

Anglicisms – Nein Danke?

Quantitative and Qualitative Analysis of the Occurrence and Usage of English Loanwords in  
Contemporary German(y)

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## Abstract

This paper investigates the role of English in Germany in the era of contemporary globalization. As the prevalence of English loanwords and English-language influences has grown over the past decades, so has the opposition to them. Self-proclaimed language protectors, German language organizations, and political parties have attempted to purify and ‘Germanize’ German by eliminating these Anglicisms and strengthening German identity overall. To examine the extent and consequences of English-language influence on German, I reviewed existing academic literature, analyzed the publications of German language protectionists and language organizations, and conducted qualitative and quantitative research by analyzing the usage of Anglicisms in German-speaking print media. Furthermore, I embedded my analysis in the larger historical context of the spread of global English to examine how English proliferation in the era of globalization is different from previous periods and how English purification movements have emerged throughout history. The results of my analysis indicate that German has been significantly influenced by English. Especially the German vocabulary has been expanded and modified, while the deeper structures of the German language have remained large unaffected. Overall, English-language influences are most noticeable in the realm of consumption, pop culture, and business. However, the German language is neither ‘dying’, as some of the language protectors fear, nor is it indiscriminately being replaced by monolingual English. Rather, the creative adaptation of English terms and phrases indicates that Germans at large are actively and dynamically utilizing the English language to respond to their local circumstances and the globalized world.

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## Introduction

Language is at the core of human existence and identity. It is inherently personal and has often been politicized. Throughout history, what language is spoken was often less of a reflection of the common denominator and instead determined by a common *dominator*. As Lewis Carroll (1872) has Humpty Dumpty proclaim in *Through the Looking-Glass*: what words mean is due to who is “to be master - that's all” (Carroll, Tenniel, & Hunt, 2009, p. 190). Thus, who determines what language is spoken and how it is spoken remains a hotly contested issue in many countries and the global ‘masters’ of previous periods have left their linguistic mark on the world. Even today, real or perceived linguistic imposition and influence is at the center of nationalist narratives of identity as well as linguistic purification movements. This paper focuses on the influence and role of English in a non-English speaking core country. I will illustrate the global proliferation of the English language in the era of globalization as well as contemporary calls for language purification. The usage and perceptions of Anglicisms<sup>1</sup> in today’s Germany serves as a case study to analyze these issues in detail. To do so, I will employ in-depth literature analysis, quantitative and qualitative research.

While most publications about this topic either deal with historical, social or linguistic aspects of the issue exclusively or only focus on quantitative analysis, a more multidisciplinary

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<sup>1</sup> Throughout the paper, ‘Anglicism’. ‘Anglicization’ etc. will be used to refer to English influences from all English-speaking regions and cultures. No distinction will be made between loanwords from US-American English, British English, Canadian English and other regional dialects. Such a distinction is increasingly impossible to make and warrants its own research, which goes far beyond the purpose of this paper.

and broad approach is necessary to fully analyze this subject matter. Additionally, many of the popular German-language publications on the topic that are written by native speakers are driven by a disdain for English loanwords and are hardly objective. Therefore, this paper imbeds quantitative analysis in a larger social, political, historical and linguistic context.

First, I outline the history of global English and the three distinct stages of its proliferation as defined by me. This serves to highlight that English did not achieve its current status due to chance or merit, but instead, due to British colonialism, US dominance, and globalization. Case studies of Nigeria and Puerto Rico respectively serve to illustrate the different phases. While English was historically forced upon people in the periphery, its reach increasingly encompasses typical core countries in mainland Europe. I introduce Germany as the setting of the current analysis and discuss the history of the German language and German language purification and protection movements. From this, it emerges that English has become the most popular source of loanwords in modern German. I then analyze the reasons that have been used to explain the popularity of English language influences in contemporary Germany. In order to quantify the current proliferation of Anglicisms, I give an operational definition of the term and present the results of a quantitative analysis of Anglicism use in German media. The results indicate that English influence on German is limited and highly context-specific. I then outline how the English loanwords get incorporated into the German lexis and how English has influenced German beyond the adoption of loanwords. Lastly, I discuss and refute the arguments against the use of Anglicism and for the protection and purification of German.

Through the extensive qualitative and quantitative analysis of the effect of English on contemporary German, the conclusion emerges that, unlike some of the language protectors proclaim, German is neither dying nor being ruthlessly overtaken by English. Rather, the effect

of English is characterized by high levels of creativity and hybridity. Furthermore, language purification is not only impossible, it also is contrary to the nature of language itself. Thus, German does not need to be preserved and protected nor are the measures taken towards these aims effective.

## **The History of Global English**

In order to understand the prevalence of English today, one needs to examine how the language was spread over time. Its popularity is neither due to chance nor some extraordinary linguistic value. Across the globe, roughly 1,125 million people speak English as a second language, 375 million more are native speakers (“The most spoken languages worldwide”, 2013). It is not only the mother tongue of most citizens in the United States, the United Kingdom and many of the former British colonies such as Australia, South Africa and parts of the Caribbean; English is considered an official language in many more states (Crystal, 1997). This makes it the most commonly learned and most widely understood language. Whether one turns on the TV, the radio, or opens a scientific publication: the English language or at least English terms are omnipresent. While some languages (e.g. Chinese or Hindi) have more native speakers, the global prevalence of English is unmatched (“The most spoken languages worldwide”, 2013). This might lead one to believe that this is due to some linguistic merit, chance or sheer luck. However, its spread was driven by deliberate processes and policies.

The proliferation of English can be loosely broken up into three interconnected and overlapping periods: British colonialism, U.S. imperialism, and the age of global capitalism and globalization. These three processes are interwoven and intrinsically related to each other. They are not mutually exclusive nor are they connected by a perfectly linear, evolution-like relationship. Most countries, furthermore, have been affected by all three processes either directly or indirectly. British and U.S. imperialism enabled the spread of global English and the forces of globalization further sped it up. In turn, globalization itself was affected by the old imperialist power structures. As the anthropologist Arturo Escobar (2004) argues, colonial power structures have not only enabled the current system, but are also inherent to it. Thus, no clear

demarcations can be drawn between the three periods of the spread of English. However, understanding the stages is, nonetheless, helpful in understanding the history of global English and the situation today. Nigeria and Puerto Rico serve as case studies to analyze key features of the first two periods as well as to introduce vastly different approaches to English as an initially foreign language. For each country, I first introduce the period it represents. Then, I outline the history of English within its specific local context and the reactions to it as well as instances of language purification efforts.

When analyzing the history of global English, three main themes relevant to this paper emerge: First, that calls for preservation and purification of language are not unique to the German context nor the current time period. Rather, this strategy has been employed by colonizers as well as by those who were oppressed. Colonial powers such as the British enforced the adoption of monolingual English and tried to purify language use by pushing out local languages, while the colonized subjects often included language politics in their struggles for independence and the redefinition of their national identity. Second, the increasing prevalence of English in core countries such as Germany is qualitatively different from the previous two stages, since it occurs without outright language imposition or force. Third, the case of Nigeria as well as of Puerto Rico illustrate that language purification, preservation and nationalization are often unsuccessful and serve to alienate certain groups and identities.

### **British Colonialism and its Linguistic Consequences in the Example of Nigeria**

English and colonialism cannot be understood without each other, as Pennycook (1998) argues in his book *English and the Discourses of Colonialism*. Together with other cultural and social customs, the colonizer's language was one of the features enforced upon the colonized. Language enforcement was not a novel strategy of the British; throughout history, dominant

military and economic powers made their subjects speak their language (Crystal, 1997). The Romans and their spread of Latin, as well as Spanish and French colonialism are prominent examples of this (Crystal, 1997). More recently, writers and scholars' approaches have grappled with the complicity of English in colonialism and the fact that English itself was the language the colonized were othered and "racially defined" (Pennycook, 1998, p. 5) in. Colonialism has also significantly affected the discourse about and definition of the colonized subjects as well as individuals in the periphery in general. The creation of the savage 'Other' vis-à-vis the civilized colonizer was inherent to colonialism and served as a justification for the imposition of Western culture (Pennycook, 1998). Through the colonial lens, the colonized were seen as "tabula rasa[s]" (Pennycook, 1998, p. 20), who were pre-verbal, uncivilized individuals in need of Western education, language and control. This view was further perpetrated through mainstream Western discourse and literature about colonialism at the time.<sup>2</sup> Furthermore, most of the scholarship about this era was initially generated by the colonizers themselves. Through English, they defined and often vilified those who they colonized, while praising their own imperial efforts. However, English also became the language that many colonial subjects used to express themselves and stand up against the colonizers.

To highlight the aspects of this period of global English, I will look at the case of Nigeria. A British colony from 1914 to 1960, Nigeria underwent the violent imposition of English culture and language. However, given the country's array of native languages and ethnic groups, one can

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<sup>2</sup> For example, the way the author Daniel Defoe characterizes the native Freitag in his famous novel *Robinson Crusoe* fits this infantilizing and even dehumanizing attitude, according to Pennycook's (1998) interpretation of the text.

also consider English as a unifying and potentially neutral medium. Nigeria is certainly not the only country that is highly multilingual and has a history of British colonialism. For example, English has also emerged as a common language in the ethnically diverse India. However, for the sake of this analysis, Nigeria presents a cohesive and clear case of first the imposition and then the subsequent adoption and adaptation of English.

The state of Nigeria as one consolidated territory was born out of colonialism. The British created the country out of three distinct territories, which were home to a variety of linguistic, religious, and tribal groups (Dawson & Larrivéé, 2010). Through brutal colonial rule, the colonizers imposed British values and governing structures onto the country, while missionaries set out to Christianize the population. Spreading English was considered an instrument of spreading English culture, so it was integral to the colonial project. Additionally, the establishment of English as the medium of communication and instruction helped impede the transference of knowledge, values, and religious practices that accompanied the local languages in Nigeria. This contributed to the oppression and erasure of the native populations and their cultures.

English became the official language of public education in Nigeria as early as 1882 (Danladi, 2013). In 1947, English was proclaimed the official language of the whole country (Danladi, 2013). Only subsequently, the regional use of local languages was permitted while schooling continued to be primarily in English (Danladi, 2013). In the 1950s, the Nigerian government recognized local languages in the country's constitution, started to promote a sense of multilingualism and began to encourage the usage of English alongside regional languages (Danladi, 2013). This addressed the key conflict of communication “between [global or national] intelligibility and [local] identity” as expressed by Crystal (1997, p. 134), by recognizing the

need for a shared medium of communication as well as one for individual and cultural expression. Since the British forcefully consolidated an array of different groups speaking a total of 520 languages, there was a pressing need for a common language to communicate in (Simons & Fennig, 2017). By not choosing any one language of a specific tribe or religious group, the language of the colonizer (who was common to all) emerged as the most neutral choice. While public schools made an effort to recognize and teach local languages alongside English, private schools often continued to operate exclusively in English and teach a standardized, British version of the language even today (Danladi, 2013). This serves to emphasize class differences associated with English. Speaking ‘proper’ British English is no longer a demarcation between colonized and colonizer, but rather between wealthy individuals with Western-style education and the poor.

However, one would be mistaken to believe that Nigerians are locked within an oppressive, colonial English. Researchers Dawson and Larrivéé (2010) have identified an attitude shift towards English as it was reterritorialized and adapted to the local context. They argued that, in modern Nigeria, English is no longer exclusively the oppressive language of the colonizers, but has become a versatile and adaptable medium of national communication (Dawson & Larrivéé, 2010). As English has been adapted and modified, it has become distinctly Nigerian. This process, in turn has begun to level some of the power asymmetries between English and the other local languages.

### **U.S. Imperialism and Language Policies in Puerto Rico**

The second stage of the spread of English is the rise of the United States. With it came the global proliferation of the U.S.’s economic, political, cultural, and linguistic influence. I chose the case of Puerto Rico (PR) to illustrate this era, because it is arguably the most clear and

unambiguous case of direct U.S. imperialist policies, given that PR is still under the control of the United States. Furthermore, the inclusion of Spanish in the domestic independence project as well as the distinct political and economic implications of English make Puerto Rico an interesting case study. The country has undergone an array of language policies up until today and several movements have tried to achieve top-down (mono)linguistic change.

To understand the status and implication of English usage in PR, one first needs to look at the history of different linguistic legislations. Similar to the British, who claimed they were spreading civilization through language imposition, U.S.-controlled politicians implemented an array of language policies in Puerto Rico in the hopes of assimilating the Puerto Ricans to US ideals and identity and to create a sense of loyalty to the imperial power (Negrón-Muntaner, 1997). While constitutionally, both English and Spanish were recognized as official languages, Spanish remained the language of regular, local communication and English was primarily through the school system (Negrón-Muntaner, 1997). Teaching English, the U.S. believed, meant creating faithful, English-speaking workers, who were fluent not only in the American language, but also American culture. However, more than half of all Puerto Rican children in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century did not attend any public school (Negrón-Muntaner, 1997). Thus, as Negrón-Muntaner (1997) argues, English-language ability was increasingly reserved for wealthier, urban individuals instead of rural and impoverished communities. Although the main language of education was changed back to Spanish in the 40s, “most tended to [still] associate English with upward mobility” (Negrón-Muntaner, 1997). Thus, English instruction remains a resource for those who can afford it up to today (Barreto, 2000).

Several waves of policies and campaigns aimed to either establish English or Spanish as the prevalent language of the country since then. The Puerto Rican independence movement

included language in its imagination of the country without U.S. rule, and the language they imagined Puerto Ricans to speak was Spanish. “Spanish First” was a legislation partly stemming from this movement and it was passed in 1991. The bill made Spanish the official language of the government – but, importantly, not the school system. According to Negrón-Muntaner (1997), this had little success in changing the status of either Spanish or English in Puerto Rican society as a whole, especially since many speakers possess bilingual abilities. Furthermore, which language is used in day-to-day proceedings is not so much a matter of the law, as it is a product of individual linguistic agency.

As the “Spanish First” legislation demonstrates, language became an integral part of the definition of Puerto Rican nationhood within the independence movement, while a stronger emphasis of English learning was associated with movements to establish PR as a U.S. state. Crystal (1997) argued that language is an important force in identity politics and developing a sense of nationalism. However, such monolingual policies assume a sense of linguistic purity, which does not exist in PR. Bilingualism is frowned upon as a subversion of the independent, nationalist project. This position leaves out the agency of the speaker, who is able to choose either language as useful and appropriate or even borrow from both in the form of Spanglish. In Negrón-Muntaner’s (1997) view, most of those who are for an all-Spanish Puerto Rico (and often, as a logical continuation of the argument, for an independent Puerto Rico) are part of the intellectual elite, which might be less sympathetic to class and race differences that influence language choice and ability.

Unlike the English/Spanish First positions suggest, there is merit to both languages and, thus, one can conclude that there is merit to Spanish/English hybridity. While Spanish is the vernacular of daily proceedings and communication, English at least in theory carries a promise

of financial success. This emerging hybridity has largely undermined purification attempts in practice and underlines the fluidity and adaptability of language. Furthermore, a complete and developed hybrid language has emerged: Spanglish. A mix of English and Spanish and a language in its own right, it requires multilingual and cultural competencies from the speakers. Spanglish is highly adaptable and sensitive to the unique experience of people living in a bilingual environment. For these reasons, the hybrid language is also common in Spanish-speaking communities in the U.S. and elsewhere. In the face of English-speaking U.S. dominance and an (imagined) Spanish national identity, Spanglish provides identity and expression that recognizes both. Negrón-Muntaner (1997) and the Chicana feminist scholar Gloria Anzaldúa (1999), for example, recognize Spanglish as an important resource for communication and identity expression. Over time, Spanglish has evolved as a predominant language of informal communication in Puerto Rico. Journalist Ed Morales (2002) even proclaimed Puerto Rico "the first Spanglish Nation" (p. 251).

### **English in the Era of Contemporary Globalization**

While English is still being perpetuated through neocolonial and imperial policies and frameworks, the global spread of English has gotten new fuel from globalization. However, unlike the two previous periods, English is now becoming more popular because individuals choose to learn it, not because they are forced to do so by a colonial or imperial power. Nonetheless, it is crucial to consider that, implicitly, many are still obligated to learn English if they want to advance economically and even socially.

