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Kiezdeutsch, Kiezenglish:
English in German Multilingual/-ethnic Speech Communities

By

Lindsay Denise Preseau

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

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in the

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of the

University of California, Berkeley

Committee in charge:

Professor Irmengard Rauch, Chair

Professor Thomas Shannon

Professor Gary Holland

Summer 2018

Kiezdeutsch, Kiezenglish:
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ABSTRACT

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This study characterizes the role of English in multilingual/-ethnic speech communities in urban Germany. Drawing on both existing corpus data and new data from a multimodal fieldwork study, this dissertation demonstrates that English plays a far greater role in these speech communities than has previously been recognized. I argue that this is especially true with respect to the Kiezdeutsch speech community, exploring how the social meanings and formal linguistic features of English are reflected in Kiezdeutsch (and vice-versa).

Furthermore, I explore the role of English in contact between the current wave of refugees, many of whom speak better English than German upon arrival in Germany, and pre-existing multilingual speech communities. As the older, largely Turkish-speaking population of Germans with migrant backgrounds absorbs the new refugees, many of whom speak unrelated languages and non-mutually intelligible dialects of Arabic, English has become a lingua franca both for daily communication and as a shared second language in German classrooms. Drawing on my fieldwork data collected in refugee language classrooms, I argue that understanding and navigating this new contact situation will require taking seriously the role of English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) in urban Germany. Furthermore, I argue that this contact between new migrant communities and established speakers of Kiezdeutsch necessitates rethinking assumptions about Kiezdeutsch as a “native dialect” of German.

Following an overview of the study in Chapter 1, Chapter 2 summarizes the existing literature on ethnolects in Germany. I give a historical overview of the field and, ultimately, illustrate possible reasons that English has largely been ignored in this work. Chapter 3 demonstrates that English does indeed play a role in the existing data by analyzing the influence of English on data from the Kiezdeutsch corpus (KiDKo). Chapters 4 and 5 present new data from my ethnographic-linguistic fieldwork study. Chapter 4 characterizes the influence of English on the repertoires of post-migrant youth associated with the Kiezdeutsch speech community. Chapter 5, on the other hand,

examines the role of English among refugee youth, arguing that English constitutes an important point of connection between post-migrant and migrant speech communities. Chapters 4 and 5, taken together, suggest the emergence of a new German-English hybrid repertoire which I term “Kiezenglish.” Finally, Chapter 6 concludes the study by offering implications of the increasing presence of English for descriptive linguistic study of ethnolects such as Kiezdeutsch, as well as for language acquisition, pedagogy and language policy.

ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

Abbreviations

AAE	African American English
ACC	Accusative
BüMA	Bescheinigung über die Meldung als Asylsuchende/r (‘Certificate of Registration as an Asylum Seeker’)
ADV	Adverb
ANNIS	Annotation of Information Structure
CEFR	Common European Framework of Reference for Languages
EFL	English as a foreign language
ELF	English as a lingua franca
e.V.	eingetragener Verein (‘registered voluntary association’)
ExMARaLDA	Extensible Markup Language for Discourse Annotation
FM	Foreign material
HIAT	Halbinterpretative Arbeitstranskriptionen (‘Semi-Interpretative Working Transcriptions’)
GAT	Gesprächsanalytisches Transkriptionssystem (‘discourse/conversation analytic transcription system’)
INF	Infinitive
KiDKo	The KiezDeutsch-Korpus
L1	First language/mother tongue
L2	Second and/or non-native language
lit.	Literally
n	Normalized
NOM	Nominative
nv	Non-verbal
O/OBJ	Object
PART	Particle
PL	Plural
PoS	Part of Speech
PREP	Preposition
SG	Singular
SPK	Speaker
S/SUBJ	Subject
tr	Translated
v	Verb
v	Verbal
V2	Verb-Second (word order)
VOIP	Voice over Internet Protocol

Symbols

(())	Non-phonological phenomena
[]	Overlapping speech
()	Unintelligible; parentheses contain either the word 'unintelligible' or the transcriber's best attempt at transcribing unclear speech
(-)	Pause (one dash signifies a short interruption/micro-pause, two dashes signify a pause of up to half a second, three dashes signify a pause of up to three seconds; longer pauses are given as seconds in numerical value in parentheses).

