthermore, others go so far as to predict that the use of academic ELF will lead to a state of academic monolingualism (Skutnabb-Kangas 2001; Ammon 2001).

(Müller 2019: 167)

This was investigated in the German context through a questionnaire distributed among researchers at universities and companies in Germany (Schelper 1995: 102). 24.6% of participants said they have difficulty with reading English, 37.7% find it difficult to understand spoken English and 56.5% reported difficulties with writing English. Nonetheless, 98.6% said that they read in English, 85.5% communicate in English and

78.2% publish their work in English. Thus, researchers report being less competent and comfortable in English than their work requires.

More recent work on attitudes in the academic domain includes Erling's (2004) sociolinguistic study of students of English at the Freie Universität in Berlin. Through conducting interviews and questionnaires, Erling investigated attitudes towards the use of English and observed largely positive attitudes with some welcoming the development of English as a lingua franca on the basis that it helps unite people from across the world and may also lead to European integration (2004: 157, 159, 169-170). Furthermore, her interviews revealed a perception that speaking English offers Germans an 'escape from national identity' (Erling 2004: 9), which is still overshadowed by the National Socialist past, and instead enables people to take on a 'European or global identity' (2004: 43). Nonetheless, Erling's participants 'still recognise the importance of German as the primary national language' (2004: 139) and they criticise the mixing of English and German (2004: 163), with their 'greatest worry [being] that multilinguals will no longer be able to differentiate between languages, and thus will master no one language in its entirety' (Erling 2004: 9). Thus, Erling's participants express belief in the ideology known as semilingualism, which holds that if you let people, particularly young people, mix languages then they end up competent in neither. Erling's findings indicate that mixing the languages, as occurs through the borrowing of anglicisms and codeswitching, is considered concerning, whereas speaking English competently and distinctly from German is seen to be advantageous in uniting people of different native tongues and enabling Germans to take on a European or global, rather than national identity. It is worth remembering, however, that Erling only canvassed opinion among university students who were taking courses in English and so her findings may not be representative of wider German society. Also in the academic domain, Earls (2016) sought to understand 'the motivations behind

[students'] involvement in higher education through the medium of English, their attitudes and opinions on English, German and other languages, their linguistic practices and their view on support services assisting them in their programme' through distributing questionnaires and carrying out one-on-one semi-structured interviews in three study sites in Germany (Earls 2016: 3-5, 7). These studies by Erling and Earls provided inspiration for the questionnaire and interview questions in the present study; Earls, for instance, raises the question of whether English-medium university tuition is 'creating a university elite educated in a prestigious language' (2016: 98), which prompted me to include a question about this in my interviews.

A recurring theme in some of these studies is that 'attitudes to the use of English in society are fairly positive and do not reflect the fears expressed in the media and by language protectionist groups' (Erling 2004: 163). Edwards and Fuchs likewise found 'a general confidence in the status of their national language vis-à-vis English' (2018: 665):

All respondents, regardless of how well-disposed they were towards English, agreed that their L1 is more important and that without their L1 it would be hard to find a job. By the same token, they disagreed that English has a higher status than their L1 and poses a threat to their L1. At the same time, all affirmed that speaking both their L1 and English is an advantage, and that English offers advantages when it comes to finding a good job.

(Edwards & Fuchs 2018: 660)

Hilgendorf (2007: 140) also finds that attitudes towards English are broadly positive, citing as evidence the fact that English is widely used in everyday society and anecdotes in which Germans persist in using English with foreigners, even if they are proficient in German. Indeed, people view English as 'the language of opportunity' (Sing 2007: 254) and the Special Eurobarometer survey of 2012 found that 82% of Germans think English is one of two languages most useful for their personal development and 94% think English is one of two languages most useful for children to learn for their future (European

Commission 2012: 70, 78). It seems from previous studies that many Germans take a pragmatic approach to the increasing use of English in certain domains: they accept that English is a valuable skill to have, but only in addition to their national language, which they continue to see as their primary language. Furthermore, they believe ‘the presence of English in Germany is unproblematic, as long as German speakers maintain a developed sense of their mother tongue’ and are ‘able to distinguish between the different languages they speak’ (Erling 2004: 163). On the whole, previous research suggests that the alarmist warnings heard in the media and often voiced by politicians and protectionist groups should not be assumed to hold true for the wider public and that the opinions of ordinary people are worth investigating.

Chapter 3 – Research goals and study design: an overview

3.1 Main research questions

As noted in Chapter 1, public expressions of concern about English influence on German have become more salient recently, reflecting both an actual growth in the use of English and anglicisms (documented in Chapter 2) and, possibly, the increasing polarisation within German society (discussed in Chapter 1). Against this backdrop, it is timely to investigate whether the trends observed in earlier work are continuing, whether they are changing or whether the answer depends on where you look (e.g. at east or west, and at ‘haves’ or ‘have-nots’). By talking to speakers in a range of locations (geographical and institutional), I aim to find out whether the public discourse of increasing concern (e.g. about German experiencing domain loss, being in decline, or becoming an ugly hybrid) actually reflects widely-held beliefs in the population, or whether the views expressed by Ruge, Spahn and the *Verein Deutsche Sprache*, among others, are unrepresentative. Older research, at least on anglicisms, had a bias towards written/media sources and so my approach will try to bring in more evidence regarding the attitudes and behaviour of ‘ordinary’ German speakers. The present study seeks to address two broad research questions:

1. How much, when, how and by whom are anglicisms and switching into English used?
2. What are speakers’ attitudes towards the use of English in Germany and the influence of English on German, and what impact does this have on German society?

The focus in this study is on the language used and attitudes held by ordinary German people and so the data consists primarily of questionnaires, interviews and observations in everyday settings. Questionnaires were used to gather (self-reported) data on who uses

English, how much, when and at what level, whilst audio-recorded and transcribed interviews enabled an analysis of the assimilation of anglicisms and the proportion of anglicisms used by people with different sociodemographic characteristics. The interviews were also used to answer the second research question, offering insights into people's attitudes towards the use of English and anglicisms. My observations supplemented the data gathered in the questionnaires and interviews, and, in particular, shed further light on when and how anglicisms and English are used. These methods draw on those used in similar sociolinguistic studies carried out over the past 25 years by Schelper (1995), Erling (2004), Lønsmann (2011), Hultgren (2013), Söderlundh (2013) and Earls (2016).

Past research has shown that particular demographic variables - among them age, level of education, proficiency in English, urban/rural or east/west place of residence - affect people's use and understanding of anglicisms, and attitudes have similarly been found to cluster according to certain demographic variables: older people, east Germans, those with a higher level of education and those with weaker English skills are generally more concerned about the use of anglicisms, whilst more positive views of the use of English have been found among younger people who are more educated, more proficient in English and typically living in urban locations (Edwards & Fuchs 2018). Soon after the *Wende* (the 'turn-around' in the GDR in the years 1989/90 which led to reunification), Fink, Fijas and Schons (1997) found that East Germans opposed the use of anglicisms more than West Germans and I am interested to see whether east-west contrasts in attitudes continue to hold thirty years after reunification. I also investigate whether there are differences in the use of English and anglicisms and competence in English between east and west, providing a useful contribution to the field, since 'no academic research exists on the regional differences within Germany regarding English competence and use' (Mollin 2020: 47-48). I therefore ensured I collected relevant demographic information in

the questionnaire and for my interview participants in order to analyse whether these demographic factors affect people's use of anglicisms and English, and their attitudes towards them.

These research questions were investigated in two phases. Phase 1 took its cue from recent work on domain loss in other Germanic languages and replicates work done elsewhere (especially in Denmark and Sweden) on two major domains of concern, the academic and corporate domains. It also built in some consideration of geographical/social differences, with comparisons drawn between speakers of different ages and speakers in large cities as opposed to smaller cities, but was primarily structured around the domain loss question. By contrast, phase 2 focused more on the question of social difference and exclusion/elitism (partly because the first phase, involving professionals and students, was not designed to address this), and was designed in particular to investigate east/west differences and the influence of different levels of education.

3.2 Overview of study design

Both phases of my research had the same structural design just applied in different contexts: I distributed questionnaires, conducted and audio-recorded follow-up interviews and observed language use, primarily spoken language but also some written language, in a variety of settings. In the first research phase, I collected my data in just two domains, the academic and corporate, where most participants, as students/professors or employees, had *Abitur* if not degree-level qualifications, and on four sites, three of which were located in the former West Germany while the fourth was the previously divided city of Berlin. Thus the first research phase considered the question of whether we can speak of domain loss in Germany and investigated whether the use of English and anglicisms varies by

domain, speaker age and whether they live in a small or large city. As will be discussed in Chapter 4, it became apparent from this first phase that it would be interesting to look at the effect of participants' level of education as well as whether they were from east or west Germany, and so the second phase of research, which recruited subjects through local institutions such as schools and community clubs, took into account participant age, location (town vs. city and east vs. west) and educational background.

The exact details of methodology varied slightly between the two research phases, as I made adjustments to my methods in the second phase in light of my experiences carrying out the first phase, and also to accommodate the wider scope of the second phase. For this reason, methodological issues relating to each phase (e.g. selection of sites, recruitment of subjects and securing their informed consent, questionnaire design, interview questions and format, and whether any observation or sampling of written materials was undertaken) will be discussed in detail in the relevant later chapter.⁴⁹ Nonetheless, there are a number of commonalities between the two research phases, particularly in the types of data I collected in order to answer my research questions, and how I processed and analysed them, and these will be introduced here.

3.2.1 Research question 1 – the linguistic situation

The linguistic situation comprises two aspects: the use of anglicisms and the use of English, and in particular how much, when, how and by whom these are each used.

In relation to quantifying the use of anglicisms, the current study drew on the extensive research conducted on the language of the press in Germany and Hultgren's

⁴⁹ All elements of my study were approved by Oxford University's research ethics committee (Appendix II).

(2013) analysis of anglicisms used in lectures in Denmark. I created a corpus in each research phase composed of transcriptions of all audio-recorded spoken language and, in the case of the first research phase, selected written texts. I input all the text into WebLicht, which parsed my data into an Excel spreadsheet. I then tagged each item, indicating whether or not it is an anglicism (see section 3.3.5 for details of how I defined anglicisms), which location it was recorded in and the age of the speaker, as well as other factors particular to each research phase, such as the level of education of the speaker, the text type (interview, company document, lecture or textbook) and which subject area it was from. Having tagged the data, I used JMP Pro 13 and JMP Pro 14 (from now on referred to as JMP Pro as the tests I ran were no different in the two versions) to calculate the proportion of words, both types and tokens, that were anglicisms.⁵⁰ Whilst corpus studies would typically report anglicisms per 10,000 words and log-likelihood ratio statistics, I chose to calculate the proportion of anglicisms as a percentage so as to be able to compare my data with that of Onysko (2007) and Hultgren (2013).

A number of the studies mentioned above identify sociodemographic variables which affect people's use and understanding of anglicisms, among them age, level of education, proficiency in English, whether they live in a rural or urban location and whether they were brought up in East or West Germany. I therefore chose suitable research sites and collected the necessary sociodemographic data through the questionnaire so as to ascertain whether these factors continue to have an impact on people's propensity to use anglicisms. I ran chi-square tests (see section 3.3.6 for more detail) using JMP Pro to see

⁵⁰ For the types calculation, I removed all duplicate tokens that were repeated in the same textbook/document or by a particular speaker so that types used by more than one speaker/text are attributed to both speakers/texts and not just to the speaker/text that used them first in the corpus.

whether the proportion of anglicisms was affected by these sociodemographic variables (Gries 2013: 325) and was thus able to answer the question of who uses anglicisms.

I recorded anglicisms I heard or saw in my observations in my fieldwork diary, noting relevant morphological, phonetic, orthographical and semantic information, and I drew on this, as well as my corpora, to analyse when and how anglicisms are used and integrated into German.

I used a questionnaire, interviews and my observations to gather data on the use of English. I asked questionnaire respondents to self-assess using a Likert scale their proficiency in English, as well as how frequently they use English and German for the four communication skills (speaking, listening, reading and writing).⁵¹ I converted each answer option along the Likert scale into a numerical value⁵² in order to carry out quantitative analyses (discussed in more detail in section 3.3.6), comparing proficiency and frequency of use for different demographic groups to see which variables (e.g. age, location, level of education, domain), if any, had a significant effect. I calculated the mean level of proficiency and frequency of use for different sociodemographic groups and used JMP Pro to run a one-way ANOVA with Tukey's tests for multiple pairwise comparisons, with *y* as the response (i.e. level of proficiency or frequency of English use) and the independent

⁵¹ Note that both self-reported data and Likert scales have some limitations. For instance, participants can interpret the different values along the scale differently – one person's 'fluent' English may be considered 'advanced' by someone else – and people have a subjective view of their own proficiency in or use of English. Nonetheless, I chose to collect the data in this way since more objective methods, such as testing each participant's English skills or asking participants to self-record their daily interactions, might have been considered daunting or intrusive and consequently off-putting for participants, and such methods are also more time-consuming and complex to analyse, and may have meant my sample had to be smaller.

⁵² For proficiency in English, I used the scale 1 = *fluent*, 2 = *advanced*, 3 = *intermediate* and 4 = *beginner*, whilst for frequency of English I coded the responses as 1 = *always*, 2 = *often*, 3 = *sometimes*, 4 = *rarely* and 5 = *never*.

variable (e.g. participant age, place of residence, level of education) as the x-factor. Thus, I was able to answer the questions of how much and by whom English is used.

As for when and how English is used, I drew on responses to the question ‘in which contexts do you use English?’ in the questionnaire and to the question ‘when do you use or come across English?’ in the interviews.⁵³ In addition, I observed language use in a variety of settings, such as lectures and seminars in the university context, meetings at the companies, and at schools, youth clubs, adult education centres and community clubs in the second research phase, and noted when, why and how people switched into English.

3.2.2 Research question 2 – attitudes

Drawing in particular on the work of Fink, Fijas and Schons (1997), Erling (2004), Earls (2016) and Edwards and Fuchs (2018) into attitudes towards the use of anglicisms and English in Germany, the present study seeks to provide a more comprehensive insight into what the general populace thinks about the influence of English on their language. I used the interview responses and my general observations to address the questions of what people think about the use of English and anglicisms in Germany, and the impact these have on German society. As discussed in more detail in section 3.3.7, I identified themes in the data and collated all responses on each topic. I then grouped responses within each theme to see which attitudes were widespread and also to analyse whether there were any commonalities in terms of age, domain, level of education or place of residence (rural/urban, east/west) among people expressing particular views.

⁵³ Note these questions appear in slightly different guises in the two fieldwork phases.

3.3 Methodological considerations

3.3.1 Positionality of the researcher

The questionnaires and interviews (except one in Konstanz), as well as all correspondence and interactions with participants were conducted in German, but it would nevertheless have been apparent to participants that I am British and not German. Interview participants would have picked this up from my non-native German accent, whilst questionnaire participants who I never met would probably have assumed this based on my English-sounding name and the fact I am based at a British university. This is worth noting since it may have had an impact on who volunteered to participate, with anglophiles most likely being particularly keen to contribute to my research. In addition, when expressing attitudes in the interviews, participants may have been careful not to say anything that might cause offence; they may, for instance, have felt constrained in what they could say about migrants since I was a migrant to Germany during my fieldwork, and they may have toned down their criticism of anglicisms or the use of English in Germany for fear this might insult me as a native speaker of English. At the same time, I was aware in my interviews and observations that participants sometimes threw in additional English borrowings seemingly influenced by my presence. In the first fieldwork phase, one lecturer commented, for instance, that she had intentionally used more anglicisms than usual so that I had some data and in one of the company meetings I felt that a participant said ‘exactly’ rather than the German *genau* because I was there. Similarly, in the second research phase I noticed some interview participants drew my attention to anglicisms they were using because they knew this was something I was interested in. My observations are also affected by my background and outsider-status in the research sites. On the one hand, this is beneficial as it means that I may pick up on things which are so normal for people living in Germany that they do not notice them anymore. On the other hand, whilst I make

every effort to be objective, my fieldnotes and qualitative aspects of the project may be coloured by my own experiences and non-German perspective and this should be borne in mind when reading this dissertation.

3.3.2 Observer's Paradox

My research methods also raised the question of how to overcome or at least minimise what Labov (1972: 113) calls the 'Observer's Paradox', particularly in light of my outsider-status as discussed above. By this he means the conflicting situation whereby we wish to observe people's natural language use and attitudes, yet our presence as researchers often makes people more self-conscious and unnatural in their behaviours (Schilling 2013: 96). Since it would have been unethical to record participants surreptitiously, I tried a number of strategies to reduce the effects of my presence. When observing lectures, seminars and meetings, I ensured I had asked for permission well in advance of the occasion and that I had provided information on my project so as to be as transparent as possible. I introduced myself to the lecturer and meeting participants and ensured that they were comfortable with my presence before starting the observation. In more interactive lessons, for instance at schools or adult education centres, I tried to overcome the observer's paradox by participating where relevant in the lesson to make myself seem like a normal visitor (schools, in particular, are used to having visits from prospective/trainee teachers). This meant that I would circulate when pupils were working, supporting them in their learning where possible, answer English-language-related questions and I happily provided input (for instance, in a presentation and Q&A session) on British culture or current affairs. In the community clubs, I participated as far as possible as a normal participant and chose clubs which aligned with my interests and skills

so that I could join in fairly seamlessly. With the interviews, I met the participants in a neutral space (typically a classroom, meeting room, public library or café) and chatted casually whilst setting up the recording equipment. Before beginning the interview I gave participants the opportunity to read the project information, ask any questions and sign the consent form. The interviewees all seemed relaxed – they generally gave full and detailed responses to the questions and many of them laughed during the interview. This may have been partly due to their familiarity with speaking into microphones when using Skype or holding teleconferences so the recording equipment was not off-putting for them.

3.3.3 Questionnaire and interview design

In terms of the questions used for both the questionnaires and interviews (see Appendices III and IV), I drew inspiration from previous work on domain loss and attitudes towards English (Earls 2016; Erling 2004; Ladegaard & Sachdev 2006; Preisler 2003). The purpose of the questionnaire was to understand when and how frequently people used English and German and to see if there were any correlations between this and their age, place of residence, proficiency in English and domain/level of education, depending on the research phase. Thus the questions focus on collecting sociodemographic information and details of language skills and usage. Some questions were presented with multiple-choice responses or a scale of options (e.g. from fluent to beginner for language proficiency) to enable easy quantitative analysis of the data. In questions such as the ones regarding contexts in which English and German are used, participants were asked to generate their own text response. This was to avoid imposing my own assumptions on participants. The interview questions were similarly structured so that they were as open as possible and where I wanted to

probe a particular issue I started off with a neutral question and then asked the more direct question. Consider the following questions used in the first research phase:

- 1) Do you speak other languages? If so, why do you learn other languages?
- 2) As so many people speak English, do people have to speak another foreign language to stand out?
- 3) What are the advantages and disadvantages of the growing use of English in Germany?
- 4) Some people say that the use of English is 'a catastrophe' for the German language or the 'loss of the German language and national identity'. What do you think?

Question (1) gives participants the opportunity to suggest various reasons for learning foreign languages, one of which might be the reason given in question (2) – to stand out in the job market. If participants had not considered this aspect, then question (2) would be asked to obtain their opinion on this. Likewise, question (3) offers participants the chance to focus on the advantages and disadvantages of the growing use of English which they find most pertinent. Question (4) follows up by highlighting some negative opinions which interviewees may not have considered and to which I was interested to know their response. As for the topics covered in the interviews, these were partly informed by the questionnaire responses and partly by the literature on attitudes and domain loss. The questions regarding an English-speaking elite in Germany and what happens if someone finds English particularly difficult draw on the work of Phillipson, for instance, who writes of the 'English-speaking haves, and non-English-speaking have-nots' (Phillipson 2001a: 2; see also Phillipson 2001b; Preisler 2003: 123-4; Seidlhofer 2003: 123; Vikør 1995: 227). Phillipson is concerned about the marginalisation of non-English-speaking sections of Danish society and the resulting problems of social cohesion and I was interested to find

out if similar concerns are expressed by people in Germany. The interviews were semi-structured and, whilst I had prepared a list of questions, I adjusted them or included additional spontaneous questions depending on what participants said. The questionnaire was designed to take 10-15 minutes to complete, whilst interviews were intended to last 15-30 minutes so that neither component would be too time-intensive, and therefore off-putting, for participants.

3.3.4 Transcription

I transcribed the recorded interviews and lectures in standard German using ELAN 5-6-FX, focusing on recording the words used accurately and largely ignoring pauses and phonetic details since these are not relevant for the quantitative analysis of borrowings. One participant used a lot of fillers, such as *halt* ‘just, simply’, *auch* ‘also’, *also* ‘therefore’ and *so* ‘thus’, and participants frequently repeated words when deciding what to say. These were included in the transcription even though they might affect the calculation of proportion of loanwords from English (Johnstone 2000; Nagy & Sharma 2013).

3.3.5 Identifying anglicisms

In order to quantify the use of anglicisms, I first of all had to decide how to identify an anglicism. As the discussion in Chapter 2 indicates, there is no consensus on the definition of an anglicism and so I drew on the literature to devise my own criteria (see Appendix V for a list of the most frequent anglicisms in my dataset, exemplifying the operationalisation of ‘anglicisms’ used in this thesis). Given the uncertainty surrounding whether what Fink (1970) calls complete substitutions are really influenced by English since they contain no English word material, I disregarded these and only included zero or partial substitutions,

including pseudo-loans, which are attested as coming from English in my definition of an anglicism. In practice, this meant I noted any words used that bore similarities to English ones and then looked up the origin of each potential anglicism in the Duden online dictionary (2020) and/or Kluge's etymological dictionary of German (1989). I included acronyms where it was clear the letters chosen reflected the English full name and not the German (for instance *PI&D* for 'Piping and Instrumentation Diagram', whereas the German is *Rohrleitungs- und Instrumentenfließbild*, which would abbreviate to *RI-Fließbild*) and proper nouns where these are composed of translatable and meaningful English lexical material (e.g. *Silicon Valley*). I excluded brand names and global consumer items composed of English word material, such as *Google*, *Netflix*, *iPod* and *iPad*, but included German derivations of these, e.g. *googeln* 'to google'. In some cases, interviewees gave examples or quoted in English and these were not counted as anglicisms on the basis that they are not being used as borrowings. Similarly, borrowings which were produced in response to prompting from me – for instance, in response to the question 'can you give some examples of English words that are now used in German?' – were not tagged as anglicisms as they were not used naturally. Anglicisms that interviewees cited as examples (e.g. of words they used or had a strong opinion about) without any prompting from me were, however, counted as anglicisms; the presence of cited anglicisms in interviews may have slightly inflated the number of types and tokens found in the interviews as these were words participants were talking about rather than words they used spontaneously or unconsciously in the course of interaction.

An issue in the academic context in the first research phase was in identifying the origin of complex scientific terms which are not listed in the dictionary. Such terms included *Borabicyclo[3.3.1]monan*, which goes by the same name in English, but it was not clear if the German was borrowed from the English or vice versa, or whether the terms

had appeared in parallel in the two languages as neologisms drawing on Latin and Greek. Where there was uncertainty, such words were not considered to be borrowings. Gottlieb defines an anglicism as ‘any individual or systemic language feature adapted or adopted from English, or inspired or boosted by English models, used in intralingual communication in a language other than English’ and this brings us to consider the final issue with identifying borrowings: whether to include words whose frequency has been increased due to similar or identical words in English (Gottlieb 2004: 44). Words such as *signifikant* may be used more in current German due to influence from English, whilst established German synonyms, such as *bedeutend*, *bedeutsam* and *erheblich* among others, may be decreasing in frequency. Without past data it is difficult to ascertain whether the relative frequencies of such words have changed in line with the increasing presence of English in Germany. In these cases, the Duden dictionary and Kluge’s etymological dictionary stated the words’ origin was not from English and they made no mention of any change in frequency due to English. Thus these were not considered to be loanwords in the analysis.

As discussed here, there were a number of methodological decisions to be made with regard to the identification of anglicisms. Where there remained uncertainty, the default position was to assume the problematic term was not a loanword from English.

3.3.6 Quantitative methods

Some use is made in this thesis of quantification, but because of the lack of evenness across the data, particularly in the second research phase, I am not relying on quantitative analysis but rather looking for trends and significant differences. In this section I will

explain the different statistical tests I ran using JMP Pro, which have been briefly introduced in section 3.2.1.

A chi-square test is used for testing relationships between two categorical variables and I used it for assessing whether an association exists between variables, such as age, location, subject, text type, domain and level of education, and how much anglicisms are used. Each token in my corpora was labelled with whether it is an anglicism ('yes' or 'no') and with the information relating to the variables listed (for instance, in the first research phase, each token was assigned a subject, either 'business', 'law', 'chemistry', 'computing' or 'literature'). I then set up the chi-square test with anglicisms as the y-variable and one of the potentially associated factors as the x-variable to see whether the observed frequency of anglicisms varies across the levels of the x-variable (in the case of the x-variable 'subject', whether the frequency of anglicisms differs between the different subjects). The p -value indicates whether the two variables are independent of one another or not; I used a significance level of 0.05, meaning that if $p \geq 0.05$ then the two variables are independent of each other, whereas if $p < 0.05$ then there is a significant relationship between the two variables (i.e. the proportion of anglicisms is dependent on the x-variable). In addition to finding an overall result for the relationship between two variables, for those x-variables which had more than two levels (like subject, which could have any of the five values listed above) I calculated odds ratios to compare each value against every other value and thus see which differed significantly from one another. Taking the example of subject, this meant I calculated odds ratios and p -values for business v. law, business v. chemistry, business v. computing, business v. literature, law v. chemistry, law v. computing, law v. literature, etc., and so could ascertain whether, for instance, the use of anglicisms when the subject was business differed significantly from the use of anglicisms when the subject was chemistry.

Analysis of variance (ANOVA) is used to analyse the differences between group means in a sample and I used it to assess whether the means for self-reported proficiency in English and use of English⁵⁴ differ significantly between, for instance, different age groups. I used a one-way ANOVA as I was only interested in testing the effect of one variable at a time on proficiency in English or use of English. Thus I ran separate tests for each of the independent variables, such as participant age, place of residence, domain and level of education. I set up the test with either proficiency in English or use of English as the y-response and one of age, location, town/city, east/west, domain or level of education as the x-factor. As with the chi-square test, I found an overall result indicating whether, for example, use of English depends on location, but also used Tukey's tests to make pairwise comparisons between all levels of the x-factor. In the second research phase, for instance, this enabled me to compare Frankfurt/Dresden, Frankfurt/Eberswalde, Frankfurt/Erkelenz, Dresden/Eberswalde, Dresden/Erkelenz and Eberswalde/Erkelenz to see which locations had mean proficiencies or mean uses of English which differed significantly ($p < 0.05$) from one another. Although the use of ANOVA for Likert scale items is controversial, I decided to use this method since 'there is no consensus in the research community on how to handle this type of data' (Simon 2017: n.p.) and it has been used recently to analyse Likert scale questionnaire data in a similar study by Edwards and Fuchs (2018: 657).

A final statistic I report is the correlation, which indicates the strength of the relationship between a pair of variables. I used this in the second research phase to test

⁵⁴ In order to calculate the mean proficiency in English and mean use of English, I first of all had to convert my categorical Likert scales into numerical data. For proficiency in English, I used the scale 1 = *fluent*, 2 = *advanced*, 3 = *intermediate* and 4 = *beginner*, whilst for frequency of English I coded the responses as 1 = *always*, 2 = *often*, 3 = *sometimes*, 4 = *rarely* and 5 = *never*.

how the use of anglicisms relates to each of proficiency in English and use of English, and also to test whether proficiency in English and use of English are themselves correlated.

3.3.7 Qualitative methods

I also analysed the interview data qualitatively, looking at the opinions expressed regarding the use and influence of English in Germany and whether some views were more prevalent among people with certain sociodemographic characteristics.

To do this, I first of all went through the data manually, identifying recurring themes/opinions or topics of discussion, such as advantages of having a world language, comments on east-west differences and views on whether German should be protected. I then collected all the comments on each theme in a Word document, along with the speaker's anonymising code (e.g. MUN1, EBE4), and analysed each theme individually, picking out the different opinions expressed as well as identifying the prevailing attitude across the participants. I also tried to get a sense of whether particular opinions were particularly common among, for instance, speakers of a certain age or in a certain location or domain. I did this by counting how many people had expressed a particular opinion in the east and comparing this to the west, for example, but with thirty-nine identified themes and numerous more opinions within them in the second research phase alone, this was very time-consuming to do manually, and potentially also inaccurate. I therefore checked my analysis using NVivo 12, a qualitative analysis software package. I created nodes for each theme/area of discussion that I was interested in (e.g. should German be protected), made sub-nodes for the different opinions expressed (e.g. 'yes', 'no', 'German should be maintained, but not protected') and went through all my interview data assigning speakers' comments to the relevant node or sub-node. One of the advantages of NVivo is that you

can import a spreadsheet of the demographic details of each speaker and then generate tables and charts showing how many speakers in each age group, for example, expressed a particular opinion, enabling you to identify trends in who said what. In the first research phase, my interview data was fairly evenly spread across the variables of interest (location and domain) and so I could simply compare the raw numbers. In the second research phase, however, the number of respondents in each demographic group varied considerably for some variables (for instance, 46 adults were university-educated compared to 24 who were not) and so I compared proportions rather than raw numbers. Thus, if 10 university-educated and 10 non-university-educated people expressed a particular view, I did not take this to mean the view was equally prevalent among both groups; instead, I calculated that this meant that 22% (10/46) of university-educated people and 42% (10/24) of non-university-educated people held this view and so it is a more common opinion among non-university-educated people. For some themes, for instance those where I was comparing 'yes' versus 'no', or 'positive', 'neutral' and 'negative' attitudes, I calculated the proportion not of the whole demographic group, but of those who had addressed that particular issue. This has the advantage that the findings are not skewed by participants who were not asked about a particular issue or by those who did not comment on a topic, perhaps because they were interviewed in a group and someone else had already expressed the opinion.

Both when manually analysing my data and when using NVivo I encountered the difficulty of deciding how to code each utterance (i.e. of deciding which theme/node or sub-node to assign the utterance to). This issue often arose with comments about the use of English and anglicisms as it was not always entirely clear whether participants were talking about the use of English, anglicisms or both. Furthermore, participants sometimes intimated that they held a particular view (e.g. yes, there is an English-speaking elite)

without saying it in so many words and it was hard to know whether this was sufficient to assign the comment to that particular sub-node. Similarly, when grouping comments by whether they are positive, negative or neutral, there is an element of subjectivity in whether one regards an utterance overall as positive, negative or neutral. To alleviate this, I did not assess the utterance overall, but rather coded each individual statement so that it was possible for a participant to utter positive, negative and neutral comments about a particular topic. I coded my data as best I could and checked each theme, node and sub-node afterwards to double-check more problematic comments and ensure comments had not been incorrectly assigned by mistake.

3.4 Contextual considerations and the selection of demographic variables

As mentioned at the start of this chapter, I am investigating how attitudes and behaviours regarding anglicisms and English relate to a number of demographic variables which have been found to be relevant in earlier studies, namely age, east/west, urban/rural location and level of education. In doing so, my study addresses subnational variation, an issue highlighted by Mollin (2020: 48):

Research on the role of English in Germany, and in Europe generally, should thus pay more attention not only to national but to the subnational levels, and in particular to social class (cf. Block 2016, Deneire 2017). “Social class” need not be defined in traditional terms of income and parental income but should take into account those factors that have been highlighted by the studies just discussed in terms of the ownership of English: level of education, international mobility, and residence in urban/rural areas, as well as age.

Although my informants included both men and women, I did not investigate the effect of gender because earlier studies (e.g. Fink 1977) suggested it does not make a difference. In this section, I explain how I defined the demographic variables under investigation and

made other related design decisions before discussing in the sub-sections how contextual factors, in particular exposure to English through education, may affect each of these variables.

Starting with age, I grouped informants into age bands, which differed between the two phases of the study to account for the different overall age profiles. Since all data in the first fieldwork phase was collected in corporate and university contexts, all participants were of working age, 18-65, whereas in the second fieldwork phase I sought to reach a wider cross-section of society and so this second group of participants ranges from school pupils aged 16 to retirees in their early 80s. For the first research phase, I used the age bands 18-24, 25-30, 31-40, 41-50, 51-60 and 60+. The two youngest age groups are smaller to enable distinctions to be made between undergraduate/taught students who are ‘digital natives’⁵⁵ and graduate/research students and young professionals who would probably not have become active users of the internet and social media until their late teens. I then went up in ten-year intervals to enable nuanced age-related trends to be identified. For the second research phase, I used the age groups 16-17, 18-25, 26-35, 36-45, 46-55, 56-65 and 66+, as explained in more detail in section 5.1. I gathered data on participants’ age through the questionnaire and, in the case of interviewees who did not complete the questionnaire, through either asking them or, where a direct question might be perceived as rude, estimating their age group based on other information they provided.

My definition of the variable investigating the effect of settlement size (i.e. urban/rural location) also differed between the two research phases to account for the fact that universities (a fieldwork location in the first phase) are not usually found in

⁵⁵ A digital native is defined as ‘a person who has been familiar with information technology since childhood’ (The Free Dictionary n.d.).

settlements under a certain size. Thus, the first research phase compares *große Großstädte* (with over 500,000 inhabitants) with *große Mittelstädte* (50,000-100,000 inhabitants), whilst the second research phase compares *große Großstädte* with *kleine Mittelstädte* (20,000 to 50,000 inhabitants) (Bundesinstitut für Bau-, Stadt- und Raumforschung n.d.).⁵⁶ More detailed information on the choice of research sites is provided in sections 4.1 and 5.1 for the two phases respectively. I gathered the data on participants' place of residence through the questionnaire – in the first research phase, I used a different questionnaire in each research site and then combined the results afterwards, noting which questionnaires were completed in each location, whereas in the second phase I asked participants to indicate in the questionnaire which, if any, of the research sites they lived in. All interviewees were interviewed where they lived at the time of my fieldwork.

In the second research phase, I included the variable east/west, which I defined as whether the participant currently lives in former East or former West Germany. Of course, some people have moved from one region to the other and I have recorded in Appendix VI details of interviewees who were not born in the region they currently live in, where this became apparent in the course of the interview.

Related to the topic of location/mobility, I also elicited information in the questionnaire on where participants were born, when they came to Germany (if applicable), what their native language is and their assessment of their German language skills (beginner, intermediate, advanced or fluent). In both research phases I included participants born in countries other than Germany and with native languages other than German, but only included them in the first phase if they reported being fluent in German

⁵⁶ In English, I refer to the *große Großstädte* as large cities, the *große Mittelstädte* as small cities and the *kleine Mittelstädte* as towns.

so as to exclude people who might only be living in Germany temporarily (for instance, international students or visiting researchers). In the second research phase, I did not exclude any participants based on their language skills because all three participants who reported their level of German to be advanced rather than fluent had lived in Germany for over nine years. This was on the basis that I wanted to observe the language attitudes and behaviours of people who are long-term residents of Germany and thus reflect German society.

The final demographic variable I investigated in the second research phase is level of education, which I ascertained by asking in the questionnaire what participants' highest educational qualification is and, for the interviewees who did not also complete the questionnaire, I estimated this based on what they said about their education and work in the interview. I grouped responses according to whether participants had been to university or not (and in the case of the school pupils whether they are likely to go to university or not), as this has been found to be significant in relation to recent populist movements. Statistical analysis of the UK's Brexit referendum results found 'that whether someone had been to university or accessed other higher education was the "predominant factor" in how they voted' (Stone 2017: n.p.), with non-university-educated people being more likely to vote Leave, and similar findings have been reported in relation to Donald Trump's popularity: *The Atlantic* reported in March 2016 that '[t]he single best predictor of Trump support in the [Republican] primary is the absence of a college degree' (Thompson 2016: n.p.) and this trend has continued with commentators talking of a 'diploma divide' in American politics (Harris 2018: n.p.). Similarly, the *Süddeutsche Zeitung* reported, following the Bundestag elections in September 2017, that the 'AfD is not the party for

academics'⁵⁷ with just 7% of university-educated people voting for them, and the party is most popular with people with *Mittlere Reife* (a school-leaving certificate taken at 16) (Kolb 2017: n.p.). Thus, it seems that in Germany too, whether someone has been to university affects whether they turn to nationalism and populism in the face of globalisation (of which language contact is a part), hence my decision to focus my attention on comparing the language attitudes and behaviours of university-educated and non-university-educated informants. In relation to this, it would have been interesting to find out my participants' political views and gather more data on their socioeconomic status (which is linked to their level of education – see section 3.4.2), but I felt that asking participants about their political affiliations and income, for instance, would have come across as rude and intrusive.

Another factor earlier studies have found to be relevant is knowledge of or proficiency in English, and this has a strong if somewhat complex relationship to the variables of age, region and level of education, largely because of the way these demographic variables affect the kind of education in English that study participants received. The education system (and more specifically, changing policies regarding the teaching of English) produces potentially important differences between Germans of different ages and (among older informants) those who were educated in the former eastern and western states. Since this potentially has a significant influence on attitudes and usage, it is helpful in the remainder of this chapter to provide some background information on education in Germany past and present and the implications this might have on this study.

⁵⁷ AfD ist nicht die Partei der Akademiker.

3.4.1 Overview of the German school system

The German education system appears complex at first due to the wide range of terminology used for the different types of school at different points in time and in different regions, with each of the sixteen federal states being able to determine its own education system. It can, however, broadly be simplified into primary education, which takes place in *Grundschulen* (primary schools), secondary education, which is split into lower and upper secondary, and tertiary education. Children usually attend primary school for four years from age 6 to 10, with secondary school starting in Year 5 and running until Year 9, 10, 12 or 13 depending on the pathway pupils choose. In the present day, most states have a three-tier system consisting of the *Hauptschule*, which provides general education and prepares students for the *Hauptschulabschluss* (*Hauptschule* leaving certificate) usually at the end of Year 9, the *Realschule*, which provides extended general education examined at the end of Year 10 in the *Realschulabschluss* (*Realschule* leaving certificate), also called the *Mittlere Reife* or *Mittlerer Schulabschluss*, and the *Gymnasium*, which spans the lower and upper secondary levels and prepares students for the university-qualifying examination known as the *Abitur*, which is sat either at the end of Year 12 or Year 13. In the past, some people attended *Volksschulen*, which were equivalent to a combined primary and lower secondary school providing education for the mandatory period of attendance. In East Germany, all students attended the *allgemeinbildende polytechnische Oberschule* (general polytechnical school) and more academic students considering going to university then attended the *Erweiterte Oberschule* (extended secondary school) and sat the *Abitur*. At the time of reunification, the five new German states regained autonomy over their education system and each reintroduced two-tier or three-tier systems of secondary education, following the West German model (Fischer 1992: 122). In the present, all five new federal states have a two-tier system consisting of a

school which leads to the *Haupt-* and *Realschulabschluss*⁵⁸ and a *Gymnasium* preparing pupils for *Abitur*, and all except Saxony also have *Gesamtschulen* (comprehensive schools) offering all three school-leaving certificates (Studienkreis n.d.).

How students are assigned to one of the different tiers in the secondary school system also varies from state to state. In all states, parents receive a recommendation from their child's primary school in the final year. In some states, the recommendation is non-binding and parents can choose to send their child to a different school type to the one suggested (*freie Elternwahlrecht* – free parental choice). In other states, there is a system of *eingeschränktes Elternwahlrecht* (limited parental choice), whereby pupils attend the school of their parents' choice, but those who have chosen a more academic school than their teachers advised are monitored and, after half a year or a whole year, may be moved to a less academically demanding school (rather than made to repeat the year at the same school) if their development, performance and attitude do not meet the requirements of their chosen school. In other states, it is mandatory to follow the teacher's recommendation (*Lehrerentscheidung* – teachers' decision). Even within states, the system is constantly changing (see Büchler 2016: 64 for a summary of changes between 1985 and 2010), but currently the majority of states have a system in which parents decide which secondary school their child attends (Studienkreis n.d.).

There has been a general trend over the last 70 years for more children to attend the more academic school-types and for fewer children to attend less academic schools. Census figures reported by Schimpl-Neimanns (2000: 651) show that around 6% of West German children aged 14-18 attended a *Gymnasium* in 1950, compared to 30% by 1989,

⁵⁸ These schools are known variously as the *Sekundarschule* in Saxony-Anhalt, *Regionale Schule* in Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, *Regelschule* in Thuringia and *Oberschule* in Brandenburg and Saxony.

whereas the proportion attending a *Volksschule* or *Hauptschule* or who had achieved a leaving certificate from one of these schools halved from over 85% in 1950 to around 37% in 1989. By the academic year 2016/2017 the situation had changed yet further with 34% of the 4.1 million pupils in lower secondary education attending a *Gymnasium*, 21% attending a *Realschule*, 18% attending an *Integrierte Gesamtschule* (integrated comprehensive school) and just 10% attending a *Hauptschule* (Statistisches Bundesamt Deutschland 2018: 12).

3.4.2 Education and social class

Social class maps onto the type of school a child attends, with evidence from the 2000 PISA studies indicating that children from higher social classes more frequently attend more academically demanding schools than children from less privileged backgrounds with comparable intellectual capabilities and attainment at school (Baumert & Schümer 2001: 357; Dollmann 2011, 596). Boudon (1974) identifies two causes of this inequality between children of different socioeconomic backgrounds: class-specific differences in attainment as a result of a family's economic, social and cultural capital (primary effect) and class differences in how educational decisions are made (secondary effect) (Büchler 2016: 56; Jähnen & Helbig 2015: 542). Secondary effects are, of course, more pronounced in systems where parents have more freedom to make decisions about their child's education and there is lively discussion among social scientists as to the respective merits of a system of mandatory school recommendations (*Lehrerentscheidung*) and non-mandatory school recommendations (*Elternwahlrecht*) in reducing social inequality. With most decisions regarding a child's transition from primary to secondary school being based either on the subjective opinion of parents or on the somewhat subjective assessment of

teachers⁵⁹ in their school reports (rather than on more objective measures, such as entrance tests, although these too are affected by ‘primary effects’ of social class), it seems that there is an element of class bias ingrained in the system, which provides some explanation for the overrepresentation of more privileged children and underrepresentation of less privileged children in the more academic schools in Germany. This observation that socioeconomic status and education level roughly map onto one another provides further justification for considering the effect of education level on attitudes and behaviours regarding English/anglicisms in Germany since those with lower levels of education are more likely to fall into the category of left-behind ‘have-nots’ in the context of globalisation.

3.4.3 Teaching of English in schools in Germany

Since all of my questionnaire and interview participants were born after 1935, they all started secondary school, and therefore started learning foreign languages, after 1945 and so the most relevant information on foreign language learning to my study is from the post-war period onwards.

Following Germany’s defeat in World War II, each of the four occupation zones and, from 1949, each of East and West Germany were responsible for their own education policy and so we shall consider the policies in East and West Germany separately. Starting with the Russian zone, which became the German Democratic Republic, it was decided in August 1945 that instruction in a foreign language (Russian, English or French) should be

⁵⁹ Several studies have shown that teachers’ recommendations at the end of primary school are socially selective, with children from higher social classes being recommended to attend a more academic school than their less privileged peers of the same attainment level (Bos et al. 2004; Dollmann 2011: 599; Maaz & Nagy 2009).

compulsory from Year 5 and, from 1951 until the *Wende*, the first foreign language had to be Russian (Fischer 1992: 32, 37). From 1957 pupils who were doing well at Russian could optionally choose to learn a second foreign language from Year 7 (Fischer 1992: 81), although in practice this was compulsory for those hoping to attend the *Erweiterte Oberschule* as it was a requirement for entry to this more academic pathway (Fischer 1992: 41). Pupils sitting the school-leaving certificate of *Polytechnische Oberschulen* could thus study a second language for four years, whilst those sitting the *Abitur* at the end of the *Erweiterte Oberschule* studied their second foreign language for six years (Wolf 2020: 56-57). The second foreign language was typically English or in rare cases French and more than 60 per cent of pupils chose to take a second language (Fischer 1992: 65; Hüllen 2005: 132). After the fall of the Berlin Wall in November 1989, Russian lost its position as the first foreign language in East Germany and from November 1990 Russian was no longer compulsory (Fischer 1992: 103). Thus, everyone who grew up in East Germany learnt Russian and 60% of those born between 1945 and 1974 learnt a second foreign language, which for the majority of people was English. One could therefore estimate that around 40-50% of East German people, and primarily those who took a more academic pathway, who were aged 45 to 74 at the time of my interviews in 2019 had learnt some English in school, and that the vast majority of those born in eastern Germany from 1974 onwards learnt English in school since they received some or all of their secondary education after the *Wende*. Those former East Germans aged over 74, on the other hand, would most likely have learnt no English in school.

In West Germany, however, English was the dominant foreign language, although exactly who learnt it and to what level varied by school-type and sometimes by state, and changed over time. In the immediate post-war period in West Germany the three-tier school system was reinstated, with only German and no foreign languages being taught at

the *Volksschule*, one foreign language – usually English - being taught at the *Realschule/Mittelschule* and up to three ancient and modern languages being taught at *Gymnasien* (Hüllen 2005: 131-132; Neuner 1980: 399). The focus in modern language tuition in *Realschulen/Mittelschulen* was on practical application of the language, whereas this was not the case in *Gymnasien* (Hüllen 2005: 132). The Düsseldorf Agreement (Düsseldorf Agreement) of 1955 stipulated that English would be the first foreign language at *Gymnasien* specialising in modern languages or sciences from Year 5. Exceptionally a *Gymnasium* could teach Latin (as in North Rhine-Westphalia) or French (as in Saarland) as the first foreign language but only if there were sufficient *Gymnasien* teaching English as the first foreign language in the school catchment area. At *Gymnasien* specialising in ancient languages, the first foreign language was Latin from Year 5, followed by a modern foreign language from Year 7 and Ancient Greek from Year 8. The Hamburger Agreement (Hamburg Agreement) of 1964 developed this system further, specifying that a foreign language, usually English, should be taught from Year 5 at *Hauptschulen* (although some states made this dependent on students' performance in other subjects, above all German (Hüllen 2005: 141)) and that a compulsory foreign language, usually English, would be taught at *Realschulen*, with the option to study a second foreign language. At *Gymnasien*, the first foreign language, which could be a modern language or Latin, was to be taught from Year 5, a second foreign language (Latin, French or English) would be taught from Year 7 and a third foreign language could be offered from Year 9 at the earliest (Beschluss der Kultusministerkonferenz 1964). Thus, the Hamburger Agreement made learning a foreign language at secondary school compulsory for all, whereas previously those who had attended the *Volksschule* would have been unlikely to have studied a foreign language. It was also around this time, in 1965, that the nature of foreign language learning shifted from being an academic pursuit

focussed on grammar and literature to being increasingly about communication. This came about because many people were beginning to come into contact with other European languages on a daily basis, not least due to the overseas military personnel stationed in Germany, increasing European integration and the Germans' new travel habits (Hüllen 2005: 140). This means that almost all of my questionnaire and interview participants born in 1954 or later (so aged 63 or younger at the time of the first phase of fieldwork in 2017 and 65 or younger at the time of the second in 2019) who grew up in West Germany would have learnt English in school. The only exceptions to this would have been those who attended an *altsprachliches Gymnasium* (*Gymnasium* specialising in ancient languages), who chose a different modern language as their second foreign language and otherwise learnt Latin and Greek, and those who attended a *Hauptschule* or *Realschule* where English was unusually not the compulsory foreign language. Those aged 66 and over in 2019 may have learnt some English: those at *Volksschulen* probably didn't, whilst those at *Realschulen/Mittelschulen* and *Gymnasien* born in 1935 or later would most likely have learnt some English in school.

In the present day, English is the dominant foreign language across Germany and modern language teaching is offered even earlier, with all sixteen German states teaching foreign languages at primary school. Most do so from Year 3, whilst in six states modern language tuition begins in Year 1. English or French is usually offered in compulsory primary school language lessons and which language is taught varies by state. In North Rhine-Westphalia, for instance, English is taught throughout primary school whereas in Saarland, a state which borders France, French is taught from either Year 1 or Year 3 (Beschluss der Kultusministerkonferenz 2013). Education standards for the different school-leaving certificates were decided upon at recent conferences of the Ministers of Education and Cultural Affairs (Kultusministerkonferenzen). From the 2005/2006

academic year, pupils sitting the *Hauptschulabschluss* should reach level A2 on the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (Council of Europe 2020 – CEFR, see Appendix VII) in a foreign language (Beschlüsse der Kultusministerkonferenz 2004). To achieve the *Mittlerer Schulabschluss*, pupils at *Realschulen* are expected since the 2004/2005 school year to reach level B1 in their first foreign language (Beschlüsse der Kultusministerkonferenz 2003). For both the *Hauptschulabschluss* (Beschlüsse der Kultusministerkonferenz 2004: 7) and *Mittleren Schulabschluss* (Beschlüsse der Kultusministerkonferenz 2003: 7), the guidance specifies that ‘the first foreign language is usually English or French, depending on the educational pathway and the state’.⁶⁰ As of the academic year 2016/2017, students sitting the *Abitur* are expected to reach CEFR level B2 in the foreign language they continue with, which may be English or French, although the guidance comments that ‘This level may be exceeded in some areas in English (C1)’⁶¹ (Beschluss der Kultusministerkonferenz 2012: 11). This guidance clearly indicates that children following more academic pathways are expected to reach a higher level of attainment in English and there is a substantial difference in proficiency between *Gymnasium* students reaching C1 level and *Hauptschule* pupils meeting A2 level. The national guidance does not stipulate whether English or French is taught as the first foreign language, although in practice English is taught much more widely than French and some states do specify in their own state education policies the sequence in which languages should be offered. In Saxony, for instance, all pupils learn English from Year 3 until they sit their leaving certificate exams (Staatsministerium für Kultus Saxony n.d.). Using figures published by the Federal Ministry of Statistics (Statistisches Bundesamt Deutschland 2019), I calculated the proportion of school pupils in Germany who learnt

⁶⁰ Die erste Fremdsprache ist, abhängig von Bildungsgang und Land, in der Regel Englisch oder Französisch.

⁶¹ In Englisch kann dieses Niveau in Teilbereichen überschritten werden (C1).

English and French in the academic year 2018/2019 (see Appendix VIII for the figures used in the calculations).⁶²

	% learning English	% learning French
All primary pupils	60.4	2.8
All secondary pupils	101.7 ⁶³	25.4
All pupils	86.5	17.1

Table 1: Percentage of primary and secondary school pupils in Germany learning English and French in the academic year 2018/2019

The figures in Table 1 are further corroborated by data compiled by Eurostat, which found that, in 2017, 60% of German primary school children were learning English (Eurostat 2019a) as were 96.1% of German pupils in upper secondary general education (which typically starts at the end of full-time compulsory education), up from 94.7% in 2012 (Eurostat 2019b). With virtually every secondary school child learning English, these figures indicate English's dominant role as the main foreign language learnt in German schools, whilst French lags behind in a distant second place.

The discussion here indicates that my participants' level of exposure to English at school is likely to vary according to the type of school they attended, when they were educated and where, with the most notable differences in education being between East

⁶² I took the figures for my calculations from table 3.1 Schüler/Innen nach Schularten, Bildungsbereichen und Geschlecht 1992-2018 (Statistisches Bundesamt Deutschland 2019: 30-46) and table 3.6.1 Schüler/Innen mit fremdsprachlichem Unterricht nach Schularten, Bildungsbereichen und Klassen-/Jahrgangsstufen (Statistisches Bundesamt Deutschland 2019: 90-96).

⁶³ In some cases the number of pupils recorded learning English exceeded the total number of pupils in that type of school, which means that it looks as though more than 100 per cent of secondary pupils are learning English, which clearly cannot be the case. Having double-checked for copying errors in the figures I used and having checked them against the same figures in other tables, I have not been able to resolve this, but hopefully the percentages calculated give some indication of the proportion of pupils learning English and French, even if they are not entirely accurate.

and West Germany. Thus I ask participants to provide in the questionnaire their highest educational qualification, their age and where they live.

3.4.4 Implications for the present study

As the discussion above indicates, access to different levels of education has changed quite considerably in recent years. In 1950, when the oldest of my West German participants would have started secondary school, over 85 per cent of people attended a *Volksschule* or *Hauptschule* and left school with the most basic leaving certificate and probably no knowledge of English as foreign languages were not usually taught at *Hauptschulen* or *Volksschulen* until 1964. By the time of German reunification, however, just 37 per cent of young West Germans attended a *Hauptschule/Volksschule* or had a leaving certificate from one of these schools, and it was compulsory for pupils at all schools to learn at least one foreign language, most often English. This means that almost all of my questionnaire and interview participants born in 1954 or later (so aged 63 or younger at the time of my first fieldwork phase in 2017 or 65 or younger at the time of my second fieldwork phase in 2019) who grew up in West Germany would have learnt English in school, with increasing numbers acquiring a good standard of English as more and more people attended the more academically challenging schools. Meanwhile in East Germany, from 1951 everyone had to learn Russian in school and from 1957 it was possible for more academic pupils to take up a second foreign language, usually English. One could therefore estimate that around 40-50% of East German people born between 1945 and 1974 (so aged 45 to 74 at the time of the second fieldwork phase in 2019) learnt some English in school, although less than their West German counterparts as West German children learnt their first foreign language from Year 5, whereas East German children could only pick up English as a

second foreign language from Year 7. Those born before 1945 who grew up in East Germany would most likely have learnt no English in school. Since reunification, the trends apparent in West Germany have spread to the whole of Germany: increasing numbers of pupils attend *Gymnasien* (in the present, roughly a third of people do so) and ever fewer attend *Hauptschulen* (a mere 10 per cent in 2016/2017). One can therefore assume that everyone under 45 who was educated in Germany learnt English at some point during their schooling, with most taking it as their first foreign language. Based on this contextual information, it seems reasonable to expect to see some variation in proficiency in English and use of English across participants of different ages, with younger participants indicating higher levels. There might also be east-west contrasts: in the west, proficiency in and use of English probably increases more gradually from older participants to younger ones. If there are any step changes, then the most likely one would be between those aged 65 or younger and those aged over 65 in 2019; that is, those who started secondary education after the Hamburger Abkommen of 1964 made it compulsory for all pupils to learn a foreign language compared to those who started secondary education before this was introduced. In the east on the other hand, with the sudden overhaul of education in 1989, one might expect a noticeable distinction between participants aged under 45 and those aged 45 or over in 2019 - in other words, a distinction between those who attended or are now attending secondary school in reunified Germany compared to those who received all or the majority of their secondary education in the GDR. There may also be a further shift between those aged 74 and under and those aged over 74 as the latter would have reached Year 7, the point at which a second language could be learnt, before English was introduced as an optional second language in 1957. Thus, it seems that participant age will be an interesting factor to investigate and there may be multiple pivot points, where there is a significant difference between those above and

below a certain age in terms of their proficiency in, use of and attitudes towards English and anglicisms. I therefore designed my questionnaire to include narrow age brackets of around 10 years and tried to find roughly equal numbers of participants across all age groups (particularly in phase two) so as to enable as nuanced an analysis as possible.

Level of education and proficiency in English go hand in hand, with those leaving school with *Abitur* expected to reach B2/C1 level in English, compared to B1 for those with a *Realschulabschluss* and A2 for school-leavers with a *Hauptschulabschluss*. It therefore seems reasonable to predict that those with a higher level of education will report being more proficient and making more use of English than those who are less educated. However, with the internet providing people of all educational backgrounds with access to English-language media, the question arises as to whether the expected differences according to education level will be found and, in addition, whether there are distinctions according to age as it might be that differences between people of different levels of education are more prominent for certain age groups and levelled for others, such as the young on the assumption that young people of all educational backgrounds make more use of the internet and access more English-language material online than other age groups.

Regarding whether there are likely to be differences in the impact of English between towns/small cities and large cities, based on the discussion of the education system, one would expect no significant differences as education is intended to be even within federal states (although differences in policies and standards can and do occur between states). However, smaller more rural locations clearly have different economic features to larger urban locations – the GDP per capita is, for instance, lower in rural regions (*ländliche Regionen*) than urban ones (*kreisfreie Städte*) (Braml & Felbermayr 2018: 39), and rural populations are typically older and less educated than urban populations - and one might expect people in more urban, cosmopolitan places to make

more use of English and anglicisms and be more proficient in the language than people in more rural locations where they would have less contact with international people. This is, indeed, what the Special Eurobarometer (European Commission 2012: 24) finds for Europe as a whole: people who live in large towns are more likely to rate their level of ability in English as ‘very good’ when compared with those living in rural villages. Again, the fact that the internet enables people across Germany to access English-language material and English-speaking communities casts doubt on whether this urban-rural contrast persists. I, therefore, compare locations of different sizes in both phases of my fieldwork to shed light on this.

As the above indicates, it seems likely that there will be differences between those brought up in West Germany and those raised in East Germany given the quite different levels of exposure to English during their education, with East Germans aged 45 or over probably being weaker in English and less used to using it than their West German counterparts. On the basis of schooling, one would not expect any difference between people aged under 45 who were raised in the former East or former West. Nonetheless, one might surmise that people living in former West Germany are confronted with English more often in their daily lives than those in former East Germany (due to more foreigners living in the west and more international firms, which may well use English for some of their work, having offices and their German headquarters in western parts of Germany), and therefore have higher levels of proficiency in and use of English. The question of whether the impact of English on German is different in eastern and western Germany will be investigated in the second research phase.

3.5 Conclusion

Having set out my research questions, outlined my study design and discussed some methodological and contextual considerations, the next two chapters look at the findings across the two research phases. Chapter 4 discusses the first research phase, looking at the relationship between English and German in academic and corporate domains, and provides an analysis of whether the impact of English on German varies by city size, participant age, domain, subject under discussion or means of communication (written or spoken). The second research phase, discussed in Chapter 5, widens the scope to include a comparison according to level of education and east/west location.

Chapter 4 – The relationship between English and German in academic and corporate domains

Drawing on the research discussed in section 1.5, the first research phase was designed to replicate and extend work on the academic and corporate domains conducted in the Nordic countries. In this chapter, I outline how I carried out the fieldwork (see sections 4.1 and 4.2), present my findings relating to the first phase of this study (sections 4.3 to 4.5), and discuss these findings, as well as their implications for the second research phase (section 4.6).