Globalization describes a multifaceted process involving increased interconnection, interdependence and 'complex connectivity' in cultural, social and economic realms through developments in technology and communication (e.g. Tomlinson, 1999). Throughout world

history, globalization-like processes of migration, trade and conquest have shaped the global system; however, the current period of globalization is unmatched in its speed and intensity. With the emergence of containerization, telecommunication, the internet, global capitalism, and global politics, globalization builds upon the fundamentals of modernity and has shaped our world starting post-World War Two and especially since the 1970s (see Tomlinson, 1999, for further elaboration of cultural globalization; Friedman, 2005, for a neoliberal take on globalization and its drivers). Globalization has led to increasing cost-space and time-space compression, as physical distances have been bridged by modern travel, trade, and communication technology. This has also had significant cultural implications. Modern mass culture, spearheaded by the US, has become a reference point and popular product all over the world. McDonalds, celebrities like Britney Spears, Disney, and Coca Cola are often cited as the prototypes of globalized mass culture. However, while world cultures might appear more homogenous on the surface, cultural differences still remain and these global products are contextualized and appropriate by those who use them. Additionally, due to migration, travel, and global media, people's lives and cultural experience have become increasingly deterritorialized. Politics, culture, social relations and whole communities are no longer locally bound, but can be reproduced and adopted to new localities. Diaspora communities, for example, often span whole continents, and immigrants and their descendants cook their food, watch their movies, and continue their traditions away from their homeland. However, the increase in deterritorialization and the disappearance of strong ties to certain localities has also created a push for reterritorialization in some places and communities (Tomlinson, 1999). This is often part of a nationalist narrative in the hope of recreating a tangible and fixed sense of home and identity, away from the influence of foreign and global forces.

**Globalization and language.** Globalization as outlined above implies one important premise: the fact that these interconnected and interdependent societies, individuals, markets, networks etc. can and do communicate with each other; and communication generally requires a common language. Global English and globalization interact through a positive feedback loop: the prevalence of English has globalizing properties and, in turn, globalization has helped to spread English further and establish the increasing necessity of English-language skills. Authors and scholars such as Crystal (1997), Doving (1997), McCrum (2010), Prendergast (2016), and Schneider (2008) have outlined aspects of the close relationship between English and globalization. Three key drivers of English in the era of globalization are the globalized capitalist economy, modern communication and media technology, and increasing interaction and interdependence among political, scientific and economic entities.

Prendergast (2016) specifically identified the globalized economy as one of the key drivers of global Anglicization. She referred to English as the first language of capitalism and its key actors: US- and Europe-based international corporations and media organizations (Prendergast, 2016). This has led to the fact that, in today's business world, English learning is encouraged if not demanded across the globe (e.g. Monclova Vázquez, 2014). The policy of trade liberalization also furthered the spread of English. Opening up domestic markets often meant opening up the domestic language to foreign influences, starting with English product names and advertising slogans, as well as English-language TV and publications (e.g. Crystal, 1997; Schneider, 2008; Sick, 2004, 2005). As Crystal (1997) concluded, "it may take a military powerful nation to establish a language, but it takes ... [economic power] to maintain and expand it" (p. 8). Thus, while British and American military and political power set up an English-speaking system, the Western-dominated and English-speaking capitalist global economy helped

to solidify it and make it common sense<sup>3</sup>. The German journalist and book author Schneider (2008), while referring to English influence, even identified language as a “vehicle of economic dominance”<sup>4</sup> (p. 166) – such a position underlies much of the opposition to the spread of English.

Additionally, modern information and communication technology not only helped to compress time and space and to connect individuals across the globe, it has also spread English as well as increased the need for one common language of communication. Now, English-speaking cultural products are broadcasted to all corners of the world. Analyses by Krauss (1958) and others highlight how English loanwords have become particularly common in the domains of TV, music and pop culture, starting as early as the end of World War Two and even before. Crystal (1997) notes the fact that all major news organizations such as Reuters are based in the English-speaking domain. Furthermore, on the internet, one of the main sources of information and entertainment, around 80% of all websites are estimated to be in English (McCrum, 2010).

Another key enabler of the spread of English is the increase in interdependence and interaction among groups and countries that do not share a common language. Whether one looks at the official languages of intergovernmental bodies such as the UN and the EU, economic institutions like the IMF or even smaller, international and interregional organizations like scientific communities and sports associations: English is often used as the main medium of communication, making it the lingua franca of the globalized world (Crystal, 1997). Especially

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<sup>3</sup> The term “common sense” was introduced by the scholars Cazdyn and Syeman (2011) to refer to the capitalist world system and how those in control of the system prevent others from changing and removing it by ensuring that it has become ‘common sense’.

<sup>4</sup> “Vehikel der Marktbeherrschung”

in the EU, this is subject to continued disagreement and upset, particularly the French and the Germans demand documents and proceedings to occur and be published in their native language (e.g. see Barbe, 2004; McCrum, 2010; Schneider, 2008).

**Global English and Globish.** The rise of English and the disappearance of local languages has been interpreted as progress towards a monolingual and interlegible world by some authors and scholars. Indeed, it is predicted that by the year 2050, half of the world will be able to speak English (“Denglish invades Germany”, 2002). However, visions of an all-English world are not only far from current circumstances, but also ignore existing power asymmetries that restrict access to English as well as the English-speaking world.

One advocate for the spread of English as the language of the world is Jean-Paul Nerrière. Nerrière is a retired IBM executive and he dreams of a world where "everyone ... [is] able to speak to and understand everyone" (Nerrière & Hon, 2009, p. 6). The medium of communication would be Globish, a simplified and streamlined version of English, which Nerrière predicts will replace English one day (Nerrière & Hon, 2009). Journalist David McCrum (2010) expanded upon this concept in his book *Globish*. For him, Globish is the language of Friedman’s (2005) flat world – a world in which globalization has empowered all people and decreased global inequalities. McCrum (2010) argues that through English, everyone is able to access information, participate in trade, and advance in the global society. In the author’s opinion, English or, better: Globish, is the golden ticket to compete on a levelled global playing field (McCrums, 2010). However, McCrum (2010) also identified English as an instrument of soft power, not so much for traditional nation states, but for international entities such as corporations, media organizations, cultures and globalization as a whole. The author even argues that Globish is more important and powerful than local variations of English such as

Chinglish or Hinglish (McCrum, 2010). He seems to be unable to recognize the power asymmetries between those who are born speaking English or learn it through well-funded private and public education, and those who have to teach themselves more out of necessity than voluntary desire, who speak hybridized pidgin and “broken English” (McCrum, 2010, p. 252) or no English at all. Furthermore, the spread of English cannot be equalized with cultural homogenization. Hybrid and pidgin variations of the language show how it is bent by and adapted to local circumstances. English speakers across the globe use the language to express specifically local concerns and circumstances.

**The exclusionary function of (“proper”) English.** While English is considered an access point to Western discourse as a whole, it also serves a selective and exclusionary function (Monclova Vázquez, 2014; Prendergast, 2016). In many periphery nations, for example, English speaking alone is no guarantor for upward mobility, if no other structures for such are already in place (Higgins, 2009). As the case studies of Nigeria and PR highlight, high-level English education is often reserved for the upper classes. Even McCrum (2010) acknowledges the financial and personal sacrifices many Indians make in order to learn English and work for a multinational corporation such as Infosys or IBM. Regardless of their effort, many of the English-speaking Indians are confined to call center jobs. While these pay higher wages than the Indian average, this is hardly an example of a levelled playing field. Speaking English alone does not grant them access to the higher-level positions in many of the companies. Apart from these structural inequalities, English-language ability can also exacerbate generational differences. For example, younger generations in Europe are four times more likely to claim that they are proficient in English than individuals older than 55 (11% vs. 41%) (Gerritsen et al., 2007). The contrast is especially stark between those who grew up in an English-speaking and English-

teaching world, and those who did not. This is the case for citizens from the former Soviet countries, where until 1990 English was a shunned language of the capitalist West (Prendergast, 2016). Since the fall of the Wall, the number of English-learners and speakers there has exponentially increased; nonetheless, generational gaps in regards to language ability are difficult to eradicate (Prendergast, 2016). The demarcation between native speakers and non-Western, non-native speakers is even more stark: the less powerful, non-Western English speakers and learners have to constantly ensure to be understood by those who do not understand their local languages (Prendergast, 2016). When engaging with native speakers, they are expected to understand and decode whatever is communicated to them – if they are unable to do so, they will often be excluded from the discourse.

**Opposition to the global spread of English.** As referenced above, deterritorialization can provoke a push for reterritorialization and the spread of English has led to purification and preservation movements of other languages. This is motivated by real fears: anthropologist and sociolinguistic scholar Rainer E. Hamel estimate that 80% of current languages will be endangered by the end of the century, and often English steps into their place (as cited in Schreiber, 2006). The rejection of the English language and English influences has been particularly strong and organized in Europe. While countries in the periphery still struggle with the linguistic heritage of their colonial and imperial past, traditional core countries have also started to grapple with concerns about the future of their native language. France and Spain, for example, have official organizations and even laws to protect the status of their local language (Gerritsen et al., 2007; Hüppauf, 2004). France passed a law in 1994 that made the use of 3500 Anglicisms illegal – not for ordinary French writers and speakers, but for advertisers, journalists in TV and radio, and anyone working and speaking for the government (Schneider, 2008). Even

in the famously liberal and open-minded Netherlands, a language organization has staged protest against the rise of Anglicisms and protested at the Schiphol airport against the nearly exclusively English labelling on signs. (Gerritsen et al., 2007). Overall, scholars agree that these concerns are largely unfounded – the traditionally strong Western European languages (French, Spanish, German, Portuguese) are not in immediate danger of disappearing (e.g. Burmasova, 2010; Hüppauf, 2004; Onysko, 2007; Schreiber, 2006). However, given the intimate relationship between native language and identity, some traditional core countries have become weary of the growing influence of English (e.g. Hüppauf, 2004). Some scholars and writers, such as Schneider (2008), interpret the decline of the linguistic influence and prestige of these languages as a decline of national power in general. They fear that this entails losing some of their economic, social, scientific, and political influence and supremacy. Furthermore, European powers perceive the rise of English as a symptom of growing US influence and impending homogenization to US-American culture (Hüppauf, 2004, Schneider, 2008). Similar to Dovring's (1997) concern about language as a vehicle for propaganda and cultural imposition, English is perceived as an unwanted foreign influence (e.g. McCrum, 2010; Schneider, 2008; Schreiber, 2006; Sick, 2004, 2005). This is also part of growing anti-American and anti-globalization sentiments.

In conclusion, the spread of English has exponentially accelerated in the past decades. While this does not mark the beginning of a world in which everyone speaks Globish, the need and degree of global intelligibility has increased. In this section, I briefly outlined some of the consequences of this development. I will now focus on one case in particular: the role and influence of the English language in Germany.

### Germany as the Setting of the Case Study

While English as a foreign language influence plays a significant role in many countries and contexts, I identified Germany as the appropriate setting to analyze the reactions to increasing Anglicization of the local lexis that is occurring without the direct linguistic imposition part of colonialism and imperialism. German takes up a special position in this context, given that ‘pure’ English is not directly replacing ‘pure’ German. Unlike in Nigeria or Puerto Rico, in most instances in Germany, English is not becoming the new language of daily proceedings and communication. Rather, the local lexis is becoming increasingly Anglicized and hybridized. Additionally, unlike France and Spain, where there are official government efforts to protect and purify the native language, no clear government position has emerged. This makes Germany a more dynamic case to study. Furthermore, there seems to be a “German obsession with [English] loans” (Barbe, 2004, p. 26) and the linguist Best proclaimed that "in no other country there are as many publications about Fremdwörter [loanwords] as in Germany" (as cited in Barbe, 2004, p. 36). The term *Fremdwort* (literally: foreign word) itself underlines the Germans’ perception of loanwords as alien and foreign. Language is also a salient aspect of German ethnic identity. Even though it is not constitutionally protected and pronounced the official language, immigrants applying for citizenship need to pass a German test (Schreiber, 2006). Given that Germany is a politically and economically powerful nation with a large population – larger than and arguably as influential as the (English-speaking) UK, such language anxieties appear mostly unfounded (Hilgendorf, 2007). However, the growing influence of English on German is impossible to deny. Lastly, given that I have grown up in Germany and German is my first language, I am very familiar with the case and am able to analyze German publications in their original language.

Overall, Germany serves as an example of how English can influence another language by changing it, rather than eradicating it. This highlights the possibilities and creative opportunities that linguistic hybridity affords. This is unlike previous periods of global Anglicization and different from countries, in which English has completely replaced the local language(s). However, Germany also serves as a case study of a powerful, Western nation fearing that a linguistic decline would result in a decline of their national identity and influence/power as a whole.

### **Brief History of the German language and German Language Purification Movements**

Throughout history, German has been influenced by other languages. In its earliest forms, it borrowed from Greek and Latin and many popular words still carry these lingo-historical roots (Schneider, 2008). Desires for linguistic unity emerged later and historically, "waves of linguistic purism coincide with periods in which Germans feel the need to assert their national identity against oppressors and competitors: the Reformation, the Napoleonic wars, and the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries" (Dodd, 2015, p. 60).

**French influence on German.** Before English, the main focus of the language purists was French. Indeed, many common German words and slang still carry their French ancestry. The height of French influence in the late Renaissance meant that French culture and culture products were widespread across the European continent and beyond – and this included the French language (Böhm, 2014). Additionally, the migration of French Protestants (known as the Huguenots) into German regions further helped to spread French (Böhm, 2014). Given the different dialects in the German regions, French served as a useful lingua franca even among native German-speakers (Böhm, 2014). In the early 17th century, the first widespread and vocal purist movement began. German poets and satirists criticized the influx of French words and

started to define and defend "German culture and morals" (Brunt, 1983, p. 48). Simultaneously, official language protection institutions emerged in France and in Spain (Hilgendorf, 2007). The language preservation movement in the German context was in part driven by fears of losing influence to France (Brunt, 1983). In 1617 Weimar, the Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft ("fruitful society") was founded to purify German and rid it of foreign words, mostly from French and Latin origins (Schneider, 2008). Forty years later, German poet Georg Philipp Harsdörfer postulated rules about which loanwords should be accepted into German based on their popularity, recognition, grammatical assimilation and whether or not they replaced an already existing German word (Brunt, 1983). Meanwhile, another poet, Philipp von Zesen, proposed German neologisms that were to replace foreign loanwords with the same meaning, but faced criticisms for trying to artificially purify the language (Brunt, 1983). However, some also purposefully used French words to appear trendier or to appeal to French ideas and ideals (Brunt, 1983). Nonetheless, in the beginning of the 1800s, the Napoleonic wars fueled the rejection of French influence, especially among the Prussian elites and intellectuals, who evoked a "culture which was defining itself as explicitly German" (Böhm, 2014, p. 183). In the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century, English-German language contact became more common. During the period of the English Enlightenment, German authors began to translate English works into German and with them, introduced hitherto unknown terms and concepts into the German lexis by adopting and adapting English words; the words *Held* (hero) and *nonsens* (nonsense) are relicts of this early language contact (Hilgendorf, 2007). However, the overall influence of English on German was very limited during this time (Stiven, 1936).

**German purification movements in the early German nation state.** After the consolidation of Germany as one nation state in 1871, the issue of German as the national

language needing special protection arose again (Dodd, 2015). In 1885, the Allgemeiner Deutscher Sprachverein (“Universal German Language Foundation”) was established and published dictionaries that offered replacements for loanwords (Schneider, 2008). In 1947, it was re-founded as the Gesellschaft für Deutsche Sprache (“Society for German Language”) and it remains active until today (Schneider, 2008). In 1882, Educator Hermann Dunger published a dictionary to aid the ‘Germanification’ of loanwords (Hilgendorf, 2007; Onysko, 2007). Nonetheless, the influence of foreign languages on German grew rather than stagnated and English started to play a larger role. As a result of the industrial revolution, which solidified Britain’s status as a global power, Germany aimed to imitate the island – economically and socially, but also linguistically (Hilgendorf, 2007; Stiven, 1936). The word *Streik* (strike), for example, was borrowed from English during that period (Hilgendorf, 2007).

However, with the rise of the Nazi regime in the 1930s came a departure from linguistic purism on the highest levels of governments: Hitler wanted German to become more internationalized and was worried more about weak and old-fashioned German terms rather than foreign loanwords (Dodd, 2015; Schneider, 2008). On the surface, this seems in contrast to the dictator’s brutal regime, which was committed to ethnic and cultural purification in all other realms. However, this serves as support for Dodd’s (2015) argument that language purification movements in Germany often emerged in moments of nationalist anxiety and insecurity, rather than during periods of national pride and hubris. It is important to note, though, that several members of the Nazi party as well as other public figures and writers continued to support language protection movements during this era (Burasova, 2010).