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.0 HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE: INTER- AND INTRA-GERMANIC CONTACT AND MIXING

Also Englischmen,
 theigh hy hadde fram the beginning three maner speche,
 Southeron, Northeron, and Middel speche in the middel
 of the lond, as hy come of three maner people of Germania,
 notheles by commixstion and melling, furst with
 Danes and afterward with Normans, in many the contray
 longage is apeired, and som useth strange wlaffyng,
 chytering, harryng, and garryng grisbittyng.

‘Also Englishmen,
 though they had from the beginning three manners of speech,
 Southern, Northern, and Mid-language in the middle
 of the land, as they come from three manners of people of Germania,
 nonetheless by mixture and mingling, first with
 Danes and afterward with Normans, in many the country
 language is impaired, and some use strange stammering,
 chattering, snarling, and growling teeth-gnashing.’¹

(Trevista 1385 in Benson 2000)

In his commentary on the state of the English language in his English translation of Ranulph Higden’s Latin *Polychronicon*, John Trevisa exposes a complex, and seemingly contradictory, set of ideologies surrounding language contact and mixing in 14th-century England. On one hand, Trevisa is unphased by the fact that English developed from the languages of three different Germanic peoples, seemingly affirming the normality of a single language emerging from contact between related languages and dialects. On the other hand, he expresses displeasure with the results of the *commixstion and melling* of English with Norman French. Even Danish, a language which bore obvious genetic

¹ Author’s translation, with select glosses from Benson (2000).

similarity to English as an insular Ingvaenic dialect, is implicated in this alleged *apeiring* of the English language.

More than six centuries after his diatribe, Trevisa's contradictory ideologies regarding language mixing still live on among speakers of Germanic languages. Our rich corpora of Germanic texts with broad geographic and historical scope mean that the educated speaker of English or German is unlikely to deny that their language is characterized by a history of contact between various languages and dialects, Germanic and non-Germanic alike, which have given rise to a rainbow of valuable regional dialects. In the early 2010s, English speakers around the world proudly shared a viral quotation on social media that read "*English* (n.): A language that lurks in dark alleys, beats up other languages, and rifles through their pockets for spare vocabulary."² Similarly, even the most conservative and prescriptive of purist German language societies (the Verein Deutsche Sprache, e.V., for example) emphasize the unique, and sometimes not-entirely-German, origins of regional dialects, promoting the retention of regional dialects with visible and socially-valued histories.

On the surface, speakers of English and German seem to value intra-language variation and language mixing as a natural and normal part of linguistic evolution. The liberal and pluralistic language policies of English and German-speaking nations are often contrasted, for example, with the purism of such French, Italian, or Croatian contexts. However, Trevisa's emotional lament that certain languages have "impaired" English still rings eerily familiar in 2018. In the United States, politicians and educators have long fretted that immigrant languages such as Spanish will have a negative effect on English. In Germany, features of immigrant languages such as Turkish and Arabic have begun to pepper the speech of even native German youth, giving rise to public concern about the future of the German language in the face of new foreign influences. Organizations involved in the enterprise of "Sprachpflege" (lit. 'language care') have correspondingly seen a surge in supporters as they morph from producers of unofficial decrees on language policy in stodgy, conservative print newsletters to sources of viral memes on online mediums such as twitter (see, for example, the twitter account @sprachwelt, which boasts over 14,000 followers, among them well-known academics and politicians).