4.1 Planning and preparation

The first research phase involved visits to two universities and two companies, with one university and one company located in a *große Großstadt* (a city with more than 500,000 inhabitants) and the other located in a *große Mittelstadt* (a city with 50,000-100,000 inhabitants), as depicted in Figure 4 (Bundesinstitut für Bau-, Stadt- und Raumforschung n.d.).⁶⁴ This was on the basis that the influence of English may be different in a large, cosmopolitan and international city as opposed to in a smaller, more provincial city. With these requirements in mind, I approached a number of universities in Germany and chose to visit the two most willing to support my project: the University of Konstanz and the Ludwig Maximilian University in Munich. Konstanz has approximately 83,000 inhabitants, whilst Munich is the third largest city in Germany with a population of 1.5 million. Finding suitable companies to visit was considerably harder as many of the companies I contacted were worried about data protection and breaches of confidentiality.

⁶⁴ In English, I refer to the *große Großstädte* as large cities and the *große Mittelstädte* as small cities.

Many of them also did not have the resources to organise my visit as in some cases this would have involved a large amount of administrative work and getting the permission of the employee council (*Betriebsrat*). I had initially intended to visit two firms in the same or similar industries, but as a result of these difficulties in finding suitable companies, I had to be more flexible in this and ended up visiting an international law firm in Berlin and an international chemical company in Hanau. Although I had to compromise on the industries, the companies' locations matched my requirements: Berlin is a metropolis with 3.7 million people, whilst Hanau is a small city with a population of 93,000. Unfortunately not all of my research requests were granted: at the Berlin law firm I was allowed to administer questionnaires and conduct a number of interviews, but I was not given permission to attend any meetings, observe the working environment or look at any company documents. This was unfortunate, but was compensated for by the extensive access I had to the company in Hanau.



Figure 4: Map of research sites (Nations Online Project n.d.)

This research phase had four components: observations and (where possible) audio-recordings of lectures and seminars (in the university context) and meetings (in the business context); analysis of language used in textbooks and company documents; questionnaires about language use; and one-on-one semi-structured interviews regarding

language attitudes, which were audio-recorded.⁶⁵ As with Hultgren's (2013) study, the first five minutes of undergraduate lectures in German were recorded and transcribed,⁶⁶ and the proportion of lexical borrowings (tokens)⁶⁷ was calculated. Following Söderlundh's (2013) research into the use of English as a language of instruction, Bachelor- and Masters-level lectures and seminars held in English were observed to ascertain whether any German was used alongside the official teaching language and, if so, what prompted these switches into German. In the corporate context, I took inspiration from Lønsmann's (2011) study at a Danish pharmaceutical company. Despite Rathmann's (2007: 120) comments that it would be interesting but impractical to look at internal and external business communication in the form of letters, emails, meetings and conversations, Lønsmann was able to collect such data and the present study does the same in the German context but on a smaller scale. An online questionnaire was created on Online Surveys (www.onlinesurveys.ac.uk) to determine students', academic staff's and company employees' level in English and German and when they use each language (Appendix III.i-iv). In the university context, I emailed the questionnaire link to the lecturers I observed, asking them to complete the questionnaire and forward the link to their students or put it on the board in a teaching session, whilst in the corporate settings I asked my contact at each company to forward the link to their colleagues. Semi-structured interviews were used to gain a more detailed understanding of people's motivations for learning English and other foreign languages and their attitudes towards the growing use of English and anglicisms in Germany

⁶⁵ Two interviews could not be recorded for logistical reasons and so I made detailed notes and wrote these up as soon as possible after the interview.

⁶⁶ I discarded any lectures for which the sound quality was so poor that I could only transcribe less than 75% of the speech.

⁶⁷ Analysing tokens, not types, has drawbacks such as the fact it overestimates the actual number of anglicisms since the same anglicism may be repeated multiple times. Nonetheless, I chose to calculate the proportion of tokens used in lectures so as to replicate Hultgren's study and be able to compare my results to hers. I have analysed the proportion of types and tokens elsewhere in my study.

(Appendix IV.i-ii). In the university contexts, interviewees were recruited via the final question of the questionnaire, which asked if respondents would be willing to participate in a follow-up interview; if so, they were requested to provide their email address. I then emailed the individuals and arranged interviews at mutually convenient times on the university campus. Take-up of the interview invitation was fairly low (8% of questionnaire participants at the universities also took part in an interview) because students and professors were busy preparing for the end-of-semester exams, and the interview findings should be read with this in mind. In the company contexts, my contacts at the firms emailed their colleagues looking for willing participants and scheduled the interviews for me. Although interviewees in the companies were encouraged to complete the questionnaire as well, not all of them did. Participation was voluntary and I ensured all participants read the information sheet and signed the consent form before including them in the study. I have anonymised the lecture data by assigning each lecturer an ID code: KProf1 – KProf4 for lecturers in Konstanz and MProf1 – MProf5 for lecturers in Munich. Similarly, I assigned each interviewee a unique code, such as HAN1, which indicates that this speaker was based in Hanau. When quoting interview participants, I also indicate the interviewee's age (where relevant and where this is not already given in the text) by prefixing this to their unique code, as in 51-60HAN1, which means that speaker one in Hanau is aged 51-60.

A consideration with planning the interviews was whether to use one-on-one interviews or group interviews. Group interviews have the advantage that participants interact more with one another than with the interviewer and are more likely to speak in a relaxed and natural manner (Schilling 2013: 110). The downside is that multi-party interactions often involve participants interrupting and talking over each other, making them more difficult to transcribe. Group interviews would also have been logistically more

challenging to organise at the two universities; I was only in each location for a limited period of time and I was reliant on questionnaire respondents volunteering to participate in an interview and on us being able to find a mutually convenient time. One-on-one interviews made sense from a logistical point of view, but also from a methodological one: I was able to obtain high-quality recorded speech, which seemed fairly natural and which was relatively simple to transcribe.

4.2 Data collection

The fieldwork was carried out in July and August 2017. I spent six days at the University of Konstanz, in which time I attended eight lectures and two seminars across computing, chemistry and German literature. All lectures and seminars were in German with the exception of the chemistry Masters course, which I was told was often a mixture of English and German (depending on the language capabilities of the attendees), although from my observation it was predominantly in English. I distributed my questionnaire online and received 41 responses from people aged 18-60+ (though most were aged 18-30) in the faculties of literature, history, computing, sociology and economics. I conducted five interviews (three with students and two with professors in computing and English literature) and had less formal, but nonetheless informative, conversations with some physics graduate students I met during their coffee break and with my host family in Friedrichshafen. The first interview was conducted in English – partly because the participant was clearly very keen to speak in English and partly because I had not decided at that point which language I would rather use. For subsequent interviews I ensured we spoke German so that I could observe participants' use of the German language and any signs of anglicisms or other influences from English.

I spent six days at the Ludwig Maximilian University (LMU) in Munich and attended twelve lectures and one seminar across the natural sciences (chemistry and physics), computing and literary studies (English, Scandinavian and German literature, and creative writing). Two of the computing lectures were in English as were two of the literature lectures. From speaking to students and faculty members, it was apparent that *Anglistik* (English language and literature) is taught in English and the literature lectures I attended that were delivered in English dealt with English literature. The other teaching session I attended in English was an English for Physics class, which is designed to develop students' academic fluency in English. Such courses are offered at the LMU for a number of subjects, including chemistry and biology. I distributed my questionnaire online and received 66 responses from people aged 18-60+ (though 89.5% were aged 18-30) in the faculties of computing, literature (English, Slavic, Nordic, German), history, biology and chemistry. I conducted four interviews at the LMU with three students and one professor all in the literature faculty.

I looked at a sample of introductory undergraduate textbooks from computing, chemistry and literary studies (Appendix IX). I compiled the list of textbooks whilst at the University of Konstanz by asking a professor of literary studies to suggest core textbooks for the study of literature, asking a graduate student of chemistry to do the same for chemistry and looking up the introductory reading in the undergraduate handbook for students of computing. (No equivalent handbook with reading suggestions was available for chemistry or literary studies, which is why I approached members of the faculty.) I scanned a sample of pages from the most recent edition of each textbook that was available in the university library. The sample was either 5 per cent of the textbook or 20 pages, whichever was the smaller amount so as to stay within copyright regulations and keep the volume of data manageable. In some cases, there were scanning errors, which I only

discovered after leaving the research site and so for some textbooks 18 pages are used rather than the intended 20. The pages were selected at even intervals across the textbook, starting on a random page in the contents section. Although I used reading suggestions from Konstanz, for logistical reasons I actually accessed the books at the university in Munich.

I visited a law firm in Berlin to conduct 5 interviews with employees. I had hoped to spend more time in the office making observations, but for confidentiality reasons this was not possible. The questionnaire was only distributed to the interview participants, of whom 4 completed it. They were all aged 25-40 and worked in IP/IT, telecoms and corporate law. The law firm was founded in Germany and dates back to the late 1700s. It has had offices internationally since the 1990s and now has 33 offices spread over 19 countries in places as diverse as Vietnam, Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, Indonesia, China, the United States, as well as a number of European countries. The office language is German.

I spent three days at a chemical company in Hanau (a *große Mittelstadt* just outside Frankfurt am Main). The company is based in Germany, but it is active in over 100 countries around the world and operates production plants in 25 countries. The office language is German. My contact there was based in the legal department so the majority of people I met informally were lawyers or administrative staff in the legal department. The questionnaire was distributed to colleagues of my contact across a range of departments. 28 people completed the questionnaire. They were aged 18-60 (with the largest two age groups being 41-50 at 40.7% and 51-60 at 25.9%) and worked in venture capital, household care, animal health and nutrition, law, nutrition and care, sales, channel management and marketing. My contact also arranged for me to conduct six interviews with people working in different branches of the business and in different roles, including

a senior lawyer, an engineer, employees working in procurement and exports, and a legal secretary. Some, but not all, of the interviewees also completed the questionnaire. In addition, I attended three meetings, one in English and two in German. The English-language meeting was on the business side of the company (venture capital), one German-language meeting was a team meeting between lawyers and the other was more focused on computing as it addressed improvements to the database system. I also got to listen in briefly on a phone call between my contact and a colleague. I was provided with printouts of some emails, an intranet page, a template supply contract and some presentation slides, as well as the employee magazine and the employee council's publication.

Table 2 provides a summary of all the data collected in the academic and corporate domains and more detailed information, including the age and subject of each speaker and the number of tokens and types for each audio-recorded speech event and written document, can be found in Appendix X. As Table 2 indicates, I collected much more data in the academic than corporate domain and within the corporate domain the data is very unevenly distributed between Berlin and Hanau. Where samples are very small or very mismatched, there is obviously a need for caution, and I therefore focus much of my analysis on the interview data, which is the most comparable across the four research sites.

Location	Completed questionnaires	Completed interviews	Speech events/ interactions observed	Written items sampled
Konstanz	41	5 (4 audio-recorded)	8 lectures (4 audio-recorded) and 2 seminars	6 textbooks (2 for each of chemistry, computing and literary studies)
Munich	66	4 (3 audio-recorded)	12 lectures (5 audio-recorded) and 1 seminar	
Berlin	4	5 (all audio-recorded)	0	0
Hanau	28	6 (all audio-recorded)	3 meetings (0 audio-recorded)	7 (2 brochures, emails, magazine, intranet printout, supply agreement, presentation)

Table 2: Summary of data collected in phase one

4.3 Use of anglicisms in academic and corporate domains

The first research question, regarding the current linguistic situation, is composed of two issues: the use of anglicisms and the use of English, and I shall consider them in this order since large-scale lexical borrowing often precedes domain shifts to the dominant language. There are four aspects to my analysis of the use of anglicisms.

Firstly, I am interested in the proportion of anglicisms used (both types and tokens) and how these figures compare to similar studies by Onysko (2007) and Hultgren (2013). Onysko's study (2007) looked at the occurrence of borrowings from English in the 52 weekly editions of *Der Spiegel* published in 2000. I have chosen to compare my findings to Onysko's because, of the four recent corpus studies of printed news media which calculate the frequency of anglicisms as a proportion, his uses the largest dataset and is the only one to include an analysis of anglicism types, which is the most relevant data for addressing the issue of domain loss. Since Onysko's data was all from written sources, I have chosen to compare only my written data (from textbooks and company documents) to

his. Hultgren's study looked at the frequency of lexical borrowing from English in lectures held in Danish at the University of Copenhagen. She recorded and transcribed the first five minutes of eleven lectures and classes in computer science, chemistry and physics and calculated the proportion of tokens that were anglicisms (Hultgren 2013: 171, 174). I replicated Hultgren's study as far as possible and recorded and transcribed nine lectures at the University of Konstanz and the Ludwig Maximilian University in Munich. I was keen to obtain both comparable data to Hultgren's and to extend her study and therefore analysed two lectures in computer science, three in chemistry and four in literary studies.

Secondly, I consider what factors influence the quantity of anglicisms used and whether there are differences between the two domains under investigation. In particular, I am interested in whether the following have an impact on the proportion of anglicisms in the data collected:

- City size (large or small)
- Domain (academic or corporate)
- Speaker age (18-24, 25-30, 31-40, 41-50, 51-60 or 60+)
- Subject (business, law, chemistry, computing, literature)
- Text type (written or spoken).

To test this, I did chi-square tests using JMP Pro with anglicisms as the y-variable and one of the five potentially associated factors as the x-variable. I also ran chi-square tests for the interview data as it is the most comparable data across all four locations because I have interview data from all four research sites.

Thirdly, I seek to identify trends in the items borrowed, such as which word-types (nouns, adjectives, adverbs and verbs) and which semantic fields lend themselves to

borrowing. As Maienborn and Schäfer (2011: 1401) note, it is difficult to distinguish between adverbials and predicative adjectives in German since these have the same form and position in the sentence: ‘Gudrun ist traurig nach Hause gegangen’, for instance, could mean ‘Gudrun went home sad’ or ‘Gudrun went home sadly’. I therefore combine the categories adverb and adjective in Tables 16 and 17 (and later in Tables 36 and 37), but also provide separate figures for adjectives and adverbs to enable comparisons with previous studies.⁶⁸

Finally, this section addresses how loanwords are assimilated into German and relates my findings to those in previous studies.

4.3.1 Proportion of anglicisms used

The corpus for this quantitative analysis consists of 17 interviews, 7 company documents, 9 lectures and 6 textbooks (see Appendix X). In total, 90,706 tokens were recorded, of which 2,031 (2.24%) were anglicisms. 32,045 types were collected, of which 1,253 (3.91%) were anglicisms.

The comparison of my written data to Onysko’s findings (2007: 113) in Table 3 indicates that anglicisms constituted a slightly greater proportion of types in Onysko’s study (5.80% compared to 4.83% in the present study), but that a considerably larger proportion of tokens were anglicisms in my study (3.02%) as opposed to Onysko’s (1.11%). Thus a wider range of different anglicisms was used in the *Der Spiegel* data, with each anglicism being used less frequently than each anglicism in the present study.

⁶⁸ I used the part of speech tags assigned by WebLicht (2020) to distinguish between adjectives (ADJA and ADJD) and adverbs (ADV).

Study	Proportion of anglicisms	
	Tokens	Types
Onysko (2007)	1.11%	5.80%
Present study	3.02%	4.83%

Table 3: Comparison of my findings to Onysko's (written data)

As Table 4 shows, a considerably higher proportion of loanwords was found in my study than in Hultgren's in both computer science and chemistry.

Study	Computer science	Chemistry	Physics	Literary studies
Hultgren (2013)	1.83%	0.49%	0.30%	
Present study	2.95%	1.68%		1.25%

Table 4: Percentage of English loanwords (tokens) used in lectures and classes

Like Hultgren and in line with my expectations, I found that anglicisms are much more prevalent in computer science than in chemistry (and, indeed, literary studies) lectures. A chi-square test of anglicisms against lecture subject to see whether the differences in proportion of anglicisms between lecture subjects are statistically significant obtained the following result:

Level 1	Level 2	Odds ratio	Prob > ChiSq	Significant	
Computer science	Chemistry	0.5604384	0.0429	Yes	
Literary studies	Chemistry	1.3425116	0.3173	No	
Literary studies	Computer science	2.3954669	0.0015	Yes	
Source	Observations	Degrees of freedom	Chi-square value	Prob > ChiSq	Significant
Subject	4287	2	10.04925	0.0066	Yes

Table 5: Results of chi-square test looking at the effect of lecture subject on the proportion of anglicisms

As Table 5 shows, a statistically significant result was found overall and the difference comes from the proportion of anglicisms observed in computer science lectures being significantly higher than the proportions recorded in either chemistry or literature lectures. Perhaps more remarkable is that lectures on literature had almost as many anglicisms as lectures on chemistry and that the chi-square test showed that these did not differ significantly from one another. However, as a comparison of the proportion of tokens that are anglicisms in the textbooks reveals, there is still a relatively low proportion of technical terms in literary studies that are borrowed from English, as shown in Table 6.

Data type	Computer science	Chemistry	Literary studies
Textbooks	5.74%	1.97%	0.41%
Lectures	2.95%	1.68%	1.25%

Table 6: Comparison of anglicisms (tokens) in textbooks and lectures across the three subjects

Thus my findings reinforce Hultgren's that there is a much higher rate of borrowing in computer science as opposed to chemistry, they provide evidence of more borrowing from English into German than Danish and they draw our attention to the high proportion of loanwords in literature lectures, though notably not in literary studies textbooks.

4.3.2 Factors affecting the frequency of anglicisms

I shall now consider what factors make speakers more or less likely to use a large proportion of anglicisms in their German. The main focus here will be on the effect of factors outside the speakers' control (such as location or domain) on the proportion of anglicisms in their speech, although some consideration will also be given to speakers' awareness of their use of anglicisms.

Firstly it is of note that speakers seem to be aware of their use of anglicisms and they seem to have some conscious control over the number of anglicisms they use. One informant in her mid-twenties commented how her grandfather and even her cousins have limited knowledge of English and dislike it when people use lots of anglicisms around them. The informant, having spent the most recent four years of her life living abroad in English-speaking communities, is aware that anglicisms often slip into her speech and she consciously tries to avoid this happening when speaking to certain relatives. Equally, it seems some German speakers consciously try to use as many anglicisms as possible, as BER4 commented:

Manche Leute versuchen dann möglichst viele Anglizismen in ein Satz reinzubringen, weil das, ich weiß nicht, international oder, ich weiß nicht, irgendwie cool wirkt.

Many people try to cram as many anglicisms as possible into each sentence because that comes across as, I don't know, international or, I don't know, somehow cool.⁶⁹

(25-30BER4, Lawyer)

Interviewees often knew which German word had been replaced by an anglicism (e.g. *Meeting* for *Sitzung*) and they expressed some awareness of the contexts in which anglicisms are and are not acceptable. One interviewee, for instance, commented that friends of hers who were studying to be teachers noticed children using a lot of anglicisms in their German essays, which resulted in them losing marks. Of course, German speakers did not always agree with my criteria for anglicisms. One lecturer was aware that she had used the anglicisms *Happenings*, *Medienhype* 'media hype' and *gendert* 'gendered', but she disagreed that *Trend* was also an anglicism saying that such words 'haben sich

⁶⁹ For quotations from the interview data I collected, the original version is in italics with the English gloss (where necessary) below.

eingedeutscht' (have become Germanified). She justified this on the grounds that it is said with final devoicing ([t] not [d]), as is typical in German, and on the basis that it is now in the Duden dictionary so is now a fully-fledged German word, even though it entered German relatively recently from English. Thus German speakers are aware of anglicisms, even if there is variation in what people consider to be a loanword from English, and they are, to some degree, able to alter their speech to use more or fewer anglicisms depending on the context.

Of more interest is the effect of different factors on the proportion of anglicisms used. Table 7 shows that across all the data, for both types and tokens, subject and text type had statistically significant results, whereas domain only did for the tokens analysis. (City size is not relevant here as the written data (textbooks and company documents) cannot be associated with the cities in question – the textbooks were published in locations across Germany and whilst some of the company documents were written by people based in Hanau, many of them were produced by the company as a whole and originated from other locations in Germany.)

	Observations	Degrees of freedom	Chi-square value	Prob > ChiSq	Significant
Tokens					
Domain	90706	1	4.417305	0.0356	Yes
Subject	90706	4	583.7913	<0.0001	Yes
Text type	90706	1	511.3947	<0.0001	Yes
Types					
Domain	32045	1	0.18413	0.6678	No
Subject	32045	4	323.3685	<0.0001	Yes
Text type	32045	1	172.1704	<0.0001	Yes

Table 7: Results of chi-square tests looking at the effect of subject, domain and text type on the proportion of anglicisms across all the data

As for the interview data, Table 8 shows that domain had a statistically significant p -value for tokens, as did subject for types, but neither city size nor speaker age were significant for types or tokens.

	Observations	Degrees of freedom	Chi-square value	Prob > ChiSq	Significant
Tokens					
City size	28556	1	0.000084	0.9927	No
Domain	28556	1	4.956889	0.0260	Yes
Speaker age	28556	5	9.278194	0.0985	No
Subject	28556	3	6.337322	0.0963	No
Types					
City size	8149	1	0.017469	0.8948	No
Domain	8149	1	3.687489	0.0548	No
Speaker age	8149	5	9.235061	0.1000	No
Subject	8149	3	9.785030	0.0205	Yes

Table 8: Results of chi-square tests looking at the effect of city size, domain, speaker age and subject on the proportion of anglicisms in the interview data

This suggests that city size and speaker age are independent of the number of anglicisms used, whereas domain, text type and subject all interact to some degree with the proportion of anglicisms. I shall now present the findings for each variable in turn.

Starting with the effect of domain on the prevalence of anglicisms in German, the results presented in Tables 7 and 8 indicate that the two domains differ significantly for tokens but not types in both the interview data and the data as a whole, with more anglicisms being used in the academic than corporate domain, as shown in Table 9.

	Proportion of anglicisms	
	Tokens	Types
All data		
Academic	2.34%	3.95%
Corporate	2.14%	3.86%
Interview data		
Academic	0.87%	2.23%
Corporate	0.64%	1.64%

Table 9: Proportion of anglicisms in the academic and corporate domains

I predicted that the less metropolitan locations (i.e. the small cities, Hanau and Konstanz) would show less English influence than the more metropolitan ones (the large cities, Berlin and Munich), but as the overview above indicates, this was not the case. Indeed the figures in Table 10 suggest that whether a city is small or large has little bearing on how much speakers use anglicisms since the proportion of anglicisms in Hanau is significantly different from the other small city, Konstanz, with a chi-square test giving a *p*-value of 0.0087 for tokens and 0.0022 for types.

Tokens analysis		Types analysis	
Location	Proportion of anglicisms	Location	Proportion of anglicisms
Konstanz	0.96%	Konstanz	2.69%
Munich	0.76%	Berlin	2.01%
Berlin	0.71%	Munich	1.74%
Hanau	0.61%	Hanau	1.40%
Large city	0.73%	Large city	1.89%
Small city	0.73%	Small city	1.85%

Table 10: Proportion of anglicisms (in order of size), both types and tokens, for interview data from all four locations

Anglicism tokens were used equally frequently in the large and small cities and, although a slightly higher percentage of types spoken in interviews were anglicisms in the large cities in comparison to the small cities, the chi-square test quoted in Table 8 shows that there is not a statistically significant interaction between city size and prevalence of anglicisms.

Contrary to my expectations based on people’s exposure to English through schooling at different points in time, speaker age was not found to be significant overall for types or tokens. (Although I was able to record the speaker age for the lectures as well, I am not including these in the analysis since there is no comparable data from the corporate domain and this could skew the results.) As indicated in Table 11, the number of speakers in each age group varied widely and, with just one participant in some age groups, I combined age groups into categories reflecting life stages: 18-24 (students and ‘digital natives’), 25-40 (younger professionals) and 41+ (older professionals).

Speaker age	18-24	25-30	31-40	41-50	51-60	60+
Speaker IDs	KON2 KON5 MUN1 MUN2	BER3 BER4 BER5	BER1 BER2 HAN3	HAN4	HAN1 HAN2 HAN5 HAN6 MUN3	KON4
Total	4	3	3	1	5	1

Table 11: Interviewees’ ages

As shown in Table 12, the use of anglicisms is highest among digital natives and lowest among older professionals for both types and tokens, although overall differences were not found to be statistically significant ($p = 0.0652$ for tokens, $p = 0.0925$ for types).

Age category	Tokens	Types
18-24	0.92%	2.41%
25-40	0.70%	1.80%
41+	0.63%	1.59%

Table 12: Proportion of anglicisms used by interviewees in each age category

The difference between the digital natives and older professionals was, however, found to be statistically significant for both types and tokens, as indicated in Table 13.

	Level 1	Level 2	Odds ratio	Prob > ChiSq	Significant
Tokens	18-24	25-40	1.3222324	0.1171	No
Tokens	18-24	41+	1.4517044	0.0213	Yes
Tokens	25-40	41+	1.0979192	0.5960	No
Types	18-24	25-40	1.3475975	0.1514	No
Types	18-24	41+	1.5283283	0.0294	Yes
Types	25-40	41+	1.1341134	0.5341	No

Table 13: Comparison of the use of anglicisms between different age categories

The overview above shows subject to be significant in relation to the number of anglicisms for types and tokens across all the data and for types in the interview data.⁷⁰ As Table 14 shows, anglicisms are most prevalent in computing, then business, chemistry, law and literature for both types and tokens and chi-square tests showed that there is a statistically significant difference between all levels except between law and literature in tokens ($p = 0.9182$).

Tokens analysis		Types analysis	
Subject	Proportion of anglicisms	Subject	Proportion of anglicisms
Computing	3.96%	Computing	7.28%
Business	2.49%	Business	4.27%
Chemistry	1.94%	Chemistry	3.24%
Law	0.66%	Law	1.92%
Literature	0.65%	Literature	1.31%

Table 14: Proportion of anglicisms, both types and tokens, for each subject across all data

⁷⁰ When coding the data for subject, I assigned interviewees the subject they work on. For instance, lawyers were given the subject law, professors of German literature were assigned to literature, the majority of data from the company in Hanau was categorised as business. This is justified on the basis that speakers might be influenced by the subject they are immersed in throughout their working week.

The final factor under consideration is the interaction between text type (written or spoken) and the proportion of anglicisms. Anglicisms were found to appear significantly more frequently in written as opposed to spoken language, as shown in Table 15.

Tokens analysis		Types analysis	
Text type	Proportion of anglicisms	Text type	Proportion of anglicisms
Written	3.02%	Written	4.83%
Spoken	0.87%	Spoken	1.96%

Table 15: Proportion of anglicisms, both types and tokens, for each text type (across all data)

In summary, I found no statistically significant differences in the frequency of anglicisms between large and small cities, and, contrary to expectations, Konstanz (the smallest city) had the highest proportion of anglicisms both types and tokens. Speaker age was also not found to be statistically significant overall, but there was an identifiable trend for more anglicisms to be used by younger speakers, particularly digital natives, than older ones. More anglicisms were found to be used in the academic than corporate domain and this difference is significant for tokens, but not types. In terms of subject, anglicisms are most prevalent in computing, then business, chemistry, law and literature for both types and tokens and there are statistically significant differences between all subjects except between law and literature in the tokens analysis. Finally, anglicisms were unexpectedly found to be significantly more common in written as opposed to spoken language.

4.3.3 Trends in the items borrowed

Firstly it is clear that, as in previous studies, nouns were the most frequently borrowed items with over 80% of all anglicisms (both types and tokens) being nominal, whilst adverbs were the least frequently borrowed items, making up around 1% of anglicisms.

Like Fink (1970), K. Viereck (1980) and Onysko (2007), but in contrast to Yang (1990), I found that adjectives were the second most frequently borrowed items at around 10% of all anglicisms, whilst verbs were a distant third making up 3-4% of anglicisms.

Word class	Proportion of tokens	Proportion of types
Nouns	81.73%	82.76%
Adverbs and adjectives	11.08%	11.09%
- of which adjectives	10.09%	9.82%
- of which adverbs	0.99%	1.28%
Verbs	3.29%	4.15%
Other	3.89%	2.00%

Table 16: Proportion of anglicisms in each of the main word classes

Since nouns make up the vast majority of all words, one might expect nouns to constitute a substantial proportion of the loanwords as they clearly do in Table 16. Thus these results come as no real surprise. What is more interesting is to look at the proportion of all nouns that are anglicisms and compare it to the proportion of other word-types that are loanwords.

Word class	Proportion of tokens	Proportion of types
All words	2.24%	3.91%
Nouns	6.66%	7.61%
Adverbs and adjectives	1.32%	1.82%
- of which adjectives	2.29%	2.11%
- of which adverbs	0.25%	0.87%
Verbs	0.53%	0.94%
Other	0.22%	0.48%

Table 17: Proportion of the different word classes that are anglicisms

With around 7% of all nouns that occur in the corpus being anglicisms, it is clear from Table 17 that nouns are borrowed much more heavily than other word-types. Chi-square tests were performed using JMP Pro to ascertain whether word class has a statistically

significant interaction with whether an item is an anglicism. As shown in Table 18, a statistically significant result was found for both types and tokens.

	Observations	Degrees of freedom	Chi-square value	Prob > ChiSq
Tokens – word class	90706	4	3053.344	<0.0001
Types – word class	32045	4	964.4749	<0.0001

Table 18: Results of chi-square tests looking at the effect of word class for both types and tokens

Thus, it is evident that some word classes lend themselves more to borrowing than others with nouns being most commonly borrowed, followed by adjectives, then verbs and finally adverbs.

There are also identifiable trends in the semantic fields from which loanwords in my corpus are drawn. Anglicisms often arise when new concepts and items are borrowed into German from the English-speaking world and, as a result of this, many of the anglicisms identified are drawn from modern technology (*Computer, online, Memory*), modern popular culture (*Bestseller, Blockbuster, Zombies*) and modern society (*Queer, Gender, Recycling*). Loans sometimes fill semantic gaps in German; for instance, the German word *Geschlecht* can be translated as both sex and gender. To make a distinction between the two, one would have to use an adjective and say *biologisches Geschlecht* (biological sex) and *soziales Geschlecht* (social gender); hence Germans have adopted the more succinct anglicisms: *Sex* and *Gender*. Similarly, further borrowings are derived from English-dominated international domains, such as academia and business. Thus, German speakers use the terms *Sabbatical, Essay* and *Bachelor*, as well as *Meeting, Assessment-Center* and *Jobsharing*. Linked to the anglicisms imported via the business domain are those borrowed from the language of advertising, among them *State of the Art, Highlight* and *stylish*. A considerable number of the loanwords identified are in the semantic field of

sport, leisure and lifestyle; such borrowings include *Event*, *grillen* ‘to barbecue’, *Fitness*, *Trend* and *walken* ‘to walk’. In chemistry and computer science, many of the loans are subject terminology, such as *Elektron*, *Orbital* and *Kation*, and *Hashing*, *String* and *Router*. Some technical terms used in German are abbreviations of English terms: *USB* (for *Universal Serial Bus*), *CPU* (*Central Processing Unit*) and *DSL* (*Digital Subscriber Line*). Many examples of these abbreviations come from textbooks where it is difficult to know whether the abbreviations are pronounced with German or English letters. In the few instances I observed in spoken language, there was variation between English and German pronunciation; I heard *PDF* said using German letters, but *IP* with English pronunciation. English is the language used for programming and coding; hence German speakers use the terms *if* and *return*, among others, when programming and when talking about their code. Alongside the subject-specific language, a number of everyday and now well-established anglicisms were used, including *Partner*, *sorry*, *T-Shirt* and *okay*. As illustrated here, there are a number of trends in the items borrowed with the overriding tendency, as found in previous studies, being for borrowings to be in semantic fields which are developing most rapidly either in English-speaking countries or in the English-speaking international community.

Some loanwords may have been added to the German language because they are shorter than their German equivalents and arguably catchier. Interviewees often said they use anglicisms because they are ‘prägnanter’ (catchier, more concise) and this does seem to apply to some of the borrowings observed. One could say that *Melting Pot* and *Dealbreaker* are catchy and pithy (although so are their German equivalents *Sammelbecken/Schmelztiegel* and *K.o.-Kriterium* (literally, knock-out criterion), respectively). Other anglicisms are considerably shorter than their German equivalents and

may have caught on for this reason: *Fan* (cf. *Anhänger*), *Slang* (*Umgangssprache*) and *Basics* (*Basiswissen*).

An interesting question which arose in interviews and informal conversations was which words are actually considered German and are used by speakers with limited exposure to English and which are a result of people being so used to English that the English word sometimes comes to mind before the German one (i.e. more a case of code-switching). For instance, I spoke with one informant who described herself as bad at English. She used the words *Hotline*, *relaxed* and *nonstop* in her German speech. When talking to another informant who is doing a Masters taught in English, I noticed that she slipped the word *Commitment* into conversation. Although this is now in the Duden dictionary, it is a more abstract word and probably only familiar to fairly proficient English speakers. In this instance, I wonder if her exposure to English (and perhaps the fact that she was speaking to me, a native English speaker) meant that the English word occurred to her first. One interviewee commented directly on this:

My friend and I, we speak English every day at uni and everything I watch online or on TV is English and that is the first thing that comes to mind. A lot of times when I try to say something, I will have the sentence in English and then when I can just say it in English the way I've phrased it already that is a lot easier.⁷¹

(18-24KON1, English literature student)

Thus there is, in some cases, a fine line between code-switching and borrowing with more abstract nouns, such as *Community*, *Requirement* and *Commitment*, being borderline cases, which I would predict are only used by fairly competent English speakers.

⁷¹ This comment and all other comments made by 18-24KON1 were made in English.

4.3.4 Assimilation of anglicisms

Turning our attention now to how loanwords are assimilated into German, the main finding, in line with previous research, is that anglicisms are very smoothly integrated into German morphologically and grammatically, but that some uncertainties remain, particularly in terms of orthography. Looking first of all at the most commonly borrowed items, nouns, it is clear that they are fully integrated into the German language as they can undergo the word-formation processes of compounding and derivation. The loan nouns can take typical German derivational prefixes and suffixes (underlined) - *Grundbasics* ‘fundamental basics’, *Marketingmanagerin* ‘female marketing manager’ and *Teamer* ‘someone in a team’ – and there are numerous instances of anglicisms appearing in compound nouns, including some with linking elements (marked in bold and underlined). As noted in previous studies, linking elements when used with anglicisms are most commonly found on German determinants, as in *Gesundheitsmanagement* ‘health management’, *Distributionspartner* and all the examples in Table 19. Where the linking elements appear on determinants borrowed from English, such determinants typically originate from Latin, as in *Elektronenpaar* ‘electron pair’ and *Ionenradien* ‘ionic radii’, which corroborates Schelper’s observations (1995: 169, 272). The only four instances in my corpus of non-Latinized anglicisms in determinant position having linking elements are *Clusteringsähnlichkeit* ‘clustering similarity’, *Filmeschauen* ‘watching films’, *Filmemacher-Ehepaar* ‘filmmaker couple’ and *Randomisierungsknoten* ‘randomisation nodes’. The *-s* on *Randomisierung* is perhaps by analogy to other nouns ending in *-ung* which bear a linking *-s*, such as *Aktivierungsenergie* ‘activation energy’, *Fragmentierungsreaktionen* ‘fragmentation reactions’ and *Lösungsmittel* ‘solvent’ in my data. The linking element *-s* on *Clustering* may be a sign that more determinant anglicisms ending in *-ing* than just *Training* (the one example Onyko observed (2007: 210)) can take

a linking *-s*, although with just one instance of this in the entire corpus, this is a tentative suggestion and more data is needed to shed further light on this. The determinant *Film* shows variation between taking a linking element and not (as in *Filmteams* and *Filmtitel*), corroborating Durrell's (2002: 503) comment that linking elements are 'notoriously unpredictable'. As the examples in Table 19 show, anglicisms can appear anywhere in the noun, in combination with adjectives, adverbs, abbreviations and other nouns of both German and English origin and they can even occur in words with multiple levels of complexity, as in the case of *Nebenjobsuche*, whose internal structure is [[*Neben*_P-*job*_N]-*suche*_N].

Composition	Compound noun
Loan adverb + German noun	<i>Onlinespiele</i> ‘online games’ <i>In-place-Sortieren</i> ‘in place sort’ <i>Online-Hilfe</i> ‘online help’
Loan adjective + German noun	<i>Binärziffern</i> ‘binary numbers’ <i>Binärbaum</i> ‘binary tree’
Loan noun + German noun	<i>Slangwörter</i> ‘slang words’ <i>Marketingstrategien</i> ‘marketing strategies’ <i>Exportgeschäft</i> ‘export business’ <i>Standardbezeichnungen</i> ‘standard terms’ <i>Hashtabelle</i> ‘hash table’ <i>Startwert</i> ‘seed, seed key’
German noun + loan noun	<i>Kinofilme</i> ‘cinema films’ <i>Hilfsprozedur</i> ‘help procedure’ <i>Funktions<u>test</u></i> ‘function test’ <i>Sichtbarkei<u>test</u></i> ‘visibility test’ <i>Zeitmanagement</i> ‘time management’ <i>Vertriebs<u>recht</u>team</i> ‘distribution law team’
Loan abbreviation + German noun	<i>IPv6 Adressen</i> ‘internet protocol version 6 addresses’ <i>DSL-Technologie</i> ‘digital subscriber line technology’ <i>USB-Stift</i> ‘universal serial bus stick’
Loan abbreviation + loan noun	<i>USB-Stick</i>
Loan noun + loan noun	<i>Code-Review</i> <i>Requirement-Tracing</i> <i>Jobtandem</i>
[German preposition + loan noun] + German noun	<i>Nebenjobsuche</i> ‘search for a side job’
German noun + [loan noun + German noun]	<i>Sensations<u>film</u>titel</i> ‘sensationalist film title’

Table 19: Compound nouns involving anglicisms

In terms of gender assignment, my corpus provides further illustration of there being a number of criteria (discussed in section 2.4.3) according to which borrowed nouns are assigned gender. For example, the noun *Move* occurs with masculine gender, in line with the criterion that monosyllabic nouns are usually masculine and by semantic analogy to its near equivalent in German *der Schritt*. What is particularly interesting are the

comments regarding the gender of anglicisms made by interviewees, who seemed aware of some of the competing criteria and expressed doubt as to whether their instincts were ‘right’. Two interviewees said that it is *das Meeting*, but both followed this up by saying words to the effect of ‘but that’s not right, is it?’ There were also mixed opinions as to where the noun genders come from. 60+KON4, a computing professor, thought that most genders were based on that of the corresponding German noun – hence it is *die Disk* based on *die Festplatte* ‘hard disk’. 51-60MUN3, a literature professor, agreed, saying that *Sex* and *Gender* are both neuter because *Geschlecht* ‘sex, gender’ is neuter. 51-60HAN1, a lawyer, said that this is difficult for words like *Agreement*, which could be replaced by *die Vereinbarung* ‘agreement, arrangement’ or *der Vertrag* ‘agreement, contract’. He finds that *die Agreement* sounds stupid, but when it’s replacing *die Vereinbarung* then he thinks it would be correct. Linguistically he believes that *das Agreement* sounds better (even without a corresponding German word that is neuter) but does not know if that is correct. Some interviewees commented that purists would say that if the gender of an anglicism is unclear then it should be neuter. This seems surprising given Onysko’s observation that 62% of nominal anglicisms in his corpus were masculine, 20% were neuter and 18% were feminine (Onysko 2007: 137). Typically one would expect the default form to be the most frequent and with just one-fifth of nominal adjectives recorded by Onysko having neuter gender, this is clearly not the case here. Despite this uncertainty among speakers when discussing how gender is assigned, there was no evidence of hesitation or uncertainty when actually using anglicisms, indicating the presence of reliable intuitions even if these cannot fully be explained.

In terms of noun inflection, previous research has raised the question of whether *s*-plurals are borrowed along with the noun from English or whether they are applied in German. Many of the nouns in my corpus form their plural with *-s* (as in English): *Survey*

– *Surveys*; *Video – Videos*; *Chat – Chats*; *Image – Images*; *Website – Websites* (even though *Webseite* forms the plural as *Webseiten*). The fact that *Image* and *Website* take an *s*-plural indicates that their pronunciation follows the English. If they were to be pronounced following the German rule that final *e* is pronounced as [ə], then an *s*-plural would not work phonologically and they would most likely follow the well-established pattern in German that nouns ending in [ə] take *-n* in the plural (*Katze – Katzen* ‘cat(s)’; *Seite – Seiten* ‘page(s)’). For the examples cited above, the German borrowing takes the same plural ending as the borrowed English noun, providing some support for the argument that *s*-plurals in German are borrowed from English or formed by analogy with English, but this is not always the case. Examples from the data collected include *Film – Filmes*; *Partner – Partner* (no ending); *Investor – Investoren*; *Transistor – Transistoren*. These plurals follow patterns in established German nouns; for instance, that most masculine nouns add *-e* in the plural, that there is no plural ending for masculine nouns ending in *-er* and that masculine singular nouns ending in unstressed *-or* take *-en* in the plural (Durrell 2011: 15-17). The fact that these nouns clearly undergo usual German plural formation processes and that *-s* is a valid plural ending in German, used primarily with words ending in a vowel other than unstressed *-e* (*Autos* ‘cars’), with abbreviations and shortened words (*LKWs* ‘lorries’, *Loks* ‘engines’), as well as many recent borrowings from English and French (Durrell 2002: 20-21) suggests that the *s*-plural found on many anglicisms is a German morphological feature rather than a borrowing from English.

Past research has also indicated that the genitive *-s* is not applied consistently to anglicisms and there is further evidence of this in my data. Whilst some masculine and neuter anglicisms add *-s* in the genitive (*eines Interrupts* and *des Internets*), there is some variation in application: in the computer science textbook in which *des Internets* occurs, I also noted an instance of *des Internet* (genitive singular, but no noun inflection) and the

neuter noun *Ray-Tracing* occurred uninflected in the genitive as *des Ray-Tracing*. Clearly there is ongoing fluctuation in genitive inflection on anglicisms, and it is particularly surprising that omissions should occur in written texts, where the genitive is still prominent in standard German.

Looking now at adjectives and adverbs, we see that the vast majority of borrowings are smoothly integrated into German. Adjectives in predicate position and adverbs are invariable in form in German and this is also the case for loan adjectives and adverbs:

- 1) ...*da gibt's keinen mehr, der die wirklich live spricht*... 'there is no-one left who really says them live' (adverb)
- 2) ...*das nennt man immer sloppy verwendet*... 'one always calls that speaking sloppily' (adverb)
- 3) ...*um [...] fit für den Job zu bleiben*... 'in order to remain fit for the job' (adjective).

The adverb in example (2) highlights in particular how German rules are applied to loan adjectives. Clearly *sloppy* has been borrowed as an adjective into German because when used as an adverb it is identical to the adjective form. Had it been borrowed as an adverb then we would expect (2) to read *das nennt man immer sloppily verwendet*, using the English form of the adverb. We see that the English rules of forming adverbs from adjectives have not been borrowed into German as there is no sign of a *sloppy* ~ *sloppily* alternation in German. The usual German inflectional rules also apply to borrowed adjectives in comparative and superlative forms, and when used attributively.

- 4) ...*dann wäre das wahrscheinlich schon kein besonders smarter Move*... 'then that would probably not be a particularly smart move'

5) ...eine viel intrinsischere [Motivation], wenn man sie verwenden kann... ‘a much more intrinsic [motivation to learn English] if you can use it’

Both (4) and (5) illustrate how attributive adjectives are inflected for number, case and gender in agreement with the noun that follows and (5) shows a comparative form. In addition, *intrinsisch* illustrates how some borrowed adjectives have adapted their form to fit more typical German phonological patterns. Thus a number of adjectives that end in *-ic* in English have adopted the *-isch* ending in German (*elektronisch* ‘electronic’, *ionisch* ‘ionic’) by analogy with native adjectives, such as *heimisch* ‘domestic, familiar, home-like’. This is probably partly to create the phonological conditions in which the usual adjective endings can apply.

Turning now to verbs, we likewise see that loan verbs are well-integrated into the German morphological system. Verbs are formed following the usual patterns in German. The most frequent German infinitive ending, *-en*, is found in anglicisms (*interviewen*, *booten*, *starten*, *pushen*) and, despite Onysko’s comment that ‘*-ieren* seems to have lost its productivity’ (2007: 230), there were many examples of borrowed verbs formed with the derivational morph *-ier* and the inflectional morph *-en* in the corpus: *trainieren*, *randomisieren*, *kodieren*, *programmieren* and *synchronisieren*. Where the loan verb stem ends in *-er-*, the infinitive is formed by just adding *-n* (as would be the case with established German verbs): *twittern* ‘to tweet’. The loan verbs follow typical German conjugation patterns and are used in different tenses (*Die industrielle Produktion von Milchsäure startete* ‘the industrial production of lactic acid started’ - imperfect) and moods (*interviewt werden* ‘to be interviewed’ – passive). Most verbs follow the usual pattern of forming the past participle in *ge-(e)t*, as in *gemanagt* ‘managed’, *gesavt* ‘saved’ and *getestet* ‘tested’. Here it is interesting to note that even verbs whose English forms end in *-e* as in *managen* and *saven*, which Busse and Görlach (2004: 25), Krome and Roll (2017:

63) and Zifonun (2002: 5) indicate can be problematic, are smoothly integrated into German. Similarly, the verbal anglicisms in the corpus form their past participles in accordance with German prosodic rules, whereby the formative *ge-* is omitted when the main stress is not on the first syllable (Fertig 2020: 201). Thus, I found *getestet* (where main stress in the infinitive is on the initial syllable), but *interviewt* (where the third syllable of the infinitive bears main stress). Looking at the past participle forms of the verbs in the corpus also indicates that some verbal anglicisms are analysed as being particle verbs (like the German verb *aufwärmen* ‘to warm up’), where the formative *ge-* occurs between the stressed particle and the verb, as in *upgedatet* ‘updated’. Borrowed verb stems also undergo derivation and can be affixed by both particles and inseparable prefixes. Examples from the corpus include *durchboxen* ‘to force/battle through’ and *einscannen* ‘to scan in’ with particles and *verfilmen* ‘to film, shoot’ with an inseparable prefix. Thus my observations indicate that borrowed verbs are well assimilated into German as they are involved in word-formation and follow the established rules of inflection.

As I have illustrated, anglicisms are on the whole very smoothly integrated into German in terms of their morphology. Orthography, on the other hand, seems to pose more problems. One speaker said that it is preferable not to have to write loanwords and he said that there are particular problems with hyphens. This is corroborated by the Duden dictionary, which often acknowledges more than one ‘correct’ form of the anglicisms observed. For instance, *Know-how* and *Knowhow*, *Burn-out* and *Burnout*, *File-Sharing* and *Filesharing*, *Home-Page* and *Homepage*. Notably, *File-Sharing* and *Home-Page* have a capital letter on both words whereas *Know-how* and *Burn-out* do not. Presumably this is because *Sharing* and *Page* are nouns and therefore follow the German convention of being capitalised, whereas *how* and *out* are not. Other words vary between being one

orthographic word or two: *Smalltalk*, *Small Talk*; *Smartphone*, *Smart Phone*. German compounds are typically written as one orthographic word, no matter how long they are (for example, *Haftpflichtversicherung* ‘liability insurance’), yet compounds involving anglicisms are very often written with a hyphen separating the component parts (anglicisms are underlined): *Unicast-Adressen* ‘unicast addresses’, *Domain-Namen* ‘domain names’ and *Software-Anforderungen* ‘software requirements’. The textbooks also demonstrate some interesting approaches to the orthography of loanwords. One computer science textbook often writes nouns borrowed from English without a capital letter, as in: ‘den aktuellen top des Stacks’ (the current top of the stack) and ‘ein sogenanntes mehrstufiges paging vermindern’ (to minimise a so-called multistage paging). The first example is particularly interesting as it juxtaposes two loan nouns *top* and *Stacks*, one of which is uncapitalised, the other of which is capitalised and inflected in the genitive singular. Carstensen (1965: 34) notes that words are only capitalised once they are firmly established in German, but it is not clear from my data whether this tendency persists. As illustrated here, anglicisms sometimes follow orthographic rules that are not typical of German, such as separation or hyphenation of compounds and non-capitalisation of nouns, and in this respect they are less well integrated into the German language.

Another observation I made regarding the assimilation of anglicisms into German is that some anglicisms are used in slightly different ways to their native uses in English. A classic example is *Handy* ‘mobile phone’, which has no obvious German origin, yet also bears only minimal semantic relation to the English adjective *handy*. This is one example of an anglicism being assigned to a different word class when borrowed and, from my observations, it seems fairly common for English prepositional phrases, verbs or adjectives to become nominal in German. Rather than saying they are working from home (prepositional phrase), German speakers say *ich mache Home Office* (noun). Similarly, in

English computer jargon, we tend to use *undo* as a verb (*I need to undo that*), whereas in German *undo* is used as a noun: *ein Undo*. The same applies for adjectives in English which are used as nouns in German: one interviewee said ‘Ich finde nicht, dass es ein No-Go sein sollte’ (I don’t think it should be a stumbling block). I struggled to find an appropriate way to translate *No-Go* because in English we typically use it in a different way: it is most commonly used as an adjective, as in *no-go zone* or *no-go area*. Perhaps *No-Go* has become a noun in German partly through the influence of the English noun *no-no*, which shares the meaning of ‘taboo, forbidden’ with German *No-Go*. Finally, the usage of some loanwords can be slightly different to their use in English. For instance, German uses *tanken* to mean ‘to fill up’ (e.g. with fuel), which, according to the Duden dictionary, is taken from English *to tank*. Although the verbs have broadly the same meaning, they differ in their frequency and in the contexts in which they are used. *Tanken* is a fairly common German verb and phrases such as *Hast du schon getankt?* ‘Have you already filled up with petrol?’ do not sound odd, yet the equivalent English phrase *Have you already tanked up?* sounds distinctly unusual.⁷² Furthermore, whilst the English verb *to tank (up)* could be used with, say, fuel or alcohol, the German verb *tanken* can be used with fuel, fresh air, sunshine, sleep and alcohol (Duden online 2020). Similarly, the adjective *easy-going* is used in English to describe people, but in German to describe inanimates, and interviewee 18-24MUN2 commented how young German speakers have started to use *safe* to mean *sicher/sicherlich* in the sense of ‘certain, certainly’, for instance *es ist safe runtergefallen* ‘it definitely fell down’. As it happens, another possible translation of *sicher* is ‘safe, secure’ and it seems that German-speaking teenagers have

⁷² The Free Dictionary (n.d.) lists two verbs involving *to tank*:

- *To tank*: ‘to place, store, or process in a tank; (informal) to suffer a sudden decline or failure
- *To tank up*: (slang) to drink to the point of intoxication; to fill the tank of a motor vehicle with gasoline’.

started using *safe* (with English pronunciation: [seɪf]) as a synonym for *sicher*, but they are applying it to contexts in which it would not be used in English. This colloquial use in German is very different to the colloquial use of *safe* in British English where one hears *that's safe* as an approving statement to mean 'that's good' (British Council n.d.: n.p.). As well as being used differently semantically, some anglicisms are used differently syntactically in German, and this is the case for the noun *Overkill*, which is preceded by the indefinite article in German, but not usually in English: one textbook states that something 'ist für solche kleine Dateien ein Overkill' (it is overkill for such small datasets). Thus some anglicisms take on different word classes, meanings and usages when adopted by German speakers.

4.4 Use of English in academic and corporate domains

The other aspect to the first research question is the use of English in academic and corporate domains. This section considers how much and when speakers in academic and corporate domains choose to use English as opposed to German, and what motivates this language choice, both on an individual level and at a policy level.

4.4.1 Frequency of English use

Given the fears of domain loss to English, it is of interest how much people in academic and corporate domains use English and whether this has become the dominant language in these domains. I gathered information on this primarily through question 11 of the online questionnaire (see Appendix III.i-iv), which asks participants to indicate how often they use German and English when working or studying for reading, writing, listening and speaking. In total 139 people completed the questionnaire. I excluded responses from non-

fluent German speakers, which brought the analysable data down to 132, with 4 participants in Berlin, 27 in Hanau, 39 in Konstanz and 62 in Munich. I coded the response options as follows: *always* as 1, *often* as 2, *sometimes* as 3, *rarely* as 4, *never* as 5; thus, the lower the number the more often the language is used for that activity. The results are given in Table 20.

English				German			
	Academic	Corporate	Both		Academic	Corporate	Both
Reading	1.91	1.71	1.86	Reading	1.67	1.52	1.64
Listening	2.19	2.06	2.16	Listening	1.53	1.48	1.52
Writing	2.45	1.77	2.29	Writing	1.63	1.58	1.62
Speaking	2.73	2.23	2.61	Speaking	1.48	1.48	1.48
Overall	2.32	1.94	2.23	Overall	1.58	1.52	1.57

Table 20: Mean average of questionnaire responses indicating how often participants use each of the four communication skills in English and German in the two domains separately and combined

First of all, it is worth noting that people report using German more than English for every form of communication in both domains, suggesting that despite fears that English has become the language of academia and business in Germany, German continues to be the primary language of communication. In the corporate domain, however, the difference between English and German for reading and writing is relatively small, indicating that businesspeople use English and German almost equally often in written language. The average for reading is also fairly similar between English and German in the academic domain, but there are relatively large contrasts for listening, writing and speaking.

It is striking from the data in Table 20 that people in the corporate domain report using considerably more English than those in the academic domain (overall 1.94 compared to 2.32), and the contrast is particularly large for the active skills of writing and

speaking, suggesting that businesspeople have to generate texts and speech in English more often than students and academics. A one-way ANOVA with Tukey's tests for multiple pairwise comparisons, with frequency of English use for each skill as the y-response and domain as the x-factor, found these differences between the academic and corporate domain to be significant: $p = 0.0018$ for writing, $p = 0.0333$ for speaking and $p = 0.0322$ overall. Despite these differences in their use of English at work, participants in the academic and corporate domains report almost identical levels of proficiency in English (a mean of 1.44 in the academic domain compared to 1.45 in the corporate domain on a scale from 1 = *fluent* to 4 = *beginner*). This suggests that differences in the use of English between the domains are due to the context rather than people's language skills.

Within their English use across both domains, the respondents tend to use passive language skills (reading and listening) more frequently than active ones (writing and speaking). There is also a tendency for written English language skills (reading and writing) to be used more than oral language skills (listening and speaking). In contrast, the participants tend to use German fairly evenly across the four communication activities, which shows that the variation in English use is due to the language rather than the method of communication.

4.4.2 Language choice

It is clear from Table 20 that people switch between English and German in academic and corporate domains and, with the majority of participants in both domains saying they are fluent in both English and German, this raises the question of how speakers who are competent in English and German decide which of the two languages to use.

Looking first of all at the individual level, speakers' primary concern in deciding which language to use (English or German) is the language competence of their audience (listeners and readers). The general rule is that as soon as one person in the group does not speak good German (as can be the case in an international group), the whole group switches to English. I observed this in both the informal context of a physics department coffee break where one member of the group was Japanese and spoke good English but limited German, and in the more formal context of a chemistry seminar, where a postdoctoral researcher present was a non-German speaker from India. Similarly, one literature professor commented that students generally submit work in German, but that they would be welcome to complete assignments in their mother tongue so long as it is a language the professor understands. The interviewees at the law firm also explained their use of English in terms of language competency/preferences of their interlocutors.

Das sind international tätige Mandanten, die halt ihre Produkte in ganz verschiedenen Ländern halt anbieten wollen und halt doch in diesen verschiedenen Ländern auch sicher gehen wollen, dass rechtskonform ist und deswegen brauchen sie halt den Rat auch in Deutschland mal wegen, wollen sie es aber trotzdem auf Englisch haben, damit sie es wahrscheinlich besser verstehen können.

They are internationally active clients who want to offer their products in lots of different countries and want to ensure that they are conforming with the law in these various countries. They therefore need advice in Germany, but they want it to be in English probably so that they can understand it better.

(25-30BER3, Lawyer)

Likewise when visiting the international chemical company, I observed conference call meetings that were conducted in English because some participants were based in Singapore or the United States and were much more comfortable speaking in English than German. Conversely, in all the sites I visited, it was apparent that a group consisting solely of Germans would always speak German together (with the exceptions of 18-24KON1

who speaks in English with her best friend and coursemate because they like English so much, 18-24KON2 who sometimes slips into English for fun with a friend who speaks good English and uses English slang words when greeting friends, and 25-30BER5 who spoke of dipping into *Spaßenglisch* ‘fun English’ with her friends and family). University research groups speak German unless there is someone present who is not strong at German and the everyday office language at both companies (where the vast majority of employees are German) is German. If all members of the group are highly competent in both English and German then the language used is influenced by the topic of conversation. 51-60MUN3 commented that when speaking in a bilingual group about Monty Python, the language used would be English, and when discussing a German cultural topic, German would be spoken. Similarly, when recounting anecdotes in a group of English-German bilinguals, Germans may use German for the main story but code-switch into English to quote a remark made in English. This is both easier for the speaker than translating and enables the speaker to retain the humour and nuances expressed in the original language. Thus when communicating directly with other people, individuals in both domains generally based their language choice on the language competency of their interlocutors.

Speakers also extended this rule to indirect communication and in some cases the language chosen depended on the reach of the text. (In the contexts I observed, this applied only to written texts, such as emails and presentation slides, but it would be possible for spoken language to reach indirect audiences through channels such as YouTube.) At the company in Hanau I noticed that all job titles, company sectors and company-wide initiatives had English names, presumably because they have international reach. Likewise, employees’ automatic signatures, and very often the subject of the email, were in English too, even if the main text and personal sign-off were in German. A common

theme between the academic and corporate domains was that presentation slides might be written in English, but the discussion of them would be in German (if only German speakers were present). This was the case at an undergraduate computing lecture and the professor explained that he writes the slides in English because Masters lectures are all in English so it makes sense to just make them once and reuse them for Bachelor- and Masters-level lectures. A similar justification was given at the company in Hanau: the slides are in English because there is a chance that they will be needed in English sometime later (e.g. for someone who only speaks English) and so it makes sense to draft them in English from the start. Speakers' primary consideration when choosing which language to communicate in is, therefore, the language competence of both their direct and indirect audience.