After the end of the Second World War and the shock of the Nazi dictatorship, German society distanced itself from everything that was considered overtly German and nationalistic,

including purist language politics (Schneider, 2008). Language protectionist Schneider (2008) even goes so far as to argue that the reason that Germans started to adopt so many Anglicisms is because of World War Two and the resulting collective guilt. This argument will be explored later in this paper. Another result of the war was that English overtook French in its influence on the German language. The occupation of parts of Germany by British and US-American forces, who brought their customs and language with them, introduced English to German daily life. In 1950s, the increasing amount of English influences also led to a renewed academic interest in Anglicisms (Hilgendorf, 2007). Over time, English expressions replaced French ones, such as *out* instead of *passé*, *sorry* instead of *pardon*, *trendy* replaced *en vogue* and *date* became popular rather than *rendezvous* (Sick, 2005). American customs and products started to become more common (motels, supermarkets, products of popular culture such as movies and music) and they often brought related English terms with them (Krauss, 1958). Apart from occupation-related words such as *Armed Forces* (Krauss, 1958, p. 278) and *base* (Krauss, 1958, p. 277), Anglicisms became especially popular in the realm of sports and entertainment “even when a good German equivalent” was available (Krauss, 1958, p. 281). This was much more common in West Germany, given that it was partly US occupied and had free access to U.S. goods and culture. Meanwhile, individuals in the East longed for the apparent freedom these Western products and, in extension, English stood for (Prendergast, 2016). In both parts of Germany, rejection of the spread of Anglicism was uncommon (Krauss, 1958). Dodd (2015) argued that only after the insecurities brought about by the fall of the Berlin Wall, the fast-paced rise of globalization in the public eye, and increased immigration did the calls for protecting German become louder again. Pfalzgraf (2003) also argued that German unification shook German identity, and created the need for redefinition of what constituted ‘Germanness’, leading to a rise of nationalist-

minded language purification movements. For Schneider (2008), it were precisely these forces that increased the influx of English in the first place – and, thus, gave rise to the purist movements. Linguist Alexander Onysko (2007) even proclaimed that in the German context, “the term globalization is often used synonymously with Anglo-Americanization to denote an impending challenge of the status quo” (p. 2).

### **English Influence on German Today**

Quantitatively, the number of Anglicisms in the German lexis has grown exponentially since the end of World War Two, even though some research indicates their spread might have slowed down recently (Burmasova, 2010; Onysko, 2007). Simultaneously, the academic interest in the use and occurrence of Anglicisms in the German lexis increased manifold during the same period (Onysko, 2007). Today, estimates about the number of Anglicisms in modern German range from 8% to up to 17% (Barbe, 2004). The spread of English is noticeable in several domains of German life. For example, an increasing number of German academic publications have switched over their main language to English - and some of them added terms such as "European" to their title, arguably to appeal to a broader audience and appear worldlier (Hilgendorf, 2007). This internationalization and Anglicization process has ironically even affected the “Deutsche Gesellschaft für Sprachwissenschaft” (German Society for Linguistics): during a 2007 retreat, 152 of 180 presentations were done in English (Schneider, 2008). In the business realm, position titles and terms referring to international economics have increasingly been translated into English (Hilgendorf, 2007). English is especially prevalent in contexts related to consumption, such as shopping and advertisement (e.g. Yang, 1990, Pacholski & Laskowski, 2006). As outlined in the history of global English, the language has become the

lingua franca of capitalism and trade. Thus, these observations support the importance of English on the world market as well as in the context of personal consumption.

The spread of English is partly enabled by the prevalence of English teaching. In 2010, 95% of all fourth-grade pupils in Germany were learning English as a second language (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2010). That number had quadrupled over a period of just 10 years, so it is safe to assume that it has since grown even further and students in higher grades are normally mandated to learn English, as well (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2010)<sup>5</sup>. This has made English the most commonly taught second language (Hilgendorf, 2005). In general, English and Anglicisms are popular among the youth, arguably because many of the cultural products they consume such as popular music and TV series are from English-speaking countries such as the UK and the US (Kovács, 2009). All in all, English can be found in many different domains of German life. This multifaceted spread of English has led some linguists to hypothesize that English will eventually replace German, however, I do not agree with this position and outline my understanding of the situation throughout this paper.

**The three circles of English.** The linguist Kachru (e.g. 1990) developed the idea that English is spread and exists in three different circles. The inner circle encompasses all those countries where English is the first and main language of the speakers, including the UK and the US (Berns, 1995). In the outer circle, English has the status of a government or official language, but it is used alongside local vernaculars – this mostly includes countries, in which English was

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<sup>5</sup> Curricula are decided upon by the individual German states and differ depending on the level of schooling and type of school, so a definitive general statement about English teaching in the German school system cannot be made.

introduced and enforced by colonialism, such as India (Berns, 1995). The last circle of World English is the expanding circle: where English is neither the native nor an official language, but an increasing number of individuals learn it and it is used as “an international language” (Berns, 1995, p. 4). Germany can be considered part of this expanding circle. Berns (1995), however, argues that the importance and usage of English in Germany is significantly more than its status as an expanding circle country would suggest. Thus, she developed a new category, the ‘dual circle’, which also includes the Netherlands and Luxembourg, and that aims to encompass the spread of and exposure to English, particularly, in the European continent (Berns, 1995). As outlined later, several self-proclaimed protectors and purifiers of German also believe in a similar scenario, and are striving to prevent it if possible. However, I do not believe that Berns’ (1995) concept of a nativized European (German, French, Spanish, etc.) kind of English will emerge in the next decades. Although possible, such a development is still in the distant future, and opposition against English in Germany can be taken as one indicator of that. Rather, I think that instead of a German English, an English German is emerging: a German that is markedly influenced by Anglicization.

**The public’s perception of the English influence.** As Hilgendorf (2007) points out, it is important to note that the vocal criticism of Anglicisms is in stark contrast to the general public's acceptance and propagation of English loanwords. This is highlighted by an apparent desire of many Germans to showcase and practice their English skills whenever interacting with an English native speaker or another presumably non-German-speaking foreigner. Interestingly, anecdotal evidence shows that this occurs even if the English-speaking conversation partner can speak fluent German, since most individuals consider English as the default and polite option - even if a conversation in German would be much easier and more successful (Hilgendorf, 2007).

A humorous example of this is the trend of the German public and media to denounce and ridicule public figures for not being able to speak good English when interacting with foreign journalists or other native speakers. German politician and EU commissioner Günther Öttinger famously became a YouTube star after a questionable attempt at speaking English at a conference in 2009 (Crolly, 2010). The late former foreign secretary Guido Westerwelle hoped to avoid such criticism and asked to answer in German instead of English during a press conference only to be vehemently criticized for his choice (Crolly, 2010). This recognition of the importance of English can also be seen as a recognition of the fact that success in global politics and business is easiest to achieve when one speaks English. Thus, the spread of English is accompanied by the German's evidently high regard of the language.

### **Reasons for the Popularity of English Language Influences**

Given that English is not only prevalent, but also appears to be popular in Germany, the reasons for this need to be considered in order to analyze and interpret the reactions to it. Thus, after considering the history of linguistic influences in Germany and *how* English became the most prevalent one, I will briefly outline different viewpoints on *why* this recent increase of English influence has occurred.

Some practical arguments such as the similarity between the two Germanic languages English and German can help to explain why the integration of Anglicisms into German is relatively easy compared to e.g. Romance languages (Burmsova, 2010; Schneider, 2008). However, this does not explain the underlying motivation of the increased adoption of English loanwords. If similarity or geographical proximity to a language and its hearth alone would determine which languages influence each other, one might suspect that Dutch and German would borrow more from each other. However, English is by far the most significant language in

this regard. In general, scholars argue that both, “denotative needs (e.g. Anglicisms as specific denotata lacking German equivalents) and connotative needs (e.g. emotional implications entailed in the use of Anglicisms)” (Onysko, 2007, p. 321) have contributed to the spread of Anglicisms. Linguist Yang (1990), for example, conducted a preliminary survey of German university students and asked them to indicate what qualities they associate with an array of different Anglicisms. Although many different reasons were listed, the English loanwords were most often described as “customary”, “modern”, and “businesslike”<sup>6</sup> (Yang, 1990, p. 49).

**Lack of patriotism post World War Two.** The perhaps most common reason for the increasing Anglicization of the German lexis listed by Anglicism-opponents is a lack of patriotism that resulted from the shock and shame post-World War Two. German author and ‘language defender’ Schneider (2008) believes that “German is *obviously* a global language”<sup>7</sup> (p. 18), but, according to him, the Germans don’t want it to be, because the collective guilt felt in the aftermath of World War Two has cautioned and even completely prevented the country from developing a sense of national pride (Schneider, 2008). Schreiber (2006), another author worried about the future and ‘Germanness’ of German, also argues that German national identity has not recovered from the shame and shock due to the horrendous acts committed by Hitler’s regime. Linguist Burmasova (2010) also writes that the fact that Germany lost both world wars harmed the role of German as a highly valued and diplomatic world language. Furthermore, she argues that a lack of patriotism and guilt after the war contributed to the quick adoption of Anglicisms (Burmasova, 2010). The eager acceptance of English linguistic influence can also be seen as a

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<sup>6</sup> “üblich”, “modern”, “geschäftsmäßig”

<sup>7</sup> “Deutsch ist *natürlich* eine Weltsprache”

result of the desire to appeal to the occupying United States and United Kingdom and to be more similar to the emerging world powers and winners of the war (Schreiber, 2006). As Barbe (2004) summarizes: "English, the language of the most visible and culturally influential former occupational forces, was and is associated with prosperity, abundance and wealth" (p. 30). This argument is supported by the observation that a similar preference for English terms occurred in Japan in the aftermath of World War Two and the US occupation (McCrum, 2010).

**Desire to appear more cosmopolitan.** While some argue the spread of English is motivated by a lack of national identity, a slightly different viewpoint is the belief that English is used to evoke a sense of cosmopolitanism, "progressiveness and worldliness" (Barbe, 2004, p. 27). Schreiber (2006), Morris (2013), and Yang (1990) emphasize that Anglicisms have a modern and even potentially pretentious connotation. This is often used by advertising agencies to make products appear more appealing to consumers and evidence for this can be found as early as the 1950s, when English terms were used in particular to advertise imported products (Krauss, 1958; Sick, 2004). In their research about the usage of English loanwords in German advertising, Gerritsen et al. (2007) found that Anglicisms were most likely to be used in advertisements for products "associated with modernity" (p. 291). Piller (2003) argued that English is attractive due to its perception as the language of development and cosmopolitanism. The popularity of the Anglicism *cool*, for example, suggests that English has become a way of asserting literal 'coolness', sophistication and worldliness, because it is "somehow super easy and mega trendy" (Sick, 2004, p. 48)<sup>8</sup>. This makes Anglicisms particularly popular in youth

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<sup>8</sup> "... es gibt Menschen, die finden die Phrase "schick", weil "irgendwie total easy und mega angesagt"

culture and replicates in part the deliberate usage of French by intellectuals and the bourgeoisie from the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century, who hoped to appeal to ideals of French culture and worldliness. Even German cities, in the hope of appearing more international and maybe attracting more tourists, often name parts or certain places with the English signifier *City*; in Hamburg, for example, one can currently find four different “*Citys*” (Sick, 2004). This has led to the integration of *City* into the larger German lexis (Sick, 2004).

**Propaganda.** The assumed aura of cosmopolitanism surrounding Anglicisms can also be used to exude a sense of superiority and to promote oneself, a product, or even a belief system as better and more modern (e.g. Schneider, 2008). Thus, another aspect of the motivation behind the rising number of English loanwords and a particular concern of the Anglicism-opponents are the potentially euphemizing and obscuring properties of the terms. Similar to Dovring’s (1997) perception that ‘bodysnatched’ English can and is employed as a means of propaganda, Sick (2004, 2005) and Schneider (2008) suspect that Anglicisms are deliberately used to obscure or distort whatever they are referring to. Hilgendorf (2007) and Yang (1990) also refer to this specific purpose of English loanwords. Since not all readers or listeners of, for example, a government document or a company report will know the exact translation of the Anglicisms that might be used in it, the loanwords can help to obscure less than perfect circumstances. They can also be used to actively exclude those who don’t understand English and to address a specific target group, for instance in marketing (Gerritsen et al., 2007; Schneider, 2008).

**Practicality and linguistic superiority of English.** Apart from the more ideological and historical explanations, some argue that English is replacing German due to its inherently greater linguistic merit or usefulness. Throughout history, scholars such as Claiborne (as cited in Pennycook, 1998, p. 135) or Jespersen (as cited in Pennycook, 1998, p. 136) and laypeople

within the Western and, particularly, the English discourse have argued again and again that English is obviously the most suited language to be spoken globally. That belief was grounded in the colonial and Anglocentric conviction that British culture, values and general superiority were inherent to British English (Pennycook, 1998). Meanwhile, ‘German protectors’ such as Schneider (2008) and Schreiber (2006) allude to the greatness of German. The author Schneider even called German “one of the deepest, most expressive languages on the planet ... the language of Protestantism, Marxism and psychoanalysis” (p. 18).<sup>9</sup> However, I argue that there is no objective measure that indicates that either English or German is better, more useful, or easier than many other tongues. As outlined in the history of global English above, English’s status in the world has little to do with its linguistic qualities. Similarly, German is also not better or more worthy of protection and purification than any other language.

Yet, several researchers and authors refer to the short length of English words in particular and cite this as an explanation for its popularity (e.g. Burmasova, 2010; Kovács, 2009; Schneider, 2008; Sick, 2004, 2005). While the initial premise that shorter automatically equals better and more desirable appears arbitrary, research found evidence that in spoken and written German, shorter words are more likely to be used than longer ones and many English words are indeed slightly shorter than their German equivalents (see a list by Yang, 1990, pp. 124-125). The shortness argument is further supported by the spread of English text messaging jargon. Abbreviations such as “l8r”, “C U”, “tmrrw”, and “lol” help to keep the character count low and are used across languages (Crystal, 1997; McCrum, 2010). However, Schneider (2008) partly

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<sup>9</sup> “Deutsch ist eine der tiefsten, ausdrucksstärksten Sprachen auf Erden ... die Sprache des Protestantismus, des Marxismus und der Psychoanalyse”

refutes this claim by arguing that several German words are indeed shorter than the Anglicisms that are used instead; e.g. the German for 'in front of' is simply *vor* and 'second-hand dealer' is *Trödler* (pp. 23-25). However, these examples serve as anecdotal evidence rather than scientific proof.

### **Operational Definition of 'Anglicism' in the Context of Germany**

In the literature, the definition of Anglicism/English-derived loanword varies slightly. However, several commonalities emerge. Barbe (2004) broadly defines Anglicisms as a "more or less strongly integrated linguistic structure taken from English" (p. 26) and Carstensen defines Anglicism as "all language elements that are generated on the basis of the English language" (as cited in Rogoyska & Zboch, 2016, p. 26). The researcher Onysko (2007) uses a narrower definition for his studies of Anglicism-prevalence and considers the etymology of a word not conclusive when trying to determine if a word is an English loanword or not, i.e. how long ago a term was borrowed from English is not enough to decide if it is an Anglicism or if it has already been fully assimilated and 'Germanified' in his opinion. Instead, he considers a word's current form and usage to determine its 'Anglicism status', which might explain why he still regards English loanwords that have been completely assimilated into the German lexis and were adopted over a hundred years ago, such as "Interview", as Anglicisms ("Interview, das", n.d.). The researchers Gerritsen et al. (2007) evaluate whether a word is German or an English loanword based on two criteria: if the loanword had the same meaning as the English equivalent and if the word is listed in the "most recent authoritative dictionary of the respective receiving language" (p. 301). While these are two valid criteria, I only incorporated the first one into my operational definition of an Anglicism. Many of the English-derived loanwords in German have been added to the dictionary in recent years, however, that does not mean they have shed their

English roots. ‘Anti-Aging’, for example, is included in the current Duden<sup>10</sup> (“Anti-Aging, Antiaging, das”, n.d.), but it is still pronounced and used like its English equivalent. Schneider (2008) also refers to this and notes that Duden has a “descriptive” mission, not a “prescriptive”<sup>11</sup> (p. 39) one. Thus, the dictionary cannot be considered a definitive authority in what is considered an Anglicism. However, the Duden does offer helpful data regarding when a word was added to it and its linguistic origins. In the past, researchers such as Rogoyska and Zboch (2016) have also referred to Carstensen, Busse, and Schmude’s (1993) Anglicism dictionary to identify Anglicisms. However, the newest edition of the dictionary is twenty years old and, thus, cannot account for all the English loanwords that have entered German since then. For the purposes of this study, one decisive factor for determining if an Anglicism is counted as such is its linguistic origin as listed in the Duden, if available, and whether it is part of the Zertifikat Deutsch (now known as Goethe-Zertifikat B1) or not. The Goethe-Zertifikat B1 is an officially recognized German language certificate that tests German ability at the B1 level, i.e. conversational ability and general understanding (“Your next step forward: Goethe-Zertifikat B1”, n.d.). I believe that expressions that are included in an official language certificate can be considered fully incorporated in the target language, no matter the words’ etymology. Thus, any English loanword that has been included in the certificate is not considered an Anglicism for the purpose of this study.