It is, of course, unsurprising that languages that are unrelated to the language of the host country and spoken by ethnic others are more likely to be blamed for the "impairment" of the host language than languages that are both genetically related to the host language and spoken by speakers of the same ethnicity. Indeed, in past decades, a large body of sociolinguistic research has appeared in Germany which concerns the (perceived or real) influence of immigrant languages on German. On the other hand, however, the alleged detrimental role of English influence on German has not been left out of contemporary public discourse on *Sprachpflege*. One recent study investigating attitudes toward ethnolectal forms of German revealed that 51.8% of subjects had no fear of *Sprachverfall* ('language decay') in German related to the use of Kiezdeutsch (a stereotypically immigrant language-influenced ethnolect). On the contrary, multiple subjects rather believed that "Sprache in ständiger Bewegung ist und dass der Sprachverfall aber eher von den englischen Wörtern bedroht wird" ('language is in

² cf. e.g., <https://www.urbandictionary.com/define.php?term=English>

constant movement and that language decline is moreover threatened by the English words’) (García Tercero 2017:47).

In this dissertation, I aim to investigate precisely this—a case of language contact that represents a unique situation of contact in that it falls somewhere in the middle of this continuum between the following two prototypical types of sociolinguistic language contact situations which Trevisa suggests:

- (1) socially-accepted cases of contact and mixing between genetically related languages of similar social status (e.g., the Ingvaconic languages in England or English and German in post-war Germany)
- (2) socially-maligned cases of contact and mixing between languages that are (or are ideologized as) foreign and are of unequal social status (e.g., Spanish and English in the United States or Turkish and German in Germany).

Namely, I investigate the increasing stigmatization of English in Germany as it moves from (1) a language of social prestige spoken predominately by people of a homogenous ethnic group to (2) the second language of “the other.” As English continues to gain influence outside of the West, an increasing number of immigrants to Germany arrive already using English as both a lingua franca and a language of social identification with their internationally mobile and globally-networked migrant peers. As a consequence, I argue, speaking English as a second language no longer carries the same inherent prestige as it has in Germany. Likewise, the fear of anglicisms continues to increase as loaned features of English in German that were previously seen as either superficial or beneficial are now seen as a potential detriment to the German language.

This particular contact is thus of interest because it represents a more complex sociolinguistic situation than that which sociolinguistic literature on immigrant varieties of German has been concerned with in recent decades (i.e., contact between traditional immigrant languages and German). On the contrary, it represents a situation quite familiar to the historical linguist, and with significant precedent in the history of the Germanic languages—that is, contact between Germanic languages and varieties themselves. From a sociolinguistic perspective, inter-family contact raises complex questions concerning the role of language ideologies in the construction of the linguistic self vs. the linguistic other. On the other hand, of interest to a descriptive account of linguistic change is the fact that inter-family contact (e.g., contact between English and German) may play a more robust role in language change than contact between unrelated, structurally dissimilar languages (e.g., German and Arabic or Turkish) since research has shown that structural similarities between languages in contact facilitate processes of contact-induced change via code-mixing and borrowing (Haig 2001:218-222, Schulte 2012).

1.1 CENTRAL RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The purpose of this dissertation is to investigate the understudied influence of English on new urban dialects of German (and vice versa). The project takes as its starting point the influence of English on “Kiezdeutsch,” a linguistic variety associated

with multiethnic and multilingual populations in Berlin. Though Kiezdeutsch has been popularly stereotyped as broken German or mixed Turkish-German, linguistic study has demonstrated that Kiezdeutsch speakers come from a wide variety of linguistic and ethnic backgrounds and are united primarily by a common identification with their multilingual urban environment (Wiese 2013a). Researchers have observed that Kiezdeutsch exhibits a variety of new features, including innovative features and features which draw on or expand upon features already present in German regional dialects. Perhaps most widely discussed in popular discourse and most obvious to the naïve listener, however, are features from diverse immigrant heritage languages ranging from Turkish to Arabic and Kurdish.