A secondary consideration is ease for the speaker. Interviewee 18-24KON1 said that 'A lot of times when I try to say something, I will have the sentence in English and then when I can just say it in English the way I've phrased it already that is a lot easier'. This English literature student makes the point that it would often be easier for her to speak in English than German, but that she cannot always do so, presumably because her interlocutor would not understand her in English. Likewise, the computing professor who presented slides written in English but delivered the lecture in German commented that it would be easier for him to speak in English as well. Presumably he spoke in German in line with the policy that Bachelor-level tuition in computer science at his university is in German, which in turn is based on the language competence of the majority of undergraduate students. Conversely, another computing lecturer who I observed giving a lecture in English commented afterwards that it would be easier for him to deliver the lecture series in German, but that he does not because a Spaniard and an Australian attend them. Similarly, a lawyer in Berlin (31-40BER1) explained that the language used depends

on the language competence of the people you are working with but said she ‘arbeite trotzdem lieber auf Deutsch’ (nonetheless prefers working in German). These observations indicate that the interlocutors’ language competence overrides ease for the speaker when deciding which language to use. Furthermore, interlocutors having the relevant language skills is a necessary requirement for speakers to even consider switching to the language that is easier for them. A chemistry professor commented that she would sometimes switch to German to discuss complex things and aid students’ understanding but only if the entire group spoke German. Whilst this is partially pragmatic (there is no point saying something in a language your interlocutor does not understand), it also struck me as polite – the speaker generously does the hard work of conversing in the language that comes less naturally to them in the situation so as to take the strain off their interlocutor.

In terms of language choice at a policy level, there are other considerations at play. For instance, a big topic of debate in Germany is which language undergraduate and graduate university courses should be taught in. From my observations, the current situation is that most Masters courses in chemistry and computer science are taught in English, whereas Bachelor courses are not; *Anglistik* (English language and literature) is taught almost entirely in English at university level and other literature courses are typically taught in German or the language that is being studied. Nonetheless, English literature professors continue to discuss whether complex content should be taught in English as some believe there is always a language barrier, whilst others think that language problems can be dealt with and explained in lectures, making the content accessible for students. A similar concern was raised when the University of Konstanz did a one-year trial of delivering the Masters computing course in English. At the end of the trial they conducted a survey to find out what the students thought and opinion was split into two polar opposite views with roughly equal numbers taking each side. Some found it

‘prima’ (great) – they saw it as good preparation for their career – whilst others said that had they known the course was to be in English they would not have started it in the first place. One reason given was that the content is challenging and it’s difficult to learn this and the language at the same time. Another consideration is where the students being taught are from.

Das Argument dagegen ist, dass wir fast ausschließlich deutsche Studierende im Bachelorprogramm haben und die sogar noch typischerweise aus einer sehr engen regionalbegrenzten Einzugsgebiet. Sie kommen, glaube ich, bei fast allen deutschen Unis so achtzig Prozent der Bacheloranfänger aus ein Umkreis von fünfzig kilometer höchstens oder so was.

The argument against it [delivering the Bachelor course in English] is that almost all our Bachelor students are from Germany and they typically come from a very narrow regional catchment area. I think at almost all German universities around eighty per cent of first-year undergraduates come from within a radius of no more than around fifty kilometres.

(60+KON4, Computing professor)

Furthermore, those international students who have chosen to come to Germany are generally Eastern European (Romanian, for example) and better at German than at English. Having said this, if the courses were to be taught in English then they would be able to attract students from a much wider range of countries and backgrounds since English is much more widely spoken globally than German. Given the current student demographics, however, students and professors were generally of the opinion that it makes sense to teach the Bachelor course in German and gradually build students’ exposure to English so that they are ready to study in English by the time they reach Masters level. Considerations of which language to teach in also affect decisions regarding the recruitment of new members of academic staff. One professor explained their faculty’s dilemma: on the one hand, if only English were a requirement then they would be able to choose from a larger international pool of candidates; but, on the other hand, with

Bachelor courses being offered in German due to the language competence of most undergraduate students, the faculty needs staff who can teach in German. Thus, at a policy level, participants' language competence is one consideration, but so is the long-term goal, which for universities is to train students up to enter the workplace or go on to further study, both of which require people to have a high level of English proficiency.

There was less evidence of language policies at the two companies I visited, although the fact that the chemical company in Hanau publishes its annual report in German, English and Chinese is presumably based on a decision made at a senior level and reflects the regions and markets the company is, or hopes to be, active in. It is also possible that the use of English in automatic signatures, company databases and for all product names and job titles at the company in Hanau is due to company-wide directives, perhaps with the aims of projecting an international image and ensuring that colleagues across the world understand company-wide databases, roles and products. Employees in Hanau commented that each company in Germany has its own policy on the use of the polite form *Sie* or the informal *du* and correspondingly titles and surnames or first names. This is often as the result of contact with English and anglophone cultures, where there is only one form of the pronoun *you* and it is usual for people to address colleagues and business partners (including their seniors) in speech and writing by their first name. In German, this is not the case: one would use *Herr/Frau X* and use the polite second person pronoun *Sie* unless it is agreed that you may use the informal *du* (you).⁷³ Confusion can arise when German speakers have addressed each other by their first names when communicating in English (e.g. because non-German speakers are present), but then they do not know which forms of

⁷³ It is possible that German speakers' contact with English, which makes no distinction between a polite and an informal second person pronoun (both are accounted for by *you*), has led to a decrease in the prevalence of *Sie* (Clyne, Kretzenbacher, Norrby & Warren 2003: 3). It is, however, beyond the scope of this study to assess the influence of English on polite forms of address in German.

address to use when they subsequently communicate with each other in German since typically once you have switched from using *Sie* to using *du* with someone you would not reverse this (Clyne, Norrby & Warren 2009; Kretzenbacher, Clyne & Schüpbach 2006). To avoid the awkwardness of alternating between the two, some companies have a policy on this, such as to use *Sie* and first names, but it was not clear from the conversation what policy, if any, the company in Hanau has on this issue. Sadly my visit to the law firm in Berlin was too short to shed any light on the question of corporate language policies at the firm, although one lawyer said she had previously worked for a company in Berlin where the company language was English because very few Germans worked there. Here the language policy is a practical one, to use a language that all employees understand.

So far I have suggested that the language choice is clear-cut and rigid once the choice has been made, but this is not necessarily the case. Even if a university course is officially in English, some German may slip into the more informal aspects of the class/lecture, but with the same rule applying that German would only be used if all those participating in the interaction are competent in it. I observed, for instance, a Masters-level chemistry seminar which was officially conducted in English. At the start, two students gave a presentation, in which they used English for all speech directed at the class, but used German when communicating quietly to each other (e.g. 'mach weiter' – keep going). Later in the seminar, students worked in pairs on the exercises set and they discussed their work in German, even though the worksheet was in English. Furthermore, although the professor addressed the whole class in English, she often had private conversations with students (to give feedback or explain things, for example) in German. Additionally, the tutor acknowledged that she sometimes switches to German if she notices that it would help the students to speak in German and if all students present speak German. A similar situation was apparent in English-medium computer science and literature courses. In an

Anglistik lecture the whole lecture was in English, as were all whole-class questions and answers during the lecture, but questions in the break when individuals came to the front to address the professor one-on-one were in German. Likewise, following a computing lecture conducted in English, some students asked questions about the lecture content in German and the tutor replied in German. The tutor continued to say the technical terms in English (as they had been in the lecture) and he commented that this was because they were still in the same context (the lecture in English). Had the lecture been in German then he would have used German terms both during the lecture and when taking questions afterwards. Deviations from the ‘official’ language seem to be largely pragmatic – if the interlocutors would benefit from speaking in a particular language and all parties involved are competent in that language, then deviations from the ‘official’ language are permitted, although most commonly in informal rather than formal speech events.

As we have seen, there are considerable similarities between the academic and corporate domains in how speakers choose between using English and German. At an individual level, for speakers who are competent in both English and German, the deciding factor in choosing which language to speak is the language competence of their interlocutors. The language preferences of the speaker are very much secondary to those of their audience. When making language policies in the academic domain, current language competence remains a consideration, but an additional factor is the long-term goal of the institution, which in the case of universities is to train their students in the skills they will need for their future careers. Similarly, in the corporate domain, some language policies are a pragmatic response to the language competence of the company’s employees and partners, some seek to achieve consistency across the company, whereas others reflect the goals of the company in terms of which regions and markets they are targeting. Whilst the conventions of language choice are fairly clear-cut, situations can be fluid. Even within the

context of a class taught in English, there are occasions (typically informal ones) where the necessary conditions are met for interlocutors to speak German, and there are pragmatic reasons for doing so. Thus whilst the formal and regulated parts of English-language interactions in academic and corporate domains are conducted in English, there is code-switching into German around the edges.

4.5 Attitudes towards the use of English and anglicisms in academic and corporate domains

The interview data provides the main source of information regarding attitudes towards the use of English and anglicisms in the two domains in question. As shown in Appendix IV.i-ii, the interview questions approached the topic from a range of angles and this section will pick up on the most important and interesting findings.

In response to being asked what they thought of the tendency for more and more courses to be offered in English, people in the academic domain generally focussed on the positives.

Ich finde es gut, [...] weil alle Informatikabsolventen eigentlich im Beruf früher oder später mit Englisch zu tun bekommen und dann finde ich es gut, wenn sie das im Studium auch schon lernen.

I find it good [...] because all computing graduates will have to use English at work sooner or later and so I think it is good that they already learn to do this during their studies.

(60+KON4, Computing professor)

Ich finde das allerdings sehr gut, weil man einfach so ein bißchen das globale Zusammensein fördert, der Austausch ist einfacher.

I certainly find it very good because it fosters a bit of global togetherness and the exchange [of ideas] is easier.

(18-24MUN1, English language and literature student)

Offering courses in English makes them available for a lot more students, for instance international students, and it makes sense in subjects, such as computing, where English is a ‘Kernbaustein’ (core component) due to the global development of the subject. Likewise respondents felt it made sense to study English language and literature in English. As mentioned above, some people said they liked the system of Bachelor courses being in German:

So finde ich eigentlich genau richtig, weil einige von uns nach der Schule nicht so gut Englisch kann und wenn man das ab sofort alles auf Englisch machen würde, wären sie ein bißchen überfordert. [...] es wird immer wieder eingestreut, aber nicht komplett und so finde ich es eigentlich genau gut.

I think it is spot on because some of us are not very good at English when we leave school and if one were to do everything immediately in English then some people would be overstretched. English is sprinkled in again and again, but never completely and I actually find that exactly right.

(18-24KON5, Bachelor computing student)

In the corporate domain, interviewees found it ‘völlig in Ordnung’ (completely fine – 25-30BER3) to use English with international clients and colleagues who speak English but not German.

Ich finde das gut, weil es einfach, wenn der Markt globalisiert wird, muss ja auch die Kommunikation globalisiert werden, also man muss eine gemeinsame Kommunikationsbasis finden.

I think it’s good simply because if the market is globalised, then communication must be globalised too, therefore you have to find a common means of communication.

(25-30BER4, Lawyer)

However, a minority of respondents in both domains did mention a few negative aspects. One drawback in the academic domain is that the level of English of the German lecturers may not be high; similarly, in the corporate setting ‘viele Missverständnisse dadurch

entstehen, weil eben nicht alle das gleiche Sprachniveau haben' (lots of misunderstandings occur because not everyone has the same level of English - 31-40BER1, lawyer). People also expressed their desire to maintain German as the office language in offices in Germany (unless, of course, there is someone who does not speak German) and some acknowledged that they find it easier to work in German than English. One lawyer (31-40BER1) said this was the case because 'im juristischen Bereich ist die Sprache eigentlich das Werkzeug' (language is actually the tool in law), and another interviewee commented that it takes her longer to do things in English than in German. Thus, whilst people were pragmatic about the need to use English in certain contexts within business and academia, there was clearly a feeling that German should remain 'the primary national language', as Erling put it (2004: 9).

A later question took this theme more broadly, asking participants what they see to be the advantages and disadvantages of the growing use of English in Germany. Most people identified both advantages and disadvantages. The most commonly mentioned benefits were that you have access to more sources of information and that you are able to interact internationally.

You have access to so much more literature for example and culture, especially pop culture.

(18-24KON1, English literature student)

Gibt die Möglichkeit sich mit Leuten, die kein Deutsch sprechen, auszutauschen, auch über die eigentlich englischsprachigen Länder hinaus.

[English] enables you to converse with people who do not speak German in English-speaking countries and beyond.

(51-60HAN2, Employee in procurement)

A number of people commented that foreigners in Germany can settle in more easily if Germans speak good English and it helps Germans to communicate with the recent

migrants. One respondent finds, however, that people often switch to using English too quickly which makes it harder, and less necessary, for migrants to learn the local language, thus hindering integration. In terms of the disadvantages, the most frequently expressed opinion was that the use of English is suppressing German a bit:

Vielleicht ein bißchen was von deutscher Kultur könnte verloren gehen.

Maybe a bit of German culture could be lost.

(18-24MUN2, English language and literature student)

Der Nachteil ist sicherlich, dass so ein bißchen die deutsche Sprache zurückgedrängt wird.

The disadvantage is definitely that the German language is being repressed a bit.

(51-60HAN1, Senior lawyer).

As the use of ‘ein bißchen’ (a little) indicates, people did not generally see this as too concerning and, indeed, none of my participants thought that the use of English is ‘a catastrophe’ for the German language or that the German language is in danger of being lost. In addition, some interviewees commented that it is more difficult to express oneself in a foreign language and that the growing use of English can make life harder for certain sections of society, particularly the older generation. One respondent (31-40BER2), who grew up bilingually because his father is British, took a very different line: he thought that the English language suffers as a result of so many non-native speakers using it as the quality of English they speak is lower than that of native speakers. Although my participants were aware of both advantages and disadvantages of the growing use of English in Germany, they generally indicated that the advantages outweigh the disadvantages. As a computing student in Konstanz put it, ‘dass ich mich mit fast allen Menschen überall austauschen kann, kommunizieren kann, finde ich, es ist kleine

Schmerzen, die ich da vertragen müsste' (it is a small price to pay for being able to converse, to communicate with almost all people everywhere – 18-24KON2).

This question about the growing use of English in Germany also prompted some interviewees to comment on the use of borrowings from English. By and large, my participants in both domains were not too bothered by the use of anglicisms, commenting that they do not find it 'so sehr traurig' (so very sad – 18-24MUN1) or 'gravierend' (serious – 51-60HAN1). Some backed this up on the basis that it is a natural process in a globalised world:

Wir sind in Europa. Es gehört auch dazu, dass die Sprachen sich vermischen.

We are in Europe. It goes with it that languages mix together.

(31-40MUN4, English philology student)

Das entwickelt sich einfach immer mehr und wenn verschiedene Nationen oder verschiedene Einflüsse zusammenkommen, dann ist es ein ganz natürlicher Prozess.

That simply evolves more and more and when different nations or different influences come together then it's a completely natural process.

(31-40BER2, Lawyer)

Others pointed out that anglicisms have some advantages. A professor of computing in Konstanz (60+KON4) said that creating German equivalents for subject terminology is 'total künstlich und überhaupt nicht einprägsam und auch nicht möglich praktikabel' (completely artificial and not at all easily remembered and also not practical) since one has to communicate with people from across the world and it makes no sense to use a peculiar expression in German. A senior lawyer in Hanau (51-60HAN1) added to this, saying that some borrowings from English are 'passender' (more fitting) and 'dass man damit eben ja einiges treffsicherer ausdrücken kann' (that one can express some things more accurately

with them). Nonetheless, just over half the interviewees who commented on anglicisms wondered whether they are always ‘notwendig’ or ‘nötig’ (necessary). In contrast to his aforementioned colleague (60+KON4), another computing professor in Konstanz in his sixties (60+KON3) said that he tries to avoid using borrowed expressions where German equivalents are available so that the German words take hold, unless the two words have different meanings or connotations. Likewise, a Berlin lawyer (25-30BER3) tentatively suggested ‘vielleicht jetzt nicht so völlig unüberlegt jetzt englische Begriffe für deutsche Begriffe zu verwenden’ (maybe not using English terms for German terms quite so unthinkingly). In addition, roughly half of those interviewees who commented on the use of anglicisms noted negative aspects:

Es ist natürlich schade, weil viele deutsche Worte und Begriffe ersetzt werden durch das Englische.

It is of course a shame because many German words and terms are being replaced by English ones.

(18-24MUN1, English language and literature student)

Ich denke, das stößt auf teilweise Unverständnis bei älterer Generation.

I think it sometimes meets with incomprehension among the older generation.

(25-30BER4, Lawyer)

31-40HAN3, an engineer, commented that ‘was mich stört ist, wenn man dauernd halb Deutsch halb Englisch redet’ (what annoys me is when people constantly speak half German half English), thus sharing a view widely held among Erling’s participants (2004) that mixing the two languages together is most concerning. As with less favourable comments regarding the growing use of English in Germany, negative views of the use of anglicisms were typically couched in hesitant language (my emphasis): ‘das ist mir jetzt *ein bißchen* viel Englisch’ (it is now *a bit* too much English for me - 31-40HAN3) and

‘dass *vielleicht* die Sprache Deutsch dann zu sehr verenglischt wird’ (that *maybe* the German language is becoming too anglicised - 51-60HAN6). Thus people avoided being overtly critical of anglicisms, perhaps for fear of coming across as nationalistic as I discuss later.

Following on from this, I asked whether the German language should be protected somehow, perhaps legally or through efforts, like those made by the *Verein Deutsche Sprache*, to avoid anglicisms and create German alternatives for borrowed words. None of my interviewees in either domain saw any danger for the German language and 90 per cent of them did not think that German should be protected:

Man liest ja immer noch deutsche Literatur oder man spricht ja auch mit seinen deutschen Freunden auf Deutsch und man lernt es in der Schule auch viel, also man hat ja viel Deutschunterricht, deswegen geht da, glaube ich, gar nichts verloren.

We still read German literature and we speak with German friends in German and we learn a lot of German in school, that is we have a lot of German lessons. I therefore don't believe that anything is being lost.

(31-40BER1, Lawyer)

Ich denke, dass das nicht nötig ist. [...] Sprachwandel, das ist was ganz natürliches und das ist ganz normal.

I don't think that that [protecting the language] is necessary. [...] Language change, that is something that is completely natural and it is completely normal.

(18-24MUN1, English language and literature student)

Nonetheless, seven of the eighteen interviewees who thought there is no need to protect German did speak in favour of maintaining the language and the two participants who agreed with the idea of protecting German favoured less forceful methods than those suggested above:

Vielleicht sollte man trotzdem noch darauf beharren, dass diese Sprache gelernt wird, also in Schulen einfach.

Maybe one should nevertheless insist that this language [German] is learnt, simply in schools.

(18-24KON2, Computing student)

Ich meine, die deutsche Sprache muss anders geschützt werden also und zwar nicht durch diese Art von Sprachpolitik, sondern dadurch, dass man konsequent eigentlich die Leute wieder an die großen Texte der deutschen Sprache heranzuführt.

I believe the German language should be protected in a different way and indeed not through this type of language politics, but by systematically reintroducing people to the great works of German literature.

(51-60MUN3, Literature professor)

Thus the vast majority of respondents saw no danger to the German language and, as in Spitzmüller's study (2005: 116), interviewees felt that the idea of protecting German through legal means was too extreme and even ridiculous - 18-24MUN2 jokes, for instance, whether there would be 'Geldstrafe, wenn man Anglizismen benutzt' (a fine for using anglicisms).

In their responses to questions 9, 10 and 11 (regarding the *Verein Deutsche Sprache* and the use of English leading to the loss of the German language and national identity) many interviewees at both the universities and companies found the attitudes expressed too nationalistic. People said that protecting German is a bit 'radikal' (radical – 18-24KON2) and that a German language law would be too right-extremist and nationalistic, with one interviewee commenting that 'gerade die Deutschen sollten vielleicht das nicht machen' (precisely the Germans maybe should not do that, i.e. protect their language legally – 25-30BER5). Such comments indicate that people are wary of being too nationalistic given Germany's Nazi past. Interestingly, Earls found the opposite, namely that many German people are keen to protect the German language by amending the *Grundgesetz*, but that the government is reluctant to do so (2016: 97-98). Furthermore,

I found that people tended not to hold very patriotic sentiments. One interviewee, 18-24KON1, said of her and her best friend (both anglophiles studying *Anglistik*) ‘We wish we were English so it [speaking English] would come even easier to us’, whilst another student (of Bulgarian heritage, who lived in England for five years as a child and has lived in Germany for the majority of his life) described himself as ‘staatenlos’ (stateless – 18-24MUN2). He said he is probably more German than anything else, but he did not seem to want to categorise himself simply as German. These findings bore similarities to Erling’s; she concluded that one reason why there has been ‘such an overwhelming acceptance of English in Germany [... is that] it helps to escape the constraints of national identity and to reinforce the ideas of belonging to a larger European or global community’ (2004: 169-170). The lack of patriotic feeling and the desire to avoid any actions which could be construed as nationalistic which I observed may well contribute to Germans’ relaxed and pragmatic attitude towards the growing use of English and anglicisms in Germany.

Question 7 of the interview asked people whether it is necessary to speak another foreign language to stand out, given that so many people speak English. Opinion was split on this.

Ich glaube, das ist von Vorteil, weil Englisch schon vorausgesetzt wird eigentlich.

I think that is advantageous because English is now actually presumed.

(25-30BER4, Lawyer)

Es spielt eigentlich keine Rolle, also weil sie haben, auch wenn sie mit Franzosen verhandeln, in der Regel ist immer einer dabei, der kein Französisch kann und deshalb gehen sie immer auf Englisch. Es hat sicherlich ein Vorteil, soweit im Small-Talk [...] wir würden das beispielsweise nicht als Einstellungskriterium oder als Einstellungsvorteil ansehen, wenn jemand eine andere Sprache außer Englisch kann.

It is actually immaterial because if you are negotiating with French people then there is usually someone present who does not speak French and so you would always use English. It is certainly advantageous in small talk

[...] we would not, for example, regard it as a recruitment criterion or as a recruitment advantage if someone speaks another language other than English.

(51-60HAN1, Senior lawyer)

The majority view was that speaking English is sufficient and there is no practical necessity to speak another foreign language.

Nonetheless, people were not completely in agreement about whether everyone in Germany should speak English.

Jeder Deutsche sollte Englisch können, weil the world speaks English.

Every German should be able to speak English because the world speaks English.

(51-60MUN3, Literature professor)

Würde ich nicht vorschreiben wollen, also das ist eine ganz individuelle Entscheidung, ob man eine Fremdsprache lernt.

I wouldn't want to stipulate that, it is a very individual decision whether one learns a foreign language.

(31-40BER2, Lawyer)

People did tend to agree, however, on the relationship between English and German.

Ja, als erste Fremdsprache.

Yes [everyone should speak English], as the first foreign language.

(51-60HAN5, Businessperson)

Sie sollen alle Deutsch sprechen. Sollten alle Englisch sprechen können.

They should all speak German. They should all be able to speak English.

(60+KON3, Computing professor)

Once again, people recognised the advantages that speaking English brings, but they generally felt that it should still be for the individual to decide whether they want to speak English and, in any case, German should remain the dominant language in Germany.

Given the benefits of speaking English, I was interested to know what happens if someone finds English particularly difficult or if someone has limited knowledge of English. Opinion was split as to what impact this has on people's lives, with sixteen participants noting difficulties people might face and twelve people indicating that having weak English skills is not too problematic in certain circumstances. The difficulties identified ranged from being at a disadvantage professionally, to facing challenges abroad and being excluded from some aspects of modern culture at home, as these comments illustrate:

Glaube ich, kann man kaum noch studieren ohne Englisch zumindest zu verstehen, oder zumindest in meinem Bereich.

I think one can hardly study without at least understanding English, at least in my area.

(18-24KON5, Computing student)

Ich glaube, dann wird man ein wenig von den Tendenzen abgehängt, nicht nur ökonomisch, also es ist ganz wirtschaftliches sicher von Nachteil, aber man wird eben auch von der Gegenwartskultur, die sehr stark englischdominiert ist, abgehängt.

I believe you are left behind a bit by trends, not only economically – it is certainly disadvantageous economically – but you are also left behind by modern culture, which is very strongly dominated by English.

(51-60MUN3, Literature professor)

Im Beruf ist man benachteiligt und kann gewisse Dinge eigentlich nur dann durch Dritter weiterbringen und weitergeben. Man vermisst seine eigenen Ideen darzulegen, zu präsentieren, sich auch durchzusetzen.

You are disadvantaged professionally and can only carry out and present certain things through a third party. You miss out on presenting your own ideas, and also asserting yourself.

(41-50HAN4, Employee in exports)

Dann hat man Probleme, wenn man im Ausland ist [...] in Deutschland kann man schon gut mit nur Deutsch durchkommen.

In that case you have problems when you are abroad. [...] In Germany you can get along fine with just German.

(18-24MUN2, English language and literature student)

Eight participants expressed views on both sides, indicating that how much weak English skills affect people depends on the situation (as noted in 18-24MUN2's comment above) and on their own characteristics:

I think because, so that is obviously something that is also dependent on where you're from and like which social class or like social group you're in because they've [her parents] both been academics they've both been teachers so whenever they don't know anything, ah something, they look it up. They make an effort to find out. And they're the kind of people who will like get out the dictionary to look something up or an encyclopaedia or something so I don't think it's too much of a problem for them because whatever they really want to know they will find out, but I guess that people who don't have that drive or maybe don't have access to that they might struggle with that.

(18-24KON1, English literature student)

Ich denke, da müsste man einen Schnitt zwischen den Generationen machen. [...] unsere Generation, wie gesagt, man ist komplett vernetzt, also ich denke, man bleibt hintendran, man wird irgendwie abgehängt, wenn man kein Englisch kann.

I think there you have to distinguish between the generations. [...] our generation, as I said, one is completely interconnected therefore I think you lag behind, you are somehow left behind if you cannot speak English.

(18-24MUN1, English language and literature student)

Some interviewees questioned whether people's English skills are really so bad for them to have major difficulties. One said that it depends what the difficulties are – if people have grammatical difficulties but are otherwise comprehensible then that is not so problematic – and another expressed the opinion that everyone can learn English well if they want to.

One interviewee noted that big companies offer further training courses in English to support their employees so limited knowledge of English should not be an issue at work. In addition, people commented that how much English one needs depends on one's job and whether the firm is national or international and that there are plenty of jobs which do not require English. Thus, while people in both the academic and corporate domain saw potential difficulties for those who are weaker at English, the general feeling was that this is not too problematic for people in their daily life in Germany – there are plenty of opportunities which do not require English skills and if one does need them then they are easy enough to acquire.

Further to this, I was interested in whether one could speak of an English-speaking elite in Germany. Quite a few people had to pause before responding to this question (it was seemingly not something they had thought about before), but the majority of people in both domains reached the same conclusion:

Elite vielleicht jetzt nicht, weil schon ziemlich viel, also ich glaube, ein Großteil der Bevölkerung kann schon Englisch [...]. Ganz ausgeschlossen ist keiner.

An elite probably not now because quite a lot of people, I think the majority of the population, can already speak English [...]. No-one is completely excluded.

(18-24KON2, Computing student)

Also dafür sprechen in der Zwischenzeit zu viele gut Englisch und in der Schule wird das auch sehr stark unterrichtet, also eine Elite würde ich das nicht nennen.

Too many people now speak good English for that to be the case and it is also taught heavily in schools so I would not call it an elite.

(51-60HAN1, Senior lawyer)

Nevertheless, two participants thought there is an English-speaking elite, which arises from the education system: those who attend a *Gymnasium* have a higher level of

education and a higher level of English than those who attend *Realschulen* or *Hauptschulen*. They recognised, however, that the proportion of children going to *Gymnasien* and learning English to a good level there is increasing, and young people today are very mobile, use the internet and learn English via means other than traditional education (e.g. by watching films and TV series in the original language on Netflix) so in that sense proficiency in English is increasingly independent of the education system. This leads 18-24KON5 to conclude that among people ‘bis vielleicht dreißig fünfunddreißig’ (aged up to maybe thirty or thirty-five) there is not an English-speaking elite as people’s level of English is independent of their level of education, but an English-speaking elite exists in the generations over thirty/thirty-five because their level of English is largely determined by their schooling and they have fewer opportunities to improve their language skills. In addition, one respondent observes that there is a small circle of Germans who speak English almost as a native speaker and wonders if one could call them an elite. It is not clear, however, whether they are just elite in their level of English or whether they are also an elite in terms of being wealthier, more successful people and, if the latter, whether the possible elite have become wealthy and successful as a result of their knowledge of English, or whether their already high socioeconomic status has enabled them to master English to a high level (e.g. through regular and/or long visits to the anglosphere, extra coaching outside school or having an English-speaking nanny/babysitter). On the whole, the interviewees tended to think that since such a large number of Germans speak English, it is not appropriate to speak of an English-speaking elite in Germany.

My final interview questions looked towards the future linguistic situation in Germany, asking what this would look like and whether interviewees would raise their children bilingually in German and English. Regarding the first issue, none of my

interviewees thought the use and influence of English in Germany would decrease and most thought they would stay roughly the same:

Meiner Meinung nach nicht, dass es jetzt noch mehr Englisch gesprochen wird. Das glaube ich eigentlich nicht, also das es jetzt so auf dem Level bleibt.

I do not think that even more English will be spoken. I do not believe that [will happen], therefore it will now remain at this level.

(51-60HAN6, Legal secretary)

Four people, all in the academic domain, thought that the use and influence of English would increase, with one computing professor predicting that his faculty would probably teach the Bachelor course in English in twenty years' time, even though ten years ago it would have been unthinkable. Another interviewee thought that in 20-30 years' time, everyone in Germany will speak English – the older generation who do not will have passed away and the younger generations will continue to grow up speaking very good English. At the same time, a number of interviewees commented that with the increased migration to Germany more languages will be spoken in Germany and potentially have an influence on German:

Es wird bestimmt bunter werden. [...] durch den Zuzug von Flüchtlingen, durch den Zuzug von Menschen aus anderen europäischen Ländern.

It will definitely become more varied [...] through the immigration of refugees, through the immigration of people from other European countries.

(25-30BER3, Lawyer)

Auf Grund dessen, dass wir jetzt sehr viele Ausländer ins Land bekommen, denke ich, dass wir noch eine Vielfalt von unterschiedlichen Sprachen in Deutschland haben werden. Es kann sein, dass die deutsche Sprache dadurch im Laufe der Generation beeinflusst wird.

Due to the fact that we now have a lot of foreigners in the country, I think that we will have a variety of different languages in Germany. It may be that the German language will be influenced by them over time.

(41-50HAN4), Employee in exports)

Nonetheless, it was widely thought that English would continue to be the most influential language other than German in Germany. As for whether people would raise their children bilingually, none of the interviewees in either domain said they would do so unless one parent were a native speaker of the other language or they were living in a foreign country. In other words, with two German-speaking parents living in Germany, interviewees would not speak to their children in English all the time in an attempt to raise their children to be fluent in English for the following reasons:

Das ist zu künstlich.

That is too artificial.

(51-60MUN3, Literature professor)

Weil ich kann nicht so gut Englisch, da würde ich meinen Kindern etwas falsches beibringen!

Because I cannot speak English that well; I would teach my children something incorrect!

(25-30BER5, Lawyer)

Nonetheless, as non-native speakers of English, many participants said they would support their children in learning English (or any other language they wanted to learn), for instance by watching films with them in English, teaching them some sentences and greetings, and practising short conversations with them. One interviewee (31-40BER1) thought she might send her daughter to Britain or America in Year 11 to learn English (it is quite common for German teenagers to spend a year living with a host family and attending school in another country to learn the language). There were mixed opinions on *Frühförderschulen* (early intervention schools) where pre-school children learn English. One interviewee finds these unnatural, whilst another sends his children to a bilingual nursery, where there is a native English speaker in every group. Participants in both domains clearly felt that the use and influence of English in Germany would remain stable or even increase slightly and that it

was important for their children to learn English from a young age, but the overriding feeling was that it would be artificial to raise their children bilingually unless they lived in a naturally bilingual environment.

4.6 Discussion and summary of findings in the academic and corporate domains

The first research phase looked at the relationship between English and German in academic and corporate domains from three angles: the use of anglicisms in German; the use of English in Germany; and people's attitudes towards both of these.

In terms of the use of anglicisms, I found that 2.24% of all tokens and 3.91% of types were anglicisms and recorded a higher proportion of tokens but a lower proportion of types in my written data compared to Onysko's (2007). This difference in types may be because the data in *Der Spiegel* covers a wide range of topics – the news magazine appears weekly and each edition contains around fifty articles on different topics – whereas my written data is much more limited in scope (it consists of seven documents from the company in Hanau and two textbooks on each of chemistry, computing and literary studies), whilst the high rate of anglicism tokens in my written data can be attributed to half my written data being textbooks, where key terms are repeated for pedagogical reasons. Taking into consideration these differences between the text genres, it is apparent that lexical borrowing is no higher in domain-specific language used in business and science/academia than in everyday and non-specialist language exemplified by the news media.

It is particularly striking that the lecture data contained a higher proportion of anglicisms than Hultgren's comparable study on Danish (2013) since there is a much more vibrant debate in Scandinavia about the risk of domain loss to English with the number of

anglicisms used being one facet of this. Obviously both studies were conducted on a fairly small scale – Hultgren observed 11 lectures and classes and I recorded 9 – and it would be interesting to see if this initial finding that anglicisms are more prevalent in German than Danish holds true if more lectures are analysed or if more different forms of data in both languages (documents, interviews, textbooks, etc.) are compared.

Another notable finding was that anglicisms were used almost as frequently in literature lectures as in chemistry lectures, which is a surprising result given the literature on domain loss typically focusses on the use of English and borrowings from English in the sciences, but rarely in the humanities. The unexpectedly high proportion of loanwords in literature lectures can be explained in large part by the discussion of popular culture and modern society in the literature lectures, resulting in a high prevalence of words related to modern technology and popular culture, including *Smartphone*, *Gender*, *Thriller* and *Hashtag-activism*.

Regarding the factors which affect people's use of anglicisms, I found that, contrary to my expectations, city size did not have a statistically significant effect on the rate of anglicisms used by my interviewees. This may be because much of the influence from English on German comes from media (such as the internet, television and film) which is accessible to all Germans, regardless of their location. Furthermore, the supposition that more anglicisms would be used in the larger cities was based on the expectation that people in Munich and Berlin would have more contact with English-speaking foreigners. As a university town and attractive holiday destination, Konstanz also has a relatively large number of international people either visiting or living there. This may partly explain why Konstanz, the smallest city, had the highest proportion of anglicisms both tokens (0.96%) and types (2.69%).

Domain was found to be significant for tokens but not types, with more anglicisms being used in the academic than corporate domain. This observation that anglicisms tend to be more prevalent in the academic than corporate domain is an interesting finding since my study is unusual in comparing these two domains, rather than dealing with them in isolation.

Contrary to my predictions, speaker age was not found to have a statistically significant effect overall on speakers' use of anglicisms, although there was an identifiable tendency for younger speakers to use more anglicisms than older speakers, with statistically significant differences between those aged 18-24 and those aged 41 and over. This finding that people aged 18-24 (born between 1993 and 1999) make most use of anglicisms and significantly more than those aged 41 and over (born in 1976 or earlier) fits with my expectations and the perceptions of those I spoke to whilst carrying out the fieldwork. Germans born in the 1990s grew up with the internet and English-dominant online forums, such as Facebook, YouTube and Twitter (founded in 2004, 2005 and 2006 respectively), and were also the first generation who had widespread access to English-medium higher education (there were 65 EMI programmes in 2002 and 214 in 2008, but by 2011 when those born in 1993 could first have attended university there were 748 programmes, which rose further to 949 in 2015 (Earls 2016: 2)). Thus it is no surprise that interviewees in this age group appear to be most influenced by English, using the highest proportion of anglicisms. The rise of cheap airfares and globalisation in general has meant that the generations aged 40 and under have had much more contact with the wider (often English-speaking) world than their predecessors, which explains why younger professionals are the second most frequent users of anglicisms. The difference in use of anglicisms between younger and older professionals was not found to be statistically significant, indicating that the use of anglicisms among people of working age does not

vary much by age. A number of interviewees commented that they would expect a difference between speakers in their 70s and upwards and younger speakers: it is now only really Germans aged 75 and over (born in 1942 or earlier) who struggle with English as they had limited English at school and they did not generally need it in the workplace, and that people in this generation can get confused and/or irritated by anglicisms and do not use them very frequently. Unfortunately my data is unable to shed light on any nuances within the category 41+ due to the lack of data and the fact that I conducted the interviews in the workplace (universities and companies) and so none of my speakers were over the age of 65. This prompted me to widen the scope of my study in the second fieldwork phase to include people over 65 and, based on developments in the school system outlined in Chapter 3, my prediction is that the proportion of anglicisms will drop further for speakers born in West Germany in 1954 or earlier.

In terms of subject, as in Hultgren's study, computing was found to contain the highest proportion of anglicisms, followed by business, chemistry, law and literature and this result fits with how international each subject is and how relevant it is for the subject to borrow words from English. With computing developing at a rapid pace, largely through progress made in Silicon Valley and the big English-speaking technology companies (Google, Amazon, Apple, etc.), it is unsurprising that a substantial proportion of words used in computer science are anglicisms. Similarly, large multinational organisations tend to use English in their international communication and it is not surprising that many English terms have entered the German language, including *Management*, *Marketing*, *Teamwork* and *Workshop*. Chemistry has perhaps not been so strongly affected by English as computer science because of the legacy of German being used in science (Ammon 2003: 215). Up until the early to mid-20th century German was the dominant language in chemistry with scientists training in the United States, for instance, needing a good

working knowledge of German to access the best core textbooks. The net result of this is that there is a considerable amount of well-established German subject terminology in chemistry that does not derive from English. The results are also in line with my expectations that law and literature would be less affected by anglicisms because these are subjects in which English is less relevant in Germany. Interviewee KON1 said on the subject:

When you talk about German literature, I think you should talk about it in German [...] and [...], for example, law. I mean that is a pretty difficult subject to begin with and then to talk about the German constitution in another language, I think that would just complicate it even further so I think there won't be any way that German will be like eradicated from the academic context.

(18-24KON1, English literature student)

Thus it makes sense for law and literature to show least influence from anglicisms as these are subjects which are discussed in German in Germany and therefore linguistic developments are most likely to be native innovations rather than borrowings.

Anglicisms appeared significantly more frequently in written as opposed to spoken language, which comes as a surprise since anglicisms are generally considered more prevalent in informal language rather than formal language - interviewees said that essays are marked down if anglicisms are used frequently and more traditional/conservative groups avoid anglicisms. For instance, 60+KON3 said that *der Sale* is used everywhere now, except by *Oma* (grandma) and the traditional department store *Karstadt*. Written texts are typically more conservative in their language use as written conventions are highly standardised and less influenced by innovations than spoken language. This generalisation applies, however, to one register of anglicisms, the colloquial, and not to anglicisms belonging to the other register, the highly technical. My data exemplifies this: the textbooks and company documents contain numerous borrowed technical terms, such

as *Coating*, *Elektron* and *Binärbaum* ‘binary tree’, and not so many everyday anglicisms, such as *Film*, *Highlight* and *smart*. The distribution of subjects within written and spoken language may further explain my finding. Across all the written documents, 68% of all tokens are related to the subjects of business and computing, which typically use a significantly higher proportion of anglicisms than chemistry, law or literature. In addition, three-quarters of the tokens found in textbooks are from computing and chemistry, which have a higher proportion of subject-specific terminology that is derived from English than literature has, and this may weight the textbooks towards showing a high rate of anglicisms (2.99% of tokens, 4.72% of types). As for the company documents, which show an even higher frequency of anglicisms (3.05% of tokens, 4.95% of types), perhaps this is because two of the documents, which account for 68% of the document tokens, are company magazines for communicating news internally with staff and they therefore have an informal, friendly tone, which is compatible with a high rate of colloquial anglicisms. The spoken data, on the other hand, shows a much more even distribution of subjects, aside from chemistry for which there was no interview data, as indicated in Figure 5.

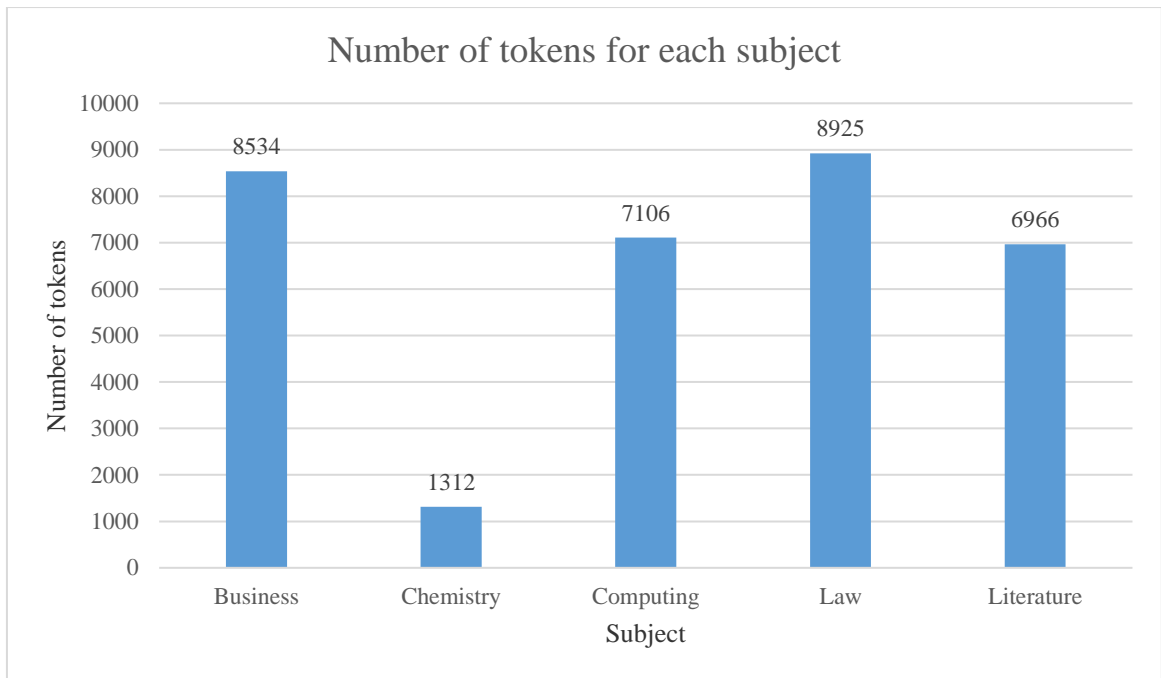


Figure 5: Number of tokens recorded in spoken data by subject

The overrepresentation of the anglicism-heavy subjects of computing and business in the written data, but not in the spoken data, may largely account for this unexpected finding that anglicisms are more prevalent in written than spoken data. It would be interesting to investigate this further by selecting written and spoken data which are controlled for subject.

The majority of borrowings into German in my data were nouns, which makes sense in practical terms since borrowings into German often arise when a concept or item (denoted by nouns) from the English-speaking world is introduced to German speakers. Thus we find such borrowings as *Internet*, *Management* and *Start-up*, which have been developed in the English-dominated domains of computing and business. In addition, the loanwords tended to cluster in semantic fields which are developing most rapidly in English-speaking countries or in the English-speaking international community; hence

many of the loanwords could be grouped under the following headings: modern technology, popular culture, contemporary society, academia, business, sport and lifestyle.

By and large, the borrowings were very smoothly integrated into German morphologically and I found examples of anglicisms undergoing derivation, compounding and inflection, as well as changing word class and usage in the process of being borrowed. The main difficulty with the assimilation of anglicisms seemed to be orthographic, with speakers expressing uncertainty around writing compound forms as one word, a hyphenated word or multiple orthographic words.

When looking at the usage of English and German, I found that fluent German speakers in Germany report using German more than English across all four methods of communication in both domains, indicating that German continues to be the primary language of communication in the academic and corporate domains. Nevertheless, the difference in usage between English and German for reading and writing is relatively small in the corporate domain. This may be because employees in the companies I visited most frequently communicate orally with their German colleagues and can do so in German, but it is the written documents that tend, or have potential, to reach non-German-speaking people and so these are frequently in English. Likewise, I found similar frequencies for reading in English and German in the academic domain, which is probably due to the prevalence of English texts (articles, books, information on the internet, etc.) and the necessity to read them to access certain information, and the fact that reading is the easiest foreign-language skill. Respondents reported using passive English language skills more frequently than active ones and this makes sense as these preferences match the degree of difficulty of each skill: speaking is most challenging for language learners, then writing and listening, and reading is easiest. This also fits with my observations and the interview responses. Informants said they come into contact with English a lot on the internet (e.g.

when researching or on social media) and through English-language entertainment on Netflix. They also commented that they might use English when posting on social media and this helps explain why reading, listening and writing are the most common ways to communicate in English. Finally, I found that significantly more English is used for writing and speaking in the corporate domain compared to the academic domain, despite equal levels of reported proficiency in English, suggesting that businesspeople have to generate text and speech in English more frequently than students and professors.

People who are competent in both languages have to decide which language to use when speaking and writing and from my observations it seems that language choice at an individual level is largely determined by the language competence of the listeners and readers, both direct and indirect. This is obviously pragmatic and ensures the speaker's/writer's message is understood, but it also struck me as polite that in a situation where there is one non-German speaker and numerous native German speakers who are competent in English, the language used should be English. Although the Germans I observed spoke very good English, for many of them it still was not effortless to use English rather than German and it seemed a generous gesture towards visitors and migrants to their country.

It is relevant at this point to return to the question of domain loss and whether one can speak of domain loss taking place in Germany. Hultgren concluded that one cannot speak of domain loss in Denmark because the use of borrowings from English is no higher in the scientific domain than in everyday language (0.6% in both) and the loans are well assimilated into Danish (2013, 2016a: 154-155). My findings lead me to reach similar conclusions. My comparison of written texts in the academic and corporate domains with Onysko's 2007 study of *Der Spiegel* indicated that the proportion of different anglicism types is no higher in domain-specific language than in the less specialised and more

everyday language used in written news media. In addition, it was overwhelmingly the case that these anglicisms were well integrated into German - so much so that participants told me that even recent loanwords, such as *Trend*, are German not English. Thus I share De Swaan's view that these borrowings can hardly be said to have harmed the German language (De Swaan 2001b: 74). Furthermore, my participants in both domains reported using German more often than English in their work and studies. It was also very rare in my observations for things to be done solely in English and such parallel language use is seen in Scandinavian countries to be the antidote to domain loss (Hultgren 2016b: 159, 2018: 78). At the law firm, lawyers typically produce German and English documents in parallel: the German document for the German commercial registry or court, and the English version for non-German-speaking clients. Likewise at the universities, each subject (with the exception of English language and literature) is taught in German (largely at Bachelor-level) and English (typically from Masters-level) so subject-specific vocabulary is still being developed in German. Furthermore, even when studying in English, students switched in and out of German when discussing their work. Thus, I am inclined to regard the situation I observed not as domain loss, but rather linguistic gain. Hultgren's recent study found that Nordic scientists perceived lexical borrowing 'as facilitating rather than hindering communication' (2018: 90); similarly, the German language has gained fully integrated vocabulary, giving speakers more options in how to express themselves. Whilst it is clearly challenging to reach fluency in a foreign language, the German speakers who are able to study and work in two languages have gained a highly valuable skill, both for their professional and personal lives, and this is something people clearly recognised in the interviews.

As in Erling's study (2004), people generally expressed positive attitudes towards the use of English and anglicisms in academic and corporate domains in Germany. They

were aware of the benefits that speaking English to a good standard can bring in terms of job opportunities, communication with the international community and access to information and culture and felt that these advantages far outweighed any disadvantages of the growing use of English. I found that similar attitudes were expressed in the academic and corporate domains, though this is perhaps not surprising given the university students are broadly being trained to become university academics or company professionals and so similarities across people in these domains are not unexpected. Despite concerns raised in the literature and the media about English being the language of an elite in the same way that French was among the aristocracy in the 18th century (Bollmann 2017), only three of my twenty interviewees thought there is or might be an English-speaking elite. The remaining participants felt that English is too widespread and accessible to all for there to be an English-speaking elite in Germany. What is interesting with regard to this question is that I was to a large extent speaking to those exact people who would be part of the English-speaking elite, if its existence were accepted. 51 of the 132 (39%) fluent-German-speaking questionnaire participants said that they had lived in an English-speaking country and 83 of the 132 (63%) rated their English as fluent, as opposed to advanced, intermediate or beginner. This was even more pronounced among the interviewees: 13 of the 20 (65%) had lived in an English-speaking country for at least three months, two had used English a lot when living in non-English-speaking countries such as Israel and Korea and of the five who had not lived in an English-speaking environment abroad, one had been raised bilingually in Germany. Thus 80% of the interviewees had in fact been immersed in an English-speaking environment at some point in their lives. As competent English speakers who benefit from using English daily for both work and leisure, it is unsurprising that my participants were overwhelmingly positive in their attitudes towards English and anglicisms. In the second research phase I extended my observations to investigate the

attitudes and linguistic practices of groups of Germans who are not benefitting as much from globalisation and who do not expect to work abroad or do jobs where they will need English on a daily basis.

Chapter 5 – The relationship between English and German in wider society

The first research phase, reported in Chapter 4, highlighted a number of areas to investigate further in my second fieldwork phase, most notably whether there are further differences between participants of different ages, particularly between people of retirement age and those of working age, and whether the attitudes found among highly educated participants in the academic and corporate domains are shared by people in a wider cross-section of society. The results of the parliamentary elections in September 2017, just after my first fieldwork phase, brought to prominence ongoing east-west differences in Germany (discussed in Chapter 1) and prompted me to investigate in the second research phase whether there are east-west contrasts in the relationship between English and German in Germany. In this chapter, I outline how I carried out the second fieldwork phase (see sections 5.1 and 5.2), present my findings on wider society (sections 5.3 to 5.5), and discuss and summarise these findings (section 5.6).

5.1 Planning and preparation

For the second research phase I chose to visit one *kleine Mittelstadt* (a town with 20,000-50,000 inhabitants) and one *große Großstadt* (a city with more than 500,000 inhabitants) in each of former East and West Germany to enable a comparison between parts of the country that were until quite recently separate states, and which still differ in certain respects (as outlined in Chapter 1), as well as a comparison between major cities and smaller settlements (Bundesinstitut für Bau-, Stadt- und Raumforschung n.d.).⁷⁴ Although

⁷⁴ In English, I refer to the *kleine Mittelstädte* as towns and the *große Großstädte* as large cities.

the first research phase found no differences by settlement size, this may be because the comparison was merely between large cities and small cities. Leppänen et al. (2011) and Edwards and Fuchs (2018) found differences between those living in cities and those in towns or more rural locations and so I chose to visit two towns of around 40,000 people (Erkelenz in the west and Eberswalde in the east) and two large cities with populations over 500,000 (Dresden and Frankfurt am Main (hereafter, 'Frankfurt')) in the second research phase (see Figure 6). I tried to keep the comparable locations as similar as possible, matching population sizes and character as far as possible for the towns and large cities respectively. For instance, both towns are located near a national border (Erkelenz lies about 17km from the Dutch border, whilst Eberswalde is situated about 27km from the Polish border) and I ruled out towns which are tourist destinations or have a university (such as Wismar or Greifswald) – although as it turned out Eberswalde does have a *Hochschule* (institution of higher education) with around 2,100 students studying courses in sustainability and forestry (Hochschule für nachhaltige Entwicklung 2017). I conducted questionnaires, audio-recorded semi-structured group and one-on-one interviews and observed language use at schools, adult education centres, community clubs, and in everyday life over the course of my four- to seven-week stay in each research site. I decided not to collect any written data in this second research phase because the most relevant form of written language to collect would have been communication via email and on social media, but there are ethical and logistical issues with collecting this data. Participation in the questionnaire and/or an interview was entirely voluntary. Many interviewees volunteered to take part in an interview by indicating this at the end of the questionnaire, whilst other participants volunteered independently of the questionnaire.



Figure 6: Map of research sites (Nations Online Project n.d.). Population figures taken from the 2011 census (Zensus 2011 2020).

In each location, I distributed a questionnaire on people’s language use (Appendix III.v-vi), which is broadly the same as the questionnaire used for the first research phase, aside from being adapted to fit more general contexts. I changed the age brackets as my youngest participants this time were 16 and used ten-year intervals for all age groups up to 66+ (i.e. 16-25, 26-35, 36-45, 46-55, 56-65 and 66+) to enable age-related trends to be

identified between those of working age and retirees,⁷⁵ and between those over 45 who spent their formative years in the GDR and those aged 45 and under who grew up in reunified Germany. I split the age group 16-25 into 16-17 (for all participants who indicated they were 16-25 and still in school) and 18-25 (for those who had left school) on the basis that school pupils are at a different life stage to students or young working adults and that this might have an impact on their linguistic practices and attitudes. Furthermore, this meant that my age categories were comparable with those in phase 1: phase 2 had a similar structure between 18 and 65 (i.e. of working age), but with two further categories, school pupils under 18 and people (predominantly retirees) over 65. The questionnaire was available online on Online Surveys (www.onlinesurveys.ac.uk) and I tried to recruit participants through distributing leaflets through my contacts and at community clubs, and by putting up posters with a QR code and the website link on noticeboards. I also gave hardcopies to school pupils to enable them to be completed in class (with the teacher's permission) and to participants at community clubs to make participating easier for people, particularly older people who might be put off participating by the use of technology.

The interview questions (Appendix IV.iii-iv) were largely the same as those used for the first fieldwork phase, although I cut out some questions which had not proved particularly fruitful in the first research phase, such as 'Have you heard of the *Verein Deutsche Sprache*?' as typically people had not or only had a vague awareness of their activities. In addition, I added questions to probe topics that had not been fully covered in the first research phase. I realised, for instance, that my interview questions in the first

⁷⁵ In Germany, the age at which people can draw their pension is rising from 65 to 67 over a number of years and in 2019 people could draw their pension at the age of 65 years and 8 months (Die Bayerische n.d.). There is, however, no compulsory retirement age and people can retire earlier too, with the average age at which people retired in 2018 being 64.1 years (Die Bayerische 2019). From speaking to my participants, it seemed that most aged 66+ were retired, but some were working part-time (e.g. one day a week) or in an ad hoc way.

fieldwork phase had been too vague and did not explicitly ask participants what they thought of anglicisms and the use of English as two distinct issues. I, therefore, separated these into two separate questions in the second research phase:

Q2 - I currently see two tendencies in Germany. One is that more and more anglicisms (borrowings from English, such as *chillen*, *nice*, *cool*) are used. What do you think about this trend?

Q3 - The other tendency is that English is used more frequently by companies and universities, etc. What do you think about this trend?

The main methodological difference to the first fieldwork phase is that I decided to conduct some group interviews in this second fieldwork phase with the intention of sparking discussion among the participants and making the interview more like a focus group, where conversation is not driven entirely by me as the interviewer (Schilling 2013). I planned to stimulate discussion through providing participants with two recent newspaper articles ('Sprechen Sie doch deutsch!' (Spahn 2017) and 'Verschwindet unsere Sprache?' (Ruge 2018b)), but this proved unsuccessful as the articles I chose were five to seven pages long, and therefore too lengthy for a quick skim through before the interview and too meaty for participants to know where to begin when it came to discussing them. I therefore scrapped this approach after a few interviews in the first research site, Erkelenz, but continued to do pair or group interviews where this was appropriate (for instance, with school pupils, colleagues, friends, families or couples).

Since my previous fieldwork focussed exclusively on highly educated people, either at universities or international companies, and the purpose of this second phase was to reach more of a cross-section of society, I made a concerted effort to reach less educated groups. In each location I sought to visit, and conduct the questionnaire and interviews at,

less academic schools (*Hauptschulen, Realschulen, Oberschulen* and *Berufliche Schulen* (vocational colleges)), whose students are unlikely to go on to university. Although I was able to visit schools in all four locations, the difficulty of finding schools which were willing to participate and in some cases of getting my study approved by the local *Schulamt* (education authority) meant that I was unable to visit the same type of school in each location or carry out the questionnaire and interviews in all of the schools I visited. I was, however, allowed to observe lessons at a *Hauptschule* in Erkelenz, a *Realschule* and two *Berufliche Schulen* in Frankfurt, an *Oberschule* in Dresden and a *Gymnasium* in Eberswalde, and conduct questionnaires and interviews with pupils in Year 10 (aged 15-16; only the 16-year-olds participated) at the *Realschule* in Frankfurt and with pupils in Year 11 (aged 16-17) at the *Gymnasium* in Eberswalde. In the research sites where I struggled to find young participants through schools, I attended youth clubs and sports/cultural clubs to reach school-aged people who are not necessarily heading for university. Among adults, I tried to reach people of a range of ages and social demographics through observing classes at adult education centres, attending clubs (bridge, walking, triathlon, orienteering, running, swimming) and community events, such as board games evenings and book clubs organised by the local library and discussion groups/talks held by adult education centres. I also used my contacts and expanding network of acquaintances in each research site to find participants.

As in the first research phase, I assigned each interviewee a unique code, such as ERK1 to indicate speaker one in Erkelenz. In addition, when reporting comments made by interviewees, I prefix their age group and suffix their level of education (U for *university-educated*, N for *not university-educated*, SU for *school pupils likely to go to university* (i.e. who attend a *Gymnasium* and are working towards *Abitur*), SN for *school pupils unlikely to go to university* (i.e. who attend a *Hauptschule, Realschule* or *Oberschule*) and S for

other school pupils for whom it was unclear what type of school they attended) to their unique code so as to provide demographic information on participants, where this is relevant and not already mentioned in the text. Thus the code 46-55ERK1N indicates a non-university-educated 46-55-year-old in Erkelenz, whilst 16-17EBE10SU refers to a 16-17-year-old *Gymnasium* school pupil in Eberswalde.

5.2 Data collection

The data analysed in this chapter was collected over a five-month period from January to May 2019, with a month in each of Erkelenz and Eberswalde and a month and a half in Frankfurt and Dresden as I anticipated it being slower to make connections in the large cities than in the towns where word-of-mouth travels faster. I had a good response rate with 271 people in my research sites completing the questionnaire (20 people in other locations were excluded from the analysis) and 109 people participating in 61 interviews (see Appendix VI for details of the interviews). As Table 21 shows, the data was fairly evenly distributed across the research sites, aside from the very high number of questionnaire participants in Eberswalde (as a result of the 57 pupils at the *Gymnasium* who participated) and the large number of interviewees in Frankfurt (boosted by the 26 interview participants from the *Realschule* I visited).