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<sup>10</sup> The *Duden* is the main Germany dictionary, comparable to *Merriam-Webster’s Dictionary of English Usage* and the *Oxford English Dictionary*.

<sup>11</sup> “deskriptiv”, “präskriptiv”

### **Quantitative Analysis of the Occurrence of Anglicisms in German Media**

Before any statement about Anglicisms in German can be made, I first had to establish that there is evidence for their prevalence. In order to do so, I conducted a preliminary quantitative analysis of the amount of English words used in German-speaking print media. Furthermore, I set out to investigate if Anglicisms are more commonly used in certain publications and contexts than in others. Since it is de facto impossible to monitor and analyze how Germans speak in their daily lives, media serves to present an approximation of the usage of Anglicism in the German vernacular. Media language does not equate to colloquial and day-to-day language use and might over- or underestimate the popularity of English loanwords. However, given that the magazines are written by Germans as well as read and, presumably, understood by Germans, one can assume that the words used somewhat mimic general language use in Germany. To further safeguard from only analyzing a particular jargon or linguistic subset, I examined five different publications. This survey helps to gain preliminary insight into whether and how English words are used in a German-speaking context.

Linguistics scholars have repeatedly emphasized the need to further study the number and usage of Anglicisms in Germany. Berns (1995), for example, argued for continuous quantitative snapshots of the role of English in Europe. Gerritsen et al. (2007), furthermore, cited the increasing public interest in Anglicisms as a reason for increased academic focus on the topic. Research in this area is also important in order to investigate claims such as Hüppenauf's (2004) argument that "the effects ... [of] 'Americanization' on the German language are often exaggerated out of all proportion" (p. 10, emphasis in the original). Additionally, this helps to understand and quantify the fears of those who think English terms are slowly overtaking the German lexis. Thus, research about the occurrence and usage of Anglicisms is directly related to how these are perceived and talked about in the German context.

**Need for a more diverse corpus.** Previous research has been mainly focused on one publication at a time and most of the media studied were traditional newspapers and magazines (e.g. Burmasova, 2010; Onysko, 2007; Yang, 1990). The occurrence of Anglicisms in more sensationalist tabloids, lifestyle magazines, and youth magazines has not yet been researched. While Gerritsen et al. (2007) analyzed the usage of English terms in the women's lifestyle and fashion magazine *Elle*, the researchers exclusively focused on advertisements, not the regular articles. Since the language of advertisers and marketing agencies arguably does not accurately represent colloquial language use, this will not be investigated further in this paper. Given the lack of diversity in the media analyzed, linguist Onysko (2007) called for the analysis of a more diverse corpus. Therefore, the current study will investigate the number of Anglicisms in a broader sample of publications.

**Rising number of Anglicisms.** Quantitative research about the occurrence of Anglicisms in German media indicates that the number of English loanwords has been rising. Yang (1990) surveyed several issues of the *Der Spiegel* published in the years 1950, 1960, 1970 and 1980 and he found that the number of Anglicisms had steadily increased, from 2.7 English loanwords per page in 1950 to 3.25 thirty years later. Furthermore, he also found that individual English terms were repeated more often, instead of only appearing once in a very specific context and circumstance (Yang, 1990). Onysko (2007) analyzed the occurrence of Anglicisms in all issues of *Der Spiegel* magazine from 2000. He found that around 1.11% of all words in the articles were English. Burmasova (2010) compared the number of Anglicisms in the German newspaper *Die Welt* from the years 1994 and 2004. Similar to Yang, she found that over the years, the amount of English terms increased, making up around 1.2 percent of all words in *Die Welt* articles in 2004 (Burmasova, 2010). Anglicisms in the businesses section experienced the highest

increase from 1994 to 2004 (Burmasova, 2010). Rogoyska and Zboch (2016) found that the percentage had risen further by 2016: Anglicisms made up 1.38% of all the words in the articles they analyzed. However, Rogoyska and Zboch (2016) did not outline which sampling method they used nor how the Anglicisms were determined. *Hippocampus* (borrowed from Latin and Greek (“Hippocampus, der”, n.d.) and *Recherche* (borrowed from French (“Recherche, die”, n.d.)), for example, were listed as English loanwords (Rogoyska & Zboch, 2016, p. 51). Thus, the results have limited reliability and validity. Overall, many of the studies such as Burmasova’s (2010) and Yang’s (1990) did not use statistical means to determine if the difference in the proportion of Anglicism they found was significant or, at least, these methods are not described in their publications. In order to avoid such unclarity, I will clearly outline the sampling method and employ statistical procedures to analyze my data. Overall, I expect to find a higher proportion of Anglicisms in my sample than previous studies, since research suggests that the number of English loanwords has been consistently rising over the years.

**The kinds of Anglicisms that are used and when they are used.** Previous research has often included an analysis of which subject areas Anglicisms are most often used in and which loanwords are the most popular. Rogoyska and Zboch (2016), Burmasova (2010), and Yang (1990), for example, investigated this issue. Yang (1990) recorded that *Konzern* (corporation), *Partner*, *Computer*, *Manager*, and *Video* were the Anglicisms he found most often. Similarly, Onysko (2007) found the Anglicisms *Internet*, *Film*, *Computer*, *Interview*, and *Manager* to be most popular, while the most recent study identified *Designer/in*, *Software*, and *Smartphone* as the most frequent English loanwords (Rogoyska & Zboch, 2016). It is important to note that, in my study, not all of these words were considered Anglicisms. My definition of Anglicism differs from that of the other researchers, since I am mostly concerned with Anglicisms that entered

German post-World War Two and in the period leading up to as well as during contemporary globalization.

The findings about which subject area uses the most Anglicisms are inconclusive. While Yang (1990) found that the highest proportion of Anglicisms was used in advertisements, followed by the politics and the culture sections, Burmasova (2010) recorded that English loanwords were most commonly used when writing about sports and increased most significantly in the business section. Meanwhile, Gogoyska and Zboch (2016) found that Anglicisms were most common in the IT section and least common in the politics one. Given these diverging findings, further investigation into this topic is warranted. However, I will focus on inter-publication differences rather than intra-publication ones. Given the small size of the sample and the wide variety of different thematic sections in the different magazines and newspapers, I will not analyze the differences between segments within the publications. Instead, I compare the use of Anglicisms among the different newspapers and magazines. This is a topic that warrants further study, since little research has been dedicated to investigate inter-publication differences regarding the use of Anglicisms in German media. Based on anecdotal observations and the results of previous research into subject-specific Anglicism use, I expect that the lifestyle and youth magazines use Anglicisms more frequently, since they deal with more English-heavy subject matter (e.g. pop culture, Hollywood stars). Furthermore, I hypothesize that the lowest proportion of English loanwords will be found in the mostly news- and politics-focused magazine.

When analyzing the usage of Anglicisms in ads in non- English-speaking Europe, Gerritsen et al. (2007) found that English loanwords occurred more often in the body than the headlines or slogans. However, this is contradicted, for example, by research done by Piller

(2001) and, thus, warrants further investigation. Since these studies, furthermore, focused on advertisements rather than regular media publications, a closer analysis of the placement and role of English in a more varied corpus is necessary. This is why this study will also test if Anglicisms are more frequently used in the title and summaries of articles than the articles' bodies themselves.

## **Method**

**Material.** To ensure a broad sample, I chose five different magazines/newspapers tailored towards different segments of the population. Each publication was selected because it has the widest circulation for magazines of its kind (Mantel, 2017). The papers are described in detail below. The sample consists of two editions of each publication that were published during December 2016 and January 2017. In total, 10 different issues were analyzed – two from each publication.

***Bild.*** "Europe's largest daily newspaper"<sup>12</sup> (Bild.de, 2017) is a popular German tabloid and reports on politics, sports, and entertainment news. It is read by more men than women and its core audience is between 30 and 59 years old ("Reichweite der BILD", 2017). In the 4<sup>th</sup> quarter of 2016, around 1,8 million issues of *Bild* were sold every day (IVW, 2017).

***InStyle.*** *InStyle* is published monthly and mainly covers fashion, beauty, entertainment news, and lifestyle topics. Its target audience are women between 20-39, who have a high school diploma and above (BCN, 2017). In the 4<sup>th</sup> quarter of 2016, 294,813 issues of *InStyle* were sold each month (IVW, 2017).

***Men'sHealth.*** *Men'sHealth* covers sports, lifestyle, fashion, professional development and relationship issues for a young, educated, male audience (Rodale-Motor-Press, 2017).

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<sup>12</sup> "Europas größter Tageszeitung"

151,631 exemplars of *Men's Health* were sold of each of its monthly issues in the last quarter of 2016 (IVW, 2017).

**Bravo.** *Bravo* is published every two weeks and is written for a twelve- to seventeen-year-old audience (Bauer Advertising KG, 2017). It covers topics relevant to its readership, such as pop culture, trends, fashion and relationship advice. On average, 122,108 copies of *Bravo* sold in the 4<sup>th</sup> quarter of 2016 (IVW, 2017).

**Der Spiegel.** *Der Spiegel* is a weekly German news magazine and is marketed towards an educated, affluent and 40+ audience (Spiegel QC). It covers news stories in the realms of politics, business, culture and technology, but also publishes in-depth research pieces. The magazine has been repeatedly surveyed in previous Anglicism studies and is considered by some as a trendsetter and litmus test for German media and language in general (Onysko, 2007; Yang, 1990) An average of 777.877 issues of *Der Spiegel* were sold in the last quarter of 2016 (IVW, 2017).

To limit the data to a manageable load, the magazines were not analyzed in their entirety. Instead, using disproportionate stratified random sampling, one article per thematic segment was sampled in each publication. The strata were identified based on the pre-existing thematic sections of each magazine/newspaper. This helped to avoid over- or undersampling a certain subject area. Thematically similar segments as well as those, which only had few articles in them, were grouped together. For example, in *Men's Health*, weight loss, nutrition, and health<sup>13</sup> were all separate segments, but were grouped together under the identifier “Health and Fitness” given their similarity. Specials with only one article were excluded from the survey. Given the

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<sup>13</sup> “Abnehmen”, “Ernährung”, “Gesundheit”

stark differences in the publications' length and breadth, the number of segments per issue varied. Four segments were identified in *Bild*, five in *Bravo*, *InStyle*, and *Der Spiegel*, and six in *Men's Health*. The articles in each segment were numbered based on their order of appearance in the publication and one article per segment was chosen using a random number generator<sup>14</sup>. The number and types of segments varied for each newspaper/magazine, but the issues were generally separated into a news, entertainment, lifestyle, and fashion section. Additionally, the proportion of Anglicisms on the content page of each issue was analyzed, since this allowed an overview of all article titles and topics. Thus, any English-titled topics that were not included in the stratified random sample were still part of the analysis. Furthermore, this might yield insight into the function of Anglicisms and their use in the body of an article compared to its title and description, since headlines and short summaries are all that is displayed on the content pages.

**Definition of Anglicism.** The working definition of Anglicism as previously described in this paper was used to identify relevant English loanwords within the sample. It is important to note that brand and company names, names of places and institutions, any trademarked slogans or titles, and titles of songs, books, movies, etc. were counted as neither English nor German words. Since these are not relevant to the focus of the analysis and could potentially skew the results, they were excluded from the total counts. While some researchers such as Yang (1990) and Onysko (2007) differentiate between tokens and types in their analysis of Anglicisms, i.e., between the individual occurrences of English loanwords and the occurrence excluding repetitions, such a differentiation goes far beyond the purpose and scope of this study. Therefore, reoccurring Anglicisms were counted as separate instances. Hyphenated words such as *Party-*

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<sup>14</sup> Random Integer Generator on [www.random.org](https://www.random.org/integers/) (<https://www.random.org/integers/>)

*Outfits* (InStyle, 2017, p. 1) were counted as two separate words. Furthermore, Anglicisms that were grammatically or orthographically nativized were, nonetheless, counted as English loanwords. “Klicks” (Bravo No. 3, p. 3) is an example of such a nativized term for which the English ‘C’ has been replaced with ‘K’. English verbs that have been ‘Germanified’ by adding German verb suffixes, such as “leaken” (Der Spiegel 2, 2017, p. 31) – a variation of ‘to leak’, are also considered naturalized and counted as Anglicisms. Compound words that are made up of an English and a German word were counted twice: as an English and as a German word. Examples of such hybrid words are “Starkoch”<sup>15</sup> (Stenglein, 2017, p. 77), “Beautygeheimnisse”<sup>16</sup> (“Nicht von dieser Welt”, 2017, p. 124), “Businesssitz”<sup>17</sup> (Müller, 2017, p. 76), and “Songschreiber”<sup>18</sup> (Wagner, 2016, p. 2). These words highlight the productivity and creativity of German, since they are created in a German context and formed by mixing the English loanword with existing German words, instead of a direct translation or adoption of an English term (Onysko, 2007). Lastly, abbreviations and acronyms were counted as one word and their belonging to either the German or English category was determined by the language of the abbreviated word. For example, CEO was counted as an Anglicism<sup>19</sup>, while SPD<sup>20</sup> was counted as German.

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<sup>15</sup> Celebrity chef

<sup>16</sup> Beauty secrets

<sup>17</sup> Business seat

<sup>18</sup> Song writer

<sup>19</sup> The German translation would be *Firmenchef*, or *Geschäftsführer*, for which there are no commonly used acronyms.

<sup>20</sup> *Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands* (Social Democratic Party of Germany)

**Procedure.** The sampled articles were read and the Anglicisms were highlighted. If I could not definitively categorize a word as an Anglicism, the *Duden* dictionary was consulted. An example of a magazine page that has been marked up in this fashion is displayed in figure 1. The Anglicisms and the German words per article were counted and the ratio of English to German terms was calculated. Advertisements were excluded from the analysis. The ratios were then analyzed to identify which newspapers/magazines used the highest proportion of English loanwords and if the content pages contained significantly more Anglicisms than the articles. Excel and SPSS were utilized in order to generate the necessary statistics. All statistical tests were performed on the Anglicisms-to-German ratios, not the actual word counts. Online applications were used to investigate which Anglicisms were most commonly used in the sample<sup>21</sup>.

## Results

**Proportion of Anglicisms in the sampled publications.** Overall, the findings indicate that the proportion of Anglicisms used in German media has risen. On average, 5.19% ( $SD = 6.19$ ) percent of words within an article in the sample ( $N = 50$ ) were English loanwords. This is more than previous studies have found. However, the average proportion of Anglicisms in the *Bild* was lower than previous research had indicated for similar magazines. The data had a wide range and the content page of the *Bravo* Magazine No. 2 (2017) had the highest proportion of Anglicisms with 23.96%, while the three articles with the lowest proportion of English words, namely none, were all found in *Bild*. The range of English-to-German ratio varied greatly between the publications, with the ratio in *Bravo* ranging from 1.34% to 23.96%, while the range in *Bild* was 0% to 2.21%.

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<sup>21</sup>[www.wordcounttools.com](http://www.wordcounttools.com) and [www.countwordsworth.com](http://www.countwordsworth.com)

**Comparing the proportion of Anglicisms among the publications.** It was hypothesized that the lifestyle and youth magazines would use more Anglicisms than the other publications and, furthermore, that the news magazine *Der Spiegel* would use significantly fewer English loanwords. A one-way between groups ANOVA at the  $\alpha = .05$  level of significance was conducted to test if there is a significant difference between the proportion of Anglicisms among the publications. The mean proportion for each publication is displayed in table 1. There were four outliers in the data set: The content pages of both issues of *Bravo* (19.17% and 23.96%) and of both issues of *InStyle* (21.36% and 21.31%) had unusually high proportions of Anglicisms. The high proportion of English loanwords on the content pages is addressed in the next section. I decided to include these outliers in the analysis, since they are not due to error. Furthermore, the sample size is already small, so the removal of data points would only further reduce the power of the tests. Levene's Test for Equality of Variances was significant ( $F(4, 45) = 6.72, p = .00$ ), which is partly due to the unequal sample sizes, so a Welch ANOVA was carried out. A significant difference between the proportion of Anglicisms in each publication was found,  $F(4, 20.6) = 8.02, p = .00$ . The effect size according to Cohen was medium,  $\eta^2 = .28$ . Games-Howell post hoc tests were conducted to determine between which publications there was a significant difference. It was found that the *Bild* ( $M = .68\%, SD = .79$ ) used a significantly lower proportion of Anglicisms than the *Bravo* ( $M = 9.94\%, SD = 8.02$ ) and the *Men's Health* ( $M = 5.31\%, SD = 3.98$ ).

**Proportion of Anglicisms on the content pages compared to within the articles.** The study set out to explore if Anglicisms are more frequently used in the titles and summaries rather than the actual articles themselves. A paired-samples t-test at the  $\alpha = .05$  level of significance was conducted to investigate whether there was a difference between the proportion of

Anglicisms used on the content pages compared to the articles. There was a significant difference between the proportion of Anglicisms on the content page ( $M = 11.7\%$ ,  $SD = 9.36$ ) and in the articles ( $M = 2.96\%$ ,  $SD = 2.13$ ),  $t(9) = 3.65$ ,  $p = .006$ . The results are displayed in table 2. There was a significantly higher proportion of Anglicisms on the content page. Calculating Cohen's  $d$  revealed a large effect size,  $d = 2.43$ .

**Content analysis.** To supplement and illustrate the findings, I explored which Anglicisms were most popular in the sample. An online software was used in order to explore which words were the most common. As explained before, hyphenated words were counted separately and words within a longer expression such as "Checks and Balances" (Puhl, 2017, p. 94) were also counted as separate terms. The sample of all English loanwords ( $N = 1274$ ) consisted of 490 unique terms. *Star* (37) and *Sex* (37) were the most popular ones. The ten most common words are listed in Table 3. Together, the ten most common Anglicisms made up 19.3% of the total count of Anglicisms.

## Discussion

**Rising number of Anglicisms.** The data indicate that the proportion of Anglicisms in German media has continued to increase, compared to even the most recent study by Rogoyska and Zboch (2016), which recorded only 1.38% of words in their sample as English loanwords. While some of the variation might be due to differing definitions of what constitutes an Anglicism, I argue that this is also due to the more diverse sample, given that the percentage of Anglicisms in the more traditional news media publications (*Der Spiegel*, *Bild*) remained low and even decreased in the case of *Bild*. More traditional news publications like these were the ones that previous studies, which found similarly low numbers, were solely based on.

Meanwhile, the youth magazine *Bravo* and the lifestyle magazines *InStyle* and *Men's Health* were the main contributors to the high average proportion of Anglicisms found.

Anglicisms, thus, are not being adopted randomly nor are they overtaking German in all realms equally. Rather, people seem to use English loanwords in specific contexts and for specific purposes. This underlines the agency of the speakers and writers, who deliberately chose when they want to express themselves using English loanwords. Furthermore, this indicates that Anglicisms are not overtaking German completely and indiscriminately, which would support the statement that German is being replaced by monolingual English. Instead, German is becoming hybridized as its speakers and writers adopt English in certain areas and for certain motivations. The creative usage of Anglicisms as further outlined below indicates a high level of proficiency in both languages and sophistication and sensitivity in the adoption and adaption of the English loanwords.

**Differences among the publications.** The higher prevalence of Anglicisms in the Lifestyle publications supports claims about the function of English as a status symbol to appear more cosmopolitan and as jargon used to talk about pop culture related matters, as discussed previously in the paper. To illustrate the usage of English loanwords by these publications, one can consult figure 2, 3, and 4. Magazines such as *InStyle* and *Men's Health* talk about pop culture, fitness, and fashion, which are domains characterized by American influence. Furthermore, previous studies have found that the proportion of English loanwords is higher in advertisements (Yang, 1990), and the lifestyle magazines often contain references to and descriptions of products in their articles. Additionally, the content analysis revealed that only around half of all Anglicisms in the sample were used more than once, and most of the popular loanwords were from lifestyle, fashion or fitness realm. This further highlights the specific

contexts in which English words are most frequently adopted. However, critics of the recent Anglicization could also see this as evidence that Germans are no longer able to name and talk about new products and life circumstances without the help of English. In their eyes, the prevalence of English in advertising and lifestyle magazines could further underline its consumerist character and that, as such, it is a symptom of a larger and cultural challenge of German identity. Advertisements are even blamed for popularizing Anglicisms in the first place (e.g. as argued in Melzer, 2014; Schneider, 2006).

The high amount of Anglicisms in the youth magazine *Bravo* indicates that English is a part of youth culture. Future studies should investigate if this generational difference will dissipate once the current youth grow up and incorporate parts of their vernacular into the German mainstream lexis. Another explanation might be that English is adopted based on context clues, so while it is common in the youth magazine and the lifestyle publications, it will remain limited to these areas without entering the general lexis and the more serious and news-oriented papers such as *Der Spiegel*. Continued analysis is warranted to test these claims.

**When and how the Anglicisms were used.** A qualitative investigation into the types and ways of Anglicism used indicates that English-language skills is often assumed of the readers. The writers and editors of *Bravo*, *InStyle*, and *Men's Health* in particular seem to expect that their readership is familiar with and even proficient in English, since they employ hybrid and fully English puns. Hybrid puns have also been used in advertisements, such as one by the Berlin city cleaning department titled with the slogan “We kehr for you”<sup>22</sup> (Barbe, 2004, p. 29). Some

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<sup>22</sup> Play on the German word *kehren*, which is pronounced similar to “to care”, but means to swipe, to clean.

of the publications in the sample even used full-English puns, which require a high level of English proficiency. However, these puns and English phrases need to be considered carefully, since a study done by the advertising agency Endmark found that Germans often struggle to understand English slogans and phrases (Endmark & YouGov, 2016). Apart from being expected to understand English, the readers also need to be familiar with current pop culture, since modern cultural products such as TV shows serve as a frame of reference for many of the puns. This could help to explain why English expressions and puns are common in the youth and lifestyle magazines, since the products and characters of pop culture are the main focus of these publications. Additionally, modern mass culture is heavily US-influenced as previously discussed, and many of the stars, movies, series and events the publications report about are US-American. This helps to explain why English is the prevalent language of these references and puns.

A list of hybrid and English puns used in the publications is presented below:

“Fairy Tail” (Fashion & Beauty Experts, 2017a, p. 9): Play on words in a story about model Hailey Baldwin’s ponytails.

“Feuerwear” (“Achtung Feuerwear!”, 2017, p. 126): Allusion to the similar sounding German *Feuerwehr* (fire department) in the title of an article about red pieces of clothing and accessories.

“Hair damit” (“Hair damit”, 2017, p. 154): Play on the similar sounding German expression *Her damit!* (Give it to me!) in the title of an article about popular hairstyles – a scan of the article is displayed in figure 4.

“The Walking Red” (Fashion & Beauty Experts, 2017b, p. 9): Describing singer Nick Jonas, who was wearing a red suit.

“Boot Camp” (“Boot Camp”, 2017, p. 90): Title of an article about boots.

“Hand Job” (Weinreuter, 2017, p. 99): Title of segment describing a shoe polish; this pun is multilayered, given that the German word for shoe polish (*wichse*) is also a vulgar term for sperm.

“Saturday Night Beauty” (“Saturday Night Beauty”, 2007, p. 162): Title of an article about how designer Rebecca Minkhoff gets ready to go out on a typical Saturday.

**Difference between the proportion of Anglicisms in the titles compared to the body paragraphs.** The finding that English loanwords are more common in the titles and descriptions of the articles compared to the actual articles can be considered evidence of the high status and popularity of English. The linguist Barbe (2004) has previously argued that English loanwords are particularly used in headlines in order to catch the readers’ attention. The Anglicisms are meant to ‘advertise’ the respective articles, emphasizing once more the function of English as a marketing tool. The English loanwords act as an attention grabber, while the main language of the articles, of story-telling and reporting remains mostly unanglicized. This is further evidence that English has had a limited effect on German and that the German language is not disappearing or dying.

**Need for further analysis.** This preliminary survey underlines the need for further analysis of the occurrence of Anglicisms in German media. The power of the study was negatively affected by the small sample size and the high standard deviation of the ratios, but these problems can be addressed by adjusting the sampling method and enlarging the sample size

in future research. Additionally, future studies should focus on the occurrence of English loanwords in non-traditional as well as non-media sources such as radio shows, government publications, and street signs. This would also serve to test whether or not English influence appears to be context- and source-specific in domains other than print media.

## **How Anglicisms Get Incorporated into the German Lexis**

Once the Anglicisms have ‘arrived’ in German, they are incorporated into the German lexis. Sick (2004) points out that this often occurs once the word feels familiar and no longer foreign. While ways of incorporation vary and some loanwords are not incorporated into German grammar and phonetical structures at all, most follow a similar pattern.

### **Nouns**

Previous research indicates that nouns are by far the most common type of Anglicism in German, compared to verbs, adjectives, and adverbs (Burmasova, 2010; Onysko, 2007; Yang, 1990). This could be due to the fact that English terms are often imported alongside the product or concept they refer to, leading to a higher number of nouns than verbs, for example.

Since nouns in German are capitalized and gendered (masculine, feminine, neuter), English loanwords generally are treated according to the same rules. While the capitalization is straight-forward, the gendering poses a challenge and room for debate. Some Anglicisms even have more than one correct German gender. Normally, loanwords adopt the gender of their German equivalent or of a German word that refers to a similar object or concept (Kovács, 2009). Otherwise, they are gendered based on the gender associated with the word’s suffix e.g. *Entertainer* is assigned masculine gender, because the ending -er in German is traditionally reserved for masculine nouns (Barbe, 2004). *Appetizer*, for example, is even assigned masculine gender although the German translations as listed by the Duden are neuter (“Appetizer, der”, n.d.). On the contrary, however, *Center* is an example of a word that is assigned the gender of its German translation (*Zentrum, das*), so neuter, instead of masculine as the suffix -er would predict (“Center, das”, n.d.). Thus, there is no one set rule that is applied to all borrowed English nouns. Overall, Onysko (2007) noted that most English loanwords are assigned masculine gender

in German. If an Anglicism is used to refer to a female person, the noun will normally be gendered as female by attaching the suffix *-in* at the end.

Regarding plural and singular of English nouns in German, many simply receive a plural *-s*, following English grammar rules, even though the plural *-s* is only one variant of several potential plural endings in German (Onysko, 2007). Overall, around 65% of English nouns retain their English plural endings in German, which even applies to irregular words such as *gentleman/gentlemen* (Yang, 1990). Increasingly, the English plural suffix *-ies* has also been applied to Anglicisms ending in *-y*, though by German grammar rules they would end in *-ys* rather than *-ies*. While Barbe (2004) and Kovács (2009) do not observe this phenomenon in their review of German media, Sick (2004) argues that it is becoming more common in daily language use.

### **Verbs and Adjectives**

English verbs undergo a similar linguistic assimilation: they are generally treated like weak regular verbs (Kovács, 2009). The appropriate suffix depending on the time and person used is normally attached to the English word stem. For example, ‘to fake’ becomes *faken*, the *-en* indicating the infinitive form.

For the most part, borrowed English adjectives are treated like regular German adjectives, with the exception of a number of those ending in *-y* such as *sexy*, which are not inflected nor used in the comparative or superlative (Kovács, 2009).

### **Phonology, Orthography, and Syntax**

The pronunciation of the Anglicisms is slightly modified to fit German phonology; however, this mostly affects those morphemes that Germans are unfamiliar with and struggle to pronounce, such as the “th” sound (Kovács, 2009). Furthermore, while the spelling of English

loanwords often remains unchanged, Anglicisms adhere to German grammar rules with few exceptions, and the German syntax as a whole has not been affected by the English influences (Barbe, 2004; Kovács, 2009; Onysko, 2007).

While it is difficult to predict if the effect of English on German will become more noticeable, for now, this serves as evidence that German is not being replaced by monolingual English – since that would imply that not only the words, but also other aspects of the English language would be adopted. The inherent grammatical, syntactical and even phonological integrity of the German language is not significantly affected by the English influence. Thus, there is little evidence of an emergence of a German English, as Berns (1995) predicted, rather, it shows that German is becoming a little more English, without becoming any less German.

### English Influence on German Beyond Loanwords

The influence of English on German goes beyond the simple integration and adaptation of words. Anglicization has also occurred in the form of loan translations, semantic loans, as well as loan creations. Language protectionists such as Sick (2004, 2005) make a point to flag these English influences as incorrect or at least improper. While these deeper and more covert consequences of rising Anglicization were not analyzed in my quantitative study of German media, it is important to make note of them, since they highlight how far-reaching the English influence on German is. However, they also indicate that Germans creatively and actively incorporate English into their vernacular.

#### Loan Translations

Loan translations are literal translations of foreign language words or phrases that are then incorporated into the target language. Several of such loan translations have introduced English phrases and terms into the German lexis, often replacing German expressions (Sick, 2004). However, instead of adopting the actual English words, they are molded upon existing German phrases and terms. Kovács (2009) lists the word *Familienplanung* (family planning) as an example and Sick (2004) brings up the sudden popularity of phrases such as *nicht wirklich* (not really; replacing the German *eigentlich nicht* (actually not)) and *einmal mehr* (once more, replacing the German *wieder einmal* (once again)). Apart from introducing new phrases into German, the influence of English has also changed existing ones. For example, Sick (2004) states that instead of the German expression *das hat Sinn* (that has sense), people increasingly say *das macht Sinn* (that makes sense) – the way it is said in English.

The following are examples of German loan translations from English with their literal translations, i.e., the English phrases and terms they have been modelled after:

*nicht wirklich* - not really, replaced: *eigentlich nicht* (literal: actually not)

*Wolkenkratzer* – skyscraper, extension of: *Hochhaus* (high house)

*Sinn machen* - to make sense, replaced: *Sinn haben* (to have sense)

*Einmal mehr* - once again, replaced: *wieder einmal* (once again)

*Familienplanung* - family planning, replaced: ---

### **Semantic Loans and False Friends**

Semantic loans describe the process, in which the meaning of an English word is borrowed and assigned to an already existing and often similar sounding German word that traditionally meant something else. This process is also referred to as semantic extension and loan shift and does not require the words to phonetically resemble each other. However, given the similarities between English and German, new (English) meanings have often been assigned to existing and similar sounding German words. An example of this is the usage of *feuern* (literally: to fire, traditional translation: to shoot, to burn) to mean ‘to fire’ (to dismiss) (Barbe, 2004). The German verb *realisieren*, furthermore, which sounds strikingly similar to ‘to realize’ yet traditionally means ‘to implement’ or ‘to accomplish’, is now also being used to mean ‘to realize’ (Sick, 2004). An often humorous and normally temporary case of semantic borrowing is the use of so-called false friends, when an English phrase or word is literally, but incorrectly, translated using a German word that traditionally means something else. If these words or phrases remain popular, false friends can be a precursor of permanent semantic borrowing. An example of a common false friend that is yet to be integrated into the general German lexis is the cases in which individuals who had to take drugs, in the sense of medicine, were reported to be taking *Drogen*, meaning illicit substances (Sick, 2005). Sick (2004, 2005) argues that the rising number of false friends, especially in the media, could be due to the dominance of English-

speaking sources and entertainment products that are being translated into German. False friends are, thus, mainly due to uninformed or even lazy translators and journalists in Sick's (2005) opinion.