	Dresden	Eberswalde	Erkelenz	Frankfurt	Total
Questionnaire	51	108	55	57	271
Interview	20	19	28	42	109

Table 21: Distribution of questionnaire and interview participants by location

These locations where I was able to carry out the questionnaire and interview components of my study in schools also had a very high proportion of participants aged 16-17 as

Figures 7 and 8 illustrate. Whilst I was able to find some school-aged participants in Erkelenz through attending community clubs, none of my interview or questionnaire participants in Dresden were school pupils. I had planned to return to Dresden in March 2020 to fill this gap in the data but was prevented from doing so by the Covid-19 pandemic.

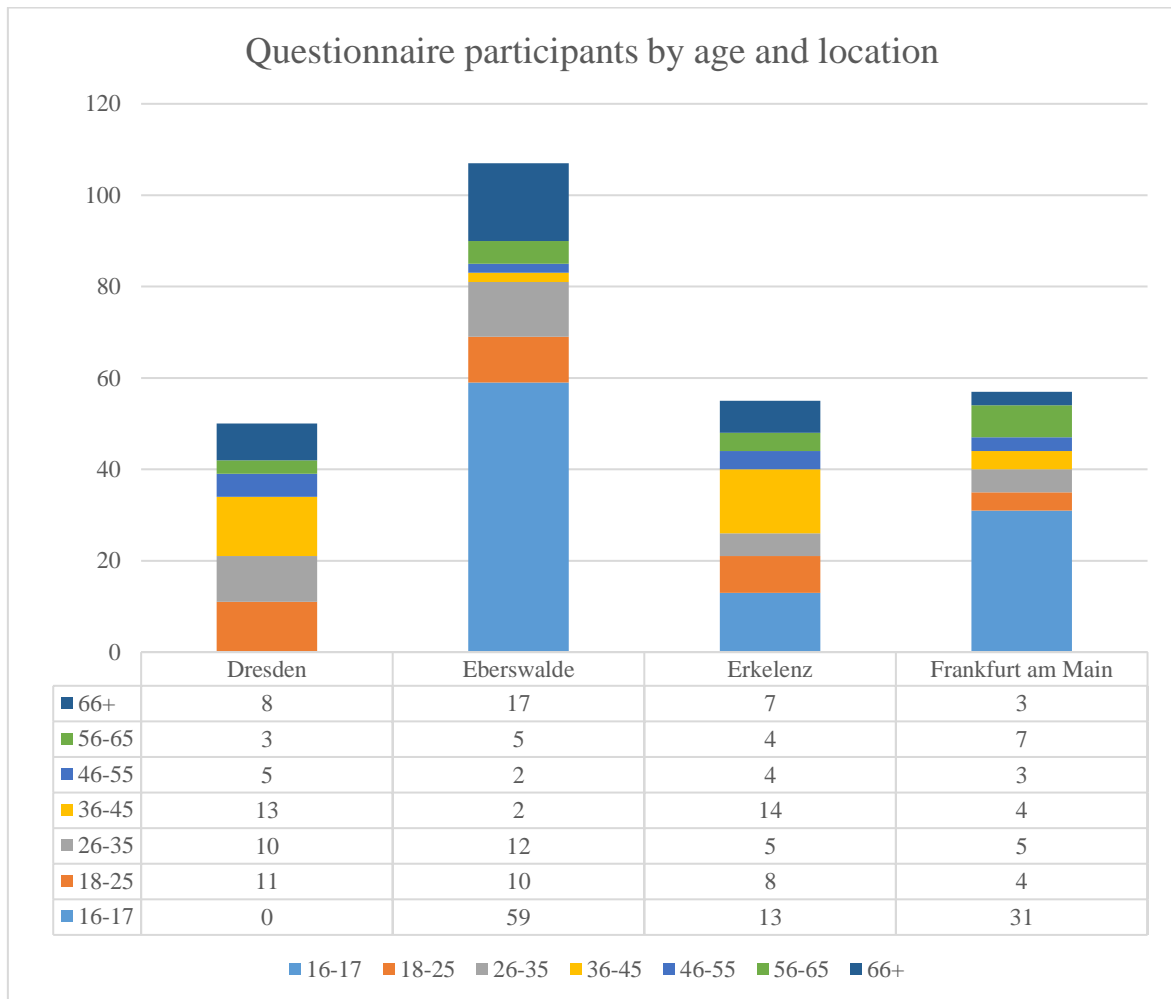


Figure 7: Questionnaire participants by age and location

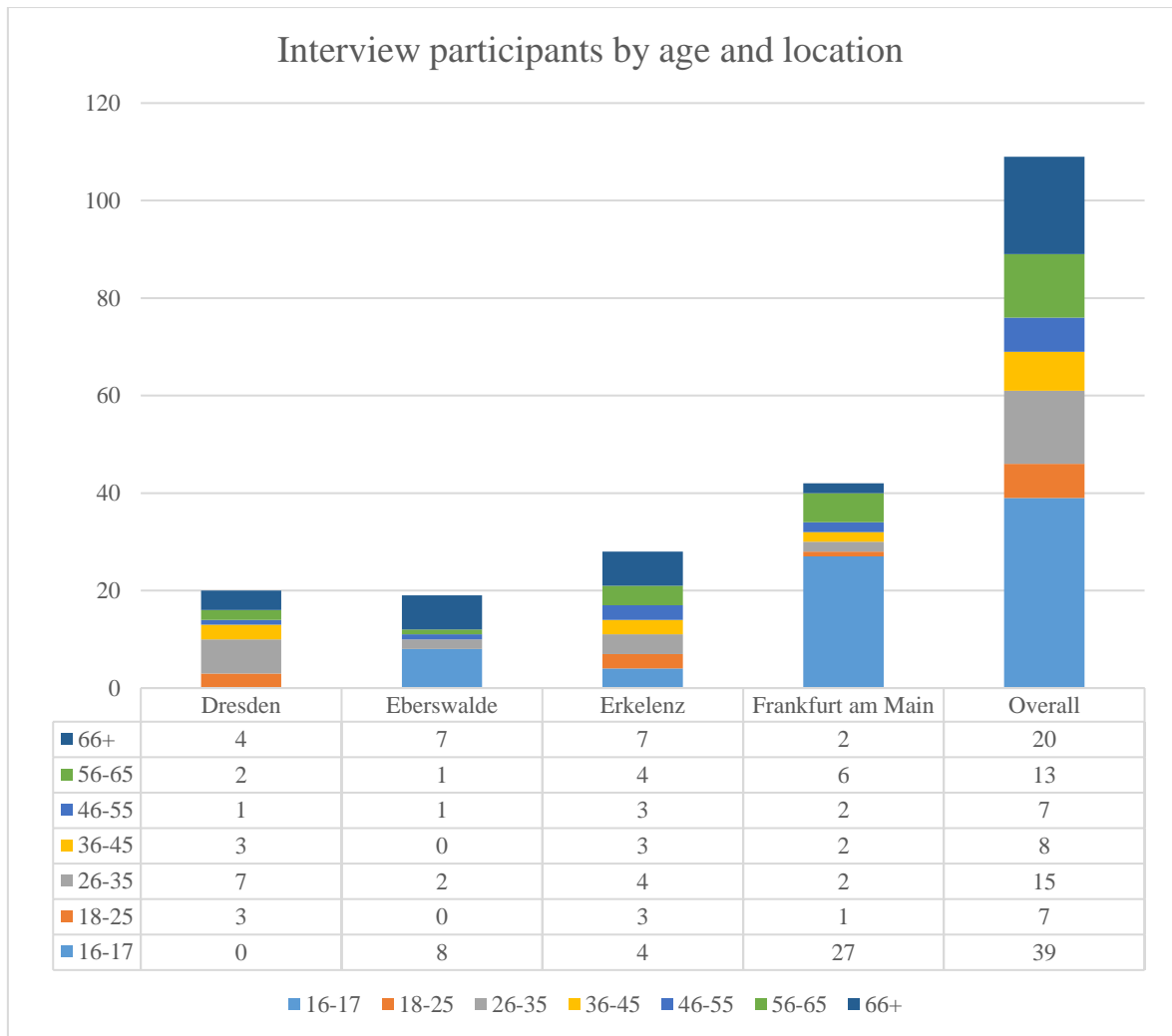


Figure 8: Interview participants by age and location

Since I conducted group interviews at the schools in Eberswalde and Frankfurt and the school interviews were similar in length to one-on-one interviews, each pupil participant did not say as much as interviewees in one-on-one interviews and so it is more relevant to look at the proportion of words produced in each research site by interviewees in each age group. As Figure 9 shows, 16-17-year-olds and 26-35-year-olds are overrepresented and the 18-25, 36-45 and 46-55 age groups are underrepresented in my sample, and the age distribution varies across research sites.

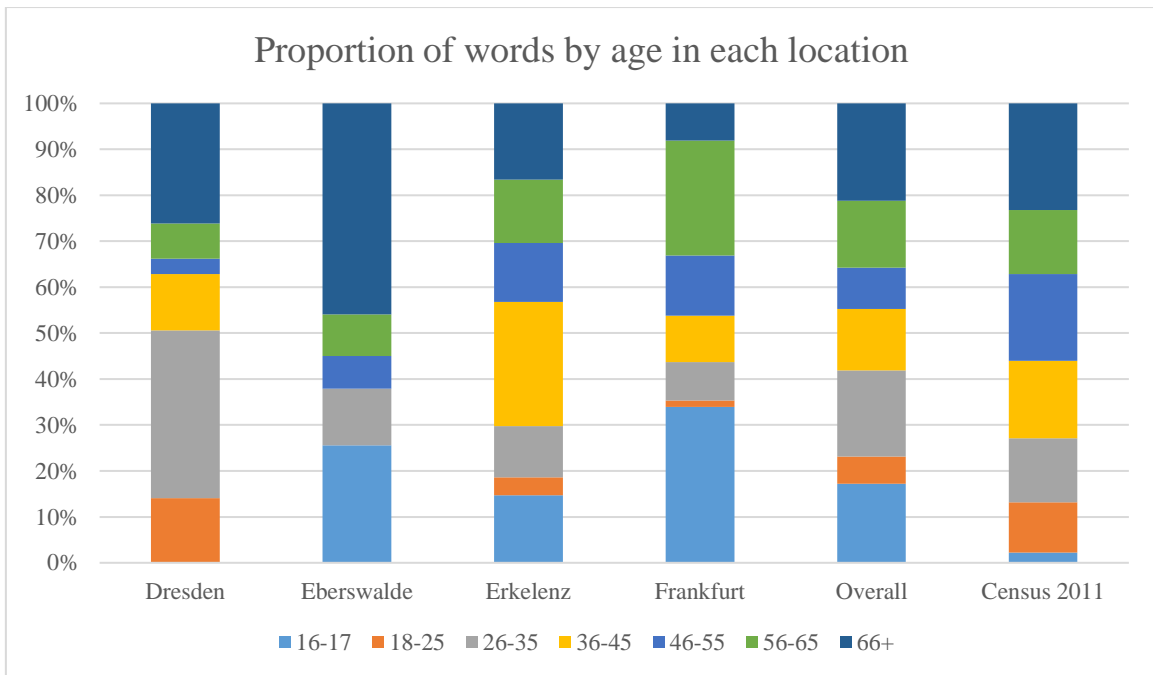


Figure 9: Proportion of words produced in interviews by age in each location as well as overall, compared to the proportion of people aged 16+ in the whole population who are in each age category (Zensus 2011 2020)

Similarly for the questionnaire data, the 16-17-year-old age group is overrepresented, the 18-35 age groups are roughly in proportion and the age groups 36+ are underrepresented when comparing the overall data with the 2011 census, as shown in Figure 10.

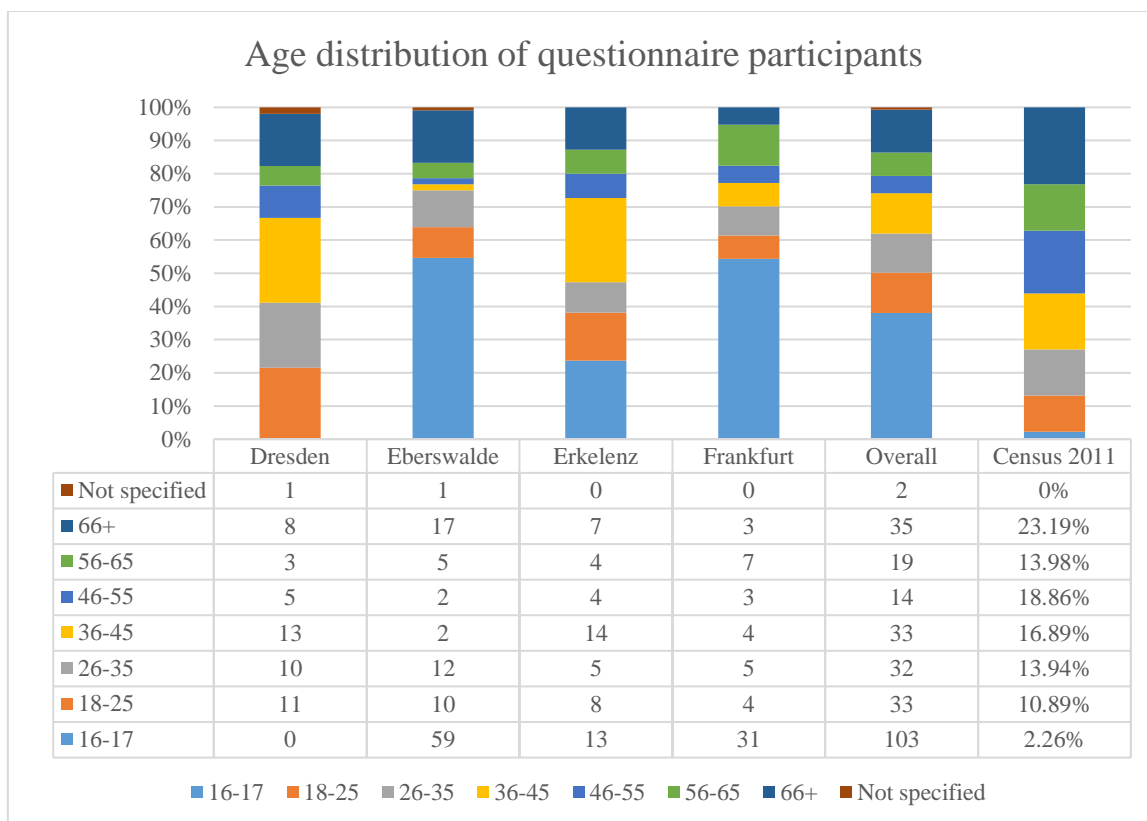


Figure 10: Age distribution of questionnaire participants compared to the proportion of people aged 16+ in the whole population who are in each age category (Zensus 2011 2020)

As Figures 9 and 10 show, people aged 16-17 are heavily overrepresented, those aged 36-55 are underrepresented, as are 18-25-year-olds in the interviews, whilst those aged 26-35 and 56+ are fairly well represented in the sample. The age groups 36-45 and 46-55 were the least represented groups at the community clubs I attended, perhaps because people in this age range are busy with both working and raising a family/running the household and so have less time for their own hobbies, and since they are still of working age, very few people in these age groups attended day-time classes at the adult education centres I visited. It was particularly disappointing to have so few participants aged 36-65 in the locations in former East Germany, as there might be contrasts in linguistic practices and attitudes between those aged 46 and above who grew up in the GDR and were 16 at the time of the *Wende* and those aged 45 and under whose formative

years were in reunified Germany. I will nonetheless do my best to investigate this with the data I have.

In addition to age and location, a further factor that I am interested in in relation to linguistic practices and attitudes is level of education. I coded each adult participant with whether they are university-educated or not and each school pupil with whether they are on a trajectory which means they are likely to go to university or not, based on the type of school they attend and the educational qualifications they have attained or are working towards. For some school pupils this information was not available and so I have simply coded them as *School*. The distribution of participants by level of education in the four locations is shown in Tables 22 and 23.

	Dresden	Eberswalde	Erkelenz	Frankfurt	Total
Uni-educated	44	34	17	20	115
Not uni-educated	7	15	25	6	53
School likely uni	0	57	6	0	63
School unlikely uni	0	1	4	29	34
School	0	1	3	2	6
Total	51	108	55	57	271

Table 22: Distribution of questionnaire participants by level of education

	Dresden	Eberswalde	Erkelenz	Frankfurt	Total
Uni-educated	17	9	8	12	46
Not uni-educated	3	2	16	3	24
School likely uni	0	8	1	0	9
School unlikely uni	0	0	1	27	28
School	0	0	2	0	2
Total	20	19	28	42	109

Table 23: Distribution of interview participants by level of education

My analysis of the variable level of education involves comparisons of university- and non-university-educated adults, and school pupils on a university and non-university

pathway. Table 24 shows the proportion of adult and school-age participants in each location and overall, who are university-educated or on a university pathway.

	Dresden	Eberswalde	Erkelenz	Frankfurt	Total
Adults					
Questionnaire	86%	69%	40%	77%	68%
Interview	85%	82%	33%	80%	66%
School pupils					
Questionnaire	N/A	97%	46%	0%	61%
Interview	N/A	100%	25%	0%	23%

Table 24: Proportion of adults who are university-educated and school pupils who are on a university pathway

The proportion of school pupils on a university pathway differs considerably between locations because of the difficulties I had in finding schools in which I could conduct my study, and this should be kept in mind when interpreting my findings as the nature of my sample makes it difficult to tell whether any differences between pupils on different educational pathways are related to their different educational trajectories or connected to the characteristics of where they live. Despite my efforts to reach a wider cross-section of the population than in my first fieldwork phase, in all research sites except Erkelenz (the one location without a centre for tertiary education), the vast majority of adults were university-educated, and overall two-thirds of adult participants were university-educated. This is not representative of society in which 28% of adults in Germany have completed tertiary education and 31% of young people in Germany are expected to do so in their lifetime (OECD 2014: 4-5). The disproportionately high participation rates of university-educated people in my study is due in part to university-educated people being more willing to volunteer to participate. Some graduates commented that they participated because they know from their own experiences as a student how hard and yet important it is to find participants. At the same time, those who were not university-educated often

actively avoided participating, saying that they would not be suitable because their English is so weak and refusing to be persuaded that this by no means precluded them from participating and in many ways made them more interesting participants. My education distribution is not dissimilar to Edwards and Fuchs' (2018) study in which 84.3% of their German participants were university-educated, which they conclude to be 'almost unavoidable in a study such as this' (2018: 657).

As well as not being representative in terms of level of education, my participants probably share some common attributes, which those who chose not to participate may not share. For instance, some participants indicated that they had chosen to participate because they have an interest in languages (and often, but not always, English). In addition, my interview participants are likely to be open, liberal-minded people, perhaps even anglophiles, as they chose to give up their time to help a British researcher. This self-selection bias is unavoidable given the ethical requirement for participation to be voluntary.

Due to the methods of recruitment, my sample is not entirely representative of the population of Germany aged 16 and over as a whole. People aged 16-17 are heavily overrepresented, whilst middle-aged people are slightly underrepresented in my sample. In addition, the proportion of university-educated people is much higher among my participants than in the whole population, and my participants are likely to be more open-minded than the wider population.⁷⁶ This must be borne in mind when interpreting the findings.

⁷⁶ As a result, my dataset is not ideal for addressing the question regarding the attitudes and practices of 'left behind' people. I had planned to return to Dresden at the end of March 2020 to gather more data on this since this region is a hotspot for the Pegida movement and the AfD, but I was unfortunately not able to do so due to the Covid-19 pandemic.

5.3 Use of anglicisms in wider society

Regarding the use of anglicisms in wider society, I shall first of all present my findings relating to the first research question – how much, when, how and by whom are anglicisms used – before considering attitudes towards this and the impact this has on society.

5.3.1 Proportion of anglicisms used

My corpus of data from this second research phase consists of 131,417 tokens and 37,667 types recorded in 61 interviews, of which 1,417 and 1,039 were anglicisms respectively. Anglicisms make up 1.08% of all tokens and 2.76% of all types (see Appendix XI for the proportions used by each individual speaker). As shown in Table 25, anglicisms are thus slightly more prevalent in this second research phase than in the spoken data in the academic and corporate domains, and this is also the case when the interviewees across the two research phases are controlled for age by only including interviewees of working age in phase 2. In addition, the proportion of different anglicisms used (types) is slightly higher in interviews in wider society than in lectures in the academic domain (although the same anglicisms are repeated more in the lectures, presumably for pedagogic reasons).

	Proportion of anglicisms	
Phase	Tokens	Types
Academic and corporate domains (lectures and interviews)	0.87%	1.96%
Academic and corporate domains (lectures only)	1.77%	2.32%
Academic and corporate domains (interviews only)	0.73%	1.87%
Wider society (interviews)	1.08%	2.76%
Wider society (interviewees aged 18-65)	1.13%	2.97%

Table 25: Comparison of spoken data in the first and second phases of the present study

5.3.2 Factors affecting the frequency of anglicisms

Of particular interest is who uses anglicisms, and whether a speaker's age, level of education, large city/town or east/west place of residence affect how much they use borrowings from English. Table 26 provides an overview of the findings, indicating that age affects how many anglicisms a speaker uses, whilst the results for the variables related to location and level of education are less conclusive since their significance varies depending on whether we look at types or tokens. The chi-square tests quoted in Table 26 are, however, overall results and for speaker age where there are more than two categories there may be more or less significant differences between some categories which are masked by the overall result. These will be highlighted where relevant in the more detailed findings below.

	Observations	Degrees of freedom	Chi-square value	Prob > ChiSq	Significant
Tokens					
Speaker age ⁷⁷	131417	6	62.90214	<0.0001	Yes
Level of education – adults	108822	1	1.955294	0.1620	No
Level of education – school pupils ⁷⁸	20735	1	0.918955	0.3377	No
City/town	131417	1	5.333778	0.0209	Yes
East/west	131417	1	14.34346	0.0002	Yes
Types					
Speaker age	37667	6	36.97059	<0.0001	Yes
Level of education – adults	29869	1	4.927863	0.0264	Yes
Level of education – school pupils	7266	1	0.001681	0.9673	No
City/town	37667	1	0.269948	0.6034	No
East/west	37667	1	2.381021	0.1228	No

Table 26: Results of chi-square tests looking at the effect of speaker age, level of education, city/town and east/west location on the proportion of anglicisms across all the data

Considering speaker age first of all, the proportion of anglicisms (both types and tokens) fluctuates for the age groups 16-35, peaks in the age group 36-45 and progressively falls back from 46 to 66+, as indicated in Table 27.

⁷⁷ The age groups compared are 16-17, 18-25, 26-35, 36-45, 46-55, 56-65 and 66+.

⁷⁸ Comparison of school pupils likely to go to university and school pupils unlikely to go to university. The two school pupils who participated in interviews for whom there is no information on their level of education were excluded from this analysis.

Age	Proportion of anglicisms	
	Tokens	Types
16-17	1.15%	2.72%
18-25	0.87%	2.49%
26-35	1.08%	3.08%
36-45	1.62%	3.89%
46-55	1.00%	2.83%
56-65	0.92%	2.33%
66+	0.88%	2.20%

Table 27: Proportion of anglicisms used by speakers in each age category

The observation that speakers aged 36-45 make most use of anglicisms can largely be attributed to 36-45ERK28U (who used to work in banking and is now a fitness instructor and doing a Masters degree – notably finance, sport and academia are all areas in which anglicisms are common) and 36-45ERK19U (an engineer who works for an internationally active company and frequently uses English at work), who use the most anglicisms of any speaker who utters more than 500 word tokens, with 3.25% of ERK28’s 2,616 tokens and 2.31% of ERK19’s 4,162 tokens being anglicisms. Similarly, 7.66% and 5.44% of types used by ERK28 and ERK19 respectively are anglicisms, the highest proportions for any speaker who uses more than 250 types. ERK19 and ERK28 have a particularly large effect on the data as they both produce considerably more than the mean number of tokens (1217 across all 109 speakers) and types (349 – ERK19 produces 974, the second highest of any speaker, and ERK28 produces 692, the fifth highest). If we exclude the highly skewing data from ERK19 and ERK28, the age group 36-45 has the following proportions: 2.55% of all types and 0.96% of all tokens are anglicisms, which are more in keeping with the rest of the data. Having excluded ERK19 and ERK28, teenagers are found to use the most anglicism tokens.

To further analyse the interaction between speaker age and the proportion of anglicisms used, I amalgamated the age groups into the following bands representing life stages: those of school age (16-17), those studying/in training (18-25), younger working-age people (26-45), older working-age people (46-65) and retirees (66+). I excluded ERK19 and ERK28 for the reasons given above and obtained the results shown in Table 28.

Life stage	School	Training	Younger working	Older working	Retired
Tokens	1.15%	0.87%	1.04%	0.95%	0.88%
Types	2.72%	2.49%	2.91%	2.51%	2.20%
Source	Observation	Degrees of freedom	Chi-square value	Prob > ChiSq	Significant
Life stage – tokens	124639	4	12.25937	0.0155	Yes
Life stage – types	36001	4	9.364195	0.0526	No

Table 28: Results of chi-square tests looking at the effect of life stage on the proportion of anglicisms used by speakers

Aside from those studying/in training using the lowest proportion of anglicisms,⁷⁹ Table 28 shows a general tendency for the proportion of anglicism tokens used to decrease as the age of the speaker increases. This finding is corroborated by responses to question 12 of the questionnaire (when do you use English?), in which only participants aged 16-35 make reference to using anglicisms. For instance, a 26-35-year-old in Erkelenz, who works in communication/advertising wrote ‘in meinem Arbeitsalltag benutze ich englische Begriffe.

⁷⁹ The unexpectedly low use of anglicisms by people aged 18-25 may be attributable to the very small number of interview participants in this life stage (seven), who account for just 6% of the tokens spoken, whereas the other life stages all have a minimum of twenty interviewees and comprise at least 17% of the tokens recorded. Further research would be needed to ascertain whether there really is a dip in use of anglicisms among those studying/in training.

z.B. Meeting, Call, asap, Catch up, Onboarding’ (in my workday I use English terms like meeting, call, asap, catch-up, onboarding) and an 18-25-year-old student in Dresden noted ‘Ich nutze oft einzelne englische Wörter, Wortgruppen oder Sätze in meiner Umgangssprache. Was allerdings kontextabhängig variiert’ (I often use individual English words, word groups or phrases/sentences in my colloquial speech, though this varies depending on the context).

As indicated in Table 26, there are significant east-west differences in the use of anglicisms for tokens but not for types, with more anglicisms being used in western parts of Germany than eastern regions, as shown in Table 29.

Location	Tokens	Types
East	0.96%	2.61%
West	1.18%	2.87%

Table 29: Proportion of anglicisms used in east and west

What is particularly interesting regarding east and west is whether there are differences between those who spent their formative years in East Germany as opposed to West Germany (i.e. aged 46+ at the time of my fieldwork in 2019), and those who were brought up in the respective regions after the *Wende* (aged 16-45).

Tokens	East	West	Chi-square value	Prob > ChiSq	Significant
16-45	1.03%	1.37%	18.44733	<0.0001	Yes
46+	0.89%	0.94%	0.483441	0.4869	No
Types	East	West	Chi-square value	Prob > ChiSq	Significant
16-45	2.85%	3.25%	2.800092	0.0943	No
46+	2.31%	2.41%	0.179897	0.6715	No

Table 30: Comparison of proportion of anglicisms used between those raised in east and west before and after the *Wende*

Although the findings consistently indicate that more anglicisms are used in western than eastern Germany, Table 30 shows that the only significant east-west difference is in the use of anglicism tokens by those aged 16-45, which is surprising given people in this age group have lived predominantly or entirely in reunified Germany. Contrary to expectations, there are only minimal differences in the use of anglicisms between east and west for those aged 46 and over.

Regarding the question of whether there are differences in the use of anglicisms between people in large cities and those in towns, the chi-square tests quoted in Table 26 found a significant difference for tokens but not types and the figures behind this result are given in Table 31.

Location	Tokens	Types
Large city	1.03%	2.72%
Town	1.16%	2.81%

Table 31: Use of anglicisms in the large cities compared to the towns

It is surprising that anglicisms seem to be used more frequently in towns than large cities, which contradicts previous findings (Edwards & Fuchs 2018; Leppänen et al. 2011) that those in cities are more familiar with, and favourable towards, English and anglicisms. This seems to be largely attributable to Erkelenz, which has the highest frequency of anglicisms, both types and tokens, as indicated in Table 32.

Location	Proportion of anglicisms	
	Tokens	Types
Dresden	0.99%	2.83%
Eberswalde	0.89%	2.17%
Erkelenz	1.33%	3.19%
Frankfurt	1.06%	2.62%

Table 32: Proportion of anglicisms used by speakers in each location

If we exclude 36-45ERK19U and 36-45ERK28U, who use an unusually high proportion of anglicisms and have a disproportionate effect on the data as a whole due to the large number of types and tokens they produce, the proportion of anglicisms used in Erkelenz is 0.95% (tokens) and 2.50% (types), putting Erkelenz third behind Frankfurt and Dresden. The effect found in Tables 26 and 31 is also reversed if we exclude ERK19 and ERK28, as shown in Table 33.

Location		Tokens		Types	
Large city		1.03%		2.72%	
Town		0.92%		2.37%	
Source	Observations	Degrees of freedom	Chi-square value	Prob > ChiSq	Significant
Location – tokens	124639	1	3.186283	0.0743	No
Location – types	36001	1	4.284437	0.0385	Yes

Table 33: Results of chi-square tests looking at the effect of city/town location on the proportion of anglicisms when ERK19 and ERK28 are excluded

Interestingly, both 36-45ERK19U and 36-45ERK28U are highly educated and this leads me on to the final factor that I am investigating in relation to frequency of anglicisms: level of education. For this analysis I include all school pupils for whom I know which type of school they attended, but exclude the two school-aged interview participants for whom information on their educational pathway is not available.

	Level of education	Tokens	Types
Adults	University-educated	1.09%	2.89%
	Not university-educated	0.98%	2.41%
School pupils	Likely university	1.10%	2.78%
	Unlikely university	1.25%	2.80%

Table 34: Proportion of anglicisms used by speakers of different levels of education

The results in Table 34 show that university-educated people tend to use more anglicisms than non-university-educated people, although a one-way ANOVA with Tukey's tests for the adult participants shows that the difference is only statistically significant for types ($p = 0.0264$). At the same time, however, school pupils unlikely to attend university use more anglicisms than their peers who are likely to attend university, although a one-way ANOVA for the school pupils finds this is not statistically significant, which slightly contradicts the idea that higher levels of formal education and more frequent use of anglicisms correlate.

In addition to looking at the effect of these demographic variables on the use of anglicisms, I was also interested to see if there is any interaction between people's use of anglicisms and their self-reported use of English and proficiency in English. Unfortunately since I collected my interview data separately from the questionnaire data and not all interview participants also completed the questionnaire, I do not know the self-reported levels of proficiency and use of English for all interview participants. However, for the thirty-five interview participants who volunteered by providing their email address in the questionnaire, I was able to match their questionnaire responses to their interview data and found a moderate correlation between use of anglicisms and both proficiency in English and use of English, as shown in Figures 11-14 and Table 35. (The raw data is given in Appendix XI.) Note that the correlations are negative because higher values of proficiency and use of English denote weaker and less frequent English, whereas higher proportions of anglicisms mean more frequent use of anglicisms.

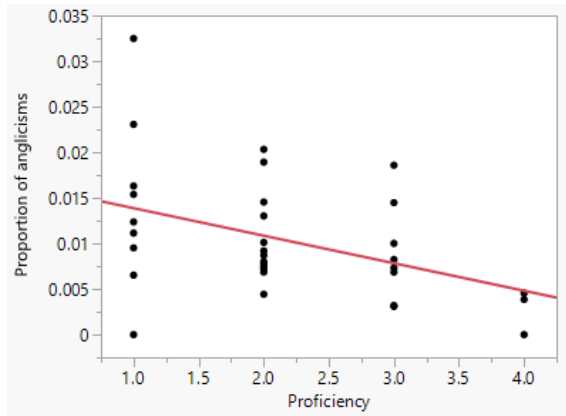


Figure 11: Proficiency in English plotted against use of anglicisms (tokens)

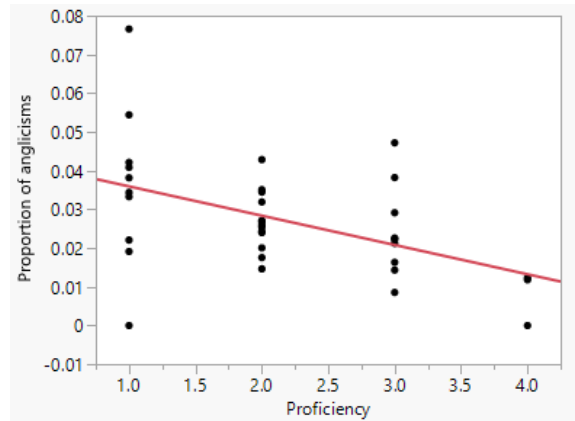


Figure 12: Proficiency in English plotted against use of anglicisms (types)

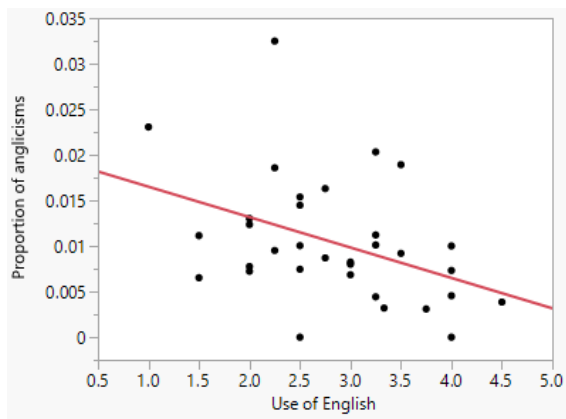


Figure 13: Use of English plotted against use of anglicisms (tokens)

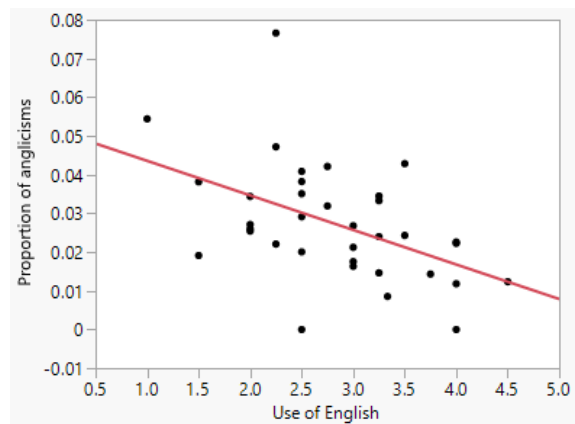


Figure 14: Use of English plotted against use of anglicisms (types)

	Value	Lower 95%	Upper 95%
Correlation of proficiency against use of anglicisms (tokens)	-0.42673	-0.66536	-0.10898
Correlation of proficiency against use of anglicisms (types)	-0.47261	-0.6962	-0.16541
Correlation of use of English against use of anglicisms (tokens)	-0.40541	-0.65074	-0.08344
Correlation of use of English against use of anglicisms (types)	-0.47936	-0.70067	-0.17389
Count	35		

Table 35: Linear regression analysis of proficiency in and use of English against use of anglicisms

In summary, I found that being young, university-educated or living in west Germany are all factors which make it more likely that a speaker will use a higher proportion of anglicisms; conversely, older people, non-university-educated people and those in east Germany use fewer anglicisms. In addition, the more frequently a person uses English and the more proficient in English they consider themselves to be, the more frequently they use anglicisms. As for settlement size, there is a tendency for more anglicisms to be used in large cities as opposed to towns, as one might expect based on the higher proficiency in and use of English in large cities (see sections 5.4.1 and 5.4.2), but it is clear from the examples of 36-45ERK19U and 36-45ERK28U that there are notable exceptions to this, perhaps because they themselves are highly proficient in English and make frequent use of it.

5.3.3 Trends in the items borrowed

As in other studies, the majority of anglicisms in my corpus are nouns, but interestingly Table 36 shows that adjectives make up a fifth of all anglicisms, which is considerably more than the 10% or less found in the first research phase and in other corpus studies (Fink 1970; Onysko 2007; K. Viereck 1980; Yang 1990).

Word class	Proportion of tokens	Proportion of types
Nouns	68.53%	72.19%
Adverbs and adjectives	24.49%	20.79%
- of which adjectives	23.92%	20.21%
- of which adverbs	0.57%	0.58%
Verbs	4.02%	4.62%
Other	2.96%	2.41%

Table 36: Proportion of anglicisms in each of the main word classes

More interesting is the proportion of each word-type which are anglicisms and Table 37 shows that borrowed nouns and adjectives are particularly frequent compared to other word-types.

Word class	Proportion of tokens	Proportion of types
All words	1.08%	2.76%
Nouns	5.77%	7.76%
Adverbs and adjectives	0.98%	2.21%
- of which adjectives	3.51%	3.72%
- of which adverbs	0.03%	0.14%
Verbs	0.24%	0.49%
Other	0.08%	0.30%

Table 37: Proportion of the different word classes that are anglicisms

Table 38 demonstrates a number of trends in the most frequently used anglicisms, most notably that many of the borrowings relate to modern popular culture and communication technology (e.g. *Film, Internet, Video*) or are in the semantic field of work (*Job, Manager, Meeting*, etc.).

Anglicism (lemma)	Frequency
international	124
okay	107
Film	82
Internet	46
cool	43
Medium ⁸⁰	35
Radio	27
Job	26
Handy 'mobile phone'	23
Tourist	23
Partner	22
Video	22
Computer	20
Tendenz 'tendency'	20
easy	16
E-Mail	14
hallo	12
App	11
posten 'to post'	10
Manager	10
Media	9
Meeting	9
chillen	8
Interview	8
Basics	8
Social	8
Commitment	7
YouTube-Video ⁸¹	7
Radiosender 'radio station'	7
Backshop 'bakery'	7
open	6
Kneelift	6
Fan	6
Hey	6
Slang	5
Videospiel 'video game'	5
Kid	5
English	5
Brexit	5
Bridge	5

Table 38: Anglicisms (lemmas) which occur five times or more in the corpus (The English translation is provided where necessary.)

⁸⁰ All instances of the lemma *Medium* were in the plural: *Medien*.

⁸¹ YouTube-Video is classed as an anglicism because *Video* is borrowed from English.

5.3.4 Assimilation of anglicisms

As in the first research phase, anglicisms found in this second research phase were generally smoothly assimilated into German. Since I have illustrated how anglicisms are unproblematically integrated into German quite extensively in Chapter 4, I shall focus here on points of interest not already covered, as well as contentious issues.

Looking first of all at the most frequently borrowed word class, nouns, all five of the masculine or neuter anglicisms occurring in the genitive singular had the *-s* ending: ‘in der Sprache des Partners’ (in the partner’s language), ‘am Beginn des Workshops’ (at the start of the workshop), ‘die Bedienung eines Players’ (operating an audio player), ‘das Sprachübersetzungsprogramm seines Handys’ (his mobile phone’s language translation program) and ‘das Mutter- oder Vaterland des anderen Partners’ (the other partner’s country of origin). With a small corpus of 1,417 anglicism tokens, just five of which are used in such genitive constructions, it would be hasty to conclude that the genitive *-s* is always applied to anglicisms. Nonetheless, it is noteworthy that it is applied so consistently in my corpus of spoken data as it is frequently observed (including in the first research phase) that there is inconsistency in the genitive declension of anglicisms, and that the use of the genitive in German, particularly in spoken language, is on the decline.

In terms of compound nouns, it is striking that I found no instances in my corpus of linking elements attaching to anglicisms used as determinants, as in *Jobangebot* ‘job offer’ and *Exportgewerbe* ‘export industry’. I did, however, note a few occurrences in my general observations: *Trainingsmaterial* ‘training material’, *Trainingseffekt* ‘training effect’ and *Networksarbeit* ‘network activity’. The fact that two of the three instances occur with *Training-* as the determinant corroborates Onysko’s observation (2007: 210) that *Training* adds a linking element, despite being the only noun ending in *-ing* to do so

(although notably I found another instance of this in my first fieldwork phase in the form of *Clusteringsähnlichkeit* ‘clustering similarity’). The non-Latinized anglicism, *Network*, seems to provide a counterexample to Onysko’s observation that ‘formative elements are no longer productive with non-Latinized anglicisms’ aside from *Training* (2007: 210). However, given how few examples I found of linking elements with non-Latinized anglicisms, they are clearly still not very productive with anglicisms in determinant position.

Turning our attention now to adjectives, there were two observations of note which came up in my fieldwork diary. Firstly, like Onysko (2007: 234-235), I found an instance of a participial adjectival anglicism being used in its English form, rather than the German form *ge-...-(e)t*: ‘seid ihr schon finished?’ (have you already finished?). Notably this question was asked by a man who looked to be in his 60s, indicating that older people who are found to be less frequent users of anglicisms may still use unusual English borrowings and not just the most widespread ones. In addition, I found further evidence of *safe* being used in German to mean ‘certain, certainly’, as in ‘das ist schon safe’ (that’s already certain), which supports my findings in the first fieldwork phase regarding this relatively new addition to the German language.

In terms of verbs, I noted variation in whether verbal anglicisms are analysed as being borrowed as one continuous form or as a morphologically complex form, as indicated by their past participle forms. Two speakers in Frankfurt used *geupdatet* ‘updated’, but when I asked about this they said that both forms, *geupdatet* and *upgedatet*, are used and I found evidence of this, with *upgedatet* occurring in the first fieldwork phase and also being used by other speakers in the second research phase. Similarly, I observed that both *geretweetet* and *regetweetet* ‘retweeted’ are used. The forms *geupdatet* and *geretweetet* regard the stems *retweet-* and *updat(e)-* as being one continuous form, whereas

upgedatet and *regetweetet* have been analysed as particle verbs by analogy to established German verbs, such as *aufwärmen* ‘to warm up’. In the case of *retweeten*, I observed another possible past participle in the passive construction *wurden sie retweetet* ‘they were retweeted’, where the verb is again analysed as one continuous form. The absence of the formative *ge-* is prosodically conditioned (it is omitted when main stress is not on the first syllable (Fertig 2020: 201)); thus the occurrence of past participles of *retweeten* both with and without the formative *ge-* indicates that there is variation in how speakers pronounce *retweeten*. This is supported by the Duden online dictionary (2020), which lists the pronunciation of *retweeten* as both [ri'tvi:tŋ] and ['ri:...], although notably the only past participle given for *retweeten* in the Duden online dictionary is the form *retweetet* in the example ‘ein 20000-mal retweeteter Post’ (a post that’s been retweeted 20,000 times). As illustrated here, my corpus and observations showed evidence of variation in the past participles of some verbal anglicisms, depending on whether they are analysed as particle verbs or continuous forms and, if the latter, whether the initial syllable carries main stress.

As noted in Chapter 4, a number of anglicisms are used in German in different ways to their usage in English and I found further examples of this in the second research phase. A teacher in Frankfurt spoke of *dieses Come-together*, in which she used an English verbal phrase (to come together) as a noun. Likewise, when shopping, I noticed a gerund being used where English would use a participial adjective: *Recycling Toilettenpapier* ‘recycled toilet paper’. Here, it seems that the adjective, recycled, has been replaced in German by a noun used as the determinant in a compound, once again showing a preference for using a nominal anglicism in German where this is not the case in English. In addition, I noted some borrowed forms undergoing derivation in German to create forms which are distinct from their equivalent in English. One example of this, found in a notice to members at a gym, is *Lieber Cyclers* ‘dear cyclist’, where *Cyclers* has clearly been

derived in German, presumably from the anglicism *Indoor-Cycling*. This further illustrates that anglicisms productively undergo morphological processes in German independently of their English forms. Finally, I observed some anglicisms being borrowed with different meanings to their English original. For instance, one history teacher spontaneously adapted her lesson in light of my presence to talk about the news that day from Britain that Theresa May was stepping down as prime minister and described this as *Stand up*, when I think she meant it was off the cuff. This translates in German as *aus dem Stand* and it's possible that the teacher made a slip of the tongue, muddling the phrases *aus dem Stand* and *Stand-up-Komiker* 'stand-up comedian', but since she did not correct herself and the pupils did not respond unexpectedly, it seems that *Stand up* is additionally used to mean off the cuff in German.

Finally, since my corpus is entirely spoken data it is possible to shed some light on the phonological integration of anglicisms. One area of interest is how borrowed abbreviations are pronounced and this was found to vary between speakers, although some tendencies were apparent. *IT* (for instance, in *IT-Sektor* and *IT-Job*) was typically pronounced as in English, although one over 66-year-old in Erkelenz used the German pronunciation. *PC* was most commonly pronounced with the German letters, but 46-55ERK1N, a farmer in her late forties, used the English pronunciation. *TV* occurred just twice in the corpus, once with English and once with German pronunciation. Thus my findings corroborate Munske's that both English and German pronunciations are found for some abbreviations (2010: 39-40). As for other words, it was apparent that particularly phonologically integrated forms were most often produced by older participants and/or those with weaker English. [z] instead of English [s] was produced by 36-45DRE8N (intermediate level of English) and 66+DRE17U in *Sale* and by 26-35FRA37N (intermediate) in the onset of *Singersongwriter* and *Songcontest*. Similarly [ʃ] was

produced instead of English [tʃ] in *chillen* by 56-65DRE16U (intermediate) and 56-65EBE1U (intermediate), and 66+ERK10N produced *Burgerdiner* with [i:] instead of [aɪ] in *diner*. Unsurprisingly, those with weaker English skills and less familiarity with the original English words are more inclined to apply German pronunciation rules to anglicisms.

5.3.5 Attitudes towards the use of anglicisms

People were generally critical of the widespread use of borrowings from English in German, with 60 interviewees expressing negative opinions compared to just 29 expressing positive opinions, and they gave a multitude of reasons for this, which will be discussed in this section. Overall, attitudes towards anglicisms did not differ substantially between east and west, towns and cities, university-educated and non-university-educated adults, and school pupils on university and non-university pathways, as shown in Figure 15, and it is interesting that my study indicates that critical opinions are no longer more prevalent in former East Germany than former West Germany (Hoberg, Eichhoff-Cyrus & Schulz 2008: 37; Stickel & Volz 1999: 21). Whilst more people in almost all age groups expressed negative rather than positive attitudes towards anglicisms, this is much more pronounced among older interviewees as shown in Figure 16, and these age-related differences in opinion concur with findings in the IDS's 1985 and 1997 surveys and the Allensbach Institute's 2008 study (Hoberg, Eichhoff-Cyrus & Schulz 2008; Stickel 1987; Stickel & Volz 1999; discussed in 2.7.1). Thus, attitudes towards anglicisms predominantly differed according to the speaker's age, but there were some subtle differences between demographic groups on certain issues, which will be discussed below.

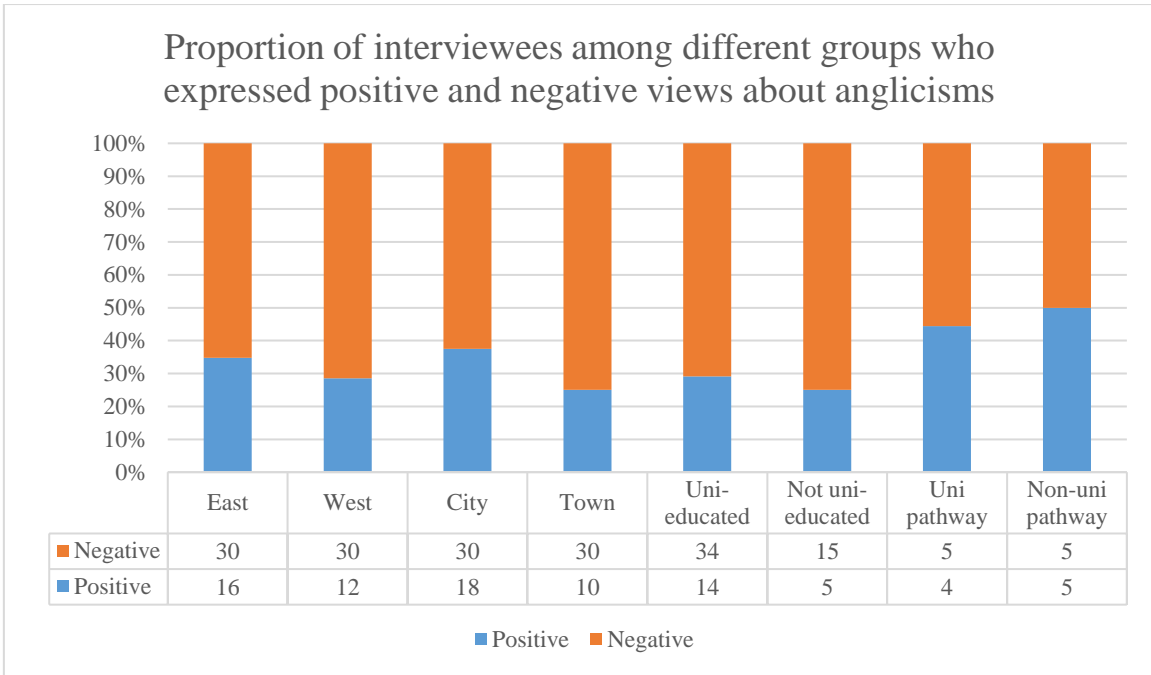


Figure 15: Proportion and number of interviewees among different demographic groups who expressed positive and negative views about anglicisms

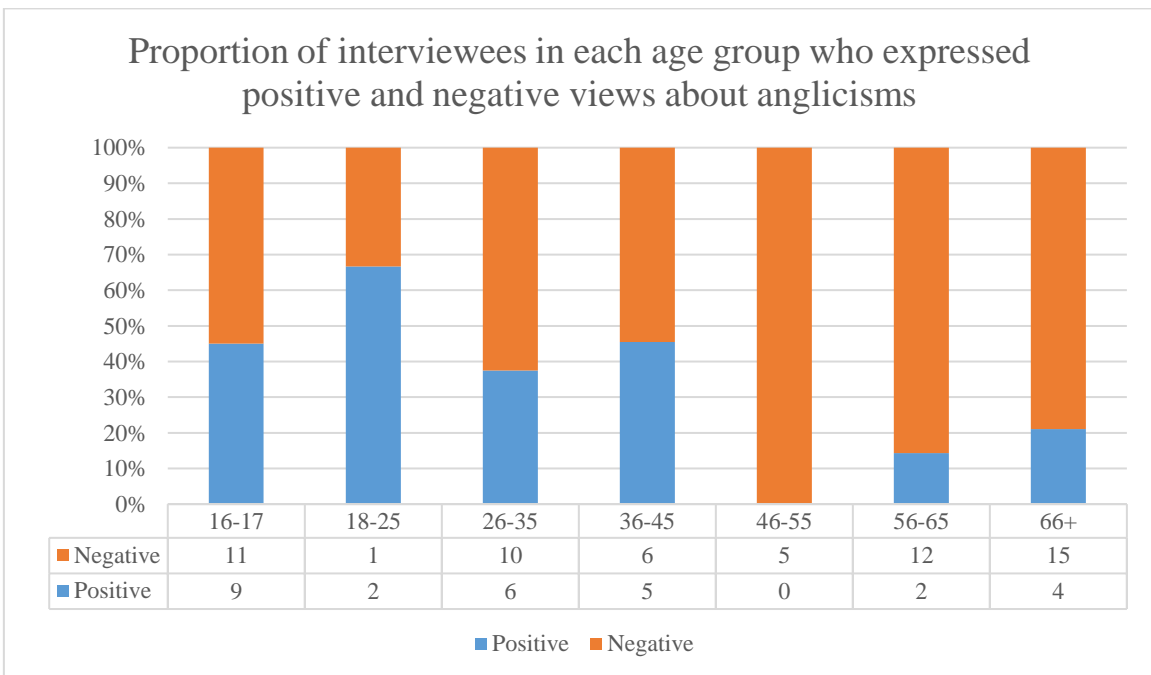


Figure 16: Proportion and number of interviewees in each age group who expressed positive and negative views about anglicisms

Considering first of all neutral and positive attitudes, a number of people regarded anglicisms as something they may not particularly like, but which they just have to accept – ‘ich habe manchmal gedacht, das ist nicht so schön, aber eigentlich lässt es sich nicht aufhalten und ja ich nehme es hin’ (I have sometimes thought it is not so nice, but ultimately it cannot be stopped and, yes, I accept it – 26-35DRE5N) – with one interviewee viewing loanwords as a necessary trade-off in the context of globalisation:

Dann kann ich aber nicht gleichzeitig sagen, ich nehme alles Schöne, die gleichen Märkte, die gleiche Kommunikation, das alles alles mit [...] und gleichzeitig darf ich nicht Meeting sagen.

Then I cannot at the same time say, I take all the nice aspects, common markets, the same communication, all of that [...] and simultaneously I’m not allowed to say *Meeting*.

(36-45ERK19U)

Thus some people took a pragmatic stance, viewing borrowings from English as an unavoidable consequence of living in a globalised world. Those who expressed more positive attitudes towards the use of anglicisms in German did so primarily on the basis that borrowing from other languages is a natural and reciprocal process, which can be mutually enriching.

Ich halte das für Quatsch irgendwie da so zu sagen, dass es voll schlimm ist, weil Sprache verändert sich immer und das ist total normal und Englisch hat auch Lehnwörter aus dem Deutschen oder anderen Sprachen und so vermischen sich halt Sprachen auch und profitieren ja auch voneinander, weil es vielleicht Wörter gibt, die einfach besser passen so, die es einfach in der deutschen Sprache gar nicht so existieren.

I think it’s nonsense to say that it’s completely awful because language is constantly evolving and that is totally normal and English also has borrowings from German or other languages and thus languages mix together and also benefit from one another because there may be words which simply fit better which simply do not exist in the German language.

(18-25DRE11U)

Some also thought it is easier to use the same words as English and this has the additional benefit that learning English is then easier as more vocabulary is familiar.

Man braucht ja auch für neue Sachen neue Namen also und dann irgendwie was Deutsches sich auszudenken ist teilweise komplizierter irgendwie [...]. Natürlich ist es gut viele englische Wörter zu haben, dann ist es natürlich leichter dann irgendwie die englische Sprache zu lernen, wenn man viele hat, die man dann anwenden kann, die man ja kennt.

One needs new names for new things and then it is somehow partly more complicated to come up with something German [...]. Naturally it is good to have lots of English words, then it is obviously easier to learn English if you have many words which you can use, which you already know.

(36-45DRE8N)

Indeed, the same can be said for learning German: if German and other languages adopt English terms then these borrowed words will be familiar to non-German speakers and aid them in understanding and communicating in German. In this way, anglicisms can provide a common international vocabulary and help make languages mutually intelligible (at least in topics where anglicisms are most prevalent). Furthermore, by borrowing words, you can borrow not just the word itself but the connotations that go with it and this can be useful, particularly for words which carry a lot of theory or concepts with them.

Dass man sich meist mit einem Wort einem Begriff verständlich machen kann, der dann sehr viel mehr Background hat, also wenn ich von etwas spreche, was weiß ich, Coaching zum Beispiel, dann haben viele, die diesen Begriff kennen, natürlich die ganzen Assoziationen dazu. Ich muss nicht mühsam irgendwie umschreiben, weil es kein Wort für Coaching zum Beispiel in Deutsch gibt.

That you can make yourself understood mostly with one word, one term, which has much more background, if I talk about something, I don't know, *Coaching*, for instance, then many people who know this term obviously know all the associations that go with it. I don't have to laboriously paraphrase because there's no word for *Coaching* for example in German.

(56-65FRA2U)

A further sentiment expressed primarily by young people was that using anglicisms can be 'lustig' (funny – 18-25DRE11U) and that they sound 'cool' (16-17FRA16SN and 16-17FRA17SN). Thus about a third of interviewees expressed neutral or even positive views of anglicisms, explaining that linguistic borrowing is a natural process, which in an age of globalisation cannot be stopped and, indeed, brings with it the advantages that it is easier to understand other languages as some vocabulary is familiar and that you can reference a whole range of associations by using an anglicism rather than creating an unrelated German term. Although these views were expressed by interviewees of all ages (except 46-55) and from all locations, there was a tendency for younger, university-educated adults (but school pupils on non-university pathways), particularly in cities and the east to hold such positive views of anglicisms.

As indicated above, however, the majority of respondents across all research sites emphasised negative consequences of the widespread use of anglicisms and one common theme, particularly in responses from university-educated participants, was that the borrowings damage the German language.

Ich mag Sprachen generell und meine Sprache auch sehr und da ist es teilweise schon ein bißchen traurig, wenn die Sprache so, man hat irgendwann den Eindruck, dass sie dadurch weniger schön wird [...], die Jugendlichen reden dann so mit einem hohen Prozentsatz englischer Wörter und ich denke, da geht die Vielfalt der Ausdrucksweise verloren, das, was die jüngeren Leute noch an original deutschen Wörtern haben.

I like languages generally and my language very much too and it is sometimes a bit sad, when the language, one has the impression that it's becoming less beautiful as a result [...] teenagers speak with a high proportion of English words and I think there the variety of forms of expression, those original German words that the younger people still have, is being lost.

(26-35DRE1U)

Ich nutze dann cool für alles Mögliche so, obwohl ich manchmal sagen würde, oh, das ist ja schön oder manchmal würde ich sagen, das ist ja

niedlich, aber ich sage, dann sage ich immer cool cool und dann ist es irgendwie so alles gleich.

I use cool for all manner of things, although sometimes I could say oh, that's nice or sometimes I could say that is cute, but then I always say cool cool and then it is somehow all the same.

(26-35EBE8U)

These interviewees among others drew attention to their concerns that the use of anglicisms is reducing the variety in the German language as people increasingly use loanwords, particularly common ones such as *cool* or *nice*, when they could express themselves in a much more nuanced manner if they made full use of the German language. There was also a sense that anglicisms and modern culture more generally are reducing the correctness of young people's German in particular, and interestingly such views were also held by the young people themselves.

Natürlich tut es mir auch ein bißchen weh, wenn dann die ganzen jungen Leute gar nicht mehr ordentlich schreiben und sprechen können.

Obviously it pains me a bit when all the young people can no longer write or speak properly.