Examples:

*feuern* - traditional definition: to burn, to shoot; new meaning: to fire

*realisieren* - traditional: to accomplish, to implement; now: to realize

*Drogen* - traditional: illegal drugs; incorrectly used to mean: medication

*Angriffe* - traditional: military advance (antiquated), offense; now: terrorist attack

*lebendig* - traditional: alive, awake; incorrectly used to mean: vital

### **Loan Creations**

Another uncommon, but particularly peculiar indication of the English influence on German is the creation of pseudo-Anglicism, also known as loan creations. *Handy*, the German word for cell phone, is arguably the most popular one of them. *Showmaster* (talk show host), *Beamer* (projector), and *mobbing* (bullying) are other examples of the creativity of Germans and their ability to generate English (seeming) words (Barbe, 2004; "Germans are speaking Denglish", 2013, Melzer, 2014). However, these pseudo-Anglicisms can be a source of confusion for German travelers, since some might not realize that the loan creations will not be understood by most native speakers of English (Melzer, 2014). One especially curious case that has certainly led to some confusion is the use of *Bodybag* to advertise and refer to backpacks and satchels (Sick, 2004). In that case, the English-sounding word *Bodybag* (meaning satchel) will be well understood by many Germans, but terribly misunderstood by most native English speakers. One can consult figure 5 to see an example of a German online retailer offering *Bodybags* on its website. It is important to keep in mind that a loan creation, as Dodd (2015) expresses, "is

quintessentially a German, and emphatically not an English word" (p. 65). According to Barbe (2004), this phenomenon indicates "the power and prestige of English as well as German tendency to "creative morphology"" (p. 27).

Examples:

*joggen* - to run (in order to work out)

*Showmaster* - talk show host

*Handy* - mobile phone

*Oldtimer* - vintage car

*Peeling* - body or facial scrub

These different types of English influence on German exemplify the nuances and variety of Anglicization processes. Furthermore, they also indicate that German is not merely being replaced by English nor that the German language is characterized by "helplessness"<sup>23</sup> (Sick, 2004, p. 214) as it is changed through contact with English. Rather, this highlights the innovation and agency of German speakers as they incorporate English influences into their lexis.

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<sup>23</sup> "Hilflosigkeit"

## **German Opposition to Anglicisms**

From quantitative as well as qualitative analysis of the German lexis, the impression emerges that, while English linguistic influence is present, a large part of the language remains unaffected by it. The strong and public opposition to Anglicisms and calls for language purification, thus, might seem disproportionate. Authors such as Schneider (2008) and Schreiber (2006) use strong language to describe the Anglicisms; they characterize them as “perverse”<sup>24</sup> (Schneider, p. 171), “foolish”<sup>25</sup> (Schneider, p. 68), and “ugly”<sup>26</sup> (Schreiber). This vehement rejection of English loanwords and influence often reveals more about German identity during the present era and public sentiments in general, than about the German language. This allows some insight into how globalization has affected cultures and highlights processes of reterritorialization vis-à-vis perceived and seemingly overwhelming foreign intrusion. Given that language is a salient and integral part of identity, analyzing it to address these questions is appropriate.

In this section, I will introduce the main actors in the effort to purify German and limit the influence of English on it as well as their arguments. I will also begin to refute their claims and outline why the German language is not being marginalized by monolingual English as well as why language purification movements do more harm than they could do good.

### **Organizations and Individuals Involved in the Effort to Protect and Purify the German Language**

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<sup>24</sup> “pervers”

<sup>25</sup> “töricht”

<sup>26</sup> “hässlich”

Currently, several private organizations are committed to protecting and spreading the German language. A number of these, namely the Deutscher Sprachrat (German Language Council), Gesellschaft für Deutsche Sprache (Society for the German Language), and Initiative Deutsche Sprache (Initiative for the German Language), are not specifically concerned with Anglicisms in their work (Schneider, 2008). Others, however, have been much more vocal on the topic, most notably the Verein Deutsche Sprache (VDS). The VDS even names a language debaser of the month and of the year<sup>27</sup> to denounce public figures, who are perceived to use particularly large amounts of English and incorrect German (“Denglisch”, n.d.). Additionally, the organization publishes an index of Anglicisms and suggests translations, in the hope that this will help Germans identify, translate and then avoid the English loanwords (“AG-Anglizismenindex”, n.d.). Another organization committed to preserving and protecting German is the Deutsche Sprachwelt (German Language World), which provides their members and supporters with anti-Anglicism merchandise such as the sticker depicted in figure 6. Overall, most of the language organizations aim to educate people about German, promote it, and make note of linguistic changes that are occurring by holding panel discussions, publishing information material, and raising awareness in the media (“Denglisch”, n.d.). Later on, I will analyze the relationship between some German language organizations and right wing politics.

Apart from larger organizations, several authors and journalists also individually campaign against the popularity of English loanwords. For this paper, I focused on the arguments of author and journalist Bastian Sick and journalist, author, and professor Wolf Schneider. Sick is a popular German journalist and language satirist who fights against “wrong German and bad

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<sup>27</sup> “Sprachhunzer des Monats“ and “Sprachpanser des Jahres“

style”<sup>28</sup> (Sick, 2004, p. 9) – and he identifies Anglicisms as such. His “Ziebelfisch” column, which appears in the online version of a large German newspaper, has been turned into several books and other related merchandise (“Bibliografie”, n.d.). Two of these books served as material for this analysis: *Der Dativ ist dem Genitiv sein Tod* (2004)<sup>29</sup> (“The dative is to the genitive its death”), his first book, and *Der Dativ ist dem Genitiv sein Tod Folge 2* (2005) (“The dative is to the genitive its death – Part 2”). Schneider is also a popular author and has written several books about German writing, good style, and journalism. For this paper, I analyzed his book *Speak German! Warum Deutsch Manchmal Besser ist* (2008) (“Speak German! Why German is sometimes better”). Schneider teaches journalism as a professor and has been editor in chief of several German news magazines.

Apart from designated organizations and language activists, German companies as well as other institutions sporadically join the fight against Anglicisms and undergo efforts to limit the influence of English on the German they are using. The initiatives of companies are often sporadic and short-term projects and will not be further investigated in this paper. To note some examples, one can look at the campaigns done to rid the Deutsche Bahn, the official German railway service, and the German transport ministry of Anglicisms. In 2010, then transportation minister and center-right politician Ramsauer vowed to rid his ministry of unnecessary Anglicism (“Ramsauer feiert sich als Sprachpfleger”, 2010). His Germanification efforts included the replacement of English loanwords with German equivalents; for example, flipchart became *Tafelschreibblock* and tickets were referred to as *Fahrscheine* (“Ramsauer feiert sich als

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<sup>28</sup> “falsches Deutsch und schlechten Stil”

<sup>29</sup> The books are in German, translations are my own unless otherwise specified.

Sprachpfleger", 2010). Minister Raumsauer urged the Deutsche Bahn, which is partially owned by the German government, to follow his lead in the fight against Anglicisms and, indeed, three years later the Deutsche Bahn started a similar imitative ("Germans are speaking Denglish", 2013; "Ramsauer feiert sich als Sprachpfleger", 2010). The railway company, which is often criticized and ridiculed for its widespread use of (heavily accented) English, released a dictionary with 2,200 Anglicisms and their German translations in order to encourage their employees to use more German words ("Germans are speaking Denglish", 2013). However, no data is available on how successful either of these initiatives were.

### **Arguments Against the Spread of English in Germany**

Many of the opponents of Anglicisms note that not all English loanwords are necessarily bad and should be removed from the German lexis. Schneider (2008), for example, concedes that removing all English influence from German would not only be impossible, but also erroneous. Instead, the Anglicism opponents have developed several ways to determine which words can stay – and which have to go.

Most seem to agree that English words that don't replace a German equivalent can and even should stay, since they help to increase and diversify the German vocabulary (Schneider, 2008; Schreiber, 2006). This particularly applies to words that introduce nuance and flavor a similar German word cannot offer such as *cool* or *understatement* (Schreiber, 2006). Furthermore, particularly short and useful words are also granted permission to remain in German (Schneider, 2008). However, this warrants the question how the utility of a word is determined – and if that can be determined by anyone other than the individual speaker/writer him or herself. Additionally, English loanwords that have been fully incorporated into German

and that might not even be recognized as Anglicisms anymore are also exempt from the language protectors' criticism (e.g. Schneider, 2008, p. 47: *Sport, Steak, Training*; Sick, 2005).

On the other side, there are the Anglicisms that – according to many of the self-proclaimed language protectors – are unnecessary, even “ugly” (Schreiber, 2006), and should be no longer used. They are especially problematic if they displace German words. Furthermore, Sick (2005) rejects those loanwords that do not assimilate grammatically or orthographically into German. However, the integration of Latin and Greek words into the German lexis indicates that the ‘Germanification’ of loanwords happens over time. Thus, the Anglicisms Sick is opposing might eventually become assimilated, they just have not been in use long enough. Similar to Sick (2004, 2005) and Schneider (2008), the nemesis of many language protection organizations is in particular the language of advertisers, the media, politicians and other public figures (“Über Uns”, n.d.). These are perceived to use particularly high amounts of English, but more importantly, these organs are also believed to use language as economic and cultural propaganda and as such, Anglicisms are distrusted (e.g. Schneider, 2008). Additionally, the anti-Anglicism activists reject English loanwords that are used by the speaker to appear more cosmopolitan or intelligent (“Denglisch”, n.d.; Sick, 2004, 2005; Schneider, 2008). Overall, the language protectors seem to agree that only whichever word can and has assimilated to local linguistic rules and conventions without displacing a German expression, can stay.

One flaw with this system to identify unwanted Anglicisms is that the basis of the evaluation appears artificial and even arbitrary. As stated above, the utility of a word as well as its aesthetic value and even whether or not there is an appropriate German equivalent are not set in stone. Rather, this depends on why a loanword is used and who is using it. Even, for example, if there is an already existent German equivalent, one might, intentionally chose to use an

Anglicism to convey additional nuance or local flavor. Furthermore, if most Anglicisms are indeed unnecessary and useless, as some of the language protectors suggest, then they would not be used anymore. Useless words will naturally be eliminated from the lexis, since people will utilize them less frequently. Thus, the fact that most Anglicisms have not yet disappeared, implies that they are useful, rather than useless. However, whether or not the language protectors approve of this use is another question.

**Practical concerns.** Parts of the opposition against Anglicization is rooted in practical concerns rather than stylistic or ideological sentiments. Schneider (2008) and Schreiber (2006) both point out that the spread of English is problematic, since not all Germans accurately understand the loanwords and might, thus, be excluded from conversations or even actively deceived. Indeed, even though English is an integral part of German education, there is evidence that a significant number of Germans still struggle to correctly translate English phrases. To investigate this, the advertisement agency Endmark together with YouGov regularly evaluates how well English-language advertisements, which are used in the German market, are understood by the German public. This is relevant, since most companies do not use German slogans to advertise to German customers (Endmark & YouGov, 2016). However, only 28% of those surveyed were able to correctly translate the foreign language claims (Endmark & YouGov, 2016). Nonetheless, the mistranslated and assumedly more complicated or confusing messages were rated more interesting (Endmark & YouGov, 2016). This points to the relatively high standing of English terms and the English language in the German context. While the Endmark and YouGov (2016) study found that this applied to consumers across age ranges, previous surveys indicate that English-language skills decrease with the age of the individual (Gerritsen et al., 2007). This presumed lack of English ability in older generations could

disadvantage Germans who now have to use English in their professional life and who struggle to understand Anglicisms used in the media and other communication. Schneider (2008) points out that especially researchers and scientists, who are either required or pressured to write and present their findings in a language they are not adequately proficient in, might suffer. Others, such as the President of the German Academy for Language and Poetry, Christian Meier, also worry that the popularity of English threatens to impede and even exclude German-language research (“Denglish invades Germany”, 2002). This worry is further perpetuated by the fact that many German universities have begun to offer courses and whole programs in English (“Denglish invades Germany”, 2002; Hilgendorf, 2005). However, these efforts are often done in the spirit of internationalization and indeed strengthening German research by enabling a wider audience to access it.

**Concerns about the death of the German language and culture.** Beyond these more practical concerns, the core of most of the opposition to English language influence are motivated by ideological and stylistic arguments. For individuals such as Schneider as well as German far-right parties, not only the German language, but the German identity is at stake. Many fear that Anglicisms are a first indication of a weakening and disappearance of the German language and even German culture as a whole. Furthermore, some even blame the Germans for the apparent decay of their language.

Often, the Germans’ “linguistic submissiveness” is blamed for the perceived decline of German. It refers to the willing surrender of one’s own language and the eager adoption of a foreign vernacular and it was first mentioned in *The Times* to describe the popularity of English terms in German (as cited in Schneider, 2008, p. 117). Schreiber (2006), Schneider (2008), and the President of the VDS, Walter Krämer regularly warn about the dangers of linguistic

submissiveness and Schneider points out that American and English sources often associate it with Germans (Melzer, 2014). Paradoxically, all three use the English expression, not a German translation. Nonetheless, the language protectors argue that Germans do not value their own language and, thus, do not adequately protect it from foreign influences, instead, they even willingly and actively encourage the Anglicization of the lexis. In the same vein, the German language organization Haus der Deutschen Sprache (literally: “House of the German Language”), which is committed to protecting and promoting the German language, also accuses the Germans of not caring about their own native tongue and promoting its decay (“Über uns”, n.d.). Schneider (2008) ascribes this to the inferiority complex and obsessive shame that arose due to the experience of World War Two and the Holocaust – an argument previously outlined. The Times mentioning of German linguistic submissiveness is also used as evidence that other and, especially, English-speaking cultures have taken note of the Germans’ apparent disregard for their native tongue. This theme, that other cultures are looking down upon the Germans for not protecting their own language from foreign influences like the French or Spanish do, is common for some of the language defenders and their organizations. On the website of the Haus der Deutschen Sprache, it is proclaimed that other nations are concerned with how Germany preserves its cultural and linguistic heritage, since “he, who does not care for and practices one’s own instrument [meaning one’s native language], cannot play a respected part in the global orchestra”<sup>30</sup> (“Über uns”, n.d.). However, while foreign linguistic scholars might be concerned with the status of German, the general English-speaking public does not seem to be. After a

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<sup>30</sup> “dass, wer sein eigenes Instrument nicht pflegt und perfekt beherrscht, im globalen Orchester keinen geachteten Part spielen kann“

preliminary and superficial survey of the internet using Google, the German linguistic Anatol Stefanowitsch (2009) concluded that the term "linguistic submissiveness" rarely appears in US-American and British websites - if at all, and reasoned that the Germans might be much more obsessed with this perceived 'linguistic submissiveness' than English speakers, who invented the expression.

These linguistic concerns translate into general worries about the future of German culture, or whatever the authors identify as such. English is considered an unwanted and overwhelming cultural influence and by some, even an imperial one. Morris (2013) outlines how some German language critics consider the English influence as “sinister cultural imperialism” and the President of the VDS refers to English as the language of the “colonizers”<sup>31</sup> (as cited in Melzer, 2014), even though Germany was never colonized. It is interesting to note that the agent of this linguistic and cultural imposition or, at least, perceived convergence is often identified to be the US (“Denglisch”, n.d.). Sick (2004, 2005) even uses the word Americanism, rather than Anglicism to refer to the English loanwords. This supports Dodd’s (2015) argument that the rejection of the Anglicisms is in part a rejection of American influence and globalization, which is often perceived to be headed and controlled by the US. Although without the context of colonialism or formal imperialism and deliberate anti-native language policies, similarities to the experience in Nigeria and PR emerge: the language of the more powerful agent is rejected in an attempt to also reject its influence and control.

**Language as an aspect of German ‘Leitkultur’.** Calls to protect and strengthen the German language often also arise as part of the larger *Leitkultur* (literally: lead culture) debate. *Leitkultur* is the idea of a concrete and codified core of German culture, that would inform

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<sup>31</sup> "Kolonialherren"

politics, public discourse, and even curricula etc. Language is an integral part of *Leitkultur*. Schneider (2008), for example, urges to seriously consider such a concept, since it could help to develop policies that protect and promote the German language. The right-wing party Alternative für Deutschland (Alternative for Germany) (2016) also calls for enforcing the German *Leitkultur*, which the party believes to be rooted in Christian values as well as German ethnic identity and in opposition to multiculturalism. Even the more mainstream center-right CDU/CSU group (sister parties Christliche Demokratische Union (CDU) and Christlich-Soziale Union in Bayern (CSU, only active in the state of Bavaria)) has previously entertained a similar argument (Schneider, 2008). Recently, the lead culture debate has been reignited in the wake of the refugee crisis (Beucker, 2016; Schneider, 2008). This points to the function of the *Leitkultur* to define and create a unified ethnic identity often vis-à-vis those perceived as others and to create artificial standards that immigrants and minorities are expected to assimilate to. Learning and speaking German is often part of that expected assimilation and the center-right politicians Börnsen and Grütters (2013) call languages a “key means of integration”<sup>32</sup>. Given that Doving (1997) identified language as an instrument to create one’s “own special identity” (p. 29) in opposition to a linguistic and cultural other, language protectionism and purification fit well into the concept of the *Leitkultur*. In reference to previous cases of purification movements, Crystal (1997) and Dodd (2015) point out that nationalist language anxieties can be understood as a backlash against immigration and multilingual movements that challenge a fixed, standard interpretation of national identity. Due to the potentially exclusionary and nationalistic nature of the concept, the notion of *Leitkultur* is widely criticized, especially by center-left and liberal politicians (Beucker, 2016; Schneider, 2008). However, Schneider (2008) argues that this skepticism and the inability

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<sup>32</sup> "zentrales Integrationsmittel"

to commit to a lead culture and enforce it is yet another symptom of the Germans' shame about their own culture and heritage.

The concept of *Leitkultur* implies that this lead culture is somehow purified and standardized to serve as a blueprint for appropriate and rightful conduct and assimilation. Therefore, the call for purified and 'Germanified' German as it is framed in the *Leitkultur* debate appears to include a general disdain for hybridity. Any mixed language or identity is antithesis to the sense of *Leitkultur* and purified language. Feminist scholar Anzaldúa, when writing about Chicana identity and Spanglish, emphasized that hybridity can be empowering and can serve as a way to stand up against existing power structures and unachievable standards of purity. However, she also noted that hybridity is often opposed, because it transgresses purified and standardized notions of identity, nationality, and ways of cultural expression such as language. Indeed, Schneider (2008) argues that his opposition against Anglicism is rooted in the concern that pure and correct German is not being replaced by pure and good English, but rather, that "insufficiently studied, carelessly rattled off ordinary German is being mixed with Globish, Weblish and pop-jargon to make a sauce, that no one likes"<sup>33</sup> (p. 172). He believes that mixing languages is counterproductive and stifles innovation and creativity, since it indicates a lack of respect for the languages that are being mixed (Schneider, 2008).

### **Language Protectionism in Politics**

Politically, the protection and purification of the German language is occasionally discussed and Anglicisms are often directly referenced (e.g. Pfalzgraf, 2003; Schneider, 2008).

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<sup>33</sup> "lückenhaft erlerntes, lieblos abgespultes Alltagsdeutsch mischt sich mit Globish, Weblish und Pop-Jargon zu einer Soße, die keinem schmeckt"

This stems from a desire to achieve language change top-down. However, few fundamental policy efforts have been made. The center-right CDU party, which has headed the governing coalitions since 2005, has previously supported an initiative to explicitly state that German is the official language in the constitution and voted in 2008 to include this in their political platform (“Deutsch als Sprache soll ins Grundgesetz”, 2010). Together with their sister party, the CSU, the CDU has also vowed to strengthen German teaching abroad to ensure the popularity and spread of the language (Börnsen & Grütters, 2013). However, the current Chancellor and head of the CDU, Angela Merkel, has remained less than enthusiastic about the initiative and no concrete legislation has been developed (“Deutsch als Sprache soll ins Grundgesetz”, 2010).

**Language and the far-right.** Language politics and purity are particularly part of the platform of the German right-wing parties. I surveyed the platform of the “Nationaldemokratische Partei Deutschlands”<sup>34</sup> (NPD) and the newer and less extreme right-wing party “Alternative für Deutschland”<sup>35</sup> (AfD), since these parties are relatively popular and well known. Both parties call for the protection of German identity and German culture and promote xenophobic sentiments. The NPD, for example, coined the slogan “integration is genocide” (NPD, 2013, p. 28).<sup>36</sup> The AfD campaigns with the populist promise to ‘return democracy to the people’ and leave the EU. The party argues that foreigners and especially Muslims do not belong in Germany (AfD, 2016). Both parties consider globalization as it is championed by the English-speaking US as a direct economic, cultural and political threat to

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<sup>34</sup> “National Democratic Party of Germany”

<sup>35</sup> “Alternative for Germany”

<sup>36</sup> “Integration ist Völkermord”

Germany and the German people, and worry about losing control over national affairs and national identity (AfD, 2016; NPD, 2013). For them, German language is the logical extension of the German identity and is, thus, under threat by foreign influences and in need of protection. For the AfD, “the central element of German identity is the German language”<sup>37</sup> (AfD 2016, p. 32). Furthermore, like Schneider (2008), they do not only want German to be strengthened at home, but they also want more individuals abroad to learn German, arguably motivated by the idea that German is inherently superior and, thus, beneficial to learn. It is important to note, however, that only the NPD calls for constitutional protection of German, while the AfD argues that the matter needs to be addressed with other than legislative means (AfD, 2016; Franz, 2011; NPD, 2013). Pfalzgraf (2003), who has researched the relationship between the political Right and German language protection movements argues that the linguistic efforts are also used to appeal to broader masses and garner more support, especially given that Anglicisms are a reoccurring and salient topic in German media and the public at large and less controversial than other right-wing policies.

This link of language purism to right-wing politics is also evident in the relationship between several contributors to and publishers of German language protection magazines such as “Deutsche Sprachwelt” and the right-wing scene in Germany and Austria (Pfalzgraf, 2003). Several of the individuals involved in the language organizations are also active in the far Right. Furthermore, for example, the website of “Deutscher Sprachkampf” (literally: German Language Fight) advertises right wing organizations and events and has Nazi propaganda hidden in HTML for search engines to pick up (Pfalzgraf, 2003). However, it is important to note that most of the more mainstream self-proclaimed language protectors and linguistic organizations vehemently

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<sup>37</sup> "Die deutsche Sprache als Zentrum unserer Identität“

denounce any allegiance to right-wing politics and publicly condemn these (e.g. “Denglisch”, n.d.; Schneider, 2008; Schreiber, 2006).

**Efforts to make German the official language of Germany.** As previously mentioned, several politicians have called to amend the German constitution (the *Grundgesetz*: “basic law”) so it explicitly states that German is the official language of Germany. Similar discussions have also been held in the U.S. (Crystal, 1997).

There appears to be some public support for the amendment, since German language organizations collected over 46,000 signatures in support of the constitutional change in 2010 and a study conducted by the Technische Universität Dresden suggested that up to 85% of Germans agree with the amendment (as cited in Klatte, 2010; “Deutsch als Sprache soll ins Grundgesetz”, 2010). German educator Holger Klatte (2010), who is a member of the VDS, believes that German’s inclusion in the basic law would result in more language-focused education guidelines, a potential revision of immigration regulations to include stricter language requirements, and a general protection of German through government structures (Klatte, 2010). The second part highlights an important aspect of the argument: German would serve as a kind of admission criteria for ‘Germanhood’. Any minority or immigrant community that does not speak standard German or any German at all, would no longer belong to the official linguistic national identity. Similar to what happened in Puerto Rico when national identity was (re)defined, language becomes a tool of assessing otherness, and of enacting exclusionary policies.

Due to this, the initiative also attracted criticism and is yet to be formally discussed in parliament. The German linguist Rolf C. Peter (2010) argues that if German would be included in the basic law, which German would that be? Given that language is constantly changing,

referencing it in the constitution would still leave room for debate if Anglicisms or other foreign language influences should be part of the ‘official’ German. Peter (2010) further emphasizes that since German already is the official language of government proceedings, any further protection would do little to change the status of the language and, instead, might even lead to questions why German needs such protection in the first place. Furthermore, Peter (2010) recognizes that a legal codification of German as part of German identity might marginalize non-German communities within the country. Indeed Danish, Sorbs, and Friesen communities in Germany, have publicly spoken out against the inclusion of German in the constitution, especially since specific minority rights are not explicitly protected in the German basic law (“Deutsch als Sprache soll ins Grundgesetz”, 2010). Including German in the constitution could serve as a precedent to legislate language use in public spheres, such as schoolgrounds. Given that similar issues have previously been at the core of extensive and heated debates in Germany with particular focus on what language immigrants do and should speak, such concerns appear to be warranted (“Deutsch als Sprache soll ins Grundgesetz”, 2010).

**Top-down language change.** These political efforts are motivated by the belief that language change occurs top-down. Language protector Schneider (2008), for example, worries that language does not “take care of itself”<sup>38</sup> (p. 36) – and cites that as justification for his activism and for language politics, since he believes that Germans have failed to appropriately take care of their own language. However, this line of reasoning presupposes that there is a proper and pure linguistic standard that needs to be maintained. English influence is perceived as foreign, as undemocratic and even disempowering. But Schneider’s argument is flawed and so are efforts to protect German constitutionally. Indeed, language does not exist outside of its

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<sup>38</sup> “für sich selbst sorgt”

speakers and writers, and these are the ones tasked with taking care of it. Updating and expanding the German vocabulary with Anglicisms, for example, could be seen as a way to take care of German. If Schneider is ready to accept that people are the main agents of language maintenance and change, he also needs to accept that this change might not be what he desired. I believe that language change is a bottom-up process, that language is shaped and changed by those who use it. It is adapted to accommodate new things, new concepts, and new living situations. Ultimately, no law or self-proclaimed language savior will be able to control how people speak and how they talk about the world around them.

## Conclusion

Whether one opposes or embraces it, one can hardly deny the influence English has had on German. Quantitative and qualitative analyses indicate that English words and expressions are deliberately chosen by Germans as they encounter new concepts and products and as they seek to express themselves more variedly and nuancedly. This is especially noticeable in the realm of consumption, business, youth culture, and modern technology. This adoption of English words is characterized by high levels of linguistic creativity, indicating that Germans are neither completely overwhelmed nor fatigued in the face of English and, rather, make active use of their linguistic variety. Furthermore, the number of Anglicisms used is relatively small and the core structure of the German language has remained unchanged.

Throughout this paper, I have argued that the German case is not unique, but it differs significantly from processes of and reactions to English influence during previous periods. It helps to revisit the case studies of Puerto Rico and Nigeria to draw further comparisons and to identify common themes in the global proliferation of English over time. While the absence of direct colonial and imperial power structures in Germany is the starkest difference between the case studies, the rhetoric of imperialism and colonization is evoked even by some of the German language protectors, who perceive the US as an unwanted, but all-powerful cultural and economic force. Like in Puerto Rico, language becomes a salient aspect of a national identity that is perceived to be under siege. The idea of 'linguistic submissiveness' further highlights this sense of humiliation as experienced at the hands of a much more powerful nation. Rejecting English becomes imperative in order to reject US influence and to reassert and purify national pride and power. However, this also means that language becomes a tool to assess otherness and potentially enact exclusionary policies to linguistic minorities. Furthermore, this ignores the

influence of extraneous aspects on language ability and language use. In Puerto Rico and Nigeria, for example, class differences still exist between those who can speak ‘pure’ and ‘proper’ English, and those, who have never learned to do so. Due to the extensive and free public school system in Germany, which requires students to learn English, class is less of a deciding factor in regards to English-language skills. This was also evident in my study, where the *Bild*, a newspaper with a less educated and less wealthy audience, did not use significantly fewer Anglicisms than *Der Spiegel*, which is aimed at readers with higher socioeconomic status. Instead, age seemed to be a more significant influence on Anglicism usage.

Apart from the link between language policies and nationalist aspirations, another key similarity among the case studies is the creativity and agency of the people, who hybridize and appropriate English as necessary. Through reterritorialization and hybridization of English, authentic and local forms of the language can be developed. Thus, attempting to regulate and police language means denying the agency of the people who use it, whether that is in Puerto Rico, Nigeria, or Germany. Such policies imply that language is static, that it can be codified and preserved; however, that runs contrary to the nature of language itself.

The rhetoric that is used to talk about language contact is often influenced by metaphors of ownership: we write about borrowing words and loans as if certain words are somehow owned by the German or the English language and if this ownership were fixed while the lending is somehow temporary. However, if one considers the agency of the speaker, one can conclude that not the languages, but the individual users of the languages own the words. Thus, the ‘nationality’ of a word is constantly negotiated and redefined and can be multifaceted.

This is not to say that the disappearance of a language is something positive and should be encouraged – language death deprives people and cultures of their most accurate and intimate

way of expression. Furthermore, governments and other organizations should ensure that their messaging is understood widely and that the English terms do not serve to alienate and exclude those who do not speak English. This is merely to say that German is not dying. Continued education in and about German is important; however, this can and should include foreign language influences. Given that Anglicisms and especially the English-German puns previously discussed require literacy in both languages, full proficiency in German remains crucial in navigating the anglicized linguistic realm. To further alleviate some of the concerns about the survival of the German language, one can consider the fact that English itself has heavily borrowed from many other language – especially from German! – without having been eradicated.

A different frame of thinking is necessary to understand the influence of English on German, and, in particular, to start thinking about future linguistic change. The concept of hybridity has been discussed several times before in the paper, for example when talking about the hybrid language Spanglish in Puerto Rico as well as in relation to the language protectionists' rejection of anything hybrid as impure. The often seamless incorporation of Anglicisms into the German lexis, the formation of English-German puns and loan creations, the increased linguistic flexibility and variety all serve as evidence that anglicized, i.e., hybridized German is a source of creativity and nuance. This also highlights that Germans are not paralyzed in the face of English nor hindered in their ability to form neologisms and appropriate label new objects and circumstances. The puns and loan creations such as *Handy* and "Hair damit" ("Hair damit", 2017, p. 154) indicate that English is not a crutch that the Germans depend on, but rather, a new addition to their linguistic toolbox. The linguist Dodd (2015), for example, sees puns, hybrid words and loan creations as indications that the German language is inventive and enriched by

foreign language influences rather than eradicated by them. Furthermore, the incorporation of English terms also aides Germans in talking and writing about new realities and concepts. One can argue that new words are adopted as existing ones are considered unfit, inappropriate, or lacking the desired nuance. Thus, English seems to serve an important role as Germans talk about consumerism and modern lifestyle in particular, given the prevalence of Anglicisms in these domains. In her book *English As A Local Language* Higgins (2009) argues that “multivoiced multilingualism has been shown to be a source of creativity, playfulness, strategy and most of all, identification” (p. 148), so Germans are able to use English to identify and express themselves within globalization and the current world system. As their identities have become increasingly deterritorialized and are especially impacted by the English-speaking global market and pop culture, language is also becoming deterritorialized. Language purification movements can be seen as attempts at reterritorialization; however, the language protectors seem to miss the fact that deterritorialization does not necessarily imply homogenization. Germany is still far away from Nerrière and McCrum’s vision of a monolingual Globish-speaking world. Furthermore, while language protectionist agencies such as the VDS warn against the rise of ‘Denglish’, a full English-German hybrid language, I believe that it is too early to tell if ‘Denglish’ is emerging in Germany – and if it ever will. The qualitative and quantitative research outlined in this paper indicates that so far, German has overwhelmingly incorporated English words and phrases into its existing syntactical and grammatical structures. However, further quantitative research is necessary to investigate the prevalence of English loanwords in German, especially in a wider variety of print media sources, as well as other domains such as radio, television, and government publications.

As globalization has changed the way we interact with the world, it has also changed how we speak about it. In many realms, this means that people increasingly speak English. This is influenced by social and economic forces beyond speakers' control and often consent, but, nonetheless, the choice to speak English itself demonstrates people's agency. As seen in the German case, English is incorporated into the fabric of the German vernacular without erasing it. I argue that the loanwords can and do become German and that they can adequately and authentically express the perceptions and experiences of Germans. Anglicisms are not condemned to be alien *Fremdwörter* forever and neither is German condemned to become *fremd*, foreign, itself. Given the limited and context-specific Anglicization of German, it is hard to see how German is disappearing or even dying. Instead, German is expanding. Through this lens, the German language and identity appear less vulnerable and overwhelmed than the language protectors think. In conclusion, their accusations of linguistic submissiveness, the call for a purified and unifying German *Leitkultur*, and the worries about the death of German seem to be rooted more in anxiety than reality.