(26-35DRE1U)

Nicht viele können jetzt einen normalen Satz bilden ohne irgendwie so ein Slang zu haben, heutzutage das ist ganz schwer.

These days not many people can form a normal sentence without somehow using slang, nowadays that is really difficult.

(16-17FRA12SN)

A further way in which borrowing can be thought to harm German is by introducing ungrammatical elements into the language.

Es sind aber einige Dinge, die mich stören, wenn zum Beispiel an Geschäften bei uns dransteht Anna's Nails, das ist im Deutschen falsch [...] im Deutschen gibt's nicht den Sachsegenitiv und wenn ein deutsches Wort dahinter her oder Anna's Nagelstudio, total bescheuert.

There are, however, some things which annoy me, for instance when *Anna's Nails* is written on shops here, that is incorrect in German [...] there is no Saxon genitive in German and when a German word follows or Anna's nail studio that's completely bonkers.

(66+FRA38U)

Peter's Fahrschule, Peter dann kommt Apostroph -s Fahrschule, das ist falsch, das ist schlicht und einfach falsch und falsches Deutsch, da habe ich was dagegen.

Peter's driving school, Peter then comes an apostrophe -s driving school, that is wrong, quite simply wrong and I have something against incorrect German.

(66+DRE7U)

Although there is no indication that the Saxon genitive is being used in German other than in the names of businesses, my observations and these comments from interviewees in different locations indicate that the practice is widespread and it is possible that in time it will affect written German in other contexts. Thus interviewees identified three ways in which the German language is potentially being damaged by the use of anglicisms: they reduce the variety of German forms of expression used, they contribute to a deterioration in young people's German and they introduce ungrammatical elements such as the Saxon genitive into the German language. Such views were particularly prevalent among those with more formal education, corroborating Stickel and Volz's (1999: 23) finding that people with higher levels of formal education are more worried about the German language deteriorating.

A particular criticism of the use of anglicisms was the way in which it mixes the two languages and older people were particularly vocal in condemning this.

Ganz schlimm ist dann dieser Wechsel zwischen Englisch und Deutsch in einem Satz.

What's really awful is this switching between English and German in one sentence.

(66+DRE17U)

Ich denke, dass diese Sprachen dann wirklich unterschiedlich gelernt und gehandhabt werden müssen und nicht alles in einem Topf geworfen.

I think that these languages should really be learnt and used separately and it shouldn't be that everything is thrown into one pot.

(56-65ERK13N)

Was mir gerade einfällt, dass ein Bäckerladen dann Backshop heißt, also und das ist auch noch eine Mischung [...] und dass so viel dann ja gemischt wird und das finde ich nicht gut.

Something which comes to mind is that a bakery is called a *Backshop* [bake-shop] and that is also a mixture [...] and I do not like how so much is mixed.

(66+DRE4U)

Here, both code-switching mid-sentence and creating compounds out of a combination of German and English elements is criticised and it seems interviewees would rather people distinguish between the two languages than mix them together in a form of *Denglisch*. Some stated that people should use 'entweder Deutsch oder Englisch' (either German or English – 66+ERK27N) and avoid mixing them so that each language 'behält [...] ihre eigene Identität' (retains its own identity – 36-45ERK28U). These findings echo Erling's (2004) and those in the first research phase, indicating that concerns about mixing German and English continue to be prevalent.

Many people also held the view that some borrowing is fine, but that the anglicisms have become too prolific and this opinion was particularly prevalent among older people, such as this retired Dresdner:

Ich finde mich damit ab, an sich ist mir das oftmals zu viel Englisch, also das hat auch Grenzen, dass man mit Englischen, dass man einige Begriffe oder Redewendungen übernimmt.

I put up with it, but there is often too much English for my liking, there are limits to how much English, how many terms and phrases one adopts.

(66+DRE17U)

In addition, interviewees of all ages distinguished between acceptable borrowing and unnecessary use of anglicisms, and this notion of necessary as opposed to luxury loans is a common theme in purist ideology.

Manche Wörter vermitteln noch ein anderes Gefühl da vielleicht so als die deutschen Entsprechungen und da passt dann vielleicht das englische Wort doch besser.

Some words maybe convey a different feeling to the German equivalent and in such cases the English word perhaps does fit better.

(16-17EBE11SU)

[chillen] kann man auch sagen, wenn man der Meinung ist, dass es das besser beschreibt als rumhängen.

You can say *chillen* (to chill) if you are of the opinion that it describes it better than *rumhängen* (to hang out).

(66+DRE7U)

Wenn es im Deutschen keine richtige Entsprechung gibt, ist es in Ordnung.

If there is no suitable equivalent in German then it's okay.

(36-45DRE10U)

Thus a widely held view was that anglicisms are acceptable if they fill a gap in the German language, perhaps by denoting a new concept or expressing a more nuanced meaning.

Where they are less acceptable, however, is when they replace a perfectly good German word, as the following comments indicate.

Wenn jetzt alle von Kids sprechen ist nicht nötig, wir müssen nicht Kids haben und dann was ganz schlimm ist, ist so eine Überschrift, die beim Laden steht, Backshop gibt es in ganz England keinen und in Amerika auch nicht.

It is not necessary for everyone now to talk of *Kids*, we do not need to have *Kids* and then what's really awful is a heading, which you find on a shop, *Backshop*, there are none in the whole of England nor in America.

(66+DRE7U)

Es muss hier nicht überall Sale stehen, wir hatten das Wort Schlussverkauf oder Abverkauf.

It's not necessary for *Sale* to be written everywhere here, we used to use the word *Schlussverkauf* [clearance sale] or *Abverkauf* [clearance sale].

(66+ERK10N)

Wenn es einfach nur so benutzt wird, weil es gerade eben rüberschwappt oder weil man da zu faul ist, einen vielleicht sogar konkreteren deutschen Begriff zu verwenden, dann finde ich es blöd.

When it's simply used because it's just spilt over or because people are too lazy to use a perhaps more concrete German term then I think it's stupid.

(36-45DRE10U)

As illustrated here, while younger people also criticised the unnecessary use of anglicisms, those over 65 were most emphatic in their criticism, providing examples of borrowings they particularly dislike. Where there is a like-for-like German equivalent, it was generally deemed unnecessary to use an anglicism and, as we will see, a number of young people in particular commented that they consciously try to avoid using anglicisms in such cases.

This criticism of the unnecessary use of anglicisms, which is particularly prevalent among older, university-educated people in the east, probably stems from an awareness that anglicisms can give rise to misunderstandings for people with weak English skills, who are themselves typically older and in former East Germany, where fewer people learnt and had the opportunity to use English prior to reunification. A number of interviewees provided examples of such misunderstandings.

Mein Mann kann kein Ketschup kaufen, auf dem B-B-Q steht, dass es Barbeque heißen soll, das fällt ihm überhaupt nicht ein, warum auch na? Also ich finde das ein bißchen diskriminierend für die älteren Leute, die kein Englisch in der Schule hatten oder die es nie mehr gebraucht haben.

My husband cannot buy ketchup on which B-B-Q is written. That it should mean barbeque doesn't occur to him at all and why should it? I find it a bit

discriminatory for older people who didn't have any English at school or who have never needed it since.

(66+ERK10N)

Eine Bekannte erzählte mir, derer Oma hat dann ein T-Shirt geholt für einen Jungen und da stand dann drauf hier Daddy's little girl und das für einen Jungen. Gut, sie hat halt nicht gewusst, so was dadrauf steht.

An acquaintance told me how her grandma bought a t-shirt for a boy and on it was written *Daddy's little girl* and that was for a boy. She simply did not know what was written on it.

(36-45DRE8N)

Although these may seem like trivial misunderstandings, when they occur on a regular basis they can become frustrating for people with limited knowledge of English, and this comes across from the comments older participants made. 56-65EBE1U described the use of anglicisms as 'lästig' (tiresome), 66+DRE17U commented 'das nervt' (it's annoying) and 66+ERK9U said 'mich stört das ganz extrem' (that bothers me extremely). Furthermore, the use of anglicisms can lead to communication issues between the generations, which adds to this frustration.

Ich glaube, mein Vater, er versteht manchmal ein zwei Wörter nicht, die entscheidend für einen Satz sind.

I think my father sometimes does not understand one or two words, which are crucial for a sentence.

(26-35FRA37N)

Mir passiert es manchmal anderen vielleicht öfter, dass man einfach dann Wörter verwendet, die in der gleichen Altersgruppe verstanden werden, und die Großeltern verstehen die ja nicht.

It happens to me sometimes and perhaps happens to others more often that one simply uses words which would be understood by people of the same age and one's grandparents do not understand them.

(26-35DRE1U)

As some interviewees commented, this lack of understanding of anglicisms, particularly among the older population and those with less formal education, can lead to people feeling ‘ziemlich ausgeschlossen’ (somewhat excluded – 46-55DRE14U) and marginalised, and may encourage some people to turn to political extremes.

Also das Gefühl von vielen, die nicht Englisch können, abgehängt zu sein spielt sicherlich auch in der ganzen in dem Rechtsruck politisch in Deutschland eine große Rolle, also der Grund ist, dass die Leute sich abgehängt fühlen erstens wegen Arbeitslosigkeit und auch, weil sie nicht mehr hinterherkommen und ich denke, da spielt auch, dass alles Englisch wird, schon auch eine Rolle.

The feeling of many who cannot speak English of being left behind certainly plays a large role in the whole, in the political swing to the right in Germany, the reason is that people feel left behind firstly due to unemployment and also because they are no longer keeping up and I think the fact that everything is becoming English plays a role there.

(26-35DRE1U)

Ich denke, so die ältere Generation oder auch die Leute, die sowieso momentan etwas kritisch politisch unterwegs sind, dass sie auch davor Angst haben, dass die Kultur verschwindet, aber auch dass die Sprache verschwindet.

I think that the older generation or also the people who are in any case somewhat politically critical at the moment, I think that they are also afraid that the culture is disappearing but also that the language is disappearing.

(46-55DRE14U)

None of my interviewees regarded the influence of English as the only or even most important factor in the rise of the right-wing in Germany, particularly in eastern regions such as Saxony and Brandenburg, but it is certainly interesting that some people felt that the prevalence of English is a contributory factor. Others disagreed saying that the rise of the Pegida movement⁸² and the growing prominence of the *Alternative für Deutschland*

⁸² Pegida stands for *Patriotische Europäer gegen die Islamisierung des Abendlandes* (Patriotic Europeans Against the Islamisation of the Occident) and its supporters have demonstrated in Dresden every week since October 2014.

party are a reaction to the high levels of migration since 2015, are due to xenophobia in general or are more a generational problem, probably referring to the effects of the *Wende* on the older generation in east Germany, some of whom were made redundant at the time of reunification and have never quite adjusted to living in the new unified Germany. Whether the widespread use of anglicisms in Germany has an impact on Germany politically is inconclusive, but it certainly seems to be the case that people with limited English, particularly in the older generations, feel frustrated and excluded by the prevalence of borrowings from English.

With criticisms of anglicisms abounding, I was interested to know whether people felt that German should be protected in any way. In contrast to the Allensbach Institute's 2008 survey (Hoberg, Eichhoff-Cyrus & Schulz 2008: 40), which found that half of respondents thought that German should be protected more, only ten interviewees (mostly older people as in the 2008 study, but including two 26-35-year-old Dresdners and one school pupil in Frankfurt) were of the opinion that protecting the German language would be good, yet they were unsure how one could go about doing this: 'ja, wenn man das könnte' (yes, if you could do that – 66+DRE17U) and 'ja, aber wie' (yes but how – 66+ERK25N). More prevalent, particularly among those under 50, was the view that languages are always changing and that this is a natural process which cannot be stopped.

Ich sehe es als natürlichen Wandel, da kann man sich beschweren oder jammern, wie man will, es passiert einfach.

I see it as a natural change, you can complain or whinge as much as you like, it is simply happening.

(36-45DRE10U)

Sprache verändert sich immer durch kulturelle, gesellschaftliche, kriegerische oder sonst welche Einflüsse und das ist einfach so.

Language is constantly evolving due to cultural, societal, military or other influences and that is simply how it is.

(46-55ERK20U)

In addition, many people expressed the opinion that it is not necessary to protect German on the basis that it is so widely spoken and the language is being maintained automatically through being used in schools, the law and the media, among other things.

Ich denke mal, sprechen zu viele Deutsch, denke ich mal, dass es jetzt noch nicht notwendig ist.

I think too many people speak German, I think that it's currently not yet necessary.

(36-45DRE8N)

Es gibt auch keine Bestrebungen das abzuschaffen, das Schulgesetz schreibt ja vor, die Dinge im Original zu lesen und in der Deutsch, also Deutsch als Landessprache als Muttersprache, da jetzt fahren sie wieder die Stunden hoch.

There are also no efforts to abolish that [German as the language of instruction], the education act stipulates that the things should be read in the original version and they are increasing the number of hours of tuition again in German, that is German as the national language as mother tongue.

(46-55FRA32U)

Thus there were a variety of views as to whether German should be protected, with the majority of participants deeming it unnecessary.

Nevertheless, older people generally did not want the German language to be lost as they felt it is an important part of German national identity.

Wenn ich nicht in Deutsch spreche und in Deutsch denke, ich weiß nicht, ob das nicht, ob das gut ist für das Nationalbewusstsein.

If I don't speak in German and think in German, I don't know if that's not, if that's good for the sense of national identity.

(56-65DRE16U)

Aber wir sollten schon auch im Rahmen der EU diese nationalen Eigenheiten, die jede Nation hat, und da ist die Sprache eine davon, die sollte man schon erhalten.

But we should retain, also in the context of the EU, these national idiosyncrasies which every nation has and the language is one of them.

(66+EBE2U)

Sprache ist auch eine gewisse Form von Kultur, also dass man natürlich schon gucken kann, dass innerhalb der Gesamtglobalisierung gewisse, also lokale, Kulturen immer noch erhalten bleiben.

Language is also a certain form of culture and one can naturally see to it that within the whole globalisation certain that is to say local cultures are still retained.

(46-55FRA41U)

These examples show that people placed threats to the German language and culture within the context of globalisation and the majority of people expressed the wish that German should continue to function as the main language in Germany, even if they did not altogether support the idea of protecting it.

Whilst exploring the idea of protecting German, people discussed possible ways in which this could be done. Some participants were aware of measures in other countries and previously in the GDR, such as quotas for how many songs in English can be played on the radio and institutes which create non-English terms for new concepts rather than borrowing from English, and a few people tentatively supported such measures: ‘das wäre vielleicht nicht schlecht’ (that’s maybe not a bad idea – 66+DRE4U). Others took issue with such political and direct methods of protecting the language, as the following comments illustrate.

Das ist Eingriff in die persönliche Freiheit, das geht gar nicht und im Radio schon gar nicht, das ist Pressefreiheit.

That is an infringement of personal liberty, that’s not on at all and on the radio not at all, there we have freedom of the press.

(56-65DRE16U)

Ne ist Quatsch, gesetzlich finde ich bescheuert.

No, that's nonsense, I think using legal means is daft.

(66+FRA38U)

Ich weiß nicht, ob das der richtige Weg ist, ich bin ja mehr für offen und miteinander und Abkapseln und Isolieren ist ja tendenziell nicht so gut.

I don't know if that's the right approach, I am more in favour of being open and cooperative and cutting oneself off and isolating oneself is generally not so good.

(26-35DRE1U)

Thus if one were to protect German, the consensus was that such direct protectionist approaches were the wrong way to go about it.

A number of respondents took issue with the term *schützen* (protect) and sought other softer ways of expressing this.

Ich würde es nicht direkt sagen, dass man die Sprache schützen sollte [...] würde ich nicht sagen schützen, aber man sollte vielleicht dafür sorgen, dass es immer noch Deutsch bleibt.

I wouldn't exactly say that one should protect the language [...] I wouldn't say protect, but maybe one should make sure that it remains German.

(16-17ERK7S)

Würde ich sagen direkt schützen nicht, man sollte sie ja [ERK25 pflegen] pflegen ja und nicht anwenden, wenn es nicht nötig ist.

I wouldn't exactly say protect, one should [ERK25 maintain] yes maintain the language and not use [borrowings] where they are unnecessary.

(66+ERK26N and 66+ERK25N)

This idea recurred frequently across the interviews with about a quarter of participants rejecting the idea of protecting German with measures imposed from above, but then

suggesting a number of ways in which individuals and people collectively could take care of their language. A common theme running through young people's responses was that they themselves could be aware of when they use anglicisms and minimise how many they use. (Older participants did not mention this, presumably because they do not perceive themselves to use many anglicisms.)

Ich versuche es [Anglizismen] ein bißchen zu vermeiden, glaube ich.

I think I try to avoid using them [anglicisms] a bit.

(26-35DRE5N)

Ich probiere mich zu kontrollieren, dass ich nicht zu allem sag, oh das ist ja cool, sondern ein gutes deutsches Wort dafür zu finden [...] ich habe das Gefühl, dass das eher gerade wieder eben hinterfragt wird und dass man gerade eher probiert, auch wieder deutsche Wörter dafür zu finden.

I try to monitor that I do not say about everything, oh that is cool, rather that I find a good German word instead [...] I have the feeling that it is more the case that [the use of anglicisms] is being questioned and that people are trying to use German words again instead.

(26-35EBE8U)

Ich denke jetzt nicht, dass man sie schützen sollte, sondern einfach nur darauf achten, wenn man schon so Wörter benutzt, dass man halt jetzt nicht wirklich das vergisst, zum Beispiel wie zum Beispiel das Wort easy, man sollte halt schon immer wissen, wie man das verwendet, wo man es verwendet, zum Beispiel du kannst nicht mit deiner Lehrerin reden und sagen ja easy es ist easy oder so, man sollte einfach benutzen, weil easy kannst du deinen Freundinnen sagen, aber so wenn man mit jemandem auf als Höflichkeit redet, dann sollte man eher Deutsch reden, also Hochdeutsch.

I don't think that one should protect it, rather simply make sure that when you use such words, that you don't actually forget, for instance the word *easy*, one should always know how one uses it and where one uses it, for example you cannot speak to your teacher and say yes *easy*, it is *easy*, one should use *einfach* because you can say *easy* to your friends, but when you are speaking politely then you should speak German, that is *Hochdeutsch* [standard German].

(16-17FRA9SN)

Thus many young people indicated an awareness that they and their generation have a tendency to use a lot of anglicisms and that some young people are consciously trying to reduce this. Another recurrent theme was that value should be placed on teaching children to speak good German and that the media should also play a role in promoting German.

Natürlich finde ich es wichtig, dass in der Schule man Wert immer noch Wert darauf legt, dass Kinder ein facettenreiches Deutsch haben und lernen.

Naturally I think it's important that schools place value continue to place value on children having and learning a multifaceted German.

(26-35EBE8U)

Dass Schule noch mehr noch mehr da drauf achten, ja [...] gesetzlich nicht, in der Schule und die Medien, die Zeitungsreporter sollten dann auch mehr darauf achten, die Zeitungen, die Chefs oder die Herausgeber.

Schools should be more mindful of it, yes [...] not legally, in school and in the media, the newspaper reporters should also be more mindful of it, the newspapers, the managers or the editors.

(56-65ERK13N)

Aber ich finde schon, dass Menschen, die das die Sprache prägen, wie jetzt als Journalisten oder Lehrer an der Schule, dass die darauf hinarbeiten sollten, dass auch ein gutes Deutsch gesprochen wird.

But I do think that people who influence the language, for instance as journalists or schoolteachers, that they should aim for good German to be spoken.

(56-65FRA35U)

Whilst people generally were against the idea of formally protecting German, it was widely thought that more could be done by individuals, schools and the media to ensure that people continue to learn and speak good German.

Finally, it was interesting to hear from some highly educated participants that value judgements are made about those who use a lot of anglicisms, and some hinted that class

divisions may be developing between those who use anglicisms frequently and those who avoid them.

Ich glaube, Anglicismen oft den Touch, sagt man auch, von wenig Niveau haben, also das empfindet mit Gangster und niedrigen Milieu.

I think anglicisms often have a touch, another word one uses, of low status, that is one has a sense of gangster and low social background.

(26-35DRE1U)

This is particularly interesting since I found that university-educated people generally used more anglicisms than non-university-educated people and so, if anything, then anglicisms would seem to be associated with high social status based on my data. Perhaps 26-35DRE1U is not referring to all anglicisms, but to those in the slang/colloquial register which form part of urban multiethnolects, such as *Kiezdeutsch*, whereas more highly educated people tend to use borrowings in a more professional and specialised register. In addition, two young university-educated Dresdners wondered whether societal divisions are being reinforced by variation in language between people in different socioeconomic groups.

Kann es entstehen möglich so schichtspezifische Sprache und ich merke auch, wenn ich mit bestimmten Leuten rede, die halt aus einer in Anführungszeichen natürlich auch einer höheren Schicht sind, dann gebe ich mir auch Mühe, mich eben feiner auszudrücken und so unterscheiden sich wirklich durch die Sprache schon die Schichten.

Class-specific language might possibly emerge and I notice too that when I speak to certain people, who are, in inverted commas of course, from a higher social class, then I also make the effort to express myself more eloquently and thus classes do really distinguish themselves through language.

(18-25DRE12U)

Ich denke, wenn man elitär ist und ein Professor oder so, dann hütet man sich davor, versucht man bewusst eine deutsche Sprache zu pflegen [...]. Vielleicht bildet sich dann doch eine Spalte heraus, eine Elite, die eben

dann gutgebildet sind und Wert legen auf ein reines Deutsch und sich damit abheben.

I think if one is elite and a professor or the like then one watches out for, one tries consciously to look after the German language [...]. Maybe a gap will develop after all, an elite who are then well-educated and place value on speaking pure German and set themselves apart through that.

(26-35DRE1U)

Thus these interviewees recognised that people can use language to position themselves in particular social groups and that speaking a pure and grammatically correct German is interpreted as a sign of higher social status.

5.4 Use of English in wider society

Turning our attention now to the use of English, I shall consider in this section what the linguistic situation is – how much English is used, by whom and at what level – before considering attitudes towards this.

5.4.1 Use of English

My data on participants' use of particular languages is drawn from their responses to the questionnaire. So as to carry out statistical analysis on this data, I converted the Likert scale ranging from always to never into a numerical scale with the values 1 = *always*, 2 = *often*, 3 = *sometimes*, 4 = *rarely* and 5 = *never*. Thus, the lower the value, the more often a person uses a given language.

First of all, it is worth comparing how often people report using German and English and considering whether this differs according to the domain in which people are

active. Question 10 of the questionnaire (Appendix III.v-vi) asked participants to use the above scale for reading, listening, speaking and writing, with the following results.

English				German			
	Academic domain	Corporate domain	Wider society		Academic domain	Corporate domain	Wider society
Reading	1.91	1.71	2.63	Reading	1.67	1.52	1.27
Listening	2.19	2.06	2.62	Listening	1.53	1.48	1.16
Writing	2.45	1.77	2.98	Writing	1.63	1.58	1.20
Speaking	2.73	2.23	2.96	Speaking	1.48	1.48	1.16
Overall	2.32	1.94	2.80	Overall	1.58	1.52	1.20

Table 39: Mean average of questionnaire responses indicating how often participants use each of the four communication skills in English and German comparing the academic and corporate domains from the first research phase and wider society from the second research phase

As Table 39 shows, people active in the academic and corporate domains report using German less and English more than the general populace, with the difference in terms of English use between wider society and the corporate domain being greater than the contrast between wider society and the academic domain. The same trends are apparent in terms of how frequently people use each form of communication. Within German, there is very little variation, although spoken forms of communication (speaking and listening) are used slightly more frequently than written forms (writing and reading). As for English, there is once again a preference for using passive language skills (reading and listening) above active skills (writing and speaking).

Drawing on people's responses to questions 11 and 12 in the questionnaire, regarding when people use German and English, as well as my own observations, it is clear that German is used 'eigentlich durchgängig den ganzen Tag' (actually continuously all day) and 'bei allem' (for everything). English, on the other hand, is used in more restricted contexts, within which three main trends can be identified. Firstly, people note

that they use English when consuming popular culture and particularly on social media: they mention watching films, TV series and YouTube videos in English; playing English-language video games; listening to English-language music, podcasts and audio-books; and reading posts and comments, online articles and in some cases books in English. Secondly, people report using English when confronted with someone who does not speak German, for instance when on holiday, with friends who live abroad, when helping tourists, and with non-German-speaking friends/colleagues. Thirdly, a number of people refer to using English in professional contexts. Some mention using English in their university studies, whilst others use it for their work, primarily to access information (many people refer to reading specialist literature in English) or to communicate with non-German speakers, whether they be colleagues, business partners or patients/customers. Thus, whilst German is generally used at all times, English is primarily reserved for contexts which are in some way international, involving non-German-speaking interlocutors or information/media which are intended for a global audience. The exceptions to this are when people proactively use English so as to improve their language skills, which 59% of respondents report doing. Two participants refer to having set English as the language on their phone, one texts her sister in English to practise the language, some use language apps and lots of people encounter English in English lessons at school or in language classes which they attend in their free time.

In addition to these broad tendencies, I am interested to see whether age, level of education, east/west or urban/rural place of residence affect the frequency with which people use English. To ascertain this, I calculated the mean use of English across reading, writing, listening and speaking for each speaker and ran a one-way ANOVA with Tukey's tests for multiple pairwise comparisons, with overall frequency of English as the y-

response and the independent variable (e.g. participant age, place of residence, level of education) as the x-factor.

Looking first of all at the effect of age on use of English, it is apparent from Table 40 that older people use less English than younger people (the average response for those aged 66+ is 3.45, indicating they use English sometimes to rarely, whereas those aged 16-17 have a self-reported mean of 2.46, indicating the frequency with which they use English falls between often and sometimes), and these differences are significant between those aged 66+ and 16-17, 18-25 and 36-45 ($p < 0.0001$, $p = 0.0165$, $p = 0.0145$ respectively) and between 56-65-year-olds and 16-17-year-olds ($p = 0.0061$). This observation is corroborated by question 12, ‘in which contexts do you use English in everyday life?’, to which the responses ‘nie’ (never), ‘wenig’ (rarely) and ‘fast nie’ (almost never) most frequently came from people aged 66+.

Age	Mean frequency of English use
16-17	2.46
18-25	2.82
26-35	2.89
36-45	2.81
46-55	3.02
56-65	3.15
66+	3.45

Table 40: Mean self-reported use of English for all age groups

As with the use of anglicisms, I am interested in whether the use of English differs by life stage and so grouped participants into the following bands: school (16-17), training/studying (18-25), younger working-age people (26-45), older working-age people (46-65) and retirees (66+).

Life stage	Mean self-reported use of English
School	2.46
Training/studying	2.82
Younger working	2.85
Older working	3.09
Retired	3.45

Table 41: Mean frequency of English use by life stage

As shown in Table 41, those at school use English significantly more than those aged 26-45 ($p = 0.0114$), 46-65 ($p = 0.0004$) and 66+ ($p < 0.0001$) and respondents aged 18-25 and 26-45 also use English significantly more than retirees ($p = 0.0082$ and $p = 0.0029$ respectively).

I found the use of English to be remarkably similar between east and west, with a mean self-reported usage of 2.83 in the east and 2.75 in the west, and no significant differences between those aged 46+ in east and west, despite their varying amounts of schooling in English in East and West Germany respectively, as indicated by Table 42.

Age	Mean use in east	Mean use in west	Prob > F (p-value)
16-45	2.66	2.62	0.7118
46+	3.36	3.15	0.3229

Table 42: Mean self-reported use of English for people aged 16-45 and 46+ in east and west Germany

As Table 43 indicates, English is used significantly more frequently in large cities than in towns ($p = 0.0063$) and this is, again, corroborated by the responses to question 12 of the questionnaire, with the vast majority of those who said they use English never, rarely or almost never residing in Erkelenz or Eberswalde.

Location	Mean frequency
Large city	2.64
Town	2.91

Table 43: Mean self-reported use of English in towns and large cities

This observation that English is used significantly more in large cities than towns is due to the fact that English is used significantly more in Frankfurt than any other location, as shown in Table 44. The other large city, Dresden, does not differ significantly from either town in frequency of English use.

Location	Mean frequency
Erkelenz	3.08
Dresden	2.85
Eberswalde	2.82
Frankfurt	2.44

Table 44: Mean self-reported use of English for all locations

Finally, turning our attention to the effect of level of education on the use of English, Table 45 shows that university-educated adults use English significantly more than non-university-educated adults ($p < 0.0001$).

	Level of education	Mean frequency
Adults	University-educated	2.83
	Not university-educated	3.43
School pupils	Likely university	2.63
	Unlikely university	2.22

Table 45: Mean self-reported use of English by level of education

In contrast, the school pupils on a more academic pathway use English less frequently than those on a less academic trajectory, and a one-way ANOVA of the school pupil data finds this to be statistically significant ($p = 0.0032$).

To sum up, it is apparent that young people use significantly more English than older people, university-educated people use English significantly more often than non-university-educated people, and people in certain large cities make significantly more use of English than people in less cosmopolitan locations. The only variable for which there was no statistically significant difference was between east and west.

5.4.2 Proficiency in English

In addition to considering how much English is used and by whom, it is interesting to investigate people's proficiency in English and my data on this comes from their own responses to the questionnaire. So as to carry out statistical analysis on this data, I converted the Likert scale ranging from beginner to fluent into a numerical scale with the values 1 = *fluent*, 2 = *advanced*, 3 = *intermediate* and 4 = *beginner*. Thus, the lower the value, the more proficient in English a person is. Comparing participants in the first and second research phase, it is evident that proficiency is higher among people in the academic and corporate domains (mean = 1.44) than in the wider population (mean = 2.20). There is also much more variation in proficiency in English among members of the wider population (phase 2) than in people in the academic and corporate domains (phase 1), as shown in Table 46.

Self-assessed English level	Phase 1	Phase 2
Fluent	63%	20%
Advanced	30%	47%
Intermediate	7%	25%
Beginner	0%	8%

Table 46: Proportion of questionnaire participants in research phases 1 and 2 who reported being at each level of English proficiency

Given this much wider range of proficiency in English in phase 2, I am interested to see whether there is any interaction between demographic variables (such as age, level of education, east/west or urban/rural place of residence) and proficiency in English.

Starting with age, it is apparent from Table 47 that proficiency in English is higher for younger people and a one-way ANOVA finds that people aged 66+ are significantly less proficient than those aged 16-17, 18-25, 26-35 and 36-45 ($p < 0.0001$, $p = 0.0029$, $p = 0.0006$, and $p = 0.0101$ respectively).

Age	Mean proficiency
16-17	2.01
18-25	2.09
26-35	2.00
36-45	2.16
46-55	2.57
56-65	2.47
66+	2.87

Table 47: Mean self-reported proficiency in English for all age groups

Proficiency is significantly lower for retired people compared to people at school, in training or younger working-age people ($p < 0.0001$, $p = 0.0014$ and $p = 0.0001$ respectively) and significantly lower for older working-age people than for school pupils ($p = 0.0152$). The means for people in each of these life stages are given in Table 48.

Life stage	Mean proficiency
School	2.01
Training	2.09
Younger working	2.08
Older working	2.52
Retired	2.87

Table 48: Mean self-reported proficiency in English by life stage

Despite comments in the first research phase (e.g. by 18-24KON5) about school-leavers not necessarily being proficient enough in English to take Bachelor courses in English, according to my data there is no significant difference in proficiency between those finishing secondary school and those studying/in training and in fact school pupils report being more proficient in English than their slightly older peers. However, if I compare the 102 school pupils (mean proficiency = 2.01) to the 30 people aged 18-35 who indicate that they are students (mean proficiency = 1.77) it is apparent that proficiency in English is significantly higher among students than school pupils ($p = 0.0482$).

Given the substantial differences in the teaching of English at school in former East and former West Germany, it is interesting to see whether proficiency differs by age in eastern and western locations.

Age	Mean proficiency in east	Mean proficiency in west
16-17	1.97	2.07
18-25	1.76	2.67
26-35	1.91	2.20
36-45	1.86	2.39
46-55	2.86	2.29
56-65	2.75	2.27
66+	3.05	2.44

Table 49: Mean self-reported proficiency in English for all age groups in east and west Germany

Table 49 shows only minimal differences in proficiency by age in the west and a one-way ANOVA finds that none of these differences are statistically significant. By contrast, the data in Table 49 indicates considerable variation in proficiency in English in the east between those aged 16-45 and those aged 46+ and a one-way ANOVA comparing 16-45 (mean proficiency = 1.91) with 46+ (mean proficiency = 2.94) in the east found the difference in proficiency to be statistically significant ($p < 0.0001$).

Although there are differences in the age profile of proficient English speakers in east and west, there are no significant differences in overall proficiency between east (mean proficiency = 2.16) and west (mean proficiency = 2.26). This is because speakers aged 16-45 in the east consider themselves significantly more proficient than their compatriots in the west, whereas the reverse is true for those aged 46+, as shown in Table 50.

Age	Mean proficiency in east	Mean proficiency in west	Prob > F (<i>p</i> -value)
16-45	1.91	2.24	0.0015
46+	2.94	2.33	0.0116

Table 50: Mean self-reported proficiency in English for people aged 16-45 and 46+ in east and west Germany

Regarding size of settlement, Table 51 shows that there is a statistically significant difference between levels of proficiency in towns and large cities, with people in large cities reporting a higher proficiency in English ($p = 0.0294$). This difference perhaps comes about because of the contrast between Erkelenz and Frankfurt, which are the only two locations which differ significantly from one another ($p = 0.0100$).

Location	Mean proficiency
Large city	2.07
Town	2.30
Erkelenz	2.52
Eberswalde	2.18
Dresden	2.12
Frankfurt	2.02

Table 51: Mean self-reported proficiency in English by location, comparing towns and large cities

As shown in Table 52, adults with university education report having a significantly higher level of English than non-university-educated adults ($p < 0.0001$). In

line with expectations based on the levels of English required by the different school-leaving certificates (see section 3.4.3), school pupils on a university pathway also report being more proficient than their peers at less academic schools, although this difference is not statistically significant according to a one-way ANOVA analysing the school pupil data ($p = 0.1949$).

	Level of education	Mean proficiency
Adults	University-educated	2.04
	Not university-educated	2.98
School pupils	Likely university	1.94
	Unlikely university	2.09

Table 52: Mean self-reported proficiency in English by level of education

I found very similar results for proficiency in English and use of English, namely that older people are less proficient and use less English than younger people, there is no significant overall difference between east and west in terms of frequency or proficiency, and there is significantly higher use and proficiency in large cities than towns, and among university-educated people as opposed to non-university-educated people. This prompted me to test whether proficiency in English and use of English are themselves correlated.

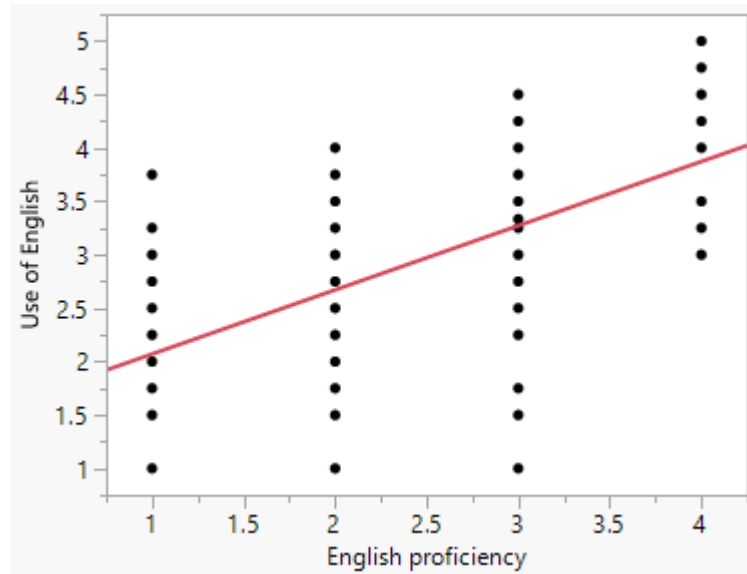


Figure 17: Proficiency in English plotted against use of English for questionnaire data

	Value	Lower 95%	Upper 95%
Correlation	0.62992	0.551104	0.697596
Count	264		

Table 53: Linear regression analysis of proficiency in English against use of English

Figure 17 and Table 53 indicate that there is a strong positive correlation between a participant’s self-reported proficiency in English and how often they report using English. This means that the worse someone perceives themselves to be at English, the less they use it and conversely that the more proficient they consider themselves in English, the more they use it.

5.4.3 Attitudes towards the use of English

Despite these differences in usage and proficiency according to demographic variables, attitudes towards the use of English in Germany, for instance at universities, by companies

and in interactions with tourists and migrants, were remarkably similar across the different variables, as indicated in Figures 18 and 19. Overall, positive views regarding the use of English were expressed by marginally more people (65) than negative views (59).

University-educated people were much more positive about the use of English than non-university-educated participants, school pupils on university pathways were more positive than their less academic peers, and there was a tendency for younger people to be slightly more positive about the use of English than older people. Nonetheless, there were more nuances and these will be brought out in this discussion of attitudes towards the use of English.

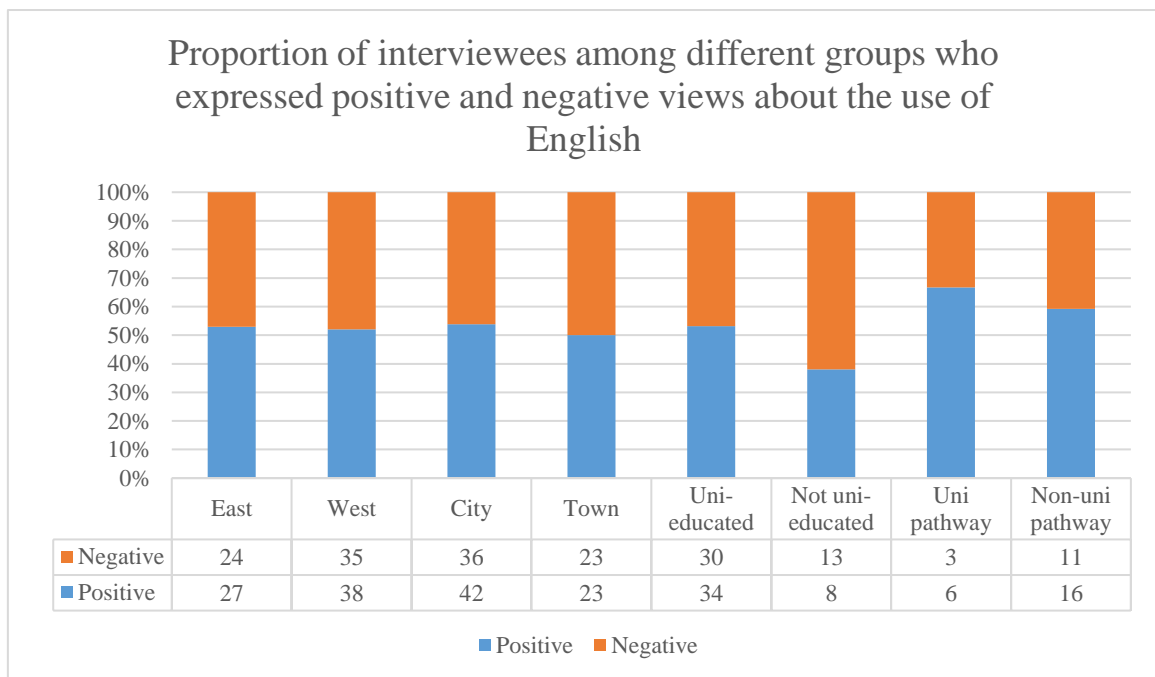


Figure 18: Proportion and number of interviewees among different demographic groups who expressed positive and negative views about the use of English

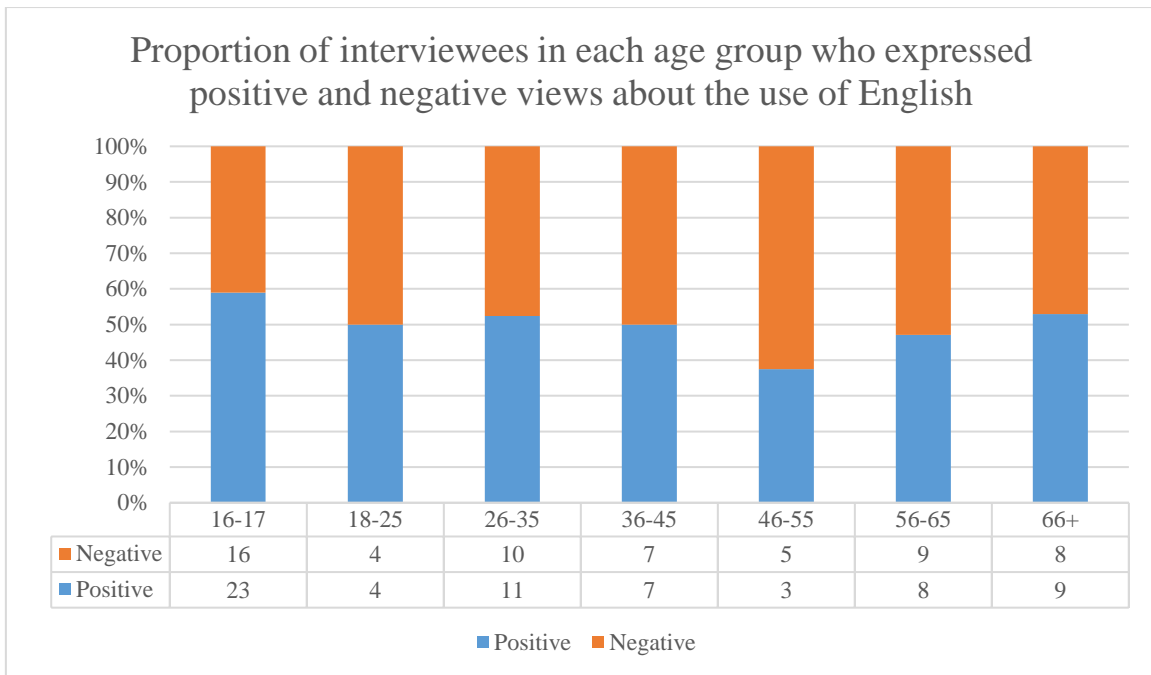


Figure 19: Proportion and number of interviewees in each age group who expressed positive and negative views about the use of English

Starting with the positives, people commented that using English enables people to interact internationally and saw it as normal and natural when used for communication in an international context, by which they meant with non-German speakers whether at home or abroad. This view was particularly common among university-educated people, perhaps because, with their higher proficiency in English (see section 5.4.2) and often greater international mobility, they are the ones who benefit most from using English as a lingua franca. A 30-year-old doctor in Dresden noted that

Es ist auf jeden Fall praktisch, weil das macht, dass die Gesellschaft besser Englisch kann, dass man besser international agieren kann.

It is definitely handy because it means that people have better English, that they are better able to operate internationally.

(26-35DRE1U)

Another Dresdner completing their undergraduate degree concurred:

Dadurch kann man dann ja irgendwie auch mehr Leute inkludieren, die zum Beispiel englischsprachig sind, also wenn es ein internationaler Kontext ist, dann ist es sehr gut.

Thus you can also include more people who are, for example, English-speaking, therefore if it is an international context then it is very good.

(18-25DRE11U)

Many developed this idea further, commenting that it is advantageous to have a world language, which at this point in time is English. This sentiment was common among older as well as younger interviewees of all educational backgrounds:

Ja, man kann eine Muttersprache haben, aber wenn jetzt alle, die ganze Welt, Englisch sprechen würde, wenn die das alle gelernt hätten und überall würden sie Englisch sprechen, wäre auch viel einfacher.

Yes, one can have a mother tongue, but if everyone, the whole world, were to speak English, if everyone had learnt it and people were to speak English everywhere, then it would be much easier.

(66+EBE19U)

Der ganze wissenschaftliche Bereich geht international weltweit am besten, wenn man sich auf eine Sprache einigt und das ist nun mal Englisch geworden [...]. Die ganze Welt ist so vernetzt, dass es einfach sinnvoll und praktisch ist, eine Sprache zu haben, die alle verstehen.

The whole scientific field works best, internationally and worldwide, if people agree on one language and that has turned out to be English [...]. The whole world is so connected that it simply makes sense and is convenient to have one language that everyone understands.

(66+ERK11U)

As the comments quoted above indicate, English is widely accepted when used in an international context, but a number of people expressed the view that German should be used in certain other contexts. Some younger people made passing reference to this – for instance, a school pupil in Erkelenz thinks ‘dass es relativ situationsabhängig ist’ (that the use of English is relatively dependent on the situation – 16-17ERK8SN) – but detailed comments such as the following came primarily from older participants.

Es kommt aufs Fachgebiet an. In bestimmten Fachgebieten, gerade wenn sie vordergründig im Management in der Computerbranche sind, wo auch internationale Kontakte gefragt sind, ist die englische Kommunikation sehr wichtig, die Grundlage finde ich okay. In anderen Berufen sollte man sich immer wieder doch noch mal auf die deutsche Sprache besinnen.

It depends on the subject area. In certain subject areas, for instance if they are prominent in management in the computing industry where international contact is needed, communication in English is very important, on this basis I think it is okay. In other professions one should however use the German language.

(66+EBE3U)

Wenn es um gesellschaftliche Dinge geht oder oder oder filmisch, künstlerisch oder was auch immer, dann würde ich sagen, da muss nicht immer Englisch sein, aber auf der anderen Seite alle Sprachen, die benötigt werden in beispielsweise in Firmen oder in der Forschung oder wo auch immer, da sollte schon Englisch sein.

If it's about societal things or cinematic, artistic things or the like then I would say that English need not always be used, but on the other hand, all languages which are required for instance in companies or in research or wherever, English should be among them.

(66+ERK26N)

Also jeder Tatort, oder was jetzt an Krimis so kommt, der hat am Ende noch ein Sentimentalsong auf Englisch. Keine Sau versteht, worüber da gesungen wird, aber es klingt schön. Der Mörder ist unglücklich, Opfer lebt nicht mehr und da singt noch eine da da da da, das ist, finde ich, so was von albern, also das muss eigentlich nicht sein, da haben wir gleich auch deutsche Schlager.

Every *Tatort* [a long-running German crime series] or whatever crime TV programme there is nowadays has a sentimental song in English at the end. Nobody understands what the song is about, but it sounds nice. The murderer is unlucky, the victim is dead and someone sings da da da da that is, I think, so ridiculous, that actually does not need to be the case, since we also have German pop music.

(66+DRE7U)

Thus people across the research sites indicated that English may be used in industries which involve a lot of global interaction, for example academia, computing and business, but for more local and cultural things, German should be used, and older people were

particularly vocal in expressing this opinion. Indeed, even in contexts, such as the academic and corporate domains, in which English is generally deemed appropriate because of the international reach of these fields, a couple of people provided examples of where they felt the use of English has gone too far.

Da verstehe ich zum Beispiel ein eins überhaupt nicht, dass eine große Firma mit Referenten in Deutschland für eine Veranstaltung in Deutschland Englisch sprechen muss und alles, der gesamte Betrieb, alles in Englisch abgeht, die Verträge, die Abrechnung, alles in Englisch, ruhige merken, eine deutsche Firma, ein deutscher Referent und in Deutschland die Veranstaltung, also da kann ich da nimmer folgen, das verstehe ich überhaupt nicht [...], da übertreibt man diese ganze Geschichte mit Globalisierung und Englisch als die globalisierende Sprache aus meiner Sicht, also das kann ich überhaupt nicht akzeptieren [...] und soweit ist es schon gekommen, also das finde ich überhaupt nicht sinnvoll [...], man muss nicht eine zweite Sprache einführen, wenn es auch einfacher geht, egal welche.

For instance I do not understand at all why a large firm has to speak in English with contributors in Germany for an event in Germany and why the whole business is conducted in English, the contracts, the accounting, everything in English, remember, a German firm, a German contributor and the event is in Germany, I can never comprehend that, I do not understand that at all [...] there one exaggerates this whole story of globalisation and English as the globalising language in my opinion, I cannot accept that at all [...] and it has already gone this far, I do not find that at all reasonable [...] you do not need to introduce a second language, regardless of which, when things can be done more easily.

(66+DRE17U)

This view was not confined to the oldest interviewees. A scientist in their late 30s in Frankfurt said that

Was ich auch komisch finde, ist, wenn dann ein deutscher Dozent, der nicht so toll oder nur so deutsches Englisch kann, dann krampfhaft die Vorlesung auf Englisch hält, nur damit sie in Englisch stattfindet, da hat auch keiner so richtig was davon [...], also wenn es wirklich international ist, bietet es sich an.

What I also find strange is when a German lecturer, whose English is not so brilliant or who can only speak German English, then arduously gives a lecture in English, only so that it takes place in English, in this case no one really benefits from this [...] if it's really international, then it makes sense.

(36-45FRA36U)

Here the interviewees emphasise that although the domain itself may be highly international, if the particular context you are dealing with is not, then it does not make sense to communicate in English.

A number of mostly urban and university-educated interviewees also felt that having the potential to switch into English makes Germany a welcoming country for tourists and migrants.

Bei mir überwiegt das Positive, dass Englisch spricht halt auch für Vielfalt und ich denke, Vielfalt ist sehr wichtig und klar also ich finde es auch wichtig, Deutsch zu sprechen, aber keine Ahnung, das macht, finde ich, auch ein Teil, finde ich, Deutschland aus, dass man ein offenes Land ist, zumindest ein großer Teil offen ist.

For me the positives predominate, that English speaks for diversity and I think that diversity is very important and obviously, I also think that it is important to speak German, but I don't know, I think it makes Germany an inclusive country, at least to a large extent.

(18-25DRE12U)

Also ich finde das richtig, wir haben halt viele Touristen in Deutschland und auch generell Zuwanderer und das hilft schon zum Verständigen der anderen Menschen.

I think it's right, we have lots of tourists in Germany and also immigrants in general and it helps you to communicate with other people.

(26-35DRE3U)

Ich persönlich finde das richtig gut, weil man muss ja, also man muss es auch so sehen, wir sind eine multikulturelle Gesellschaft, nicht jeder kann unbedingt Deutsch, viele retten sich da auch über das Englische, wenn wir zum Beispiel das Ganze mit der Flüchtlingskrise betrachten.

I personally find it really good because one also has to see it this way, we are a multicultural society, not everyone can necessarily speak German, many people save themselves by using English if we consider for example the whole refugee crisis.

(16-17ERK8SN)

Wenn ich im Zug sitze, da sitzt häufig irgendein Ausländer, der weiß gar nicht, wo er umsteigen muss, was er muss, der ist gottfroh, wenn er sich mit irgendjemandem verständigen kann und dann ist meistens Englisch und das finde ich sehr positiv.

When I'm on the train there is often a foreigner there who doesn't know where to change trains or what they have to do and they are very glad when they can communicate with someone and that is usually in English and I find that very positive.

(66+ERK11U)

In such cases, English is useful as a temporary means of communication, but ultimately most migrants settling in Germany are expected to learn German and are supported in doing so through numerous courses offered at adult education centres and vocational colleges. As noted in Chapter 1, native English speakers are frequently the exception to this and this was also apparent in my study, with two interviewees under 35 (18-25DRE12U and 26-35FRA34U) noting neutrally that there are some anglophones who live and work in Germany and have done so for a number of years who do not speak German.

Three mostly older interviewees, however, were more critical of this:

Als Nachteil finde ich natürlich, dass Leute, die herkommen, meiden die auch um die deutsche Kultur aufzunehmen [...], ich habe von jemandem mal gehört, dass es schade ist, dass alle Englisch können und dadurch ist man gar nicht angesprochen, Deutsch zu lernen.

Of course, I think one disadvantage is that people who come here avoid picking up German culture [...] I once heard someone say that it's a shame that everyone can speak English and therefore one is not at all required to learn German.

(26-35FRA37N)

Es gibt natürlich andere interessantere Konstellationen, wie dass eben Personen in Deutschland sozusagen arbeiten, deutschen Standort besitzen, aber trotzdem kein Deutsch sprechen, also da ist es immer so, sagen, in meiner Firma kann ich ja Englisch sprechen und drum herum schaffe ich es ja eigentlich auch und die Motivation von denen, dass sie tatsächlich dann Deutsch lernen, ist eben ziemlich gering teilweise, also das finde ich jetzt eher als ein bißchen problematisch dann.

There are naturally other more interesting constellations, for instance that people work in Germany, at a German site, but nevertheless speak no German, they always say I can speak English at work and everywhere else I actually manage too and their motivation to actually learn German is therefore pretty low, in part, I find that a bit problematic.

(46-55FRA41U)

Nachteil ist möglicherweise, dass andere Sprachen vielleicht weniger gewürdigt werden, als es vielleicht gut wäre und dass viele Leute auch aus dem englischsprachigen Raum sich oftmals nicht die Mühe machen, eine andere Sprache zu lernen, weil sie wissen, dass sie eigentlich auf der ganzen Welt gut verstanden werden und das ist eigentlich was, was schade ist, weil eine andere Sprache zu lernen hat ja auch etwas mit Wertschätzung zu tun.

A downside is possibly that other languages are maybe less appreciated than is perhaps good and that many people from the English-speaking world often do not make the effort to learn another language because they know that they will be understood across the world and that is actually a pity because learning another language has something to do with appreciation.

(36-45DRE20U)

These comments indicate that younger people are willing to accept English-speaking migrants not speaking German, perhaps because they and their generation often enjoy interacting with them in English, whereas older participants are more inclined to view this as lazy, disrespectful and problematic for integration, as 51-60HAN5 made clear in the first research phase: ‘Dass Ausländer, die Englisch können, zu faul sind, die lokale Sprache zu lernen, wäre ein Nachteil und das hindert die Integration und man bleibt irgendwo fremder im fremden Land. Das ist nicht gut’ (A disadvantage is that foreigners who can speak English are too lazy to learn the local language and that hinders integration and one remains more foreign in a foreign country. That is not good). Given the differing views from people of different ages, it might be the case that younger people are more pro-multiculturalism and older people are more pro-integration, but without asking participants whether they think people with native languages other than English should learn German,

it is unclear whether younger people are pro-English but expect non-English-speaking migrants to integrate through learning German rather than pro-multiculturalism in general. Furthermore, with such a small sample size and with the question as to whether English-speaking migrants should speak German only being discussed in a few interviews, it is difficult to draw more than tentative conclusions. Thus while people recognise the advantages of English for communicating in the short-term with tourists and migrants, there is concern, expressed mostly by middle-aged participants, around the dominance of English and the indifference towards learning German which some feel it encourages in those who are able to get by in English.

A further advantage a few young people identified, specific to the university context, is that by using English as a language of instruction, students are prepared for working in an international field, such as academia, after completing their degree. One young graduate commented:

Wissenschaftssprache ist Englisch und deswegen ist das gut, wenn man das schon an der Uni gleich auch mitanwendet und nicht nur die Fachsprachenkurse in der Uni macht, sondern auch ja die ganz normalen Vorlesungen.

The language of academia is English and for that reason it is good if you learn it at university and use it immediately and not just take subject-specific language courses at university, rather also use it in normal lectures.

(26-35DRE15U)

This view was shared by a *Gymnasium* school pupil in Eberswalde:

Was ich nach der Schule machen möchte das Studium zum Beispiel komplett auf Englisch [...] und ich finde es tendenziell sinnvoller, weil man dann am internationalen Markt auch größere Chancen hat beim, wenn man sich einen Beruf sucht zum Beispiel nicht nur auf ein Land beschränkt ist.

The course I want to do when I finish school is completely in English [...] and I find that generally more sensible because when you are looking for a job you have greater opportunities in the international market and you're not just limited to one country.

(16-17EBE15SU)

The young graduate in Dresden noted, however, that providing university tuition in English is not without its drawbacks.

Wenn man eine Grundlagenvorlesung auf Englisch hat und die ganzen Fachbegriffe noch nicht auf Deutsch gelernt hat, dann ist es tatsächlich irgendwie problematisch, weil man hat dann zum Beispiel die Möglichkeit auch die Prüfung auf Deutsch zu schreiben, dann macht man es aber auf Englisch, weil man gar nicht weiß, wie es auf Deutsch heißt, also man müsste sozusagen die Grundlagen auch schon erstmal auf Deutsch lernen, zumindest wenn man einen normalen deutschen Studiengang studiert [...], solange man noch auf Deutsch alles denkt auch, braucht man ja irgendwie eines Wort dafür oder man möchte sich auch manchmal mit Leuten über etwas unterhalten, die dann nicht das Fachenglisch können, und dann weiß man ja auch nicht, wie das richtig auf Deutsch heißt.

If you have an introductory lecture in English and you have not yet learnt all the subject terminology in German then it can actually be problematic, because you have, for example, the opportunity to do your exams in German, but you do them in English because you do not know what the words are in German, therefore you should as it were learn the basics in German first, at least if you're studying on a normal German course [...] so long as you still think about everything in German, then you somehow need a word for things or sometimes you want to discuss something with people who don't know the subject terminology in English and then you do not know what the correct terms are in German.

(26-35DRE15U)

This recent graduate in Earth Sciences raises an issue which is prevalent in the domain loss literature (Hultgren 2013, 2016a; Jensen et al. 2013: 88), namely that if you never discuss a subject in a particular language, then you will not develop or know the relevant terminology to do so in that language, with the result that it is impossible to discuss the topic in that language. This graduate also suggests a viable solution to this problem: to teach the introductory courses in German and, indeed, this is what I observed during the first research phase – the Bachelor courses were taught in German, with students being exposed to increasing amounts of English as the course went on to prepare them for the Masters program, which was more likely to be taught in English (at least in some subject

areas, such as computing and the natural sciences). Such an approach finds a middle ground between the competing demands of preparing students for the world of work and ensuring that they have the cognitive understanding and linguistic tools to discuss the subject matter in German.

Whilst clearly aware of the advantages that using English in certain contexts can have, participants in all locations and from all backgrounds recognised that those with limited English are put at a disadvantage in their professional lives. First of all, interviewees noted that career prospects are more limited for those who do not speak English proficiently.

Also klar grenzt du schon deine Berufschancen ein, wenn du kein Englisch kannst, du bist einfach schlechter dran.

Obviously you limit your career prospects if you cannot speak English, you are simply worse off.

(56-65EBE1U)

Beim Studieren oder generell in der späteren Berufswelt ist man da auch ganz eindeutig benachteiligt.

When studying or generally later in the world of work you are quite clearly at a disadvantage.

(16-17ERK8SN)

Dann wird es natürlich schwierig irgendwelche Berufe anzunehmen, die einen immer höheren Grad an Internationalisierung erfordern, aber wenn man jetzt, weiß ich nicht, Berufe annimmt, die eher einen lokalen Markt haben, also wenn ich Handwerker bin und neunundneunzig Prozent meiner Kunden sprechen Deutsch oder noch mehr, dann komme ich wahrscheinlich auch ohne andere Sprachkenntnisse zurecht.

Then it is obviously difficult to take on any careers which involve an ever higher degree of internationalisation, but if one takes on, I don't know, careers which have a more local market, so if I am a tradesman and ninety-nine per cent or even more of my customers speak German, then I probably get by without other language skills.

(26-35FRA34U)

Thus people expressed the opinion that career opportunities are more limited for those with weaker English, but as 26-35FRA34U, who works in the financial industry, makes clear this primarily affects those in particular sectors or companies which are in some way international. For those whose work is contained within the domestic market and brings them into contact almost exclusively with German speakers, not speaking good English is irrelevant. In addition, it was predominantly university-educated adults or school pupils on a university pathway who raised this issue, suggesting that it is primarily those who seek graduate-level employment who might be disadvantaged professionally by having weak English skills. Where all are affected, however, is in the education system with some people's choices being affected by their level of English.

Wo ich gemerkt habe, ich kann nicht gut Englisch, da werde ich nicht studieren [...], einfach weil Englisch eins oder besonders das Hauptfach war in der Schule, was mir Probleme bereitet hat, habe ich halt gemerkt, ne ich mache kein normales Abitur in Anführungsstrichen, sondern ein Fachabitur und dann hätte ich gar nicht an der Universität, also an der TU, nicht gehen können.

When I realised I am not good at English and therefore I am not going to go to university [...] simply because English was one of or particularly the main subject at school which caused me problems, I realised no, I'm not going to do normal A levels in inverted commas rather a vocational equivalent and then I would not have been able to go to university that is to say the TU [Dresden's university] at all.

(26-35DRE5N)

Since people's first foreign language, which for the vast majority of pupils is English, is examined in all school-leaving certificates (*Hauptschulabschluss*, *Realschulabschluss* and *Abitur*), your level of English can help determine which exam you sit and this has a knock-on effect on your future choices and career path. One teacher at a vocational college drew attention to how this is a particular problem for recent migrants who have not been taught English in their home country.

Die kommen dann mit Null-Englischkenntnissen und das ist ein Handikap, weil die kommen über den Hauptschulabschluss nicht hinaus [...]. Also wir haben Schüler, die haben gute Ausbildung Schulausbildung in ihrer Heimat gehabt, haben aber kein Englisch gehabt und dann kriegen die hier auch keinen Abschluss anerkannt ja und können auch eigentlich nicht weitermachen. Es ist echt ein Drama.

They come then with zero knowledge of English and that is a handicap because they cannot get beyond the *Hauptschulabschluss* [school-leaving certificate from a *Hauptschule*, the least academic school] [...]. We have pupils who have had good schooling in their country of origin, but who have not learnt any English and then they cannot get a qualification recognised here and they cannot actually proceed. It really is a drama.

(46-55FRA32U)

This teacher indicates that although English may not be essential for the occupation a person is striving for, it is essential to achieve certain qualifications along the way with the result that not speaking English can pose a major obstacle to one's professional progression. As illustrated here, the fact that English is required for some jobs and educational pathways means that those with weaker English may find that certain opportunities are not open to them as a result.

Interviewees also noted areas of people's private lives which are adversely affected by not speaking good English. Participants acknowledged, for instance, that travelling abroad is trickier for those typically older people who speak minimal or no English.

Meine Mutter kann kein Wort Englisch und die fühlt sich in anderen Ländern nicht wohl, weil sie nichts versteht.

My mother cannot speak any English and she feels uncomfortable in other countries because she does not understand anything.

(66+DRE7U)

Sie [meine Cousine in Dresden] würde gerne nach London fahren zum Beispiel und sucht dann eben jemand, der sie begleiten würde, damit sie sich sicherer fühlt.

She [my cousin in Dresden] would like to travel to London for example and she's looking for someone who would accompany her so that she feels safer.

(66+FRA42U)

These examples highlight how those who have weak English feel less at ease when abroad and how they are not so freely able to decide when and where to travel, as indicated in the second quotation since 66+FRA42U's cousin is waiting to find an English-speaking travel companion before she can go to London. This particularly affects older people, who report lower proficiency in English, having had little or no English at school or who have had minimal contact with English since their school days, and especially those educated in the GDR, who report the lowest levels of proficiency (see Table 50). Secondly, some school pupils noted how not speaking English can limit one's access to and enjoyment of popular culture and social media.

Wirklich dieses Social Media ist alles voller Englisch heutzutage, wird da und da was gemischt. Wenn man wirklich kein Englisch kann, ist man wirklich auch so ausgegrenzt.

Social media is really full of English these days, things are mixed here and there. If you really cannot speak any English, then you are really excluded.

(16-17FRA8SN)

Privat wird man in Deutschland Serien zum Beispiel auf Englisch gucken, weil Serien in Originalsprache immer besser sind, dann ist es für die Leute, die das gucken, schon limitierend, weil die das nicht sehen können.

People in Germany watch series for example in English in their free time because series in their original language are always better and then it is limiting for these people because they cannot watch it.

(16-17EBE16SU)

In addition, the dubbed versions of series are often available later than the original version which means that those who are unable to watch the series in English have to wait longer than their peer group to watch it and can feel left out of conversations in the meantime. This primarily affects young people as older generations are not so bothered about keeping up-to-date with popular culture, as one fifty-seven-year-old Dresdner commented: 'da ist

mein Ehrgeiz in meinem Alter nicht mehr so ausgeprägt [...], die Wertigkeit für mich ist nicht so super hoch' (there my ambition at my age is no longer so pronounced [...] the value for me is not so super high – 56-65DRE16U). Thus not having good English skills can have an impact on social dynamics among young people and their ability to follow popular culture, and on older people's freedom to travel.

A further similar issue which interviewees in all locations, but particularly in the east, identified was that switching into English excludes Germans from participating fully in their own country.

Da habe ich mich schon ein Stück abgehängt gefühlt, das waren dann halt auch studierte Leute oder Studenten und die haben halt gut miteinander reden können und ich konnte nicht so richtig nicht mal gedanklich teilnehmen, also es heißt nicht, dass ich mich einbringen musste ins Gespräch oder es war reduziert, also in kleinen Gruppen ging es, aber wenn viele geredet haben und es ging hin und her und ich habe auch die Deutschen nicht verstanden, die Englisch geredet haben, also oder nur wenig und es ist dann einfach schade.

In that instance I felt a bit left behind, there were graduates or students and they were able to communicate well with one another and I could not, I could not even take part conceptually, that's not to say that I had to contribute to the conversation or it was reduced, it was okay in small groups, but when lots of people spoke and it went back and forth I didn't even understand the Germans who were speaking English, or at least only a bit and that's a shame.

(26-35DRE5N)

Kann auch ausschließen, also auch selbst für mich, die jetzt häufig Englisch spreche und sitze ich manchmal so in einem Vortrag und denkst du was, ich verstehe irgendwie doch nur die Hälfte und das ist natürlich irgendwie schade und so und natürlich auch gerade noch für Leute, die noch weniger Englisch können, dann denke ich auch oft darüber nach, ob wir mit so einer Selbstverständlichkeit hier einfach unübersetzt englische Vorträge und so weiter halten sollten.

It can also exclude people, even for me, as someone who speaks English often, and I sometimes sit in a lecture and think what, I somehow only understand half of it and that is naturally a shame and obviously particularly for people who are even less proficient in English, then I often wonder whether we should continue unquestioningly to hold lectures and so on untranslated in English.

(26-35EBE8U)

Andererseits finde ich es manchmal halt auch blöd, wenn man durch das Englischreden Leute ausschließt, also das hatte ich auch schon, dass junge Leute dann meinten, na ja sie müssen Vortrag bei uns intern auf Englisch halten, weil eine Person im Raum ist, die kann noch nicht so gut Deutsch. Da saßen aber dreißig Kollegen drin, die können nicht so gut Englisch, und von denen wurde dann erwartet, stellt euch nicht so an und das ist auch irgendwie blöd.

On the other hand I sometimes find it stupid when people are excluded through the use of English, I have experienced before that young people thought they had to give a lecture internally at work in English because one person in the room could not yet speak very good German. However, thirty colleagues were sitting there who could not speak very good English and they were expected not to make a fuss and that is somehow also stupid.

(36-45FRA36U)

Whilst interviewees largely thought that people switch into English at appropriate moments and for suitable reasons – to accommodate non-German speakers – these interviewees identified tensions when there is no one language which every member of a group feels comfortable communicating in. As these examples indicate, people can be excluded in social, academic and professional contexts and even young people who have learnt English for many years at school can be affected. The quotations also illustrate how it is common for communication to switch into English even when the number of German speakers significantly outweighs the number of non-German speakers, and more notably, as in the last example, when the number of weak English speakers outweighs the number of weak German speakers. When probed about this, one retired teacher replied:

Ja, vielleicht muss man da einen Mittelweg finden, dass, wenn es nur einer ist, der Englisch spricht, und man davon ausgehen kann, dass unter den Deutschen sehr viele sind, die kein Englisch verstehen, dass man da quasi so ein Tandem bildet, das dem Engländer, der kein Deutsch spricht, oder dem Briten was übersetzt, damit er auch mitbekommt, was geht, ich denke, das hängt von der Situation ab.

Yes, maybe one should strike a balance that if it's just one person who speaks English and one can assume that there are lots of people among the

Germans who do not understand English, that one forms a tandem as it were, which translates for the Englishman, who does not speak German, or the Brit, so that he also follows what's going on, I think it depends on the situation.

(66+FRA42U)

Interviewees, such as an eighteen-year-old apprentice, also commented that 'wenn sich alle darauf einigen, dann ist es ja kein Problem' (if everyone agrees upon it, then it's not a problem – 18-25FRA3N), indicating that there is usually a discussion around which language to use. Whether someone would announce to the group, especially in a professional or university context, that their English is too weak to switch to English is another matter, one which a student in Eberswalde addresses.

Es geht irgendwie nicht, dass du dich meldest und sagst, klar kann man das mal machen, aber du kannst nicht sagen, eh ich verstehe das gerade gar nicht so und das finde ich schon so ein bißchen grenzwertig na, weil klar kann man davon ausgehen, aber es ist halt nicht so, es ist nicht bei jedem, dass er so ein gutes Englisch hat.

It's somehow not possible for you to raise your hand and say, yes you can do that, but you cannot say, hey I currently do not understand at all and I find that a bit borderline because clearly you can assume, but it is just not the case that everyone has such a good level of English.

(26-35EBE8U)

A student in Dresden, on the other hand, felt there would still be understanding for people who admit that they are not strong enough in English to switch ('da gibt schon Verständnis dafür noch' – 26-35DRE19U). Perhaps this is very much dependent on the situation and, indeed, in situations where the interlocutors know each other well (e.g. as colleagues or friends), then they are probably aware of each other's language skills and limitations and are able to make the decision around which language to use based on this knowledge. Linguistic considerations do not, however, appear to be the only factor in deciding which language to use. In the example provided by 26-35DRE5N, a young refugee relief worker,

the one non-German speaker is a particularly strong character and this seems to explain why their preference for English to be used overrides the preference of the interviewee (and perhaps other weaker English speakers who may be present). It therefore seems that social factors play a role too with the preferences of more vocal and dominant characters carrying more weight. In addition, my observations indicate that the default position is to use English in a group of people with different mother tongues and there are a number of potential reasons for this. Firstly, many Germans with reasonable English are keen to show off their language skills and are eager to use English when the opportunity arises, as illustrated by the examples in Pogarell's (1987) newspaper article 'Warum nicht deutsch?' (Why not German?). This eagerness stems in part from English's status in Germany – in the language hierarchy in Germany, English is undoubtedly near the top and speaking good English indicates that you are well-educated, well-travelled and international in your outlook. A second reason why English is often the default in an international group is that it can probably be assumed that all the German speakers have picked up some (even if very minimal) English, whereas the non-Germans may never have learnt any German. Thus the English speakers are probably weaker in German than the German speakers are in English, even though this difference in level is immaterial if neither can participate in a conversation in the other language. As one Dresdner said, 'solange die beiden auf gleicher Ebene sind, ist mir das egal; solange sie höflich bleiben und denjenigen berücksichtigen, der nebenbei sitzt und vielleicht kein Englisch kann, dann ist es in Ordnung' (as long as they are both at the same level it does not bother me; as long as they remain polite and take into consideration those who are present too and maybe cannot speak any English then it is fine – 56-65DRE16U). This seems a reasonable expectation and perhaps one that should be adhered to more given the examples above of German speakers being excluded.

Whether people are excluded by the use of English also depends on the circles they mix in and the location in which they live. One electrical engineer in Dresden noted that

Es ist aber jetzt in Dresden oder Ostdeutschland nicht so weit verbreitet, dass man Probleme in der alltäglichen Kommunikation hat, dass jetzt zu viele Leute Englisch sprechen und man aus dem Gespräch ausgeschlossen ist dadurch oder so. Dafür ist unsere wie auch immer Ausländerquote oder so zu gering. [...] In größeren Städten jetzt, Berlin, Hamburg so was, dann kann es schon mal sein, dass man irgendwie auf eine Party ist, die jetzt fünfzig Prozent Ausländeranteil hat oder so was, dann, wenn dann plötzlich die Sprache auf Englisch wechselt und man dann daneben stehen wird [...], dann ist man vielleicht schon ausgeschlossen, aber passiert hier eigentlich nicht.

It is, however, not so common in Dresden or east Germany that you have problems in day-to-day communication, that too many people speak English and you are excluded from a conversation by it. The number of foreigners or whatever is too low for that to be the case here. [...] In larger cities, Berlin, Hamburg and the like, then it can be the case that you are at a party where fifty per cent of the people are foreigners, then if the language suddenly switches to English and you are present [...] then you may be excluded, but that does not actually happen here.

(36-45DRE10U)

A student in Eberswalde similarly expressed the view that one is more likely to be excluded by English in a big multicultural city, such as Berlin:

Im Alltag würde ich sagen hier jetzt nicht, aber wie gesagt Eberswalde ist auch nicht sehr international und ich glaube, in Berlin kann es sogar einem schnell passieren, weil da sprechen halt so viele einfach Englisch und wenn du jetzt abends irgendwo weg bist oder keine Ahnung du sprichst kein Englisch, ja dann bist du schon ein bißchen kann schon sein, dass man ein bißchen ausgeschlossen ist.

In day-to-day life here I would say you're not excluded, but as I said Eberswalde is also not very international and I think in Berlin it can easily happen to someone because so many people there speak English and when you're out in the evening or whatever and you cannot speak English, yes then you are a bit, it can be the case that you are a bit excluded.

(26-35EBE8U)

This student went on to add that only people who mix in educated or student circles are likely to be excluded by English as these are groups in which it might happen that people

speak English at a social occasion and if your English is weaker then you might feel excluded. For those who live in a village and socialise primarily with German speakers then not speaking good English is 'kein Thema' (no issue); they do not feel excluded because everyone around them speaks German and there are enough computer games, TV shows, websites and other sources of entertainment in German that one does not need English. Thus whether weaker English speakers perceive themselves to be excluded by English depends on whether they are confronted by it and, as the analysis of how much English is used indicates, this is most likely to be the case for weaker English speakers who mix with young, university-educated people in large cosmopolitan cities since these are the groups who most frequently use English.

The comments from 26-35DRE5N and 26-35EBE8U above also indicate that not all young people in Germany can speak good English, which is supported by the questionnaire responses: two of the 33 people aged 18-25 and one of the 32 people aged 26-35 described their level of English as beginner, whilst 16% of school pupils, 21% of 18-25-year-olds and 28% of 26-35-year-olds assessed their English proficiency as intermediate, rather than advanced or fluent. Although English is the first foreign language for almost all children in Germany and is examined accordingly in all school-leaving certificates (*Hauptschulabschluss*, *Realschulabschluss* and *Abitur*), many interviewees commented that the English one learns at school provides the groundwork but is not sufficient to speak English well, corroborating findings in the Netherlands that 'out of school contact with English is crucial for the development of proficiency' (Verspoor, De Bot & Van Rein 2011: 165).

Richtig gelernt habe ich die Sprache eigentlich privat [...]. Der Unterricht in der Schule war nicht so effektiv wie das Privatleben.

I learnt the language properly in my free time [...]. The teaching at school was not as effective as learning out of school.

(26-35DRE1U)

Das, was man bisher in der Schule an Englisch lernt, was ja für alle zugänglich ist, dass es auf jeden Fall lange nicht ausreicht, um teilzuhaben an so einem richtigen ja Diskussion, Film, was auch immer. Das heißt, also meiner Meinung nach, braucht das eigentlich halt Reisen, um die Sprache zu sprechen und das ist natürlich schon ein bißchen eine Elitefrage, weil das ist halt, das setzt Geld voraus und das könnte man schon so sagen ja, dass es nicht jedem zugänglich ist.

The English which one learns at school, which is available to all, is by a long way not sufficient to participate in a proper discussion, film or whatever. That means in my opinion that one actually needs to travel in order to learn the language and this is naturally a bit of an elite issue because that requires money and one could say that it's not accessible to all.

(26-35EBE8U)

Like this student in Eberswalde (26-35EBE8U), many people referred to spending time abroad, whether through a High School Year (where a teenager, usually in Year 11, spends a year abroad, living with a host family and attending school there), a semester or internship abroad, au-pairing or otherwise, as hugely beneficial in improving one's English and, as 26-35EBE8U indicates, many of these opportunities require a certain amount of money to access them. A thirty-five-year-old mechanical engineer in Dresden elaborates on this further:

[ein High School Year] ist ja teuer gewesen, ja also die USA hat damals zehntausend D-Mark gekostet, also jetzt wahrscheinlich so siebentausend Euro oder so und da haben die Gastfamilien aber kein Geld gekriegt. In Großbritannien war es so doppelter Preis, weil die Gastfamilien da bezahlt werden.

[a High School Year] was expensive, at the time it cost ten thousand Deutschmarks to go to the USA, which is probably now around seven thousand euros, and the host families there didn't receive any money. In Great Britain it was double the price because the host families there are paid.

(26-35DRE13U)

It is not only money that is required to access these opportunities abroad; for many of them a certain level of education is also necessary. A semester or internship abroad is only available to those who study at university level and it is rare for time abroad to be integrated into an *Ausbildung* (apprenticeship) or other non-university pathway, which perhaps explains why university-educated people report significantly higher proficiency in English than non-university-educated people. This also explains why 26-35DRE5N specified that the group in which he found himself unable to follow the conversation in English ‘waren dann halt auch studierte Leute oder Studenten’ (were graduates or students) – a relevant detail in why they were better able to converse in English. Some people also felt that the three-tiered school system divides people by their level of English.

Jetzt ist aber die Differenzierung, wenn jemand eine normale Realschule oder Hauptschule hat, lernt der zwar auch ein paar Brocken Englisch, erstens wird er nicht animiert Englisch zu lernen, vielleicht mal im Urlaub oder so, aber wenig und die, die studieren, da ist es schon sehr gängig, weil es sind viele Artikel auf Englisch, das ist viel, es wird auch viel auf Englisch kommuniziert auch untereinander [...], aber dadurch merkt man natürlich den Ausbildungsunterschied, den man vorher nicht gemerkt hat.

Nowadays there is a distinction, if someone attends a normal *Realschule* or *Hauptschule* [less academically selective schools], they admittedly learn a bit of English, but they are not stimulated to learn English, maybe a bit on holiday, but not much and those who study, among them it’s much more common because lots of articles are in English, they also communicate a lot in English, even among themselves [...] but as a result one naturally notices the difference in education, which one did not notice before.

(56-65DRE16U)

Although everyone learns English at school, those who do *Abitur* (university-qualifying exams) have a higher level than those who attend *Realschule* and *Hauptschule* (as was found to be the case in my comparison of school pupils on a university and non-university pathway in section 5.4.2), and this is made explicit in the nationwide education standards discussed in section 3.4.3 (Beschlüsse der Kultusministerkonferenz 2003, 2004; Beschluss der Kultusministerkonferenz 2012). The English people learn at school is not sufficient to

really speak the language and so those who become fully proficient in it are typically university-educated and have had the opportunity to do a semester or internship abroad.

This raises the question of whether there is an English-speaking elite in Germany and, indeed, two fifths of participants who addressed this issue directly would say there is.

Eine Elite englischsprachige Elite kann ich mir schon gut vorstellen, weil gerade die studierten Leute, das sind ja mittlerweile relativ viel, also eine Elite, wenn die auch relativ groß sein kann.

I can well imagine an elite, an English-speaking elite because precisely those who have studied at university, that is now quite a lot of people, so an elite if it can be relatively large.

(26-35DRE5N)

This is a marked contrast with the first research phase, where just three of the twenty interviewees (almost all highly educated and proficient in English) thought there is or might be an English-speaking elite. One potential explanation for this finding is that those not in the highly-educated elite perceive there to be one whereas those who would arguably be in the elite are unaware that one exists, yet this is not backed up by a closer analysis of my data from the second research phase: more university-educated people (44% of those who addressed the issue) than non-university-educated people (40%) felt there is an English-speaking elite. Instead the contrast between the two research phases seems to be a result of including participants from eastern Germany in the second phase as 54% of east German interviewees who addressed the issue think there is an English-speaking elite compared to just 30% of west German respondents. Overall, opinion as to the impact of speaking English on German society was very much split, however, and slightly more interviewees rejected the idea that there is an English-speaking elite, with some believing that English actually breaks down class boundaries, as one school pupil explained:

Ich glaube, dass Englisch auch diese sozialen Schichten und so durchdringt also beziehungsweise da keine Unterschiede macht, weil ja jeder sich Serien auf Englisch ansehen kann oder so und so kann sich ja jeder auch selber so weiterbilden und sein Englisch quasi ausbauen und dann kommt's nicht darauf an, welchen Abschluss man jetzt hat oder welche Bildung.

I believe that English cuts through these social classes or makes no distinctions because everyone can watch TV series in English and the like and thus everyone can improve and extend their English and then it doesn't depend on which school-leaving certificate you have or what level of education.

(16-17EBE13SU)

Perhaps this is something which is in flux, as was suggested by 18-24KON5 in the first research phase. People aged thirty/thirty-five and over were able to learn English primarily through school and university education and through spending extended periods of time abroad. A person in this age group's proficiency in English is therefore dependent on their socioeconomic background - how much their parents promoted and financially supported them in learning English – and their level of education, creating class distinctions. For the generation under thirty/thirty-five this may be changing. With YouTube, Netflix and the internet in general providing access to native-speaker English, there is the opportunity for people of all levels of education and socioeconomic backgrounds to improve their English without needing to attend a *Gymnasium*, study at university or live abroad. Thus the impact of using English on German society may be shifting as more people have the opportunity to reach a high level of English. To test this hypothesis, I compared the proficiency in English between university-educated and non-university-educated questionnaire participants in each age group. If it is the case that learning English is becoming more egalitarian and less based on a person's educational background then one would expect significant differences in proficiency between university-educated and non-university-educated people in the older age groups, but no or minimal differences in the younger age groups. The opposite was found for my data, as shown in Table 54.

Age group	University-educated	Not university-educated	<i>p</i> -value	Significant?
18-25	1.65	2.77	<0.0001	Yes
26-35	1.80	2.71	0.0125	Yes
36-45	1.73	3.10	<0.0001	Yes
46-55	2.40	3.00	0.2974	No
56-65	2.36	2.80	0.4204	No
66+	2.65	3.30	0.0725	No

Table 54: Comparison of proficiency between university- and non-university-educated questionnaire participants in each age group

From this it seems that a person's proficiency in English continues to be affected by their educational background and the more recently a person went through higher education, the stronger the connection between their level of education and proficiency in English.

Despite this ongoing correlation between high proficiency in English and high levels of traditional education (itself associated with high socioeconomic status, as discussed in section 3.4.2), the majority (59%) of my participants who addressed this question do not think there is an English-speaking elite.

5.5 Looking to the future

Having ascertained what people thought of the current linguistic situation in Germany I was interested to know how they saw it developing in the future. With the exception of three participants aged over 55 in Erkelenz, all the participants were of the opinion that German will not disappear any time soon. Some based this opinion on the fact that so many people speak German, not just in Germany ('es ist ja auch Österreich, Schweiz spricht zum Teil Deutsch, in vielen östlichen Ländern kann man sich mit Deutsch verständigen' – there is also Austria, Switzerland speaks German in part, in many eastern

countries you can make yourself understood in German, 66+ERK27N), and that the number of speakers is increasing.

Es gibt immer mehr Leute, die es lernen, [...] so gerade aus den, sag ma mal, wirtschaftlich schwächeren afrikanischen und asiatischen Ländern, gibt es also Goethe Institute und ich habe mal gelesen, dass die Zahl der Leute, die dahin wollen um die Sprache zu lernen, immer weiter hoch geht und auch so Länder wie Georgien oder so, wo es total in Mode kommt, die Sprache zu lernen, deswegen glaube ich nicht und die Anzahl der Sprecher steigt auch [KT weil es mehr Leute in Deutschland gibt?] ja, die das dann lernen und sprechen ja.

More and more people are learning German [...] particularly from the let's say economically weaker African and Asian countries there are Goethe Institutes and I have read that the number of people who want to go there in order to learn the language keeps rising and also in countries like Georgia it's totally coming into fashion to learn the language, that's why I do not think it will disappear and the number of speakers is also increasing [KT because there are more people in Germany?] yes, who then learn and speak it.

(26-35FRA34U)

Furthermore, there will always be people who only speak German and the language itself is still fundamentally distinct from English or any other language that has influenced it.

Weil es immer noch auch Bevölkerung gibt, die nur diese eine Sprache haben und gar nicht an dem Prozess teilnehmen, in dem sich groß Englisch mit Deutsch vermischt.

Because there are still members of the population who only speak this one language and do not take part at all in the process in which English mixes a lot with German.

(56-65FRA2U)

Ich glaube nicht, weil klar benutzen wir viele englische Wörter so für viele Sachen, aber trotzdem ist ja der Hauptanteil der Sprache immer noch Deutsch.

I don't think German will disappear because although we clearly use lots of English words for lots of things, the majority of the language is still German despite this.

(16-17ERK6SU)

Es gibt immer einzelne Wörter, die mit in deutsche Sätze fließen, aber die Grammatik und viele wesentliche Wörter die bleiben.

There are always individual words which flow into German sentences, but the grammar and many essential words remain.

(26-35DRE5N)

Other interviewees cited German's historical and cultural heritage and its ongoing role as a literary language as a reason why it will not disappear.

Die Sprache der Dichter und Denker, also ganz bestimmt nicht.

The language of poets and philosophers definitely not.

(46-55FRA32U)

Ich bin so ein bißchen in so einer kreativen Schreibenszene und da hat Sprache ja irgendwie auch noch mal eine ganz andere Bedeutung und da wird irgendwie ganz anders so damit umgegangen und ich könnte mir gar nicht vorstellen, dass da irgendwie die deutsche Sprache verloren geht, weil da ja auch noch Wörter verwendet werden, die irgendwie sich so mehr poetisch anhören und so, und das funktioniert halt nicht, wenn man nicht so einen riesigen Wortschatz hat auf Englisch.

I am sort of in a creative writing scene and there language somehow has a very different meaning and it is handled completely differently and I cannot imagine that the German language would somehow be lost because words are still used there which somehow sound more poetic and that does not work when you do not have such a large vocabulary in English.

(16-17EBE13SU)

In addition to being actively used in literature, people also commented how German is not threatened whilst it continues to be the *Amtssprache* (official language) as well as the language of instruction at school with value being placed on speaking it correctly there – ‘weil in der Schule muss man ja normal Deutsch sprechen können’ (because at school you have to be able to speak normal German – 16-17FRA12SN). A fifty-six-year-old doctor in Frankfurt also noted that whilst it used to be the case that you could drop German in Year 12 and just choose to study one language for *Abitur*, German is now compulsory until the end of schooling at a *Gymnasium* and you have to sit a German exam as part of the *Abitur*

too. He concluded ‘also von daher, ob die Sprache verschwindet, ist in der Schule ist die Tendenz eigentlich andersrum’ (so as a result, whether the language is disappearing, the trend is actually the opposite at school – 56-65FRA33U). A final reason people gave for German not disappearing is that there have always been influences from other languages and, taking other languages as an example, this is not in itself enough to make a language disappear.

Denke ich mal nicht, also das ist ein bißchen übertrieben, also wir hatten ja immer irgendwelche Einflüsse von außen.

I don't think so, that is a bit exaggerated, we have always had external influences.

(36-45DRE8N)

Wenn ich zum Beispiel in die Schweiz gucke, das Schweizerdeutsch, die sind einfach so stolz darauf, das verschwindet nicht so schnell und die haben noch viel mehr äußeren Einfluss und sogar im Land dann noch drei Sprachen und insofern denke ich, dass Deutsch nimmt sehr viel aus Englisch auf, aber es wird nicht verschwinden.

When I look at Switzerland for example, they are simply so proud of Swiss German, that is not disappearing quickly and they have much more external influence and even in the country there are three other languages and in this respect I think that German will incorporate lots from English but it will not disappear.

(36-45DRE10U)

Die Inder zum Beispiel ja, kommen sie mit Englisch am weitesten und trotzdem reden die alle noch Hindi.

The Indians, for example, they get the furthest with English and yet they all still speak Hindi.

(66+DRE7U)

Here people indicate that the influence from other languages has never led German to disappear before and the precedent is set by languages, such as Swiss German and Hindi (although DRE7's comment is not factually accurate as not all Indians speak Hindi), which have faced much more sustained contact with other languages and are still not at risk of

being lost. Thus the vast majority of interviewees from all backgrounds do not believe that German will disappear because it is still being actively used and even learnt by so many people, because it continues to be distinct from other languages, because of its rich literary heritage and because being influenced by other languages does not make it inevitable that a language disappears.

Whilst German itself was not deemed to be at risk of disappearing, there was some discussion around whether some German dialects might be lost. Participants in Erkelenz, where *Plattdeutsch* (Low German) has traditionally been spoken, generally took the view that this dialect would soon be lost: ‘Plattdeutsch hier aus dem Kreis auf jeden Fall, das verschwindet’ (Low German from this area is definitely disappearing – 26-35ERK16U), ‘das Plattdeutsch, das wird in dreißig Jahren keiner mehr sprechen’ (Low German, in thirty years’ time no one will speak it anymore – 56-65ERK18N), ‘also gerade hier in der Gegend, wir sprechen ja kein Plattdeutsch mehr’ (precisely here in this area, we do not speak Low German anymore – 26-35ERK21U). This view was not entirely universal though, with one forty-eight-year-old farmer providing the ongoing existence of *Plattdeutsch* as a reason why German will not disappear.

Ich glaube, die deutsche Sprache bleibt, selbst wenn man sieht, wie lang unser Dialekt ja schon hält und über wie viele Generationen der immer weitergegeben wird und der ist auch nicht vom Aussterben bedroht.

I think the German language will remain, particularly if you look at how long our dialect has been around and over how many generations it continues to be passed down and it is also not threatened by extinction.

(46-55ERK1N)

Two teachers in Frankfurt corroborated this view that the German dialects are not disappearing, with one commenting ‘dass die Dialekte wieder mehr hochgehalten werden [...] die Dialekte werden wieder verstärkt in Freizeitbereich [...] nicht beim Arbeiten, das nicht’ (that the dialects are being maintained more again [...] the dialects are being

strengthened again in leisure time [...] not at work, not that – 56-65FRA31U). Her colleague gives the example of Baden-Württemberg, where the dialect shows no sign of dying out.

Schwäbisch ist da Gesetz, Punkt, und wenn du zu der Gesellschaft gehören möchtest, hast du diese Sprache zu sprechen.

Swabian is law there, period, and if you want to belong to society then you have to speak this language.

(36-45FRA30U)

It seems that some dialects, like Swabian, play such a key role in local identity that they are at little risk of disappearing, whereas other dialects, such as *Plattdeutsch*, are being spoken by fewer and fewer people, according to my informants, and may be lost in the not too distant future.

Although people generally agreed that German itself will not disappear, there was general consensus that the language and linguistic situation in Germany would continue to change, just as it has in the past. One commonality across speakers of different ages, backgrounds and locations was that people generally expected the use of anglicisms and English to increase.

Ich denke, es wird zunehmend so, wie soll ich sagen, fast wie eine Zweitsprache so, dass man seine Muttersprache hat und Englisch daneben.

I think it will increasingly be, how should I put it, almost like a second language that you have your mother tongue and English alongside it.

(66+DRE4U)

Ich glaube, dass Englisch vielleicht noch mehr in die Sprache einrückt in verschiedenen Bereichen.

I think that even more English may enter the language in various areas.

(16-17ERK6SU)

At the same time, people anticipated more languages influencing German and playing a role in Germany due to the recent migration and some noted that this is already the case, particularly in the west, with youth language incorporating borrowings from Turkish and Arabic in particular.

Wird sich auch mehr anderes Arabisch und Türkisch noch mehr einmischen, noch mehr einschleichen, was jetzt bei Jugendlichen hier teilweise schon so ist, die haben teilweise, also insbesondere im Bereich der Unterschicht, haben die Jugendlichen eine Sprache mitentwickelt, wo türkische Begriffe ganz selbstverständlich, also da kommt, tamam sagen die deutschen Kinder auch, was so viel heißt wie okay, ist in Ordnung.

Also more other languages, Arabic and Turkish, will blend in even more, will creep in even more, which is partly already the case among young people here, the young people, particularly among the lower class, have partly developed a language, in which Turkish terms are a given, the German children also say *tamam*, which means okay, that's fine.

(36-45ERK28U)

Ein paar sprachliche Einflüsse von Migranten aus anderen Ländern wie der Türkei, das ist ja schon länger auch gerade im Westen, wo sich die Jugendsprache zumindest sehr färbt.

Some linguistic influence through migrants from other countries like Turkey, that has already been the case in the west for quite some time, where youth language at least is affected.

(26-35DRE5N)

This point that more languages will influence German was raised by just three participants in east Germany (one aged 18-25 and two aged 26-35 in Dresden), perhaps reflecting the level of migration in the region. In west Germany, there has been sustained immigration since the *Gastarbeiter* (guest workers, particularly from southern Europe and Turkey) arrived in the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s and the recent wave of migration has particularly affected west Germany: three-quarters of migrants arriving in 2015 came to North Rhine-Westphalia, Baden-Württemberg, Bavaria, Lower Saxony and Hesse, and notably not the new eastern states (Zeit Online 2016). Thus it is much more common for people in west

Germany to speak a second native language, often Turkish or Arabic, than it is in east Germany and this might explain why more people in west Germany than east Germany anticipate languages other than English being spoken in Germany and having an influence on German. Partly as a result of this expected increased mixing of languages, some participants predicted that German grammar would become less complex and less strictly enforced.

Ich glaube, es wird ein bißchen einfacher, dass die Regeln nicht mehr so die Rolle spielen oder man redet ein einfacheres Deutsch [...], dass man das vielleicht nicht mehr ausnutzt, was die Sprache vielleicht mal bieten könnte [...], wenn man so Jugendslang hört, da fällt mir das manchmal auf, also vielleicht nicht in Dresden, aber in Frankfurt oder Berlin, wenn man dort die Jugendliche reden hört, dann ist es schon ein bißchen einfacher geworden.

I think it will become a bit simpler, that the rules will not be so important any more or people will speak simpler German [...] that one maybe no longer makes the most of what the language might offer [...] when you hear youth slang it strikes me sometimes maybe not in Dresden, but in Frankfurt or Berlin, when you hear young people speaking there then it has already become a bit simpler.

(46-55DRE14U)

Nimmt man halt diese Anglizismen und man benutzt halt andere Wörter, wie jetzt zum Beispiel easy und so, und da fällt ja die deutsche auch Rechtschreibung, Grammatik und auch die Wortwahl einfach zurück.

One takes these anglicisms and one uses different words, like for example *easy*, and in this way German spelling, grammar and also the word choice fall back.

(16-17FRA27SN)

Die alten strengen Regeln werden aufweichen [...] ich denke, in der Schule wird's zwangsläufig die Schönschrift, die Grammatik, die Rechtschreibung in Hintergrund rücken müssen, weil die Schüler Sachen nicht mehr auf die Reihe kriegen, denke ich, und das Niveau per und per abfällt.

The old strict rules will soften [...] I think at school handwriting, grammar and spelling will inevitably have to fade into the background because the pupils will not be able to cope with such things, I think, and the standard is steadily dropping.

(26-35DRE1U)

Some participants of various ages and educational backgrounds in both east and west Germany thus expressed the view that contact with and borrowing from other languages, as well as the prominence of new forms of communication (for instance on WhatsApp or Instagram), is leading and will lead to a deterioration of the German language, although as 46-55DRE14U indicates there is and may be some variation between east and west in this regard. Thus, some people drew attention to negative consequences of the anticipated linguistic developments.

A further area of interest was how teenagers see their own language use changing in the future and how young adults perceive it to have changed since their youth, particularly with regard to the use of anglicisms. Here, opinion was split with eight of the nineteen interviewees who addressed this issue thinking that as an adult, they use or will use more anglicisms than they did as a teenager ‘weil die generelle Entwicklung dahin geht’ (because the general development is going in this direction – 26-35DRE1U). Slightly fewer interviewees (five of the nineteen who commented on this topic) took the opposite view, believing that using lots of anglicisms is a teenage phase.

Ich denke eher nicht, entweder man redet fließend Englisch oder fließend Deutsch, aber das so zu mischen kommt nicht gut rüber, glaube ich.

I think probably not [use as many anglicisms as an adult as now as a teenager], either one speaks fluent English or fluent German, but I think mixing them does not come across well.

(16-17FRA9SN)

Wenn man erwachsen ist und in der Berufswelt oder auch allgemein, ist dann schon mehr erwünscht, dass man entweder eine andere Sprache beherrscht oder die deutsche Sprache beherrscht ohne möglich umgangssprachliche Wörter zu benutzen, wird man auch ernster genommen.

When you're grown up and in the world of work or also in general it is then more desired that you either command another language or the German language without using colloquial words, you are also taken more seriously.

(16-17FRA25SN)

Here the speakers indicate that as an adult there is more pressure to conform to linguistic norms and use the standard language, which most anglicisms are not deemed to be a part of, because this is well-regarded by others. Indeed, that adults are more conservative in their use of non-standard linguistic variables is a well-documented finding (Horvath 1985; Labov 1966; Macaulay 1977; Trudgill 1974; Wolfram 1969) and Eckert (1998: 164) notes ‘[t]his conservatism has been attributed to the pressure for use of standard language in the workplace’. Notably, all the interviewees who expressed this view were at the *Realschule I* visited in Frankfurt, and it’s possible that these school pupils believe that their use of anglicisms will reduce because they currently use so many compared to people in other social milieus and from other areas of Germany (1.34% of tokens uttered by the *Realschule* pupils in Frankfurt are anglicisms, which is considerably above the average of 1.08% for the corpus). Opinion was also split a third way, with six speakers suggesting that how many anglicisms they use or will use as an adult depends on the context.

Ja kommt darauf an, wo man dann halt ist, so in der Arbeit vielleicht formaler reden, dass man das dann halt nicht so macht, aber freizeitlich denke ich, dass es nicht großartig ändern wird.

Yes it depends on where you are then, at work maybe you would speak more formally and then not use so many anglicisms, but I do not think it will change very much in one’s leisure time.

(16-17EBE11SU)

Ich glaube, das hängt eher mit dem Job zusammen, den man dann später macht. Also ich glaube, wenn man irgendwie in der Beratungsindustrie oder Finanzindustrie ist, dann wird man wahrscheinlich nicht mehr los, weil es gibt auch Kollegen, die sind dann hier, die sprechen kein Deutsch also und dann schwimmt alles irgendwie.

I think that is more likely related to the job that you have later. I think that if you’re in the consulting industry or finance industry then you probably won’t shake it off because there are also colleagues who are here who speak no German so everything somehow blurs.

(26-35FRA34U)

As these comments indicate, some participants predicted that young people's use of anglicisms would continue as it is in informal contexts as an adult, but that they would typically use fewer anglicisms and tend towards more formal standard German in work contexts, except if working in a very international context, where code-switching and borrowing is rife. This is interesting as it suggests an association in people's minds between anglicisms and informal registers, nonstandard varieties and slang, when in fact anglicisms are found not just in the colloquial, but also in the technical register (Busse & Görlach 2004: 18). My corpus data similarly indicates a division between anglicisms which are indeed slang/informal (e.g. *easy*) and anglicisms which belong to a more technical and professional register (e.g. *Chip-Industrie, Coaching, Management*), and the latter are likely to be more frequent in the speech of working-age Germans as opposed to teenagers. It seems that how an individual's language changes depends very much on the path they take, encompassing such aspects as the industry they work in and how much time they spend in formal contexts where standard German is expected.

A final aspect to the question of how people see the linguistic situation in Germany developing in the future is whether they would consider raising their children bilingually. People of all ages and levels of education across the research sites spoke highly of raising children bilingually, with some describing it as 'toll' (terrific – 26-35DRE1U, 66+DRE4U, 66+EBE9N, 66+ERK25N), 'genial' (brilliant – 46-55DRE14U, 26-35ERK21U), 'schön' (nice – 46-55EBE18N), 'klasse' (marvellous – 56-65FRA1U) and 'ein Riesengeschenk' (an enormous gift – 66+FRA42U), but, as in the first research phase, the consensus was that most people would only raise their children bilingually if they or their partner had

another native language or if they lived abroad as summarised by this school pupil in Erkelenz.

Also würde ich schon, aber nur wenn jetzt mein Partner irgendwie als Muttersprache Englisch oder irgendeine andere Sprache hätte und wenn ich jetzt auswandern würde, zum Beispiel nach Frankreich, dann würde ich mein Kind immer auch Deutsch erziehen, also halt die Landessprache und meine Muttersprache.

I would, but only if my partner spoke English or another language as their native language and if I were to emigrate, for instance to France, then I would always also raise my child speaking German, that is in the national language and my native language.

(16-17ERK6SU)

The main concerns with raising a child bilingually in a language that's not your mother tongue were that you do not speak the language absolutely perfectly and that it may not be good for the child's development.

Deswegen weiß ich nicht so genau, wenn man kein Englischmuttersprachler ist, ob das jetzt Sinn macht, sein Kind Englisch beizubringen, weil man halt ein bißchen anders ausspricht und Fehler macht.

For this reason I don't know exactly if you're not a native English speaker whether it makes sense to teach your child English because you pronounce things a bit differently and make mistakes.

(26-35DRE13U)

Es ist wissenschaftlich bewiesen, dass, wenn man eine Sprache nicht muttersprachlich spricht, das nicht gut für die Erziehung und Entwicklung des Kindes ist.

It has been scientifically proven that if you do not speak the language as a native speaker then it's not good for the raising and development of the child.

(16-17ERK8SN)

Nonetheless four participants in the west German research sites (one in Erkelenz and three in Frankfurt) could give examples of non-native English speakers in their vicinity raising their children bilingually in English and German through one parent speaking only English

to them. Some criticised this ('ich finde das nicht gut' – I don't think that's good, 56-65FRA1U), whilst others noted that it seems to work ('es klingt echt authentisch' – it sounds really authentic, 56-65FRA31U). Although the sample size of just 109 interview participants is clearly small, it is interesting that no participants in east German locations gave similar examples of two German parents raising their children bilingually with English in Germany. This may be due to lower levels of English among East Germans aged 46+ precluding some parents from even considering speaking only in English to their children and it may reflect how people rarely need English in eastern Germany, as a thirty-five-year-old Dresdner highlighted (although this was not apparent from my analysis of the questionnaire data, which showed no significant difference in use of English between east and west):

Die Verwendung von Englisch jetzt bei Film oder in dem Alltag, denke ich, dass in Dresden das weniger ist [...] ich rede auf Arbeit Englisch und meine Freunde, die bei der BASF arbeiten, reden Englisch, aber sonst kenne ich niemanden, der auf Arbeit Englisch redet, also viele Firmen sind ja mehr so Mittelstand und haben wenig internationale Beziehung.

I think the use of English in films or in everyday life is less in Dresden [...] I speak English at work and my friends who work for BASF [a German chemical company] speak English, but otherwise I know no-one who speaks English at work, lots of companies are more small and medium-sized businesses and have little international contact.

(26-35DRE13U)

In addition, people in Frankfurt reported using English significantly more frequently than people in the other research sites due to the highly international nature of the city, with the result that Frankfurters are more likely to see a need for their children to acquire English fluently, and it may be that it is also more acceptable and less conspicuous to speak in English to your children there than in the smaller towns and less multicultural city of Dresden. Nonetheless, many people across all locations commented that they would or do

try to promote language learning and an interest in languages, particularly English, from a young age through playful means, such as reading and singing in other languages.

Manchmal gibt es auch Gutenachtgeschichten auf Englisch.

Sometimes the bedtime stories are in English.

(36-45ERK28U)

Wir haben unserem Kind jetzt zu Weihnachten ein Abreißkalender mit Englisch gekauft, wo jeden Tag zwei oder drei Vokabeln gelernt werden und am Wochenende ist dann ein Quiz drauf auf dem Abreißkalenderzettel.

We just bought our child a tear-off calendar for Christmas, whereby two or three bits of vocabulary are learnt every day and then at the weekend there is a quiz on the slip of paper you tear off.

(46-55ERK20U)

Others spoke in favour of the bilingual education options, such as bilingual kindergartens and schools which offer some subjects taught in other languages.

Ich finde es aber sehr gut, wenn Kinder beispielsweise gibt ja heute schon so Schulen, wo zweisprachig gelehrt wird, das finde ich gut, wenn man Kinder in solchen Schulen schickt oder auch Kindergärten.

I find it very good, however, when children, for example there are now schools where the children are taught bilingually, I think it's good to send children to such schools or also kindergartens.

(66+FRA38U)

With many respondents indicating that they would foster an interest in foreign languages in their children from a young age, it is apparent that people see speaking another language as something that will be important in the future, and this was explicitly expressed by one fifty-three-year-old researcher in Dresden: 'es wird schon immer wichtiger werden, dass man sprachlich gut ausgebildet ist' (it will become increasingly important that people are well-educated in languages – 46-55DRE14U). My participants clearly regard English skills as particularly important for their children, which is in line with the European

Commission's findings that 94% of Germans consider English to be important for a child's future (2012: 79) and the Allensbach Institute's findings that 98% of Germans think children should learn English at school (Hoberg, Eichhoff-Cyrus & Schulz 2008: 36). Such comments about promoting language learning were, however, primarily made by university-educated interviewees. 36-45FRA30U indicates that this is a manifestation of social class ('es hat sehr viel mit Milieu zu tun, das bedeutet, wenn du eigentlich ein Mittelstandsmensch bist in Deutschland, dann bist du auf jeden Fall daran interessiert, dass dein Kind mehrere Sprachen lernt' - it has a lot to do with social background, that means that if you are a middle-class person in Germany then you are definitely keen for your child to learn several languages), but it may also be because university-educated people are more likely to have the necessary competence in English to feel sufficiently confident introducing their children to it. Indeed, I found that a willingness to promote language learning was more common among more proficient speakers of English: 70% of those who self-reported as fluent said they do or would introduce their children to foreign languages from a young age, as did 54% of those with advanced English, compared to 33% with intermediate English and no participants who described their English level as beginner. Thus, whilst speakers of all backgrounds spoke in favour of bilingualism and learning English, it was predominantly university-educated people with fluent or advanced levels of English who indicated that they do or would actively introduce their children to English and/or other foreign languages from a young age.

5.6 Discussion and summary of findings in wider society

There were some interesting findings in the second research phase in terms of the use of and attitudes towards anglicisms and English, as well as how people see the linguistic situation evolving in the future, and these will be discussed here.

Starting with the use of anglicisms, borrowings from English were found to be more prevalent in this second research phase than in the spoken data in the academic and corporate domains, and notably more different anglicisms were used in interviews in wider society than in lectures in the academic domain. This comes as a surprise given the concern about domain loss in science/academia and business, and leads me to conclude, as Hultgren did for her data, that the use of borrowings from English is no higher in ‘at risk’ domains than in everyday language (2013, 2016a: 154-155). What may explain these findings is that anglicisms are concentrated in two quite different registers, the colloquial of pop/online/youth culture and the technical found in the business/science/tech domain (Busse & Görlach 2004: 18), with the former being more prevalent in everyday speech, exemplified by the interview data in wider society, and the latter being more common in specialist academic/corporate language, exemplified by the lecture data.

Speaker age was found to affect how frequently people use anglicisms with older speakers tending to use fewer anglicisms than younger speakers. It is not clear, however, from this synchronic study whether this observation is the result of age grading (i.e. individuals using fewer anglicisms than they previously did as they get older) or change over time (the speech of the community is changing with young people using more anglicisms than older people did when they were their age), or potentially a combination of both (older people used fewer anglicisms in their youth than today’s young people, but

their use of anglicisms has also dropped as they have got older). Comparable data would need to be collected in the future to shed further light on this question.

Teenagers were found to use the most anglicism tokens, though their usage does not differ significantly from that of their parents' generation (aged 36-55). This suggests that anglicisms are no longer used as a youth anti-language as was found to be the case by Berns (1988: 45), though further observations in informal speech rather than interview situations would be needed to confirm this. This is corroborated by a comment made by 36-45ERK28U:

Jugendsprache, eine Abgrenzung der Jugendlichen [...], es ist ein ganz normal, ich sag es mal, soziologisch normaler Prozess, dass man sich abgrenzen will. Wenn die Eltern aber alle Hipster sind, kann man sich nicht abgrenzen. [...] Ihr solltet mal anfangen auf Spanisch cool zu sein, dann würde ich euch nicht verstehen.

Youth language, a demarcation of young people [...] it is a completely normal sociological process that you want to distance yourself, but if the parents are all hipsters you cannot distance yourself. [...] You should start being cool in Spanish, then I wouldn't understand you.

(36-45ERK28U)

Given the parent generation uses and understands anglicisms in a similar way to their children, anglicisms no longer enable young people to distance themselves from their parents and it seems that youth language increasingly draws on borrowings from other languages, such as Turkish and Arabic, as discussed in section 5.5.

Although significantly more anglicism tokens were found to be used in the west than the east, no significant differences were found in the use of anglicisms between those who grew up in former East and former West Germany, despite these being very different environments politically, but also linguistically with Ihlenburg (1964) and Kristensson (1977) finding anglicisms were used less frequently in East than West Germany and Busse (1993) noting that anglicisms made up a lower proportion of entries in the 1985 East

German Duden dictionary than the 1986 West German Duden dictionary. This suggests that differences in the use of anglicisms between east and west are subsiding 30 years on from reunification, though anglicisms continue to be more prevalent in the west.

The findings relating to the use of anglicisms in settlements of different sizes were less clear-cut. One could tentatively conclude from them that anglicisms are generally more prevalent in large cities than in towns, but given the very high use of anglicisms among ERK19 and ERK28 it is clear that living in a less urban setting does not preclude people from using large quantities of anglicisms.

My observations relating to level of education were also found to be slightly contradictory, with university-educated adults using significantly more types than their non-university-educated peers, whereas school pupils unlikely to attend university use more anglicisms than their more academic peers. The finding that university-educated adults use a significantly wider range of anglicisms than their non-university-educated peers may be attributable to their significantly higher use of and proficiency in English (see sections 5.4.1 and 5.4.2), which means they have a wider English vocabulary and are perhaps more confident to use less common anglicisms. This corroborates Leppänen et al.'s (2011) and Edwards and Fuchs' (2018) findings that people with higher educational qualifications are more familiar with, and favourable towards, English and anglicisms. Since 96% of the school pupils unlikely to go to university are based in Frankfurt and all of the school pupils likely to go to university are situated in the towns Eberswalde (89%) and Erkelenz (11%), it is unclear whether the finding that school pupils on non-university pathways use more anglicisms is connected to their level of education or actually a result of living in a multicultural metropolis, where urban youth slang is more prevalent. More data would be needed where either the location or school-type is controlled for so that only one of these variables differs between each group to enable more insightful comparisons to

be made. In addition, the seemingly contradictory finding that more anglicisms are used by more academic adults but less academic school-children may be explained by the types of anglicisms used by the different groups: *Realschule* pupils in Frankfurt use slang anglicisms, such as *Basics*, *easy* and *chillen*, more frequently than their more academic peers, whereas university-educated adults use more anglicisms in the professional register, such as *Accounting*, *Coaching* and *Consultant*, than their non-university-educated peers. The differences between school pupils likely and unlikely to attend university are, however, not statistically significant, indicating that the effect of level of education on the use of anglicisms is more pronounced for adults than children.

Finally, my analysis shows that more proficient and frequent users of English also make more frequent use of anglicisms, suggesting that competence and confidence in English are factors in determining how frequently people use anglicisms. This finding contrasts with Busse and Görlach's hypothesis that 'the best speakers of English in Germany are not the most frequent users of Anglicisms – they appear to have sufficient *Sprachgefühl* [feeling for language] to keep the two languages apart' (2004: 32). Instead, it seems that people who are more confident with English use more anglicisms, perhaps because they are comfortable that they know the meaning and usage of the terms (although, as noted in sections 4.3.4 and 5.3.4, some change their meaning/usage when borrowed into German), as well as how to pronounce them, which, as the review of previous research in Chapter 2 indicated, corresponds increasingly to the original English pronunciation.

In terms of trends in the items borrowed, my findings reinforce those in the first research phase and additionally indicate that borrowed adjectives are more widely used in wider society than in academic and corporate domains, and this may be attributable to the very frequent use of everyday adjectives like *international* (124 tokens), *okay* (107

tokens), *cool* (43 tokens) and *easy* (16 tokens). Likewise, my findings corroborate those elsewhere and in the first fieldwork phase that anglicisms are most commonly found in semantic fields, such as popular culture, business and leisure, which are heavily influenced by English-speaking countries or by the English-speaking international community.

Concerning the assimilation of anglicisms, I found further evidence that linking elements are not very productive with anglicisms in determinant position and of anglicisms being used differently in German to English. It was notable that the genitive *-s* was consistently applied to borrowings from English in spoken language in the second research phase, despite being on the decline in German and being used inconsistently in written language in the first research phase. My analysis of past participle forms of anglicisms such as *retweeten* and *updaten* indicated that there is variation in how some borrowed verbs are processed morphologically. Hausmann (2006: 57) notes that paradigms for such verbs are not always consistent: *downloaden* appears predominantly as a continuous form in the infinitive (*zu downloaden*), but as a particle verb in the past participle (*downgeloadet*) on the internet. It would be interesting to analyse infinitival constructions and present tense conjugation to investigate the morphological processing of verbal anglicisms further and ascertain whether individual speakers show inconsistency in their own paradigms or whether the variation noted in my study and Hausmann's is just between speakers. Finally, whereas Busse and Görlach (2004: 20) suggest that the extent to which anglicisms are phonologically integrated depends on how long ago they were borrowed, my findings suggest that the speaker's age and/or proficiency in English are more relevant factors, thus supporting Carstensen and Busse's (1993: 81; 2001: 81) and Zifonun's (2002: 4) observations that the level of phonological integration depends on the individual speaker's characteristics, particularly their level of English.

Regarding attitudes towards anglicisms, interviewees drew attention to how the use of anglicisms is having a range of effects on German and Germany. Linguistically, they can be seen to enrich German through adding vocabulary with additional meanings and nuances, but also deplete the range of German forms of expression used and reduce grammatical correctness. Societally, the use of anglicisms can marginalise certain groups who do not understand them and at the same time those who use slang anglicisms frequently are perceived to be of lower social status. Conversely, those who understand the anglicisms but choose not to use them, favouring a purer standard German, may be setting themselves apart as an elite.

As with the quantitative findings (see section 5.3.2), there was some variation in opinion by age with older participants being more emphatic and expansive in their criticism of the unnecessary use and overuse of anglicisms and being more likely to favour protecting the language. Those under 50, on the other hand, generally saw language change as a natural process. This corresponds to Fink's (1977: 401) findings, summarised by W. Viereck (1980: 249): 'thus young people mostly regard vocabulary from English with objective criticism, whereas retirees above all assess anglicisms emotionally'.⁸³ A number of participants under 35, and therefore in the generation who make most use of anglicisms, said they consciously monitor their use of anglicisms, indicating that they share their older compatriots' wariness towards anglicisms to some extent.

In terms of attitudinal differences by level of education, my findings suggest that university-educated people are more sensitive to changes to the German language, such as the use of ungrammatical forms and a perceived decrease in the variety of expressions, and

⁸³ So stehen junge Menschen englischem Wortgut im Deutschen eher mit sachlicher Kritik gegenüber, während Rentner Anglizismen vor allem gefühlsmäßig werten.

also more aware of different varieties of German and the value judgements assigned to them. In addition, university-educated people were more in favour of protecting German: 17.5% of university-educated interviewees indicated that German should be protected, 27.5% favoured softer ways of doing so and 55% were against this compared to 11%, 17% and 72% respectively for non-university-educated participants. This may be because those with more formal education have invested more time in learning how to speak and write according to the rules prescribed in standard German and are therefore more resistant to changes which make their mastery of these rules seem pointless and less valuable (Cameron 2012: 14).

On the whole, there was only slight variation in attitudes by location, with 62.5% of those in cities holding negative views of anglicisms compared to 75% of those in towns, and 65% of those in the east compared to 71% in the west. Despite generally holding more positive views towards anglicisms than their western compatriots, interviewees in the east were more likely to raise concerns that older people do not understand anglicisms compared to respondents in the west, reflecting a perception that older people in the east are less familiar with English and have more difficulties with anglicisms as a result of having learnt less English at school and having had fewer opportunities to use the language since then.

Comparing the findings on how frequently people in different demographic groups use anglicisms and what opinions they hold regarding anglicisms, it seems there is a general trend for those who use more anglicisms to also be more in favour of them. As discussed in section 5.3.2, younger people, university-educated adults, school pupils on vocational pathways and those in cities typically use more anglicisms and similarly I found that anglicisms are more popular with young, urban and university-educated adults and school pupils on a non-university pathway. The only variable for which use of anglicisms

and attitudes towards them do not correlate is east-west: anglicisms are used more in the west, but attitudes towards them are more positive in the east. As one might expect, it is generally the case that those who are more favourable towards anglicisms also make most use of them.