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Table 1

*Mean number of Anglicisms and percentage of Anglicisms in each publication*

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Number of Words in Sampled Articles and Content Pages ( $N = 50$ )

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<u>Newspaper/Magazine</u>	<u>Percentage of</u>
<u>Name</u>	<u>Anglicisms</u>
Bravo	9.94%
	(8.02)
InStyle	7.17%
	(7.79)
Men'sHealth	5.31%
	(3.98)
Der Spiegel	1.93%
	(2.09)
Bild	0.68%
	(0.79)
Average	5.19%
	(6.19)

---

Note. Standard deviations appear below the mean percentages. Percentages based not on the absolute number of words, but the average ratios.

Table 2

*Number of Anglicisms and percentage of Anglicisms in the articles compared to the content pages*

	<u>Percentage of Anglicisms</u>	<i>t</i>	<i>df</i>
Article Total	2.96%	3.65*	9
	(2.13)		
Content Page Total	11.7%		
	(9.36)		

Note. \* =  $p \leq .05$ . Standard deviations appear below the mean percentages.

Table 3

*Number and Proportion of Individual Anglicisms in the Sample*

<u>Anglicism</u>	<u>Number of Appearances in the Sample</u>	<u>Percentage of all Anglicisms in the Sample</u>
<i>Star</i>	37	2.9%
<i>Sex</i>	37	2.9%
<i>Trend</i>	29	2.2%
<i>App</i>	23	1.8%
<i>Look</i>	23	1.8%
<i>Fitness</i>	22	1.7%
<i>Cool</i>	21	1.6%
<i>Fan</i>	21	1.6%
<i>Leader</i>	19	1.5%
<i>Beauty</i>	17	1.3%

**BRAVO-SPEED-QUIZ**

Nie ohne deine Kamera? Finde heraus, ob du fotosüchtig bist...

**BIST DU EIN FOTOHOLIC?**

**1** Wie oft am Tag guckst du in den Spiegel?

- 1) Einmal, Morgens beim Zähneputzen... (2)
- 2) Immer wenn ich auf der Toilette bin. (1)
- 3) DAUERND! Wenn kein Spiegel da ist, check ich meinen Look in der Selfie-Kamera. (0)

**2** Welche Selfie-Pose passt besonders gut zu dir?

- 1) Leicht von oben fotografiert, den Kopf schief haltend. (0)
- 2) Ich mache keine Selfies – also: kein Plan! (2)
- 3) Ähm – in die Kamera gucken? (1)

**3** Wie oft mistest du dein Foto-Archiv aus und löschst Bilder?

- 1) Immer wenn mir total langweilig ist. (1)
- 2) Niemals! Ich brauche jedes Bild! (0)
- 3) Foto-Archiv? Wo finde ich das? (2)

**4** Klassenreise nach Paris. Ihr besucht den Eiffelturm...

- 1) GEIL! Lass mal hochgehen und Bilder von der Skyline machen. (1)
- 2) SEEEELFIIIEEE! Das gibt bestimmt viele Likes! (0)
- 3) Sieht toll aus! Warum gucken sich das alle anderen nur durch die Kameras an? (2)

**5** Wer oder was sind Reyes, Amaro und Lo-Fi?

- 1) Charaktere aus dem neuen „Star Wars“-Film! (1)
- 2) Oh... Rapper aus den USA? (2)
- 3) Instagram-Filter. (0)

**KENDALL JENNER**

**SUCHTI (0–3 Punkte)**

Immer griffbereit! Du und deine Kamera sind unzertrennlich. Du würdest am liebsten jeden Moment deines Lebens für die Ewigkeit festhalten – und das ist auch voll okay! Aber: Genieß doch erst den Moment und mach dann ein Bild davon! :-)

**NORMALO (4–6 Punkte)**

Knips – das war's! Du hast ein gutes Auge für schöne Bilder und weißt genau, was auf einem Bild gut rüberkommt. Wichtige Augenblicke wie Geburtstage oder eine tolle Aussicht hältst du gern fest. Aber alles andere erscheint dir zu unwichtig, um dein Foto-Archiv damit vollzuballern.

**REALO (7–10 Punkte)**

Was machen immer noch alle so einen Wind um perfekte und spektakuläre Pics. Du hast keinen Bock darauf, die Welt nur durch eine Linse zu sehen, und hältst dich lieber an die Realität. Super Einstellung! Hin und wieder mal ein Bild machen ist aber auch nicht verkehrt. :-)

**BRAVO 69**

Figure 1. Scan of a quiz to determine whether or not the reader is a “Fotoholic” (word play on the English ‘alcoholic’) from the youth magazine *Bravo* (“Fotoholic”, 2017). This article was not part of the sample, but showcases how the sampled articles were analyzed by highlighting the Anglicisms in them.

## Kino

## Wunderbare Freundschaft

Wäre es Chinas Investoren und Hollywoods Kreativen nur ums Geld gegangen, hätten sie mit dem Fantasyfilm **The Great Wall** ihr Ziel bereits erreicht: Drei Wochen nach dem Start in China hat die bislang größte chinesisch-amerikanische Koproduktion ihr Budget von 150 Millionen Dollar bereits eingespielt. Im Kino ist Verlass auf Chinas Massen. Aber ums Geld allein geht es bei „The Great Wall“ (seit 12. Januar in deutschen Kinos) nicht: Starregisseur Zhang Yimou („Rottes Kornfeld“) und Hauptdarsteller Matt Damon („Jason



Szene aus „The Great Wall“

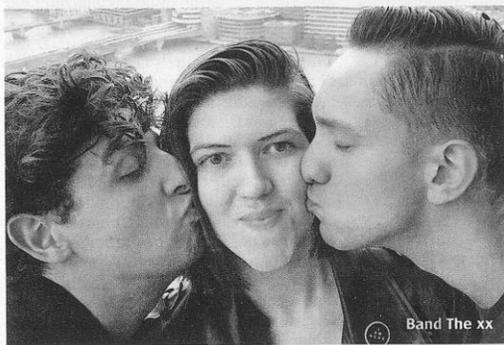
Bourne“) wollen beweisen, dass China und der Westen am Anfang einer wunderbaren Freundschaft stehen. Die Story: Ein europäischer Söldner und eine chinesische Generalin retten die Menschheit vor dem Untergang. Die Botschaft: Gemeinsam sind wir stark. Der Film, kommentierte ein chinesischer Blogger, erinnere ihn an die feierlichen 19-Uhr-Nachrichten im Staatsfernsehen: „Lasst uns die Stärke der Nation festigen und die Freundschaft mit dem Westen vertiefen.“ Das also kommt heraus, wenn sich Hollywood Chinas Zensoren fügt: ein farbenprächtiges Spektakel mit leeren, vorhersehbar Dialogen. bza

## Pop

## Alles Schauspiel

Keine andere Band beherrscht die Kunst des Mann-Frau-Duetts so gut wie das britische Trio **The xx**. Und dabei sind die Sänger Romy Madley Croft, 27, und Oliver Sim, 26, gar kein Paar. Croft ist lesbisch und hat sich vor Kurzem mit ihrer Freundin verlobt, Sim ist schwul. Als vor acht Jahren das Debüt erschien, hörten sich Croft und Sim an, als müssten sie singen, weil sie zu schüchtern seien, um zu sprechen. Nun erscheint ihr drittes Album

**I See You**, mit zehn Songs über Beziehungen und Gefühle, aber der sanfte Paargesang von Croft und Sim hat inzwischen eine Sicherheit entwickelt, die früher fehlte. Der schönste Song, „Performance“, könnte ein Burt-Bacharach-Lied sein. Er erzählt davon, dass man immer auch schauspielern muss, in der Liebe genauso wie beim Auftritt vor einem Publikum. Was ist eine Band? Eine Gruppe von Freunden, die sich auf den Weg in die Welt machen, sich dabei für eine Weile verlieren – und sich immer wiederfinden. rap



Band The xx

## Nils Minkmar Zur Zeit

## In Bewegung



Natürlich verspätet er sich. Emmanuel Macron, der junge französische Präsidentschaftskandidat, ist zu Besuch in Berlin und hält es schon wie einst François Mitterrand: Erst eine ordentliche Verspätung von zwei Stunden bringt das Publikum in Stimmung. Der karge Saal im Hotelhochhaus am Alexanderplatz ist nach

Alfred Döblin benannt, der sich nicht mehr wehren kann. Zweihundert Leute sind gekommen. Um die Zeit zu überbrücken, erzählt Aziz seine Geschichte – ein mittlerer Mann in Anzug und Krawatte, im Senegal geboren und in Frankreich aufgewachsen. Für Politik habe er sich schon immer interessiert. Und für Europa. Darum schrieb er Briefe an Politiker. Es hat ihm nie einer geantwortet. Als Macron Wirtschaftsminister wurde, schrieb Aziz auch ihm. Und Macron antwortete nicht nur, er rief sogar an.

Solche Geschichten hört man an diesem Tag viele. Menschen, die mit der französischen Politik abgeschlossen hatten und nun wieder Hoffnung schöpfen. Sie sind keine Profis, aber auch keine Fanatiker einer Sekte zum heiligen Macron. Es wird ganz normal französisch improvisiert: Ein Stapel weißer Blätter wird zur Liste, jeder soll sich eintragen, wofür, das ist nicht ganz klar. Macrons Verein heißt „En Marche“ – gleiche Initialen wie der Gründer. Unterwegs also, wohin, das ist damit nicht gesagt, der Weg ist das Ziel. Hauptsache, Bewegung und notfalls zu Fuß – es gibt in Frankreich eine irres Verlangen nach Dynamik. Innerhalb weniger Wochen hat sich die politische Landschaft so verändert wie in vielen Jahren zuvor nicht. Erst unterlag Nicolas Sarkozy bei der Vorwahl seiner Partei, dann sein Kontrahent Alain Juppé. Schließlich verzichtete der amtierende Präsident François Hollande auf eine erneute Kandidatur – das hat es noch nie gegeben. Kollektiv verabschiedet sich das Personal, das seit zehn Jahren nahezu jeden Abend in den Nachrichten zu sehen war. Macrons Handicap, dass er nämlich keine Partei hinter sich hat, wird zum Vorteil. Die französischen Sozialisten erweisen sich mit ihren Intrigen, Skandalen und Egotrips erneut als das Psychodrom, das sie schon immer waren. Gut möglich, dass sie bald ins Museum der ausgestorbenen Parteien überwiesen werden, gleich neben die italienischen Christdemokraten.

Macron kommt dann doch noch. Er entschuldigt sich für die Verspätung, dann stellt er sich vor. Er bekennt sich als Europäer und lobt Merkels Flüchtlingspolitik – ein ökologisch ambitionierter, fortschrittsoptimistischer Sozialliberaler. Schließlich erklärt er, was in Frankreich hakt und wie er es ändern möchte. Einfach so. Man würde nicht mehr staunen, wenn er aus dem Stand einen Salto schlüge. Dann muss er weiter, Flüchtlinge besuchen. Er betritt die Drehtür, die auf den Alexanderplatz führt, aber weil so viele zu ihm strömen, bleiben sie in dem Glaszylinder stecken, nix mit „en marche“. Macron steckt fest, aber er wird nicht ungeduldig, sondern lacht sich kaputt. Er wird überall erwartet, und die Zeit ist sein Freund.

An dieser Stelle schreiben Nils Minkmar und Elke Schmitter im Wechsel.

Figure 2. Scan of a page from *Der Spiegel* (“Kultur”, 2017). The page contains several small segments discussing different entertainment and art news. The Anglicisms are highlighted.

## „Ich mag Teile, die Abenteuer und Eigensinn ausstrahlen“

In jedem Heft stellt immer ein Mitglied unserer Mode-Redaktion seine Highlights des Monats vor. Dieses Mal zeigt Ihnen Yilmaz seine Favoriten für den Winter



**YILMAZ AKTEPE**  
Der Fashion-Director von Men's Health pflegt einen recht eigensinnigen Style. Tabubrüche sind sein Steckbrief. Mehr von ihm gibt's bei Instagram: @yilmazaktepestyle



### Bart & Pflege

Um aus einem Zauselbart ein vorzeigbares Prachtstück zu machen, braucht es nur wenig Werkzeug und Material. Doch auf deren Qualität kommt es dafür umso mehr an. Auf [www.beardandshave.de](http://www.beardandshave.de) finden Sie diese ausgewählten Produkte und eine ausgefeilte Beratung, sollte der nächste Barbier zu weit weg sein.

**BARTPFLEGE-SET** von BIG RED, zirka 65 Euro



### Brillen & Klassiker

Die Firma Archibald Optics hat ein fortschrittliches Konzept entwickelt: Ohne Zwischenhändler lassen sie handgefertigte Qualitätsbrillen in Japan von alten Meistern nach ihrem britischen Design fertigen und punkten dadurch mit einem großartigen Preis-Leistungs-Verhältnis. Reduziert in jeder Hinsicht! **FERGUSON CLEAR DAWN** von ARCHIBALD OPTICS, um 225 Euro

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### Bein & Kleid

Die Jogginghose galt lange als das Anti-Kleidungsstück schlechthin. Trotzdem – oder gerade deswegen – war ihre raketenhafte Rückkehr für Trendsetter absehbar. Gemütlich, rotzig, angesagt in einem.

**MOULIN TRACK PANT**  
von ORIGINAL PENGUIN, etwa 80 Euro



### Kreuz & quer

Das Flanellhemd verweist auf die Wanderarbeiter-Kultur des amerikanischen mittleren Westens. Im typischen Karo-Look ist es auch als Holzfällerhemd bekannt und wird vor allem von Künstlern gern als Symbol für Bodenständigkeit genutzt.

**FLANELLEHemd** von PEPE, zirka 75 Euro

### Tritt & fest

Dieser Waldbrandaustreter ist ein Klassiker, der in jedem Männer-Kleiderschrank einen Platz verdient. Er verleiht Ihrem Outfit die richtige Prise stylischer Subversion.

**IRISH SETTER 887**  
von REDWING, um 340 Euro



### Gut & verpackt

Isoliert dank PrimaLoft auch bei widrigen Wetterverhältnissen – perfekt für die Spaziergänge mit meinem Hund.

**SHEROPA THERMOBALL**  
von THE NORTH FACE, zirka 220 Euro

### Duft & Rebell

Axe hat sich ein Make-over verpasst und setzt mit rebellischen Testimonials auf unangepasste Authentizität. Besonders gefällt mir jedoch der vier-schrägige Charme des virilen Dufthammers.

**ODD WOOD & DARK VANILLA**  
von AXE, um 8 Euro



Foto: Nicole Malonex (1), TNF (1)

Figure 3. Scan of a page from *Men's Health*, in which one of the magazine's contributors presents his favorite items of the month (Yilmaz, 2017). The Anglicisms are highlighted.

BEAUTY

Schauspielerin OLIVIA MUNN mit locker gebundenem Raven-Hair

# Hair damit

Ins Schwarze getroffen: **Jet Black** heißt die neue VIP-Lieblingshaarfarbe

Die Schönen in Hollywood wollen jetzt auf der schwarzen Liste stehen: Tiefschwarze Haare, von Hairstylisten „Raven Hair“ (Raben-Haar) genannt, sind jetzt Trend. „Der Ton namens Jet Black sieht zu heller und olivfarbener Haut gut aus“, sagt Celebrity-Hair-Colorist Gion Vincent aus New York. Sein Tipp: „Die hochpigmentierte Farbe wäscht sich schnell aus, daher besser milde Shampoos verwenden.“ Damit der Look edel aussieht, alle drei Wochen den Ansatz färben und dazu kräftigen Lippenstift nehmen. „Tragen Sie mehr Make-up auf, das braucht der Look.“

Das Model DALIANAH AREKION trägt den Look mit Mittelscheitel

Schauspielerin KRYSTEN RITTER stylt den Trend mit viel Glanzspray

1 Bumble and bumble „Soft Black Hair Powder“ Trockenshampoo in Schwarz, ca. 45 €  
2 ORIBE „Airbrush Root Touch-up Spray“ in Black für den Ansatz, ca. 29 €

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Figure 4. Scan of an article on page 154 in the February 2017 issue of *InStyle*, titled with the English-German pun “Hair damit” (“Hair damit”, 2017). Several more Anglicisms such as “Look” and “Celebrity-Hair-Colorist” can be found in the article itself.

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Zum Shop

Figure 5. Screenshot from the retail website LadenZeile.de, displaying the *Bodybags* the retailer sells (“Bodybags”, n.d.).



*Figure 6.* Sticker designed by the language protection organization “Deutsche Sprachwelt” (German Language World) in the style of a typical German street sign, proclaiming “Green Light for the German Language” (Deutsche Sprachwelt, n.d.).