Turning our attention now to the use of English in wider society, the finding that people active in the academic and corporate domains report using German less and English more than the general populace supports Sing's (2007: 256) observation that 'there are pockets of domain-related bilingual users of English' since it seems that the frequency with which English is used is domain-dependent. As in the first research phase, people use passive English language skills more than active skills reflecting not only the fact that passive skills are easier for foreign language learners, but also the fact that much of the English people reported encountering is online written media, music, and original versions of films and television programmes.

As with the use of anglicisms, age-related trends were identifiable in how much people use English. The finding that school pupils report using the most English may be in part due to the fact they all attend English lessons multiple times a week, but it is nonetheless apparent that younger people use English more often than older people, with retirees using English by far the least.

Regarding east-west location, I found that the use of English is remarkably similar and there are no significant differences between those aged 46+ in east and west. This comes as a surprise and contradicts my observations and comments made by the interviewees, who largely expect an east-west difference in usage. 26-35DRE13U commented, for instance, that at a party in Dresden people might speak in English for about ten minutes to accommodate a foreigner, but everyone except the person speaking

directly to the foreigner would then speak German, whilst 46-55DRE14U noted a similar situation in a professional context: when they have international visitors at her research institute with whom they work in English, they speak English a bit at the start of the lunchbreak, but then switch into German for the remainder of the non-work time. Seemingly people in Dresden are not used to extended conversations in English and find this hard work. By contrast, when I met a woman in her early 30s in Frankfurt who recognised that I am a native English speaker, she said she almost switched into English because she's so used to using it (but did not because she could hear I speak good German).

The finding that English is found to be used significantly more frequently in Frankfurt than any other location and that the other large city, Dresden, does not differ significantly from either town suggests that it is not the case that more English is used in large cities per se, and that characteristics other than simply size have a bearing on the use of English. This came up in the interview discussions, where one electrical engineer in Dresden noted that the use of English 'ist aber jetzt in Dresden oder Ostdeutschland nicht so weit verbreitet [...]. In größeren Städten jetzt, Berlin, Hamburg so was, dann kann es schon mal sein, dass man irgendwie auf eine Party ist, die jetzt fünfzig Prozent Ausländeranteil hat oder so was, dann [...] plötzlich die Sprache auf Englisch wechselt' (is, however, not so widespread in Dresden or east Germany [...]. In larger cities, Berlin, Hamburg and the like, then it can be the case that you are at a party where fifty per cent of the people are foreigners, then [...] the language suddenly switches to English – 36-45DRE10U). It seems that it is not just the size of the city, but also the extent to which non-Germans visit or live there which determine how frequently English is used.

Contradictorily, university-educated adults were found to use English significantly more than non-university-educated adults, whereas school pupils on an academic trajectory

use less English than their less academic peers. The findings for adults may be because university-educated people are typically more internationally mobile (they may have lived abroad and accumulated friends in other countries, with whom they communicate in English) and it may also indicate that English is used more in jobs requiring university-level education. As for the school pupils, due to imbalances in the sample (85% of school pupils unlikely to attend university live in Frankfurt, whereas 90% of those likely to attend university live in Eberswalde and the remaining 10% are based in the other town, Erkelenz), it is possible that this finding is more attributable to where the school pupils live than their educational pathway.

Turning our attention to proficiency in English, no statistically significant differences were found between different age groups in the west. I had anticipated finding a difference in proficiency between those aged 66+ (i.e. who started secondary school before the Hamburger Abkommen of 1964 made a foreign language, usually English, compulsory) and those aged 16-65, but seemingly despite having had less formal education in English, people aged 66+ in former West Germany still feel their level of English is between intermediate and advanced, perhaps because they have come into contact with English-speaking people both at home (in their professional lives, and through tourists and the British and American military personnel stationed there) and abroad (as, unlike their contemporaries in the East, they were able to travel to English-speaking places). In the east, however, informants aged 46+ reported being significantly less proficient in English than those aged 16-45. This aligns with the *Wende* - those aged 46 in 2019 would have been 16 at the time the Berlin Wall came down and so had done most of their schooling before English became compulsory and taught from a younger age, whereas those aged 45 and under would virtually all have learnt English in school – and indicates that despite it

being thirty years since reunification, former East Germans continue to lag behind in terms of proficiency in English.

Comparing east and west, the finding that speakers aged 16-45 in former East Germany consider themselves more proficient in English than their compatriots in former West Germany comes as a surprise since interviewees typically hold the view that east-west differences in proficiency are not found among young people and this is what one would expect based on the developments in the education system. 26-35DRE5N says on the subject of a possible east-west difference: ‘nicht bei den jungen Leuten, das hat sich sehr schnell, denke ich, aufgehoben’ (not among young people, I think that levelled out very quickly). The significantly higher proficiency in English among people aged 46+ in former West Germany than former East Germany is, however, in line with people’s expectations and my predictions based on the teaching of English in the GDR and FRG. 56-65DRE18U thinks that it is more common among people of her generation to speak a second language perfectly if they are in the west than in the east, and 56-65EBE1U agrees: ‘da merke ich auch einen Unterschied zwischen Ost und West ja, also in meiner Generation, die älteren Leute, da sind die Ex-DDR-Bürger sprechen deutlich schlechter Englisch im Schnitt’ (there I also notice a difference between east and west, that is in my generation, the older people, the former GDR-citizens speak much worse English on average).

My findings indicate that proficiency in English is significantly lower in towns than large cities. Leppänen et al. (2011: 64) similarly found differences according to area of residence, but noted ‘it is difficult to say to what extent this reflects the differing population structures of different areas (concerning e.g. age and level of education), and to what extent it involves “genuine” differences between urban and rural cultures/ways of life’. The same may be true here, with the much lower level of proficiency found in

Erkelenz perhaps being attributable to it being the only location without a centre for higher education and it having the fewest participants with a university education: just 40% of adult questionnaire participants there are university-educated compared to 69%, 77% and 86% in Eberswalde, Frankfurt and Dresden respectively. This may well be the case since proficiency in English differs significantly ($p < 0.0001$) for people of different levels of education. Notably differences in proficiency are significant between university-educated and non-university-educated adults, but not between school pupils on a university and non-university pathway. It therefore seems that differences in proficiency between people of different levels of education widen once people have attended university or not and this divergence makes sense given the widespread use of English at universities and by university-educated people in business contexts as discussed in Chapter 4.

Finally, I found that proficiency and use of English correlate. This comes as no surprise since the more someone uses English, the more proficient they will become and similarly the more proficient someone is in English, the more willing they are likely to be to use it, whilst those who use English less are likely to be less proficient and in turn more reluctant to use English.

My findings regarding attitudes towards the use of English indicate that people generally have no issue with English being used in Germany where this is necessitated by the international context, for instance when there are non-German speakers who one would otherwise not be able to communicate with. People also saw English as helpful in welcoming tourists and migrants to Germany, although there is a clear expectation, expressed primarily by middle-aged participants, that English native speakers who intend to settle permanently or semi-permanently in Germany should learn the national language. Some young people commented on the use of English as a language of instruction at university and noted that it is beneficial in preparing students for working in an

international field. Nonetheless, they felt that German should not be neglected entirely so that people have the vocabulary to understand and discuss topics in German too. People were also aware that the use of English in Germany can be disadvantageous for those with weaker English. Certain opportunities, both professionally and privately, are less accessible to those with limited English and interviewees gave examples of people being excluded by the use of English in social, academic and professional contexts. Notably this can affect people of all ages, although some issues have particular relevance for certain age groups: it is mostly older participants, particularly in east Germany, who find travelling difficult due to their lack of English, while younger people with weaker English can be excluded from popular culture. Despite English being compulsory in German schools, not all young people have a good level of English and those who do are typically university-educated and internationally mobile. Thus one could talk of German society being stratified according to level of English (and education in general). For the generation aged under thirty/thirty-five, however, this may not hold true as more democratic means of learning English have become increasingly available in recent years through the internet and, indeed, English may even be breaking down class boundaries as people of all backgrounds can acquire good English and thus have access to the opportunities this opens up. Nonetheless, this theory is not supported by my questionnaire data, which suggests that a strong correlation between the level of formal education someone has and their proficiency in English persists even among the younger generations.

Interestingly these opinions about the use of English were generally voiced by people in all locations, with no indication of different overall attitudes towards the use of English in certain domains being found in east and west Germany or in towns as compared to large cities. This is a surprising finding since the use of English was found to vary between different locations, with significantly more English being used in Frankfurt than

any other fieldwork site. One might expect views to differ accordingly – either with people in Dresden, Eberswalde and Erkelenz being more critical of the use of English because it is unfamiliar or with people in Frankfurt expressing more negative views along the lines of ‘it’s too widespread’ – but this was not found to be the case. Alternatively, I might have expected less critical attitudes in the metropolitan city of Frankfurt on the basis that it is more international and perhaps experiences the advantages of using English more than the less metropolitan locations, yet this was also not the case. Furthermore, it is interesting that there were no overall east/west differences, with 53% of responses in the east and 52% in the west being favourable towards the use of English, suggesting that acceptance of English is fairly even across Germany. Nonetheless, it was apparent that east Germans picked up more on issues of social inequality as a result of English: 15 of the 19 interviewees who commented on how the use of English excludes Germans from participating in their own country live in Dresden or Eberswalde, and the majority of participants in the east who addressed the issue of whether there is an English-speaking elite concluded there is one, with one participant regarding this elite to be ‘Westdeutsche, ja, Leute aus Westdeutschland’ (West Germans, yes, people from West Germany – 66+EBE19U). This greater perception of inequality in the east may be due to an awareness that people aged 46+ in the east are particularly weak in English (see Table 50) and therefore vulnerable to exclusion. This greater sense of inequality as a result of English in the east reflects a feeling there of being short-changed compared to the west (for instance economically, as depicted in Figure 2) and wider dissatisfaction in the east (expressed in recent elections with the right-wing *Alternative für Deutschland* gaining ground in eastern states, as discussed in Chapter 1).

In terms of level of education, university-educated people and school pupils on an academic pathway expressed more positive attitudes towards the use of English than non-

university-educated people and school pupils on a more vocational trajectory, and this was particularly apparent in the comments on how English is useful for international communication, a point raised by 54% of university-educated interviewees but just 25% of non-university-educated people. Thus university-educated people seem to be more aware of the advantages of using English as a lingua franca, which is hardly surprising given the quantitative questionnaire data shows university-educated people to be significantly more proficient in English and to use English significantly more frequently than non-university-educated people, indicating that university-educated people are most capable of communicating in English and able to benefit from its use as a lingua franca.

Another variable which had a moderate interaction with attitudes towards the use of English in certain domains was the interviewee's age. Although people of all ages recognised both positive and negative aspects of the use of English – often with individuals expressing arguments on both sides of the debate – it was primarily older people who emphasised that German and not English should be used in certain contexts. A similar trend was apparent in the few comments about Inner Circle migrants not learning German because they can get by with English; participants under 35 generally presented this matter-of-factly, whilst older interviewees were more critical, perhaps reflecting a more conservative, pro-integration stance. These differing opinions may also reflect the fact that older people perceive themselves to be less proficient in English and so they are the people most at risk of being excluded by the use of English in certain contexts, and this might explain their greater wariness of this. There were also some issues which people identified as only really affecting people of certain ages – for instance, difficulty with travelling abroad primarily affects older people and being excluded from popular culture and social media is mostly a concern for young people – and this was sometimes reflected in who raised the issue (it was generally young people, for example, who identified the

issue of being excluded from popular culture through lack of English). On the whole, however, similar opinions regarding the use of English were expressed by people from all age groups and there were only slight differences as outlined here.

Finally, when asked about the future linguistic situation in Germany, very few people felt that German would disappear, with the vast majority across all locations, age groups and levels of education believing the opposite, though still acknowledging that German will change and that the dialects might be lost. People generally expected the use of English and borrowing of anglicisms to increase and, with an increasingly multicultural society, particularly in west Germany, many people in Erkelenz and Frankfurt anticipated more languages influencing German and playing a role in Germany. In terms of their own language development, opinion was split with some young people believing that they would use more anglicisms in the future and others thinking that their use of anglicisms will decline. People spoke highly of raising children bilingually, but most agreed that they would not recommend raising children bilingually with English and German if both parents are German-speaking and the family lives in Germany. Nonetheless, many university-educated people in particular said they would (or do) try to foster an interest in languages and cultural exchange in their children from a young age.

Interviewees of different ages and educational backgrounds across the four research sites generally expressed very similar views regarding the future linguistic situation. Nonetheless, there was some subtle variation between respondents in different locations and with different levels of education. It was predominantly people in the western fieldwork sites (Erkelenz and Frankfurt) who felt that more languages, not just English, will be spoken in Germany and influence German; only school-aged interviewees in Frankfurt thought that their use of youth slang and anglicisms might decrease; and only interviewees in west Germany, and particularly in Frankfurt, could give examples of

native-German-speaking parents raising their children bilingually with English. As for level of education, it was apparent that university-educated participants and proficient English speakers were more likely to introduce their children to English and/or other languages from a young age.

Chapter 6 - Conclusion

In this thesis I have investigated the relationship between English and German in Germany, looking in particular at the use of anglicisms and English, and attitudes towards them. Chapter 1 introduced the issue of the relationship between English and German in Germany and why this is of particular relevance now, and positioned my work in the context of wider research into language and globalisation, and the influence of English as the ‘hypercentral’ language (De Swaan 2013: 77), particularly in relation to Germanic-speaking countries. Chapter 2 gave an overview of previous research in the German context on the use, integration and function of anglicisms, the domains affected by English and anglicisms, as well as language ideologies and attitudes towards the use of English and anglicisms in Germany. Chapter 3 introduced my research questions and the methods I employed to investigate them across the two research phases. Past research reviewed in Chapter 2 has shown that age, level of education, proficiency in English, urban/rural and east/west location affect people’s use and understanding of anglicisms, and their attitudes towards English and anglicisms and I discussed in Chapter 3 how I defined each of these demographic variables, as well as contextual considerations (in particular exposure to English through education) which may affect them. In Chapter 4 I presented my findings in the academic and corporate domains, the two domains considered most at risk of domain loss. Based on my observations in these domains I extended my study to consider a broader cross-section of society and my findings in wider society are discussed in Chapter 5. In this concluding chapter I draw together findings from both research phases and suggest areas for future research. I will first of all summarise my findings relating to each research question in turn before discussing in more detail the variables of particular interest in relation to the impact of English on German and Germany: domain, speaker age, east-west, level of education and settlement size.

6.1 Research question 1 – How much, when, how and by whom are anglicisms and switching into English used?

Regarding the question of how much anglicisms are used, Table 55 presents my findings across the two research phases alongside previous research into the use of anglicisms in the press.

	Tokens	Types
Previous research (written media)		
Onysko 2007 (<i>Der Spiegel</i> 2000) ⁸⁴	1.11%	5.80%
Rathmann 2007 (<i>Wirtschaftswoche</i> 2000-2003)	2.17%	
Burmasova 2010 (<i>Die Welt</i> 2004)	1.18%	
Kontulainen 2008 (<i>Der Spiegel</i> 2007)	1.5%	
Phase 1 – academic and corporate domains		
Overall	2.24%	3.91%
Written data	3.02%	4.83%
Lectures	1.77%	2.32%
Interviews	0.73%	1.87%
Phase 2 – wider society		
Interviews	1.08%	2.76%
Interviews (participants aged 18-65)	1.13%	2.97%

Table 55: Proportion of anglicisms found in recent studies into the press and across the two research phases

As noted in section 2.3, comparisons between studies can only be made tentatively since the definition of an anglicism varies considerably between studies. Nonetheless it is interesting that my written data contained a much higher proportion of anglicisms (tokens) than any of the news media for which proportions (not just anglicisms per page) were also calculated and reported. This is likely to be because my written data primarily dealt with anglicism-heavy subjects (such as computing and business) in a context where large

⁸⁴ The year in brackets indicates when the news media under investigation were published, not when the scholarly works appeared.

numbers of technical terms which are often borrowed from English are likely to arise and be repeated (i.e. textbooks), whereas news media tends to cover a wider range of subjects, many of which are not so heavily affected by anglicisms, in a less technical way.

Anglicisms were used less frequently in my interview data than in my written data or lecture data (tokens only). This may be attributable to the relative formality and non-technical scope of an interview: speakers may have avoided using borrowed slang words, and there were few opportunities to use borrowed technical terminology or subject-specific language. Unfortunately there are no previous studies of anglicisms in everyday spoken language to compare my interview data to and assess whether the use of anglicisms in the community is increasing, decreasing or remaining stable. Further research on the spoken language of ordinary Germans, using the same definition of an anglicism and comparable data, would therefore be valuable in addressing the question of how the use of anglicisms in everyday language is changing over time.

As well as comparing the rate of borrowing in my corpus to previous research on anglicisms in German news media, my replication in the German context of Hultgren's 2013 study into the use of anglicisms in lectures and classes at a Danish university enabled me to compare the influence of English on German, a 'supercentral' language, with its influence on Danish, a 'central' language, to use De Swaan's terminology (2013: 76-77). Although one might expect the influence of English to be greater on Danish as the less widely spoken language, I found that a considerably higher proportion of loanwords from English were used in the German computer science and chemistry lectures I attended than in the Danish ones observed by Hultgren, and the German literature lectures made more use of anglicisms than either the Danish physics or chemistry ones. These observations are based on a very small dataset (eleven Danish lectures and classes and nine German ones) and it would be interesting to see if this initial finding that anglicisms are more prevalent

in German than Danish holds true if more data and in a wider range of contexts are compared.

Interviewees indicated that they have some conscious control over when they use anglicisms and that they are more prevalent and appropriate in certain situations. Younger participants in both fieldwork phases commented that they try to avoid using anglicisms with older relatives who may not understand them and people suggested that anglicisms are more frequent and appropriate in less formal and more spontaneous situations, whether written or spoken, as indicated by one young Dresdner:

Je kürzer die Nachrichten werden bei WhatsApp, desto mehr kommen eher Anglizismen im Spiel, denke ich. Je einfacher was wird, je spontaner, desto mehr Anglizismen, denke ich, und je länger ein Text wird, je mehr Zeit man sich nimmt für einen Brief oder eine E-Mail, dann kommen die, glaube ich, gar nicht vor, das ist so mein Eindruck.

The shorter the messages are on WhatsApp, the more anglicisms come into play, I think. The simpler something is, the more spontaneous, the more anglicisms I think and the longer a text is, the more time one takes for a letter or an email then I don't think they occur at all, that's my impression.

(26-35DRE1U)

Similarly, school pupils are discouraged from using anglicisms in written work and they are aware that they should avoid them when addressing their teachers. Indeed, one businessman described the use of anglicisms as 'sloppy' (51-60HAN2). These indications that anglicisms are most appropriate in less formal situations, both spoken and written, suggest that my participants associate anglicisms primarily with informal registers, non-standard varieties and slang, rather than with professional jargon or technical terminology (e.g. *Coaching, Anion, Vektor* and *Fair Use*), which have a place in more formal registers. This issue of appropriate usage also overlaps with the question of luxury versus necessary borrowings; my participants generally thought that it is lazy to use an anglicism where there is a suitable German alternative, which is frequently the case with slang words (e.g.

easy, cool), but that anglicisms are appropriate when they offer the only way of expressing something, as is often the case with professional jargon or technical terminology.

Across both fieldwork phases a number of trends in the items borrowed came to light. Firstly, it was consistently the case that nouns were the most frequently borrowed word class, followed by adjectives, verbs and adverbs. This makes sense as anglicisms often arise when a new concept or item (denoted by a noun) is introduced to German speakers and it also reflects a tendency for English prepositional phrases, verbs or adjectives to become nominal in German. Secondly, trends could be observed in the semantic fields in which anglicisms were most prevalent: borrowings tended to be in semantic fields which are either developing most rapidly in English-speaking countries or in the English-speaking international community, such as academia, business, popular culture, modern technology and sport. Thirdly, my data corroborate Busse and Görlach's (2004: 18) observation that anglicisms tend to cluster in two registers, the colloquial and the technical, and distinguishing between the two may be helpful in explaining what seem otherwise to be contradictory findings, such as that university-educated adults use more anglicisms than their non-university-educated peers, whilst more academic children use fewer anglicisms than less academic children.

On the whole it was apparent that anglicisms are very smoothly integrated into German morphologically, with anglicisms undergoing derivation, compounding and inflection. Although speakers expressed uncertainty as to how gender is assigned to nominal anglicisms, there was no evidence of hesitation or uncertainty when actually using anglicisms, indicating the presence of reliable intuitions even if these cannot fully be explained. My analysis of the *s*-plural, a common ending on anglicisms, found that this is a German morphological feature rather than a borrowing from English on the basis that it is not applied universally or exclusively to anglicisms. My corpus showed ongoing

fluctuation in genitive inflection on anglicisms, though it was surprising that the genitive *-s* was applied consistently to all five masculine or neuter anglicisms which were uttered in the genitive singular in phase 2, whereas omissions occurred in published written texts in phase 1. Another source of variation was in the conjugation of verbal anglicisms, which could be borrowed as one continuous form (forming the past participle as *geretweetet* or *retweetet* ‘retweeted’, for example, depending on whether main stress falls on the first syllable or not) or as a particle verb (*regetweetet*). There were too few instances of such verbs in my dataset to analyse their distribution and it would be interesting to use a larger corpus to investigate whether there is a preference for one form over another and whether the distribution of each form varies by region or other demographic variables.

In terms of orthographical and phonological integration, my observations largely confirmed those made in previous studies. There is uncertainty and variation among speakers regarding how anglicisms should be written, with compound nouns involving anglicisms frequently being written with a hyphen separating the component parts or as multiple orthographic words, and there is often more than one ‘correct’ orthographic form, e.g. *Know-how* and *Knowhow*, *Smalltalk* and *Small Talk*. Phonologically I found that particularly integrated forms were most often produced by older participants and/or those with weaker English, which supports Carstensen and Busse’s (1993: 81; 2001: 81) and Zifonun’s (2002: 4) observations that the level of phonological integration depends on the individual speaker’s characteristics, particularly their level of English.

Turning our attention now to the use of English, I consistently found that people use German more than English for all four communication activities (reading, listening, writing and speaking). Respondents tended to report using passive English language skills (reading and listening) more frequently than active ones (writing and speaking), which reflects how difficult each skill is for second-language learners. Within German, there is

very little variation between the different modes of communication, suggesting that the variation in English use is due to the language rather than the mode. This is corroborated by the findings on when German and English are used; German is used for everything whereas English is used in more restricted contexts, within which three main trends can be identified: when consuming popular culture (particularly on social media), when confronted with someone who does not speak German, and in professional contexts (and this was apparent from my observation that people in academic and corporate domains report using English more than those in wider society). Whilst German is generally used at all times, English is primarily reserved for contexts which are in some way international, involving non-German-speaking interlocutors or information/media which are intended for a global audience, and my observations indicate that the default position is to use English where there are (or may be) non-German speakers among the direct or indirect audience. Nonetheless, situations can be fluid and there may be code-switching into German, for instance in less formal situations or if it is a struggle for the German speakers to converse in English for a prolonged period of time, as was mentioned a couple of times by participants in Dresden.

I will address the question of who uses anglicisms and English in more detail when I discuss the demographic variables below, but to summarise, I found a tendency for more anglicisms to be used by younger, university-educated people living in larger settlements often in west Germany (though many of these differences were not statistically significant), and I also found that young, university-educated city dwellers made significantly more use of English than older, non-university-educated people living in smaller less cosmopolitan locations. There is considerable overlap between the demographic groups who tend to use more anglicisms and those who use English more, and a moderate correlation between the use of anglicisms and both proficiency in English

and use of English was found. Contrary to Busse and Görlach's theory that 'the best speakers of English in Germany are not the most frequent users of Anglicisms' (2004: 32), I found that people who are more frequent and proficient users of English also use more anglicisms.

6.2 Research question 2 – What are speakers' attitudes towards the use of English in Germany and the influence of English on German, and what impact does this have on German society?

It was striking that, in response to the question 'What are the advantages and disadvantages of the growing use of English in Germany?', people across both research phases generally identified positive aspects of switching to English as the advantages and negative aspects of the use of anglicisms as the disadvantages. This finding that people are more favourable towards the use of English than the use of anglicisms is also noticeable in participants' responses to questions about the tendency for more anglicisms and more English to be used: regarding anglicisms, negative responses predominated, whereas there were marginally more positive than negative responses in relation to the use of English. It seems that using anglicisms is viewed differently to using English in Germany: the anglicisms are seen to damage and distort German whereas speaking English in relevant contexts has no such effect as English is used instead of rather than as part of German and the two are kept distinct from one another. I noticed a contrast in responses between the two fieldwork phases: those in the academic and corporate domains were generally less critical of anglicisms and the use of English than people in wider society and expressed their negative views more hesitantly. In addition, I observed a general trend for those who use more anglicisms and English to also be more in favour of them. Younger, university-

educated people and those in cities typically use more anglicisms and similarly I found that anglicisms are more popular with young, university-educated, urban people. Likewise, university-educated people were much more positive about the use of English and also more frequent users of English than non-university-educated people.

Within responses to anglicisms, informants distinguished explicitly between necessary and unnecessary anglicisms, and more implicitly between colloquial/slang anglicisms and borrowed technical/professional terminology. A common opinion was that anglicisms should be avoided where they replace a perfectly serviceable German word, but that they can be necessary when there is no directly equivalent German word available. Similarly attitudes towards anglicisms in different registers varied: informants commented that slang anglicisms are associated with low social class and criticised the prevalence of anglicisms ‘in der normalen Umgangssprache’ (56-65FRA35U – in normal colloquial language), whereas using anglicisms for ‘Fachausdrücke’ (technical terms) is deemed ‘sinnvoll’ (to make sense – 25-30BER3) as they can be ‘treffsicherer’ (more accurate – 51-60HAN1) and more practical when working in an international field. Nonetheless, professional jargon did not go unquestioned: ‘Manche Ausdrücke in Businessenglisch [...] könnte man manches auch ein bißchen schlichter ausdrücken. Also warum muss jeder von Performance sprechen? [...] Das ist ein bißchen übertrieben’ (many expressions in business English could be expressed more simply. Why must everyone speak of *performance*? [...] That’s a bit excessive – 56-65FRA2U). Thus, attitudes were more critical towards slang or unnecessary anglicisms, and less critical towards technical or necessary borrowings. The two dimensions (necessity and register) do not, however, map neatly onto one another since there can be necessary slang anglicisms and unnecessary technical/professional anglicisms, as illustrated in Figure 20:

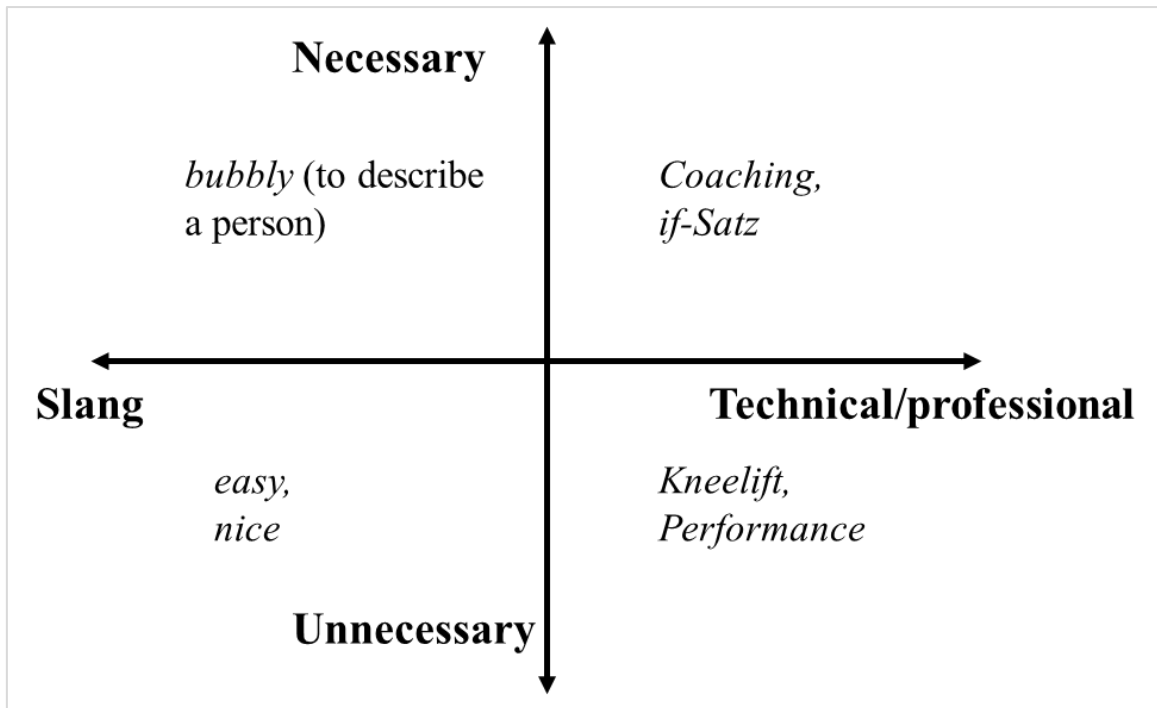


Figure 20: Categorisation of anglicisms

From my data, it is unclear whether the overriding attitude is against unnecessary borrowings regardless of the register or against slang anglicisms regardless of whether they fill a gap in German. Alternatively, it may be that attitudes are reasonably positive towards necessary-technical (e.g. *Coaching*) and negative towards unnecessary-slang anglicisms (*nice*), with necessary-slang (*bubbly*) and unnecessary-technical (*Kneelift*) falling somewhere in between. Further studies into the classification of anglicisms and attitudes towards each sub-type would be needed to shed further light on this.

Whilst recognising that the use of English enables international communication and opens up more sources of information, and that anglicisms can be more practical and fitting than German alternatives, people also acknowledged that the use of English and anglicisms can exclude those who have weaker English skills from participating fully in German society. People may find that their educational choices and career prospects, their

access to and enjoyment of popular culture and social media, and their ability to travel abroad confidently are all limited due to their lack of proficiency in English. Nonetheless these issues were generally not deemed problematic; there are plenty of professional opportunities which do not require English skills and people are only excluded if they mix in social circles in which English and anglicisms are prevalent (e.g. among young, university-educated people in large cosmopolitan cities).

Connected to this is the issue of whether there is an English-speaking elite, an idea which 85% of my informants in the first research phase and 59% of those in the second research phase rejected on the basis that knowledge of English is too widespread for there to be an elite. Nevertheless some interviewees noted that people who attend more academic schools tend to have better English skills and that opportunities to become fully proficient in English are typically expensive (as in the case of a High School Year abroad) or only available to university-educated people (as is often the case for a semester or internship abroad), and that on this basis there may be an English-speaking elite.

Only three people across the whole study thought that German might disappear in the near future and just twelve respondents expressed the opinion that it would be good to protect German, with most deeming this to be unnecessary given how widely German is spoken and that it is being maintained automatically through its use in schools, the law and the media. Thus my study corroborated Edwards and Fuchs's finding that there is 'a general confidence in the status of their national language vis-à-vis English' (2018: 665). At the same time, just over a quarter of people said they thought German should be maintained through individuals and people collectively taking care of their language, for instance by consciously reducing the number of anglicisms young people use and promoting good German in schools and through the media. Participants clearly value their

language and indicated that they want German to continue to function as the main language in Germany, just as Erling found in her study (2004: 9).

Whilst regarding German as the primary language, my respondents generally expect the influence of English to stay the same or increase and they clearly felt it was important for their children to learn English from a young age. Although the consensus across both research phases was that people would only raise their children bilingually if they or their partner had another native language or if they lived abroad, many people commented that they would or do try to promote language learning and an interest in languages, particularly English, from a young age through playful means, such as reading and singing in other languages.

As highlighted here, there are three main findings in terms of attitudes towards English and anglicisms in Germany. Firstly, it is apparent that my participants were more critical of anglicisms than the use of English, mirroring opinions in the public domain where anglicisms are more heavily and frequently criticised than the use of English. Secondly, whilst my respondents acknowledged that the use of English and anglicisms can exclude German speakers, they generally did not consider this to be too divisive for German society, thus not providing much support for the existence of English-speaking 'haves' and non-English-speaking 'have-nots' as has been feared to be the case in Denmark (Phillipson 2001a: 2). However, given that the majority of my participants were highly educated, even in phase 2 where I sought participants from a wider cross-section of society, further studies with a more representative sample of the population would be needed to assess more fully the extent to which German society is divided by the influence of English. Finally, it is clear that my participants do not consider the German language to be under threat from or in need of protection against English; instead they are confident that German continues to be the primary language in Germany, whilst recognising the

important role English plays in their lives now and in the future. As with the use of English and anglicisms, attitudes towards these differ to some degree along demographic lines and these nuances will be discussed for each demographic variable in turn in the sections that follow.

6.3 Variables under investigation

6.3.1 Domain and domain loss

A central concept in the Scandinavian context is that of ‘domain loss’, the idea that the combined effect of borrowing from and switching to English will make it impossible to discuss certain topics in the national language because there will be no relevant terminology (Hultgren 2016a). Through my investigation of the academic and corporate domains in phase 1 of my study against the backdrop of the linguistic situation in wider society in phase 2, I have considered whether the academic and corporate domains are at risk of being lost to English in Germany. In a similar study conducted at a university in Denmark, Hultgren (2013, 2016a: 154-155) concluded that one cannot speak of domain loss in Denmark because the use of borrowings from English is no higher in the scientific domain than in everyday language (0.6% in both) and the loans are well assimilated into Danish, and my findings lead me to reach similar conclusions. I found that anglicism types were no more prevalent in the academic and corporate domains than in everyday written and spoken language exemplified in the news media and interviews respectively (see Table 55): the proportion of different anglicisms used in textbooks and company documents was lower than in non-domain-specific media texts and a wider range of anglicisms was used in the everyday language of the interviews in wider society than in the specialist language used in university lectures. I also observed that the anglicisms in my corpus are well

integrated into German. Furthermore, my analysis of switches to English in these domains indicated that fears of domain loss are not supported by empirical evidence. Despite concerns that English has become the dominant language in academia and business, my participants in both domains reported using German more than English for every form of communication in their work and studies, suggesting that German continues to be the primary language in these domains. It was also very rare in my observations for things to be done solely in English, with the result that relevant terminology is still being developed in German, and such parallel language use is seen in Scandinavian countries to be the antidote to domain loss (Hultgren 2016b: 159; Hultgren 2018: 78). Thus, I am inclined to regard the situation I observed not as domain loss, but rather linguistic gain: the German language has gained fully integrated vocabulary, giving speakers more options in how to express themselves, and, as the interview responses indicate, people in the academic and corporate domains think the benefits in terms of greater international communication outweigh any disadvantages of the use of English and anglicisms in these domains.

In addition to addressing the issue of domain loss, by considering the academic and corporate domains in combination rather than dealing with them in isolation, my study enables a comparison of the linguistic situation in these two domains. I noted that anglicisms are used more frequently overall in the academic domain (although the difference is only significant for tokens and not types), whilst English is used significantly more frequently, particularly for the active skills of writing and speaking, in the corporate domain. Despite these differences in their use of English and anglicisms at work, participants in the academic and corporate domains report almost identical levels of proficiency in English (a mean of 1.44 in the academic domain compared to 1.45 in the corporate domain on a scale from 1 = *fluent* to 4 = *beginner*), which suggests that differences in linguistic practices between the domains are due to the context rather than

people's language skills. There are considerable similarities between the academic and corporate domains in how speakers choose between using English and German as well as in attitudes towards the use of English and anglicisms in these domains, which is not surprising given the university students are broadly being trained to become university academics or company professionals. Respondents in both domains generally expressed positive attitudes towards the use of English and anglicisms, which is unsurprising given they are competent English speakers who benefit from using English daily for work and leisure.

6.3.2 Speaker age

Speaker age was found to be connected both to how much people use English and anglicisms and how favourable they are towards them. Younger people were found to be more proficient in English and to use it more often, and there was a tendency for more anglicisms to be used by younger than older speakers. As well as being less frequent users of English and anglicisms, older participants were also more critical of them. Retirees were more emphatic and expansive in their criticism of the unnecessary use and overuse of anglicisms, and they were particularly vocal in expressing the view that German and not English should be used in certain contexts, such as for more local and cultural things. Given their lower proficiency in English, retired people are typically less confident in using English and anglicisms and are also the age group most at risk of being excluded by the use of English and anglicisms, hence their greater wariness of them.

The finding that younger people tend to be more frequent users of English and anglicisms than older people raises the question of whether historical change is taking place (i.e. the speech of the community is changing over time) or whether this is a case of

age grading (individuals' linguistic practices are changing in the course of their lifetime) (Eckert 1998: 151). This is difficult to ascertain in a synchronic study such as this, but I tried to get a sense of whether using a high proportion of anglicisms is a phase young people go through by asking teenagers how they see their own language use changing in the future and asking young adults how they perceive their language use to have changed since their youth. Opinions were mixed: just under half of respondents thought they use or will use more anglicisms than they did as a teenager, just over a quarter thought the pressure to use standard language, particularly in professional contexts, would mean they use fewer anglicisms as an adult and just under a third thought how much they use or will use anglicisms depends on the context. Given this uncertainty, it would be interesting to collect comparable data to that discussed here in the future to enable a trend study to be carried out to assess whether the findings identified here reflect change in the community or changes in individuals as they go through life. In addition, my findings suggest it may be illuminating to distinguish anglicisms by register: the trends relating to informal/slang loans and technical/professional ones may differ.

6.3.3 Level of education

Similarly, there was a strong association between level of education and how much adults use English and anglicisms, and attitudes also differed between people with different educational backgrounds.⁸⁵ I found that university-educated adults are significantly more

⁸⁵ Although I also analysed the interaction between level of education and linguistic practices and attitudes for school pupils, these findings were less conclusive since my sample consisted of school pupils on a more vocational pathway residing in Frankfurt and school pupils on a more academic pathway living in Eberswalde and Erkelenz. It is therefore unclear whether the trends I observed (for less academic pupils to use more English and anglicisms, and be more favourable towards anglicisms but less favourable towards English than their more academic peers) are attributable to their educational background or the nature of where they live, or both.

proficient in English and use English significantly more than non-university-educated adults, presumably because they are more internationally mobile and more likely to have jobs where English is used. In addition, university-educated people use a significantly wider range of anglicisms than their non-university-educated peers and this is probably because their higher proficiency and use of English mean they have a wider English vocabulary and are more confident in using less common anglicisms. Although overall attitudes towards anglicisms did not differ substantially between university-educated and non-university-educated people, it was apparent that university-educated people are more sensitive to changes to the German language brought about by anglicisms, more critical of the unnecessary use of anglicisms and more in favour of protecting German. Having invested more time in learning how to speak and write according to the rules prescribed in standard German, it seems that those with more formal education are more resistant to changes which make their mastery of these rules seem pointless and less valuable (Cameron 2012: 14). As for the use of English, university-educated people expressed much more positive attitudes towards this and they appeared more aware of the advantages of using English as a lingua franca to interact internationally, which is hardly surprising given that, with their higher proficiency in English, they are the people most able to benefit from this. More highly educated people were also more willing to support their children in learning languages, presumably because their higher proficiency in English enables them to do so.

Despite some speculation as to whether the effect of level of education on linguistic practices and attitudes might be subsiding as more egalitarian ways of learning English are increasingly available, this was not found to be the case based on my data. I found that university-educated people have higher proficiency in English than non-university-educated people, and this is most pronounced for the age groups 18-45 (see Table 54).

Proficiency in English seems to be a reasonable indicator of linguistic practices and attitudes: proficiency in English correlates with use of both anglicisms and English (see Tables 35 and 53 respectively), and frequent users of anglicisms and English tend to hold more positive views of them. Thus level of education appears to be an ongoing factor influencing linguistic practices and attitudes regarding English and anglicisms.

6.3.4 East-west

Despite ongoing social, economic and political differences between east and west Germany as detailed in Chapter 1, it is striking how similar these previously separate nations are in terms of linguistic practices. Although I found that significantly more anglicism tokens are used in the west than the east, this was due to more anglicism tokens being used by 16-45-year-olds in the west than east and not due to any significant differences between those aged 46+ who spent their formative years in East and West Germany before reunification. This comes as a surprise since previous studies consistently found that anglicisms were used more frequently and constituted a larger proportion of vocabulary in West than East Germany (Busse 1993; Ihlenburg 1964; Kristensson 1977), and suggests that differences in the use of anglicisms between east and west are subsiding 30 years on from reunification. The use of English is remarkably similar between east and west, with a mean self-reported usage of 2.83 (equating to 'sometimes') in the east and 2.75 in the west, which contradicts my observations and comments made by the interviewees, who largely expect much more English to be used in the west than the east, whereas the data shows a difference of just 0.08. On the face of it, proficiency in English also does not seem to differ significantly between east (mean proficiency = 2.16, where 2 = advanced and 3 = intermediate) and west (2.26), but this is because speakers aged 16-45

in the east consider themselves to be significantly more proficient than their compatriots in the west, whereas the reverse is true for those aged 46+. Furthermore, the interaction between speaker age and proficiency in English differs substantially between east and west. Whereas there are only minimal differences by age in the west (proficiency ranges from 2.07 for those aged 16-17 to 2.67 for those aged 18-25, with all other age groups having mean proficiencies of 2.20-2.44), there is a significant difference in proficiency in the east between those aged 16-45 (mean = 1.91) and those aged 46+ (mean = 2.94). This aligns with the *Wende* and indicates that those who completed most of their schooling in East Germany are substantially less proficient in English than the younger generations in the east, and that former East Germans continue to lag behind their former West German counterparts in terms of proficiency in English. Despite different levels of self-reported proficiency, how much people report using English does not differ significantly between east and west for either the 16-45 or 46+ age groups, as Table 42 shows.

Regarding attitudes, these were also similar between east and west, although east Germans were slightly more positive towards both anglicisms and the use of English than west Germans. Nonetheless, it was noticeable that interviewees in the east were more likely to raise concerns that older people do not understand anglicisms compared to respondents in the west, reflecting a perception that older people in the east have more difficulties with anglicisms as a result of their lower proficiency in English since they learnt less English at school and have had fewer opportunities to use the language since then. Similarly, east Germans picked up more on issues of social inequality as a result of the use of English in Germany: 15 of the 19 interviewees who commented on how the use of English excludes Germans from participating in their own country live in Dresden or Eberswalde, and the majority of participants in the east who addressed the issue of whether there is an English-speaking elite concluded there is one. This again reflects an awareness

that older people in the east are particularly weak in English and therefore vulnerable to exclusion. Thus if there is such a group as the non-English-speaking 'have-nots' in Germany, this would appear to be former East Germans.

6.3.5 Settlement size

Looking finally at settlement size, there is a tendency for more anglicisms to be used in larger settlements, but given the high frequency of anglicisms in Konstanz (the smallest city in the first fieldwork phase) and among ERK19 and ERK28, it is clear that living in a less urban setting does not preclude people from using large quantities of anglicisms, and it seems that other variables are involved, such as level of education and proficiency in English. Likewise with the use of English; this is significantly more common in large cities than in towns, but there is considerable variation in the use of English between different large cities, indicating that characteristics other than simply size have a bearing on the use of English. It seems that it is not just the size of the city, but also the extent to which non-Germans visit or live there which determine how frequently English is used. People in large cities also report being significantly more proficient in English than people in towns, which comes as a surprise since access to English through school education and the internet is no different between urban and rural settings. This finding may, however, be explained by the low levels of university-educated people in Erkelenz, where proficiency is lowest, rather than by genuine differences between urban and rural ways of life. Thus, whilst people are generally more proficient in English and use more English and anglicisms in larger locations, settlement size alone does not seem to affect people's proficiency or their use of anglicisms and English. Instead, it seems that other variables which happen to cluster in settlements of certain sizes determine this. Settlement size also

does not appear to be very indicative of attitudes towards English and anglicisms.

Attitudes are 12.5% more positive towards anglicisms and slightly more positive towards English in large cities than towns, with urban interviewees highlighting in particular how the use of English makes Germany a welcoming country for tourists and migrants, but there are otherwise no noticeable distinctions between urban and rural participants.

6.3.6 Summary of demographic findings

In summary, I found that being young, university-educated and in a large city are all factors which make it more likely that a German speaker will use English and anglicisms frequently. Of these factors, the two most significant variables in determining a speaker's propensity to use English and anglicisms are age and level of education since these correlate most consistently with frequency of English and anglicisms, and they appear to underpin urban/rural differences, which are often attributable not so much to genuine urban/rural contrasts, but to varying population structures in different locations. Age and level of education were also the most significant variables in relation to attitudes: a respondent's age was the biggest indicator of whether they held positive or negative attitudes towards anglicisms, whilst their level of education was most indicative of their overall attitude towards the use of English. Although age was found to be highly significant in determining use of English and anglicisms and attitudes towards them, it is unclear from this synchronic study how exactly age interacts with linguistic practices and attitudes. It would therefore be productive to replicate some aspects of my study (such as the sociolinguistic interviews and questionnaires) in the future to assess whether the age-related trends are an instance of historical change or age grading.

Given Germany's divided history and ongoing east-west differences in terms of economic prosperity and political affiliation it was surprising to find that east-west location was not more significant in relation to people's linguistic practices and overall attitudes towards English and anglicisms. This may be explained in part by the socioeconomic status of my informants: most of my participants came from the mobile, university-educated middle classes, who are less local in their outlook and experiences and perhaps have more in common with people of the same social class across Germany, even in places they never visit, than with people of different social classes in their own region, as was the case in Edwards and Fuchs' study comparing attitudes in Germany and the Netherlands (2018: 657). I had hoped to address this imbalance in my sample by returning to Dresden in the spring of 2020, but was prevented from doing so by the Covid-19 pandemic; it would consequently be of value in the future to investigate linguistic practices and attitudes regarding English and anglicisms with a more representative sample of the German population. Nonetheless, even with my less than ideal sample, I noted a tendency for interviewees in the east to identify more issues of social inequality as a result of English and anglicisms than those in the west, hinting that the negative effects of English, as with other aspects of globalisation, are felt more acutely in east than west Germany.

6.4 Conclusions

In this thesis I have explored the impact of English on German, a 'supercentral' language (De Swaan 2013: 77), and, through an analysis of the use of anglicisms and English in Germany, I have evaluated whether English is 'endangering the vitality' of German (Mufwene 2013: 67) and whether we can speak of 'domain loss' to English in Germany. My observations suggest that the alarmist warnings expressed in the media and voiced by

politicians and language protectionist groups about English and anglicisms damaging the German language and leading to domain loss are overstated. Participants in the academic and corporate domains, as well as in wider society, indicate that they use German more than English for all forms of communication, the rate of borrowing (types) is no higher in the academic and corporate domains than in everyday language, and the borrowings are by and large smoothly integrated into the German language. German has the most native speakers of any language in the European Union, as well as a strong literary culture, and it continues to be studied both at home and abroad; consequently, the vast majority of my respondents saw no danger for the German language or need to protect it, indicating that the concerns expressed in the public domain are not shared to the same extent by ordinary people.

Regarding how we conceptualise the multilingualism present in Germany, in some senses translanguaging is a good description of linguistic practices in Germany: speakers seamlessly speak in German while presenting slides in English; people are not aware of all the anglicisms they use viewing them simply as features of their linguistic repertoire; and people acknowledge that their repertoire is ‘composed of specialized but partially and unevenly developed resources’ (Blommaert 2010: 23) with some commenting, for instance, that they are more proficient in academic language in English than German. Nonetheless, it is apparent that people have internalised traditional notions of additive bilingualism and plurilingualism, which rest on the idea that languages are distinct: they talk about learning English as an additional language and express the view that German and English can co-exist in a speaker’s repertoire, with people holding positive attitudes towards English, but that they should be used separately and not mixed. Thus, whilst translanguaging is a reasonable description of linguistic practices it does not reflect how people perceive and intend their language use to be.

My analysis of the interaction between different demographic variables and the use of English and anglicisms and attitudes towards them indicates that the relationship between English and German is experienced differently by people in different demographic groups. Young, university-educated and urban German speakers tend to use more English and anglicisms than older, non-university-educated rural people, with age and level of education being the most significant variables. Proficiency in English patterns in the same way and correlates with both use of English and use of anglicisms, indicating that those who are more proficient in English (typically by virtue of their younger age and higher level of education) are most confident in using English and anglicisms. Despite this clear patterning of level of education (which itself is connected to socioeconomic status), proficiency in English and use of both English and anglicisms, and my participants' awareness that those with weaker English skills may be disadvantaged professionally and privately through the use of English and anglicisms, the majority of respondents rejected the idea that there is an English-speaking elite in Germany. Instead, the consensus was that opportunities to use and learn English are too widespread and accessible to all for there to be a division between English-speaking 'haves' and non-English-speaking 'have-nots' (Phillipson 2001a). Nonetheless, it was interesting to note that interviewees in the east were more likely to identify issues of social inequality as a result of English and anglicisms than their compatriots in the west. As with other aspects of globalisation, it seems that English has a more negative impact on east German society than west German society, and it may be that less highly educated former East Germans, with their significantly lower proficiency in English, constitute a group of non-English-speaking 'have-nots'. Further studies with more representatives from this demographic group would be needed to shed light on this issue.

It is worth noting, however, that the issue of older people in east Germany potentially being marginalised by the use of English and anglicisms is a temporally bounded one whose relevance is likely to decline in future. As a result of the post-reunification shift to English rather than Russian being the most common first foreign language in schools in the former GDR, future generations in the east will enter old age with higher proficiency in English than their parents/grandparents had, and will therefore be less liable to the forms of exclusion mentioned by my informants. In the long term, I would anticipate the proficiency distribution by age in the east to resemble the current situation in the west, where there are only minimal differences between age groups (see Table 49), with the result that the significance of age in determining linguistic practices and attitudes regarding English and anglicisms also subsides. In contrast, given my findings that proficiency, usage and attitudes differ for those of different educational and, by association, class backgrounds, and that this association is showing no signs of waning among the younger generations, the issue of exclusion relating to education level and social class seems to be a greater concern for the future than age or east/west residence.

This study has contributed to the field of language and globalisation, and highlighted productive areas of future research, among them comparisons between the impact of English on ‘supercentral’ and ‘central’ languages, trend studies in the under-researched area of everyday spoken language addressing how the use of English and anglicisms in Germany is changing over time, and further investigations of whether and how the impact of English on society differs between east and west Germany, and people with different educational backgrounds.

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Appendices

Appendix I - Frequency of anglicisms recorded in the press

Shaded rows indicate studies conducted in East Germany/former East Germany.

Year of publication	Author(s)	Object of study	Proportion of anglicisms
1963, reprinted in 1967	Carstensen and Galinsky	Twenty West German newspapers and magazines	1 per page
1965	Carstensen	West German newspapers and magazines from 1961 to 1964	2 per page
1970	Fink	Americanisms in eight weekend issues of <i>Die Welt</i> , <i>Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung</i> and <i>Süddeutsche Zeitung</i> from 1963	4 per page, 0.1% of total vocabulary
1972	Carstensen, Griesel and Meyer	One issue of the <i>Mainzer Allgemeine Zeitung</i> from 20 th October 1971	10 per page
1974	Meyer	One issue from each of the <i>Wiesbadener Kurier</i> and <i>Mainzer Allgemeine Zeitung</i> from 1972	14 per page
1976	Engels	Two issues of <i>Die Welt</i> , one from 1954 and the other from 1964	1954: 6 per page 1964: 19 per page
1977	Kristensson	East German newspapers from 1952 to 1972	2 per page in <i>Neues Deutschland</i>
1980	K. Viereck	Ten weekend editions of <i>Die Presse</i> , <i>Kleine Zeitung</i> and <i>Süddeutsche Zeitung</i> from 1974	25 per page in <i>Süddeutsche Zeitung</i>
1980	Fink	Two 1977 editions of each of <i>Bravo</i> and <i>Freizeit-Magazin</i>	7 types per page 15 tokens per page
1990	Yang	Six editions of <i>Der Spiegel</i> from each of 1950, 1960, 1970 and 1980	1950: 2.7 per page 1960: 2.35 per page 1970: 3 per page in 1980: 3.25 per page
1995	Schelper	Editions from 1949 to 1989 of <i>Die Welt</i> , <i>Neues Deutschland</i> , <i>Die Presse</i> and <i>Neue Zürcher Zeitung</i>	Roughly 40 types and 60 tokens per page
1996	Lee	Editions of <i>Das Volk</i> and <i>Thüringer Allgemeine</i> from 1988, 1990 and 1992	1988: 12.27 tokens, 4.77 types per page 1990: 13.76 tokens, 5.72 types per page 1992: 14.79 tokens, 6.14 types per page

Year of publication	Author(s)	Object of study	Proportion of anglicisms
1997	Fink	One edition of <i>BILD</i> from each of November 1995 and August 1996	43.77 per page
1997	Fink, Fijas and Schons	Newspapers from eastern Germany from 1994	Just over 2 per page in <i>Neues Deutschland</i> ; 4.2 tokens and 2 types per page in <i>Sächsische Zeitung</i>
2001	Zürn	Five editions of each of <i>Focus</i> , <i>profil</i> and <i>Der Spiegel</i>	4 per page
2007	Onysko	All fifty-two 2000 editions of <i>Der Spiegel</i>	5.80% of all types 1.11% of all tokens 1.95 types per page 6.65 tokens per page
2007	Rathmann	Articles in <i>Wirtschaftswoche</i> from 1973 to 2003	1973-79: 1.18% 1980-89: 1.35% 1990-99: 1.69% 2000-03: 2.17% (tokens)
2008	Kontulainen	63 articles in <i>Der Spiegel</i> from 1947 to 2007	1947: 0.8% 1957: 0.8% 1967: 0.8% 1977: 1.4% 1987: 1.3% 1997: 1.7% 2007: 1.5% (tokens)
2010	Burmasova	Editions of <i>Die Welt</i> from 1994 and 2004	1994: 0.69% 2004: 1.18% (tokens)
2010	Seidel	Three editions of <i>Der Spiegel</i> from each of 1990, 2000 and 2010	1990: 6.62 tokens per page 2000: 15.12 tokens per page 2010: 11.45 tokens per page

Appendix II – Ethical approval

i. First research phase

SOCIAL SCIENCES & HUMANITIES
INTER-DIVISIONAL RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE

Research Services, University of Oxford, Wellington Square, Oxford OX1 2JD
Tel: +44(0)1865 616576 Fax: +44(0)1865 280467
ethics@socsci.ox.ac.uk



28 June 2017

Ms Katherine Truslove
Linguistics/Philology/Phonetics (LPP) Faculty

Dear Ms Truslove,

Research Ethics Approval (CUREC 1A)
Ref No: R52018/RE001

Title: The relationship of English and German in formal domains in Germany

The above application has been considered on behalf of the Social Sciences and Humanities Inter-divisional Research Ethics Committee (IDREC) in accordance with the procedures laid down by the University for ethical approval of all research involving human participants.

I am pleased to inform you that, on the basis of the information provided to the IDREC, the proposed research has been judged as meeting appropriate ethical standards, and accordingly approval has been granted.

Should there be any subsequent changes to the project, which raise ethical issues not covered in the original application, you should submit details to the IDREC for consideration.

Yours sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading 'Claudia Kozeny-Pelling'.

Claudia Kozeny-Pelling
Research Ethics Manager and Secretary SSH IDREC

cc: Deborah Cameron; Dan Holloway

ii. Second research phase

SOCIAL SCIENCES & HUMANITIES
INTERDIVISIONAL RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE

Research Services, University of Oxford, Wellington Square, Oxford OX1 2JD
Tel: +44(0)1865 616576 Fax: +44(0)1865 280467
ethics@socsci.ox.ac.uk



4 December 2018

Katherine Truslove
Faculty of Linguistics, Philology and Phonetics
University of Oxford

Dear Ms Truslove,

Research Ethics Approval (CUREC 1A)
Ref No: R60788/RE001

Title: The relationship between English and German in Germany

The above application has been considered on behalf of the Social Sciences and Humanities Interdivisional Research Ethics Committee (IDREC) in accordance with the procedures laid down by the University for ethical approval of all research involving human participants.

I am pleased to inform you that, on the basis of the information provided to the IDREC, the proposed research has been judged as meeting appropriate ethical standards, and accordingly approval has been granted.

Should there be any subsequent changes to the project, which raise ethical issues not covered in the original application, you should submit details to the IDREC for consideration.

Yours sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads 'Claudia Kozeny-Pelling'.

Claudia Kozeny-Pelling
Research Ethics Manager and Secretary SSH IDREC

cc: Prof Deborah Cameron

Appendix III – Questionnaires

i. University questionnaire in German (phase 1)

1. Alter
18-24, 25-30, 31-40, 41-50, 51-60, 60+
2. Was ist Ihre aktuelle Stelle? (Bitte wählen Sie jede treffende Antwort aus.)
Studierende, Dozent/in, Professor/in, Studiendirektor/in, Forscher/in
3. In welchem Fachbereich sind Sie?
4. Wie lange sind Sie schon an der Universität?
5. Was ist Ihr höchster Bildungsabschluss?
6. In welchem Land sind Sie geboren?
a. Falls zutreffend, wann sind Sie nach Deutschland gekommen?
7. Was ist Ihre Muttersprache?
8. Welche Sprachen sprechen Sie?

	Fließend	Fortgeschritten	Mittlere Kenntnisse	Anfänger/in
Deutsch				
Englisch				

- a. Wenn Sie andere Sprachen sprechen, nennen Sie sie und ihr Niveau:
9. Wie lange sprechen Sie Englisch?
10. Haben Sie je in einem englischsprachigen Land gewohnt?
a. Falls ja, wo und für wie lange?
11. Zeigen Sie mit der folgenden Skala wie oft Sie Deutsch, Englisch und andere Sprachen bei der Arbeit/beim Studium (beim Lesen, Schreiben, Zuhören und Sprechen) benutzen. Es soll alle Unterhaltungen, Vorlesungen, Seminare, Projekte, Dokumente, E-Mails usw. umfassen, sowohl im formellen Rahmen, als auch während Pausen.

	Immer	Oft	Manchmal	Selten	Nie
Deutsch – Lesen					
Deutsch – Schreiben					
Deutsch – Zuhören					
Deutsch – Sprechen					
Englisch – Lesen					
Englisch – Schreiben					
Englisch – Zuhören					
Englisch – Sprechen					
Andere Sprachen – Lesen					
Andere Sprachen – Schreiben					
Andere Sprachen – Zuhören					
Andere Sprachen - Sprechen					

- a. Falls Sie andere Sprachen benutzen, nennen Sie sie bitte:
12. In welchem Rahmen wird Deutsch bei der Arbeit/beim Studium benutzt? (z.B. mit wem, bei welchen Aufgaben, während Pausen, usw.)
13. Was für eine Weiterbildung in der Verwendung von Englisch haben Sie am Arbeitsplatz/im Studium bekommen (oder bekommen Sie)?
14. In welchem Rahmen wird Englisch bei der Arbeit/beim Studium benutzt? (z.B. mit wem, bei welchen Aufgaben, während Pausen, usw.)
15. Welche Sprache benutzen Sie am liebsten für Ihre Arbeit/Ihr Studium? Warum?
16. Sind Sie interessiert, an einem nachfolgenden Interview teilzunehmen?

Ja, Nein

- a. Falls ja, bitte schreiben Sie Ihre E-Mail-Adresse:

ii. University questionnaire in English (phase 1)

1. Age
18-24, 25-30, 31-40, 41-50, 51-60, 60+
2. What is your current role? (Please select all that apply.)
Student, Lecturer, Professor, Director of Studies, Researcher
3. Which subject area are you in?
4. How long have you been at the university?
5. What is your highest educational qualification?
6. Which country were you born in?
 - a. If applicable, when did you come to Germany?
7. What is your native language?
8. Which languages do you speak?

	Fluent	Advanced	Intermediate	Beginner
German				
English				

- a. If you speak other languages, name them and your level:
9. How long have you spoken English for?
 10. Have you ever lived in an English-speaking country?
 - a. If yes, where and for how long?
 11. Indicate with the following scale how often you use German, English and other languages at work/in your studies (for reading, writing, listening and speaking). It should include all conversations, lectures, seminars, projects, documents, emails, etc., both in formal contexts as well as during breaks.

	Always	Often	Sometimes	Rarely	Never
German – Reading					
German – Writing					
German – Listening					
German – Speaking					
English – Reading					
English – Writing					
English – Listening					
English – Speaking					
Other languages – Reading					
Other languages – Writing					
Other languages – Listening					
Other languages – Speaking					

- a. If you use other languages, please name them:
12. In which contexts is German used at work/in your studies? (E.g. with whom, for which tasks, during breaks, etc.)
 13. What sort of further training in using English have you received (or do you receive) at work/in your studies?
 14. In which contexts is English used at work/in your studies? (E.g. with whom, for which tasks, during breaks, etc.)
 15. Which language do you most like to use for your work/studies? Why?
 16. Would you be interested in taking part in a follow-up interview?

Yes, No

- a. If yes, please provide your email address:

iii. Company questionnaire in German (phase 1)

1. Alter
18-24, 25-30, 31-40, 41-50, 51-60, 60+
2. Wie heißt Ihre aktuelle Stelle?
3. In welchem Bereich arbeiten Sie?
4. Wie lange sind Sie schon bei dieser Firma?
5. Was ist Ihr höchster Bildungsabschluss?
6. In welchem Land sind Sie geboren?
 - a. Falls zutreffend, wann sind Sie nach Deutschland gekommen?
7. Was ist Ihre Muttersprache?
8. Welche Sprachen sprechen Sie?

	Fließend	Fortgeschritten	Mittlere Kenntnisse	Anfänger/in
Deutsch				
Englisch				

- a. Wenn Sie andere Sprachen sprechen, nennen Sie sie und ihr Niveau:
9. Wie lange sprechen Sie Englisch?
 10. Haben Sie je in einem englischsprachigen Land gewohnt?
 - a. Falls ja, wo und für wie lange?
 11. Zeigen Sie mit der folgenden Skala wie oft Sie Deutsch, Englisch und andere Sprachen bei der Arbeit (beim Lesen, Schreiben, Zuhören und Sprechen) benutzen. Es soll alle Unterhaltungen, Projekte, Dokumente, E-Mails usw. umfassen, sowohl im formellen Rahmen, als auch während Pausen.

	Immer	Oft	Manchmal	Selten	Nie
Deutsch – Lesen					
Deutsch – Schreiben					
Deutsch – Zuhören					
Deutsch – Sprechen					
Englisch – Lesen					
Englisch – Schreiben					
Englisch – Zuhören					
Englisch – Sprechen					
Andere Sprachen – Lesen					
Andere Sprachen – Schreiben					
Andere Sprachen – Zuhören					
Andere Sprachen - Sprechen					

- a. Falls Sie andere Sprachen benutzen, nennen Sie sie bitte:
12. In welchem Rahmen wird Deutsch bei der Arbeit benutzt? (z.B. mit wem, bei welchen Aufgaben, während Pausen, usw.)
 13. In welchem Rahmen wird Englisch bei der Arbeit benutzt? (z.B. mit wem, bei welchen Aufgaben, während Pausen, usw.)
 14. Was für eine Weiterbildung in der Verwendung von Englisch haben Sie am Arbeitsplatz bekommen (oder bekommen Sie)?
 15. Welche Sprache benutzen Sie am liebsten für Ihre Arbeit? Warum?

iv. Company questionnaire in English (phase 1)

1. Age
18-24, 25-30, 31-40, 41-50, 51-60, 60+
2. What is your current role?
3. Which area do you work in?
4. How long have you been at the company?
5. What is your highest educational qualification?
6. Which country were you born in?
 - a. If applicable, when did you come to Germany?
7. What is your native language?
8. Which languages do you speak?

	Fluent	Advanced	Intermediate	Beginner
German				
English				

- a. If you speak other languages, name them and your level:
9. How long have you spoken English for?
10. Have you ever lived in an English-speaking country?
 - a. If yes, where and for how long?
11. Indicate with the following scale how often you use German, English and other languages at work (for reading, writing, listening and speaking). It should include all conversations, projects, documents, emails, etc., both in formal contexts as well as during breaks.

	Always	Often	Sometimes	Rarely	Never
German – Reading					
German – Writing					
German – Listening					
German – Speaking					
English – Reading					
English – Writing					
English – Listening					
English – Speaking					
Other languages – Reading					
Other languages – Writing					
Other languages – Listening					
Other languages – Speaking					

- a. If you use other languages, please name them:
12. In which contexts is German used at work? (E.g. with whom, for which tasks, during breaks, etc.)
13. In which contexts is English used at work? (E.g. with whom, for which tasks, during breaks, etc.)
14. What sort of further training in using English have you received (or do you receive) at work?
15. Which language do you most like to use for your work? Why?

v. Questionnaire in German (phase 2)

1. Alter
16-25, 26-35, 36-45, 46-55, 55-65, 66+
2. Wo wohnen Sie? (Jeder Forschungsstandort erfasst einen Umkreis von 30km.)
Dresden, Eberswalde, Erkelenz, Frankfurt, anderer Wohnort
3. Was ist Ihre Hauptbeschäftigung?
Schüler/In, Studierende, Arbeitstätig, Pensioniert, Sonstiges
 - a. Falls zutreffend, in welcher Industrie arbeiten Sie/haben Sie gearbeitet?
4. Was ist Ihr höchster Bildungsabschluss?
5. In welchem Land sind Sie geboren?
 - a. Falls zutreffend, wann sind Sie nach Deutschland gekommen?
6. Was ist Ihre Muttersprache?
7. Welche Sprachen sprechen Sie?

	Fließend	Fortgeschritten	Mittlere Kenntnisse	Anfänger/in
Deutsch				
Englisch				

- a. Wenn Sie andere Sprachen sprechen, nennen Sie sie und ihr Niveau:
8. Wie lange sprechen Sie Englisch?
9. Haben Sie je in einem englischsprachigen Land gewohnt?
Ja, Nein
 - a. Falls ja, wo und für wie lange?
10. Zeigen Sie mit der folgenden Skala wie oft Sie Deutsch, Englisch und andere Sprachen (beim Lesen, Schreiben, Zuhören und Sprechen) benutzen.

	Immer	Oft	Manchmal	Selten	Nie
Deutsch – Lesen					
Deutsch – Schreiben					
Deutsch – Zuhören					
Deutsch – Sprechen					
Englisch – Lesen					
Englisch – Schreiben					
Englisch – Zuhören					
Englisch – Sprechen					
Andere Sprachen – Lesen					
Andere Sprachen – Schreiben					
Andere Sprachen – Zuhören					
Andere Sprachen – Sprechen					

- a. Falls Sie andere Sprachen benutzen, nennen Sie sie bitte:
11. In welchem Rahmen benutzen Sie Deutsch im Alltagsleben? (z.B. mit wem, bei welchen Aktivitäten, usw.)
12. In welchem Rahmen benutzen Sie Englisch im Alltagsleben? (z.B. mit wem, bei welchen Aktivitäten, usw.)
13. Welche Sprache benutzen Sie am liebsten? Warum?
14. Arbeiten Sie aktiv daran, Ihr Englisch zu verbessern?
Ja, Nein
 - a. Falls ja, wie machen Sie das?
15. Sind Sie interessiert, an einem nachfolgenden Interview teilzunehmen?
Ja, Nein
 - a. Falls ja, bitte schreiben Sie Ihre E-Mail-Adresse:

vi. Questionnaire in English (phase 2)

1. Age
16-25, 26-35, 36-45, 46-55, 56-65, 66+
2. Where do you live? (Every research site has a radius of 30km.)
Dresden, Eberswalde, Erkelenz, Frankfurt, other
3. What is your main occupation?
School pupil, Student, Employed, Retired, Other
 - a. If applicable, which industry do/did you work in?
4. What is your highest educational qualification?
5. Which country were you born in?
 - a. If applicable, when did you come to Germany?
6. What is your native language?
7. Which languages do you speak?

	Fluent	Advanced	Intermediate	Beginner
German				
English				

- a. If you speak other languages, name them and your level:
8. How long have you spoken English for?
9. Have you ever lived in an English-speaking country?
Yes, No
 - a. If yes, where and for how long?
10. Indicate with the following scale how often you use German, English and other languages (for reading, writing, listening and speaking).

	Always	Often	Sometimes	Rarely	Never
German – Reading					
German – Writing					
German – Listening					
German – Speaking					
English – Reading					
English – Writing					
English – Listening					
English – Speaking					
Other languages – Reading					
Other languages – Writing					
Other languages – Listening					
Other languages – Speaking					

- a. If you use other languages, please name them:
11. In which contexts do you use German in everyday life? (E.g. with whom, for which activities, etc.)
12. In which contexts do you use English in everyday life? (E.g. with whom, for which activities, etc.)
13. Which language do you most like to use? Why?
14. Are you actively trying to improve your English?
Yes, No
 - a. If yes, how are you doing so?
15. Would you be interested in taking part in a follow-up interview?
Yes, No
 - a. If yes, please provide your email address:

Appendix IV – Interview questions

i. Interview questions in German (phase 1)

1. Wie haben Sie Ihr Englisch gelernt?
2. Streben Sie nach einem amerikanischen, britischen oder globalen/europäischen Standardenglisch?
3. Was halten Sie von der Tendenz, immer mehr Kurse auf Englisch anzubieten?
4. Können Sie einige Beispiele von englischen Wörtern in Ihrem Fachbereich nennen, die jetzt in der deutschen Sprache benutzt werden?
5. Benutzen Sie English, wenn Sie nicht an der Uni sind und wenn Sie nicht arbeiten/studieren?
6. Sprechen Sie auch andere Fremdsprachen? Wenn ja, warum lernen Sie andere Fremdsprachen?
7. Da so viele Leute Englisch sprechen, muss man eine andere Fremdsprache sprechen, um sich abzusetzen?
8. Was sind die Vor- und Nachteile der wachsenden Verwendung von Englisch in Deutschland?
9. Einige Leute haben gesagt, dass die Verwendung von Englisch in Deutschland „die Katastrophe“ oder „Verlust der deutschen Sprache und Nationalidentität“ ist. Was meinen Sie dazu?
10. Soll man die deutsche Sprache irgendwie schützen, vielleicht gesetzlich?
11. Kennen Sie den Verein Deutsche Sprache? Was denken Sie daran?
12. Sollten alle in Deutschland Englisch sprechen?
13. Was passiert, wenn man Englisch besonders schwierig findet oder wenn man wenige Kenntnisse hat?
14. Könnte man von einer englischsprachigen Elite in Deutschland sprechen?
15. Wie sieht es Ihrer Meinung nach in der Zukunft mit Sprachen in Deutschland aus?
16. Würden Sie Ihre (zukünftige) Kinder zweisprachig erziehen?

Variations at both companies:

3. Was halten Sie von der Tendenz, Englisch bei Firmen in Deutschland zu benutzen?
4. Können Sie einige Beispiele von eingedeutschten Anglizismen in Ihrem Bereich/Rechtsgebiet nennen?
5. Benutzen Sie English, wenn Sie nicht arbeiten?

Variations at Berlin law firm:

2a. Hier im Büro, wie entscheidet man, ob man Deutsch oder Englisch bei Vertragsentwürfen oder Beurkundigungen benutzt?

ii. Interview questions in English (phase 1)

1. How did you learn English?
2. Do you strive for an American, British or global/European standard English?
3. What do you think about the tendency for more and more courses to be offered in English?
4. Can you give some examples of anglicisms used in German in your subject area?
5. Do you use English when you are not at university and when you are not working/studying?

6. Do you speak other languages? If so, why do you learn other languages?
7. As so many people speak English, do people have to speak another foreign language to stand out?
8. What are the advantages and disadvantages of the growing use of English in Germany?
9. Some people say that the use of English is 'a catastrophe' for the German language or the 'loss of the German language and national identity'. What do you think?
10. Should the German language be protected somehow, perhaps legally?
11. Have you heard of the *Verein Deutsche Sprache* (German Language Association)? What do you think about it?
12. Should everyone in Germany speak English?
13. What happens if someone finds English particularly difficult or if someone has limited knowledge of English?
14. Could one speak of an English-speaking elite in Germany?
15. What do you think Germany will look like in the future in terms of languages?
16. Would you raise your (future) children bilingually?

Variations at both companies:

3. What do you think of the tendency for English to be used by companies in Germany?
4. Can you give some examples of anglicisms used in German in your area/legal area?
5. Do you use English when you're not working?

Variations at Berlin law firm:

2a. How do you decide whether to use German or English for draft contracts or documents here in the office?

iii. Interview questions in German (phase 2)

1. Wie haben Sie Ihr Englisch gelernt? / Wie lernen Sie Englisch?
2. Ich sehe gerade zwei Tendenzen in Deutschland. Eine ist, dass man immer mehr Anglizismen (Lehnwörter aus Englisch, wie chillen, nice, cool) benutzt. Was halten Sie von dieser Tendenz?
3. Die andere Tendenz ist, dass man öfter Englisch bei Firmen, Universitäten, usw. benutzt. Was halten Sie von dieser Tendenz?
4. Können Sie einige Beispiele von englischen Wörtern nennen, die jetzt in der deutschen Sprache benutzt werden?
5. Wann benutzen Sie Englisch oder wann stoßen Sie auf Englisch im Alltagsleben?
6. Welche Sprache(n) benutzen Sie, wenn Sie im Internet tätig sind (z.B. bei den sozialen Medien)?
7. Was sind die Vor- und Nachteile der steigenden Verwendung von Englisch in Deutschland?
8. Ich habe einen Artikel mit der Schlagzeile 'Verschwindet unsere Sprache?' in der *Zeit* gelesen. Denken Sie, dass die deutsche Sprache verschwinden könnte?
9. Soll man die deutsche Sprache irgendwie schützen?
10. Was passiert, wenn man Englisch besonders schwierig findet oder wenn man wenige Kenntnisse hat?
11. Könnte man von einer englischsprachigen Elite in Deutschland sprechen?

12. Wie sieht es Ihrer Meinung nach in der Zukunft mit Sprachen in Deutschland aus?
13. Würden Sie Ihre (zukünftige) Kinder zweisprachig erziehen?

iv. Interview questions in English (phase 2)

1. How did you learn English? / How are you learning English?
2. I currently see two tendencies in Germany. One is that more and more anglicisms (borrowings from English, such as *chillen*, *nice*, *cool*) are used. What do you think about this trend?
3. The other tendency is that English is used more frequently by companies and universities, etc. What do you think about this trend?
4. Can you give some examples of English words that are now used in German?
5. When do you use English or come across English in everyday life?
6. Which language(s) do you use on the internet (for example on social media)?
7. What are the advantages and disadvantages of the growing use of English in Germany?
8. I read an article in *Die Zeit* with the headline 'Is our language disappearing?' Do you think that the German language could disappear?
9. Should the German language be protected somehow?
10. What happens if someone finds English particularly difficult or if someone has limited knowledge of English?
11. Could one speak of an English-speaking elite in Germany?
12. What do you think Germany will look like in the future in terms of languages?
13. Would you raise your (future) children bilingually?

Appendix V – Most frequent anglicisms across the entire dataset

The following fifty-two anglicisms were used ten or more times across the corpora from phases 1 and 2 combined.

Anglicism (lemma)	Frequency
okay	131
international	124
Film	104
Internet	68
cool	48
Medium	41
Job	38
Partner	36
Radio	29
Computer	29
E-Mail	28
Elektron	28
Team	27
Handy	27
Video	26
Orbital	25
Tourist	24
Care	21
Industry	20
Tendenz	20
binär	18
Service	17
easy	16
Nutrition	16
for ⁸⁶	14
Technology	14
Cluster	14
optional	13
Resource	13
parallel ⁸⁷	12
Manager	12
Crosslinkers	12
Coating	12
Heap	12
Standard	12
Stack	12
hallo	12

⁸⁶ Used in computer programming.

⁸⁷ Used in computer programming.

Six ⁸⁸	11
App	11
Workshop	11
Performance	11
Management	11
Efficiency	11
starten	11
Fact	10
Media	10
elektronisch	10
posten	10
Additive	10
IP	10
to ⁸⁹	10
Meeting	10

⁸⁸ Used in the term *Six Sigma* and in compounds formed from this, such as *Six-Sigma-Tool*. Like Eisenberg (2013: 80), I considered an anglicism token to be an orthographic word with no internal spaces.

⁸⁹ Used in computer programming.

Appendix VI – Interview notes for second research phase

Where participants did not grow up in Germany or in the part of Germany (east or west) in which the research site is located, this is indicated in brackets. There are gaps where the information is not available.

Interview number	Length	Location	Participants' code and age	Level of education	Occupation (or former occupation)
1	19:28	Erkelenz	ERK1 - 46-55	<i>Abitur</i>	Farmer
			ERK2 - 46-55	<i>Fachabitur</i>	Self-employed farmer
			ERK3 - 18-25	Apprenticeship	Farmer
			ERK4 - 18-25	<i>Abitur</i>	Student
			ERK5 - 18-25	<i>Realschulabschluss</i>	Electrician
2	25:35	Erkelenz	ERK6 - 16-17	Working towards <i>Abitur</i>	School pupil
			ERK7 - 16-17		School pupil
			ERK8 - 16-17	<i>Fachabitur</i>	School pupil
3	15:13	Erkelenz	ERK9 - 66+	University	Retired schoolteacher
			ERK10 - 66+	<i>Abitur</i>	Retired
			ERK11 - 66+	State exams to teach at a <i>Gymnasium</i>	Retired
			ERK12 - 66+	<i>Volksschule</i> , commercial school	Retired
4	9:20	Erkelenz	ERK13 - 56-65	<i>Abitur</i>	Social work
			ERK14 - 26-35		Social work
5	12:20	Erkelenz	ERK15 - 16-17		School pupil
			ERK16 - 26-35	University	Marketing campaign manager
6	20:18	Erkelenz	ERK17 - 56-65		
			ERK18 - 56-65		
7	26:47	Erkelenz	ERK19 - 36-45	<i>Diplom</i>	Mechanical engineer
8	26:39	Erkelenz	ERK20 - 46-55	<i>Diplom</i> , university	Metal industry
9	26:14	Erkelenz	ERK21 - 26-35	Masters	Teacher
			ERK22 - 56-65		
			ERK23 - 26-35		Nurse

Interview number	Length	Location	Participants' code and age	Level of education	Occupation (or former occupation)
10	15:02	Erkelenz (grew up in Belarus, came to Erkelenz over 10 years ago)	ERK24 - 36-45	<i>Realschulabschluss</i>	Beautician
11	8:38	Erkelenz	ERK25 - 66+	<i>Mittlere Reife</i> , commercial college	Journalist and later hotelier (retired)
12	9:29	Erkelenz	ERK26 - 66+ with some comments from ERK25	<i>Gymnasium</i>	
13	28:03	Erkelenz	ERK27 - 66+	<i>Volksschule</i>	Retired farmer
			ERK28 - 36-45	Bachelor's degree, studying for Masters	Banking and now fitness instructor
14	23:20	Frankfurt	FRA1 - 56-65	<i>Diplom</i> (university)	Retired
15	15:08	Frankfurt	FRA2 - 56-65	<i>Magistra Artium</i>	Education and social work (HR), retired
16	12:46	Frankfurt	FRA3 - 18-25	<i>Realschulabschluss</i>	Apprentice
17	12:19	Frankfurt	FRA4 - 16-17 FRA5 - 16-17 FRA6 - 16-17 FRA7 - 16-17	Working towards <i>Realschulabschluss</i>	Pupils in Year 10 at a <i>Realschule</i>
18	12:51	Frankfurt	FRA8 - 16-17 FRA9 - 16-17 FRA10 - 16-17 FRA11 - 16-17	Working towards <i>Realschulabschluss</i>	Pupils in Year 10 at a <i>Realschule</i>
19	28:58	Frankfurt	FRA12 - 16-17 FRA13 - 16-17 FRA14 - 16-17 FRA15 - 16-17	Working towards <i>Realschulabschluss</i>	Pupils in Year 10 at a <i>Realschule</i>

Interview number	Length	Location	Participants' code and age	Level of education	Occupation (or former occupation)
20	13:53	Frankfurt	FRA16 - 16-17 FRA17 - 16-17 FRA18 - 16-17 FRA19 - 16-17 FRA20 - 16-17 FRA21 - 16-17	Working towards <i>Realschulabschluss</i>	Pupils in Year 10 at a <i>Realschule</i>
21	9:47	Frankfurt	FRA22 - 16-17 FRA23 - 16-17 FRA24 - 16-17 FRA25 - 16-17	Working towards <i>Realschulabschluss</i>	Pupils in Year 10 at a <i>Realschule</i>
22	14:56	Frankfurt	FRA26 - 16-17 FRA27 - 16-17 FRA28 - 16-17 FRA29 - 16-17	Working towards <i>Realschulabschluss</i>	Pupils in Year 10 at a <i>Realschule</i>
23	25:11	Frankfurt	FRA30 - 36-45	<i>Diplom</i> in education	Teacher at a <i>Realschule</i>
			FRA31 - 56-65	University degree	Teacher at a <i>Realschule</i>
24	31:43	Frankfurt	FRA32 - 46-55	University	Teacher at a vocational college
			FRA33 - 56-65	University	Doctor
25	10:03	Frankfurt	FRA34 - 26-35	PhD	Asset manager
26	9:10	Frankfurt	FRA35 - 56-65	<i>Diplom</i>	Journalist
27	2:10 27:02	Frankfurt	FRA36 - 36-45	PhD	Scientist
			FRA37 - 26-35	Apprenticeship	IT
28	12:28	Frankfurt	FRA38 - 66+	University of applied sciences	University (retired)
29	7:16	Frankfurt	FRA39 - 56-65		

Interview number	Length	Location	Participants' code and age	Level of education	Occupation (or former occupation)
30	10:18	Frankfurt	FRA40 - 16-17	<i>Realschulabschluss</i>	School pupil
31	24:00	Frankfurt	FRA41 - 46-55	<i>Diplom-Informatiker</i>	IT
32	26:33	Frankfurt	FRA42 - 66+	University degree	Retired teacher
33	17:37	Dresden	DRE1 - 26-35	PhD	Doctor
34	20:30	Dresden (from Eritrea, arrived in Germany 4 years ago)	DRE2 - 18-25	<i>Fachabitur</i>	Works in film and theatre, work experience in social work
35	12:00	Dresden	DRE3 - 26-35	<i>Abitur</i>	Student
36	24:14	Dresden (from West Germany, moved to Dresden in December 2018)	DRE4 - 66+	2 nd state exams in law	Retired lawyer
37	22:55	Dresden	DRE5 - 26-35	<i>Fachabitur</i>	Refugee relief worker
38	25:47	Dresden	DRE6 - 26-35	Bachelor's degree	Nursery school teacher
39	36:08	Dresden	DRE7 - 66+	University	Works part-time in IT (Microsoft office and programming)
40	15:23	Dresden	DRE8 - 36-45	<i>Abitur</i>	Mechanical engineer
41	12:27	Dresden (from Peru, came to West Germany in 1964 and to East Germany after 1989)	DRE9 - 66+	Teaching qualification	Retired
42	11:03	Dresden	DRE10 - 36-45	<i>Diplom-Ingenieur</i> , university of applied sciences	Electrical industry
43	31:50	Dresden	DRE11 - 18-25	<i>Abitur</i>	Undergraduate student
		Dresden (from Munich)	DRE12 - 18-25	<i>Abitur</i>	Undergraduate student

Interview number	Length	Location	Participants' code and age	Level of education	Occupation (or former occupation)
44	19:14	Dresden	DRE13 - 26-35	<i>Diplom</i>	Mechanical engineer
45	14:57	Dresden	DRE14 - 46-55	Chemical engineering, university of applied sciences	Researcher
46	15:48	Dresden (from Berlin; born in East Berlin)	DRE15 - 26-35	Master of science	
47	17:05	Dresden	DRE16 - 56-65	<i>Diplom</i>	Education
48	17:50	Dresden	DRE17 - 66+	<i>Diplom</i>	Sports teacher and later pharmaceutical representative
49	11:32	Dresden	DRE18 - 56-65	<i>Diplom-Ingenieur</i>	Public sector
50	21:58	Dresden	DRE19 - 26-35	Apprenticeship	Student
51	18:28	Dresden	DRE20 - 36-45	<i>Diplom</i>	Laboratory technology, sales
52	15:12	Eberswalde	EBE1 - 56-65	<i>Diplom</i>	
53	32:53	Eberswalde	EBE2 - 66+	University	Administration
			EBE3 - 66+	University	Doctor
54	Majority of interview was deleted due to a technical problem	Eberswalde (from the Black Forest)	EBE4 - 26-35	<i>Abitur</i>	Undergraduate student
55	Majority of interview was deleted due to a technical problem	Eberswalde	EBE5 - 66+	University	Healthcare
			EBE6 - 66+	<i>Diplom</i>	Education

Interview number	Length	Location	Participants' code and age	Level of education	Occupation (or former occupation)
56	13:08	Eberswalde (grew up in Hungary; moved to Eberswalde in the 1960s)	EBE7 - 66+	Higher education	Heavy machinery construction, steel-mill
57	17:29	Eberswalde (from Stuttgart)	EBE8 - 26-35	<i>Abitur</i>	Undergraduate student
58	9:03	Eberswalde	EBE9 - 66+	Skilled worker	Deutsche Post
59	13:34	Eberswalde	EBE10 - 16-17 EBE11 - 16-17 EBE12 - 16-17 EBE13 - 16-17 EBE14 - 16-17	<i>Mittlere Reife</i> and working towards <i>Abitur</i>	Pupils in Year 11 at a <i>Gymnasium</i>
60	20:05	Eberswalde	EBE15 - 16-17 EBE16 - 16-17 EBE17 - 16-17	<i>Mittlere Reife</i> and working towards <i>Abitur</i>	Pupils in Year 11 at a <i>Gymnasium</i>
61	21:54	Eberswalde	EBE18 - 46-55	<i>Fachhochschulreife</i>	Education
			EBE19 - 66+	University degree	Commerce, tax advice, English teacher at adult education centre

Appendix VII – Common European Framework of Reference for Languages

Proficient user	C2	Can understand with ease virtually everything heard or read. Can summarise information from different spoken and written sources, reconstructing arguments and accounts in a coherent presentation. Can express him/herself spontaneously, very fluently and precisely, differentiating finer shades of meaning even in more complex situations.
	C1	Can understand a wide range of demanding, longer texts, and recognise implicit meaning. Can express him/herself fluently and spontaneously without much obvious searching for expressions. Can use language flexibly and effectively for social, academic and professional purposes. Can produce clear, well-structured, detailed text on complex subjects, showing controlled use of organisational patterns, connectors and cohesive devices.
Independent user	B2	Can understand the main ideas of complex text on both concrete and abstract topics, including technical discussions in his/her field of specialisation. Can interact with a degree of fluency and spontaneity that makes regular interaction with native speakers quite possible without strain for either party. Can produce clear, detailed text on a wide range of subjects and explain a viewpoint on a topical issue giving the advantages and disadvantages of various options.
	B1	Can understand the main points of clear standard input on familiar matters regularly encountered in work, school, leisure, etc. Can deal with most situations likely to arise whilst travelling in an area where the language is spoken. Can produce simple connected text on topics which are familiar or of personal interest. Can describe experiences and events, dreams, hopes & ambitions and briefly give reasons and explanations for opinions and plans.
Basic user	A2	Can understand sentences and frequently used expressions related to areas of most immediate relevance (e.g. very basic personal and family information, shopping, local geography, employment). Can communicate in simple and routine tasks requiring a simple and direct exchange of information on familiar and routine matters. Can describe in simple terms aspects of his/her background, immediate environment and matters in areas of immediate need.
	A1	Can understand and use familiar everyday expressions and very basic phrases aimed at the satisfaction of needs of a concrete type. Can introduce him/herself and others and can ask and answer questions about personal details such as where he/she lives, people he/she knows and things he/she has. Can interact in a simple way provided the other person talks slowly and clearly and is prepared to help.

(Council of Europe 2020)

Appendix VIII – Figures used to calculate the percentage of school pupils learning English and French in the academic year 2018/2019

Type of school	No. of pupils learning English	No. of pupils learning French	Total no. of pupils
Grundschulen	1,689,684	75,285	2,802,189
Integrierte Gesamtschulen Primarbereich	48,744	4,878	76,842
Schulartunabhängige Orientierungsstufe	109,557	2,169	110,508
Hauptschulen	359,418	663	363,057
Schularten mit mehreren Bildungsgängen	546,444	79,215	526,014
Realschulen	830,700	161,118	796,128
G8 – Gymnasien	1,582,395	629,574	
G9 – Gymnasien	629,652	236,805	
Gymnasien	G8 + G9 = 2,212,047	G8 + G9 = 866,379	2,207,256
Integrierte Gesamtschulen Sekundarbereich I	869,064	132,234	834,192
Integrierte Gesamtschulen Sekundarbereich II	123,366	20,517	129,825
Total primary	1,728,428	80,163	2,879,031
Total secondary	5,050,596	1,262,295	4,966,980
Total	6,789,024	1,342,458	7,846,011

The figures for my calculations are from table 3.1 Schüler/Innen nach Schularten, Bildungsbereichen und Geschlecht 1992-2018 (Statistisches Bundesamt Deutschland 2019: 30-46) and table 3.6.1 Schüler/Innen mit fremdsprachlichem Unterricht nach Schularten, Bildungsbereichen und Klassen-/Jahrgangsstufen (Statistisches Bundesamt Deutschland 2019: 90-96) of *Allgemeinbildende Schulen – Fachserie 11 Reihe 1 - Schuljahr 2018/2019*. The number of pupils recorded learning English exceeded the total number of pupils in that type of school for *Schularten mit mehreren Bildungsgängen*, *Realschulen*, *Gymnasien* and *Integrierte Gesamtschulen Sekundarbereich I*, which means that in these cases, and overall for secondary schools, it looks as though more than 100 per cent of pupils are learning English, which clearly cannot be the case. Having double-checked for copying errors in the figures I used and having checked them against the same figures in other tables, I have not been able to resolve this, but hopefully the percentages calculated give some indication of the proportion of pupils learning English and French, even if they are not entirely accurate.

Appendix IX – Textbooks

i. Chemistry

Brückner, R. (2004). *Reaktionsmechanismen: organische Reaktionen, Stereochemie, moderne Synthesemethoden*. Heidelberg: Elsevier.

Janiak, C., Meyer, H.-J., Gudat, D. & Alsfasser, R. (2012). *Riedel Moderne Anorganische Chemie*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.

ii. Computer science

Cormen, T. H. (2010). *Algorithmen – eine Einführung*. Munich: Oldenbourg.

Gumm, H.-P. & Sommer, M. (2009). *Einführung in die Informatik*. Munich: Oldenbourg.

iii. Literary studies

Kocher, U. & Krehl, C. (2008). *Literaturwissenschaft, Studium – Wissenschaft – Beruf*. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag.

Link, J. (1997). *Literaturwissenschaftliche Grundbegriffe: eine programmierte Einführung auf strukturalistischer Basis*. Munich: Fink.

Appendix X – Data from first research phase

i. Tokens

Text	Location	Speaker age	Subject	Role	All tokens	Anglicisms	Proportion of anglicisms
BER1	Berlin	31-40	Law	Lawyer	1354	9	0.66%
BER2	Berlin	31-40	Law	Lawyer	1489	12	0.81%
BER3	Berlin	25-30	Law	Lawyer	1570	10	0.64%
BER4	Berlin	25-30	Law	Lawyer	1085	8	0.74%
BER5	Berlin	25-30	Law	Lawyer	724	5	0.69%
HAN1	Hanau	51-60	Law	Lawyer	1450	6	0.41%
HAN2	Hanau	51-60	Procurement	Businessperson	2094	16	0.76%
HAN3	Hanau	31-40	Engineering	Engineer	1689	11	0.65%
HAN4	Hanau	41-50	Export	Businessperson	1649	7	0.42%
HAN5	Hanau	51-60	Animal nutrition	Businessperson	3102	19	0.61%
HAN6	Hanau	51-60	Law	Secretary	1253	9	0.72%
KON1	Konstanz	18-24	English	Student	Interview in English		
KON2	Konstanz	18-24	Computing	Student	2799	13	0.46%
KON3	Konstanz	60+	Computing	Professor	Not audio-recorded		
KON4	Konstanz	60+	Computing	Professor	1285	13	1.01%
KON5	Konstanz	18-24	Computing	Student	2040	33	1.62%
MUN1	Munich	18-24	English	Student	2100	22	1.05%
MUN2	Munich	18-24	English	Student	1238	7	0.57%
MUN3	Munich	51-60	German	Professor	1635	9	0.55%
MUN4	Munich	31-40	English	Student	Not audio-recorded		
<i>Betriebsrat news</i>	Hanau	N/A	<i>Betriebsrat news</i>	Co. document	3219	55	1.71%
Emails	Hanau	N/A	Emails	Co. document	1748	46	2.63%
Info brochure	Hanau	N/A	Info brochure	Co. document	403	8	1.99%
Employee magazine	Hanau	N/A	Employee magazine	Co. document	16342	604	3.70%

Text	Location	Speaker age	Subject	Role	All tokens	Anglicisms	Proportion of anglicisms
Intranet	Hanau	N/A	Intranet	Co. document	349	40	11.46%
Supply agreement	Hanau	N/A	Supply agreement	Co. document	6194	94	1.52%
Presentation	Hanau	N/A	Presentation	Co. document	368	26	7.07%
KProf1	Konstanz	31-40	Chemistry	Professor	442	14	3.17%
KProf2	Konstanz	60+	Computing	Professor	520	3	0.58%
KProf3	Konstanz	41-50	Literature	Professor	519	2	0.39%
KProf4	Konstanz	41-50	Chemistry	Professor	473	7	1.48%
MProf1	Munich	31-40	Literature	Professor	583	10	1.72%
MProf2	Munich	31-40	Computing	Professor	462	26	5.63%
MProf3	Munich	60+	Literature	Professor	481	8	1.66%
MProf4	Munich	51-60	Literature	Professor	410	5	1.22%
MProf5	Munich	41-50	Chemistry	Professor	397	1	0.25%
Brückner	N/A	N/A	Chemistry	Textbook	6500	44	0.68%
Janiak et al.	N/A	N/A	Chemistry	Textbook	4494	173	3.85%
Cormen	N/A	N/A	Computing	Textbook	5711	207	3.62%
Gumm & Sommer	N/A	N/A	Computing	Textbook	5191	419	8.07%
Kocher & Krehl	N/A	N/A	Literature	Textbook	2774	14	0.50%
Link	N/A	N/A	Literature	Textbook	4570	16	0.35%
Total					90706	2031	2.24%

ii. Types

Text	Location	Speaker age	Subject	Role	All types	Anglicisms	Proportion of anglicisms
BER1	Berlin	31-40	Law	Lawyer	424	9	2.12%
BER2	Berlin	31-40	Law	Lawyer	471	9	1.91%
BER3	Berlin	25-30	Law	Lawyer	429	9	2.10%

Text	Location	Speaker age	Subject	Role	All types	Anglicisms	Proportion of anglicisms
BER4	Berlin	25-30	Law	Lawyer	364	8	2.20%
BER5	Berlin	25-30	Law	Lawyer	257	4	1.56%
HAN1	Hanau	51-60	Law	Lawyer	398	5	1.26%
HAN2	Hanau	51-60	Procurement	Businessperson	566	11	1.94%
HAN3	Hanau	31-40	Engineering	Engineer	501	5	1.00%
HAN4	Hanau	41-50	Export	Businessperson	533	6	1.13%
HAN5	Hanau	51-60	Animal nutrition	Businessperson	753	9	1.20%
HAN6	Hanau	51-60	Law	Secretary	318	7	2.20%
KON1	Konstanz	18-24	English	Student	Interview in English		
KON2	Konstanz	18-24	Computing	Student	631	10	1.58%
KON3	Konstanz	60+	Computing	Professor	Not audio-recorded		
KON4	Konstanz	60+	Computing	Professor	437	12	2.75%
KON5	Konstanz	18-24	Computing	Student	570	22	3.86%
MUN1	Munich	18-24	English	Student	540	13	2.41%
MUN2	Munich	18-24	English	Student	376	6	1.60%
MUN3	Munich	51-60	German	Professor	581	7	1.20%
MUN4	Munich	31-40	English	Student	Not audio-recorded		
<i>Betriebsrat</i> news	Hanau	N/A	<i>Betriebsrat</i> news	Co. document	1403	39	2.78%
Emails	Hanau	N/A	Emails	Co. document	748	25	3.34%
Info brochure	Hanau	N/A	Info brochure	Co. document	261	8	3.07%
Employee magazine	Hanau	N/A	Employee magazine	Co. document	5473	329	6.01%
Intranet	Hanau	N/A	Intranet	Co. document	250	36	14.40%
Supply agreement	Hanau	N/A	Supply agreement	Co. document	1861	53	2.85%
Presentation	Hanau	N/A	Presentation	Co. document	218	16	7.34%
KProf1	Konstanz	31-40	Chemistry	Professor	216	10	4.63%
KProf2	Konstanz	60+	Computing	Professor	187	2	1.07%
KProf3	Konstanz	41-50	Literature	Professor	277	2	0.72%

Text	Location	Speaker age	Subject	Role	All types	Anglicisms	Proportion of anglicisms
KProf4	Konstanz	41-50	Chemistry	Professor	221	5	2.26%
MProf1	Munich	31-40	Literature	Professor	287	8	2.79%
MProf2	Munich	31-40	Computing	Professor	223	8	3.59%
MProf3	Munich	60+	Literature	Professor	256	8	3.13%
MProf4	Munich	51-60	Literature	Professor	256	5	1.95%
MProf5	Munich	41-50	Chemistry	Professor	187	1	0.53%
Brückner	N/A	N/A	Chemistry	Textbook	2634	37	1.40%
Janiak et al.	N/A	N/A	Chemistry	Textbook	2086	120	5.75%
Cormen	N/A	N/A	Computing	Textbook	1582	95	6.01%
Gumm & Sommer	N/A	N/A	Computing	Textbook	2099	268	12.77%
Kocher & Krehl	N/A	N/A	Literature	Textbook	1217	13	1.07%
Link	N/A	N/A	Literature	Textbook	1954	13	0.67%
Total					32045	1253	3.91%

Appendix XI - Data from second research phase

i. Tokens

Speaker ID	Location	Speaker age	Level of education ⁹⁰	Proficiency in English ⁹¹	Use of English ⁹²	All tokens	Anglicisms	Proportion of anglicisms
ERK1	Erkelenz	46-55	N	2	3.25	492	10	2.03%
ERK2	Erkelenz	46-55	N			706	10	1.42%
ERK3	Erkelenz	18-25	N			22	0	0%
ERK4	Erkelenz	18-25	U	2	2	1160	9	0.78%
ERK5	Erkelenz	18-25	N	4	4	22	0	0%
ERK6	Erkelenz	16-17	SU			1555	11	0.71%
ERK7	Erkelenz	16-17	S			915	2	0.22%
ERK8	Erkelenz	16-17	SN			1106	12	1.08%
ERK9	Erkelenz	66+	U			492	2	0.41%
ERK10	Erkelenz	66+	N			751	11	1.46%
ERK11	Erkelenz	66+	U			518	2	0.39%
ERK12	Erkelenz	66+	N			276	6	2.17%
ERK13	Erkelenz	56-65	N			852	14	1.64%
ERK14	Erkelenz	26-35	N			96	1	1.04%
ERK15	Erkelenz	16-17	S			945	8	0.85%
ERK16	Erkelenz	26-35	U			751	11	1.46%

⁹⁰ N = not university-educated, U = university-educated, SN = school pupil not likely to attend university, SU = school pupil likely to attend university, S = school pupil.

⁹¹ This data is only available for the 35 interview participants who volunteered for an interview by providing their email address at the end of the questionnaire. 1 = *fluent*, 2 = *advanced*, 3 = *intermediate*, 4 = *beginner*.

⁹² This data is only available for the 35 interview participants who volunteered for an interview by providing their email address at the end of the questionnaire. The value in the table is the mean of participants' self-reported frequency for reading, listening, writing and speaking in English. 1 = *always*, 2 = *often*, 3 = *sometimes*, 4 = *rarely*, 5 = *never*.

Speaker ID	Location	Speaker age	Level of education ⁹⁰	Proficiency in English ⁹¹	Use of English ⁹²	All tokens	Anglicisms	Proportion of anglicisms
ERK17	Erkelenz	56-65	N			1535	19	1.24%
ERK18	Erkelenz	56-65	N			998	12	1.20%
ERK19	Erkelenz	36-45	U	1	1	4162	96	2.31%
ERK20	Erkelenz	46-55	U	2	3	2748	22	0.80%
ERK21	Erkelenz	26-35	U			1954	21	1.07%
ERK22	Erkelenz	56-65	N			871	12	1.38%
ERK23	Erkelenz	26-35	N			629	4	0.64%
ERK24	Erkelenz	36-45	N	4	4	1538	7	0.46%
ERK25	Erkelenz	66+	N			850	7	0.82%
ERK26	Erkelenz	66+	N			927	9	0.97%
ERK27	Erkelenz	66+	N			1284	5	0.39%
ERK28	Erkelenz	36-45	U	1	2.25	2616	85	3.25%
FRA1	Frankfurt	56-65	U	2	2.5	2816	21	0.75%
FRA2	Frankfurt	56-65	U	2	3.5	1268	24	1.89%
FRA3	Frankfurt	18-25	N			547	4	0.73%
FRA4	Frankfurt	16-17	SN			503	4	0.80%
FRA5	Frankfurt	16-17	SN			434	7	1.61%
FRA6	Frankfurt	16-17	SN			356	5	1.40%
FRA7	Frankfurt	16-17	SN			197	2	1.02%
FRA8	Frankfurt	16-17	SN			1073	24	2.24%
FRA9	Frankfurt	16-17	SN			325	5	1.54%
FRA10	Frankfurt	16-17	SN			186	3	1.61%
FRA11	Frankfurt	16-17	SN			43	1	2.33%
FRA12	Frankfurt	16-17	SN			2073	20	0.96%
FRA13	Frankfurt	16-17	SN			997	16	1.60%
FRA14	Frankfurt	16-17	SN			560	5	0.89%

Speaker ID	Location	Speaker age	Level of education ⁹⁰	Proficiency in English ⁹¹	Use of English ⁹²	All tokens	Anglicisms	Proportion of anglicisms
FRA15	Frankfurt	16-17	SN			857	11	1.28%
FRA16	Frankfurt	16-17	SN			631	7	1.11%
FRA17	Frankfurt	16-17	SN			97	6	6.19%
FRA18	Frankfurt	16-17	SN			686	5	0.73%
FRA19	Frankfurt	16-17	SN			368	3	0.82%
FRA20	Frankfurt	16-17	SN			118	10	8.47%
FRA21	Frankfurt	16-17	SN			0	0	0%
FRA22	Frankfurt	16-17	SN			249	8	3.21%
FRA23	Frankfurt	16-17	SN			151	0	0%
FRA24	Frankfurt	16-17	SN			418	4	0.96%
FRA25	Frankfurt	16-17	SN			153	3	1.96%
FRA26	Frankfurt	16-17	SN			543	7	1.29%
FRA27	Frankfurt	16-17	SN			880	4	0.45%
FRA28	Frankfurt	16-17	SN			519	5	0.96%
FRA29	Frankfurt	16-17	SN			161	4	2.48%
FRA30	Frankfurt	36-45	U	2	3	1312	9	0.69%
FRA31	Frankfurt	56-65	U	3	3	2190	15	0.68%
FRA32	Frankfurt	46-55	U			1677	9	0.54%
FRA33	Frankfurt	56-65	U			1950	14	0.72%
FRA34	Frankfurt	26-35	U	1	1.5	1073	7	0.65%
FRA35	Frankfurt	56-65	U	2	3.5	979	9	0.92%
FRA36	Frankfurt	36-45	U	1	2	2669	33	1.24%
FRA37	Frankfurt	26-35	N	3	2.25	2260	42	1.86%
FRA38	Frankfurt	66+	U	1	2.25	946	9	0.95%
FRA39	Frankfurt	56-65	N			707	6	0.85%
FRA40	Frankfurt	16-17	SN			844	1	0.12%

Speaker ID	Location	Speaker age	Level of education ⁹⁰	Proficiency in English ⁹¹	Use of English ⁹²	All tokens	Anglicisms	Proportion of anglicisms
FRA41	Frankfurt	46-55	U	1	1.5	3500	39	1.11%
FRA42	Frankfurt	66+	U	2	3.25	2259	10	0.44%
DRE1	Dresden	26-35	U	1	2.75	1779	29	1.63%
DRE2	Dresden	18-25	N			1813	12	0.66%
DRE3	Dresden	26-35	U			1335	19	1.42%
DRE4	Dresden	66+	U	2	3.25	3064	31	1.01%
DRE5	Dresden	26-35	N	3	3.75	3232	10	0.31%
DRE6	Dresden	26-35	U	1	3.25	2586	29	1.12%
DRE7	Dresden	66+	U	3	2.5	5111	74	1.45%
DRE8	Dresden	36-45	N	3	2.5	2091	21	1.00%
DRE9	Dresden	66+	U	4	4.5	1038	4	0.39%
DRE10	Dresden	36-45	U	2	2.5	1100	16	1.45%
DRE11	Dresden	18-25	U	2	2.75	2645	23	0.87%
DRE12	Dresden	18-25	U			1591	20	1.26%
DRE13	Dresden	26-35	U	1	2.5	2470	38	1.54%
DRE14	Dresden	46-55	U			1419	15	1.06%
DRE15	Dresden	26-35	U			1897	10	0.53%
DRE16	Dresden	56-65	U	3	3.33	2189	7	0.32%
DRE17	Dresden	66+	U			2003	23	1.15%
DRE18	Dresden	56-65	U	3	4	1099	11	1.00%
DRE19	Dresden	26-35	U	2	2	2351	17	0.72%
DRE20	Dresden	36-45	U	3	3	2062	17	0.82%
EBE1	Eberswalde	56-65	U	3	4	1639	12	0.73%
EBE2	Eberswalde	66+	U			2269	17	0.75%
EBE3	Eberswalde	66+	U			2437	13	0.53%
EBE4	Eberswalde	26-35	U	1	2.5	20	0	0%

Speaker ID	Location	Speaker age	Level of education ⁹⁰	Proficiency in English ⁹¹	Use of English ⁹²	All tokens	Anglicisms	Proportion of anglicisms
EBE5	Eberswalde	66+	U			36	0	0%
EBE6	Eberswalde	66+	U			14	0	0%
EBE7	Eberswalde	66+	U			1187	7	0.59%
EBE8	Eberswalde	26-35	U	2	2	2228	29	1.30%
EBE9	Eberswalde	66+	N			812	7	0.86%
EBE10	Eberswalde	16-17	SU			292	0	0%
EBE11	Eberswalde	16-17	SU			652	4	0.61%
EBE12	Eberswalde	16-17	SU			245	5	2.04%
EBE13	Eberswalde	16-17	SU			655	11	1.68%
EBE14	Eberswalde	16-17	SU			300	1	0.33%
EBE15	Eberswalde	16-17	SU			1173	17	1.45%
EBE16	Eberswalde	16-17	SU			853	6	0.70%
EBE17	Eberswalde	16-17	SU			482	13	2.70%
EBE18	Eberswalde	46-55	N			1295	13	1.00%
EBE19	Eberswalde	66+	U			1607	7	0.44%
Total						131417	1417	1.08%

ii. Types

Speaker ID	Location	Speaker age	Level of education ⁹³	Proficiency in English ⁹⁴	Use of English ⁹⁵	All types	Anglicisms	Proportion of anglicisms
ERK1	Erkelenz	46-55	N	2	3.25	203	7	3.45%
ERK2	Erkelenz	46-55	N			288	8	2.78%
ERK3	Erkelenz	18-25	N			15	0	0%
ERK4	Erkelenz	18-25	U	2	2	346	9	2.60%
ERK5	Erkelenz	18-25	N	4	4	17	0	0%
ERK6	Erkelenz	16-17	SU			363	10	2.75%
ERK7	Erkelenz	16-17	S			263	2	0.76%
ERK8	Erkelenz	16-17	SN			364	12	3.30%
ERK9	Erkelenz	66+	U			206	2	0.97%
ERK10	Erkelenz	66+	N			310	10	3.23%
ERK11	Erkelenz	66+	U			250	2	0.80%
ERK12	Erkelenz	66+	N			141	6	4.26%
ERK13	Erkelenz	56-65	N			317	11	3.47%
ERK14	Erkelenz	26-35	N			63	1	1.59%
ERK15	Erkelenz	16-17	S			269	7	2.60%
ERK16	Erkelenz	26-35	U			272	10	3.68%
ERK17	Erkelenz	56-65	N			500	14	2.80%

⁹³ N = not university-educated, U = university-educated, SN = school pupil not likely to attend university, SU = school pupil likely to attend university, S = school pupil.

⁹⁴ This data is only available for the 35 interview participants who volunteered for an interview by providing their email address at the end of the questionnaire. 1 = *fluent*, 2 = *advanced*, 3 = *intermediate*, 4 = *beginner*.

⁹⁵ This data is only available for the 35 interview participants who volunteered for an interview by providing their email address at the end of the questionnaire. The value in the table is the mean of participants' self-reported frequency for reading, listening, writing and speaking in English. 1 = *always*, 2 = *often*, 3 = *sometimes*, 4 = *rarely*, 5 = *never*.

Speaker ID	Location	Speaker age	Level of education ⁹³	Proficiency in English ⁹⁴	Use of English ⁹⁵	All types	Anglicisms	Proportion of anglicisms
ERK18	Erkelenz	56-65	N			341	10	2.93%
ERK19	Erkelenz	36-45	U	1	1	974	53	5.44%
ERK20	Erkelenz	46-55	U	2	3	746	20	2.68%
ERK21	Erkelenz	26-35	U			468	19	4.06%
ERK22	Erkelenz	56-65	N			323	9	2.79%
ERK23	Erkelenz	26-35	N			235	3	1.28%
ERK24	Erkelenz	36-45	N	4	4	423	5	1.18%
ERK25	Erkelenz	66+	N			291	5	1.72%
ERK26	Erkelenz	66+	N			324	8	2.47%
ERK27	Erkelenz	66+	N			373	3	0.80%
ERK28	Erkelenz	36-45	U	1	2.25	692	53	7.66%
FRA1	Frankfurt	56-65	U	2	2.5	648	13	2.01%
FRA2	Frankfurt	56-65	U	2	3.5	490	21	4.29%
FRA3	Frankfurt	18-25	N			192	2	1.04%
FRA4	Frankfurt	16-17	SN			198	4	2.02%
FRA5	Frankfurt	16-17	SN			172	6	3.49%
FRA6	Frankfurt	16-17	SN			155	5	3.23%
FRA7	Frankfurt	16-17	SN			106	2	1.89%
FRA8	Frankfurt	16-17	SN			292	11	3.77%
FRA9	Frankfurt	16-17	SN			142	2	1.41%
FRA10	Frankfurt	16-17	SN			97	3	3.09%
FRA11	Frankfurt	16-17	SN			27	1	3.70%
FRA12	Frankfurt	16-17	SN			504	16	3.17%
FRA13	Frankfurt	16-17	SN			297	11	3.70%
FRA14	Frankfurt	16-17	SN			219	5	2.28%
FRA15	Frankfurt	16-17	SN			269	8	2.97%

Speaker ID	Location	Speaker age	Level of education ⁹³	Proficiency in English ⁹⁴	Use of English ⁹⁵	All types	Anglicisms	Proportion of anglicisms
FRA16	Frankfurt	16-17	SN			248	7	2.82%
FRA17	Frankfurt	16-17	SN			57	4	7.02%
FRA18	Frankfurt	16-17	SN			241	5	2.07%
FRA19	Frankfurt	16-17	SN			158	3	1.90%
FRA20	Frankfurt	16-17	SN			66	4	6.06%
FRA21	Frankfurt	16-17	SN			0	0	0%
FRA22	Frankfurt	16-17	SN			117	7	5.98%
FRA23	Frankfurt	16-17	SN			78	0	0%
FRA24	Frankfurt	16-17	SN			175	4	2.29%
FRA25	Frankfurt	16-17	SN			89	3	3.37%
FRA26	Frankfurt	16-17	SN			220	7	3.18%
FRA27	Frankfurt	16-17	SN			269	4	1.49%
FRA28	Frankfurt	16-17	SN			205	5	2.44%
FRA29	Frankfurt	16-17	SN			94	3	3.19%
FRA30	Frankfurt	36-45	U	2	3	456	8	1.75%
FRA31	Frankfurt	56-65	U	3	3	551	9	1.63%
FRA32	Frankfurt	46-55	U			515	8	1.55%
FRA33	Frankfurt	56-65	U			523	11	2.10%
FRA34	Frankfurt	26-35	U	1	1.5	366	7	1.91%
FRA35	Frankfurt	56-65	U	2	3.5	329	8	2.43%
FRA36	Frankfurt	36-45	U	1	2	669	23	3.44%
FRA37	Frankfurt	26-35	N	3	2.25	572	27	4.72%
FRA38	Frankfurt	66+	U	1	2.25	317	7	2.21%
FRA39	Frankfurt	56-65	N			251	3	1.20%
FRA40	Frankfurt	16-17	SN			250	1	0.40%
FRA41	Frankfurt	46-55	U	1	1.5	655	25	3.82%

Speaker ID	Location	Speaker age	Level of education ⁹³	Proficiency in English ⁹⁴	Use of English ⁹⁵	All types	Anglicisms	Proportion of anglicisms
FRA42	Frankfurt	66+	U	2	3.25	615	9	1.46%
DRE1	Dresden	26-35	U	1	2.75	546	23	4.21%
DRE2	Dresden	18-25	N			434	7	1.61%
DRE3	Dresden	26-35	U			390	15	3.85%
DRE4	Dresden	66+	U	2	3.25	625	15	2.40%
DRE5	Dresden	26-35	N	3	3.75	698	10	1.43%
DRE6	Dresden	26-35	U	1	3.25	691	23	3.33%
DRE7	Dresden	66+	U	3	2.5	1099	42	3.82%
DRE8	Dresden	36-45	N	3	2.5	549	16	2.91%
DRE9	Dresden	66+	U	4	4.5	324	4	1.23%
DRE10	Dresden	36-45	U	2	2.5	399	14	3.51%
DRE11	Dresden	18-25	U	2	2.75	564	18	3.19%
DRE12	Dresden	18-25	U			437	14	3.20%
DRE13	Dresden	26-35	U	1	2.5	612	25	4.08%
DRE14	Dresden	46-55	U			402	13	3.23%
DRE15	Dresden	26-35	U			519	9	1.73%
DRE16	Dresden	56-65	U	3	3.33	585	5	0.85%
DRE17	Dresden	66+	U			567	21	3.70%
DRE18	Dresden	56-65	U	3	4	354	8	2.26%
DRE19	Dresden	26-35	U	2	2	516	14	2.71%
DRE20	Dresden	36-45	U	3	3	565	12	2.12%
EBE1	Eberswalde	56-65	U	3	4	494	11	2.23%
EBE2	Eberswalde	66+	U			552	9	1.63%
EBE3	Eberswalde	66+	U			682	10	1.47%
EBE4	Eberswalde	26-35	U	1	2.5	18	0	0%
EBE5	Eberswalde	66+	U			24	0	0%

Speaker ID	Location	Speaker age	Level of education ⁹³	Proficiency in English ⁹⁴	Use of English ⁹⁵	All types	Anglicisms	Proportion of anglicisms
EBE6	Eberswalde	66+	U			13	0	0%
EBE7	Eberswalde	66+	U			354	7	1.98%
EBE8	Eberswalde	26-35	U	2	2	472	12	2.54%
EBE9	Eberswalde	66+	N			282	7	2.48%
EBE10	Eberswalde	16-17	SU			133	0	0%
EBE11	Eberswalde	16-17	SU			238	4	1.68%
EBE12	Eberswalde	16-17	SU			133	5	3.76%
EBE13	Eberswalde	16-17	SU			244	10	4.10%
EBE14	Eberswalde	16-17	SU			136	1	0.74%
EBE15	Eberswalde	16-17	SU			374	14	3.74%
EBE16	Eberswalde	16-17	SU			316	5	1.58%
EBE17	Eberswalde	16-17	SU			220	11	5.00%
EBE18	Eberswalde	46-55	N			367	9	2.45%
EBE19	Eberswalde	66+	U			468	5	1.07%
Total						37667	1039	2.76%