While much attention has been given to the potential influence (or lack of influence) of immigrant languages on Kiezdeutsch, few have noted that the vast majority of Kiezdeutsch speakers *do* in fact share one second language in common across the speech community—English. The hypothesis of this project is thus that English plays a far greater role in multilingual Germany than has previously been recognized. It is difficult to deny that speakers of Kiezdeutsch have received significant exposure to English in some fashion, whether in school, on the internet, through popular media, or on the international and increasingly English-speaking streets of Berlin. This research thus seeks to more specifically investigate the nature of this exposure, the level of proficiency in English across the speech community, and, most importantly for questions of language contact and change, whether English contributes features or interactional competencies to urban ethnolectal repertoires. Furthermore, answering the question of where and when English is spoken in these communities necessitates expanding the study beyond the boundaries of Kiezdeutsch (and, in doing so, perhaps calling into question the boundaries themselves). Kiezdeutsch, most prototypically associated with *post*-migrant (i.e., second- and third-generation immigrant) youth,³ has been characterized as an ethnolect of predominately native speakers of German. Pushing this boundary, I investigate the use of both Kiezdeutsch and English by first-generation youth in Germany—specifically, refugee youth who arrived in Germany during the so-called European “refugee crisis” which began in 2015.

The central questions of this study can thus be very broadly summarized as follows: To what extent does English play a role in the multilingual competencies of urban post-migrant youth in Germany? What formal linguistic features characterize this use of English, and what sociolinguistic role does English play? Finally, how is the role of English in these communities changing in a global, digital world, particularly in light of new patterns of migration in Germany?

1.2 POSITIONALITY OF THE RESEARCHER

The data in this dissertation must be read through the lens of the main instrument of data collection, which, as is the case with any qualitative ethnographic research, is the researcher him- or herself. In recent years, numerous studies have

³ In the German political context, these youth constitute a subset of the census category “Jugendliche mit Migrationshintergrund” (lit. ‘Youth with Migration Backgrounds’), which generally refers to first- to third-generation Germans.

underlined that when collecting linguistic data, particularly in communities where language and language use is highly-charged and integral to insider/outsider positioning, it is important that the researcher describe and critically reflect on their own linguistic positionality in the community (cf. e.g., McKinley 2017, Nero 2015). While I make every attempt to highlight my positionality and how it may have affected both my interactions with my subjects and my interpretation of the data where relevant throughout the dissertation, some general notes on my own linguistic and ethnic background and my resultant positionality in the communities in question should be made from the beginning. Section 1.2.1 thus gives an overview of my background as it is relevant to my role as a researcher, as well as an account of the trajectory of the project with respect to data collection. Sections 1.2.2 and 1.2.3 then discuss the possible implications of my background in my interactions involving youth with immigrant backgrounds and refugee youth, respectively. Finally, Section 1.2.4 considers the possible implications of my linguistic background for my analysis and interpretation of the collected data.

1.2.1 BACKGROUND OF THE RESEARCHER AND THE RESEARCH

I am in my twenties, a white native speaker of English, born in the midwestern United States. I have spoken German since a young age, since my family lived in Germany from 1994 to 1999 when I was an elementary-school-aged child. When my family returned to the US, I was active in local German ex-pat communities (e.g., a weekend German school where most students had at least one German parent), and I returned to Germany for extended summer visits as a teenager. This muddled linguistic background means that while I am fluent in German, I do not necessarily identify as a native speaker. There is little to no phonological interference from English in my German, and German speakers do not usually detect that I am not German in formulaic interactions. However, my choice in certain domains of vocabulary will often eventually provoke questions about where I am from in more in-depth conversations.

Important to the contextualization of this project is not only my own linguistic background, but also the transitional and precarious political context in which the project developed. This project was originally envisioned as an investigation of the role of English only among post-migrant youth (i.e., youth traditionally associated with the Kiezdeutsch multiethnolect). However, when I entered the field in the late spring of 2015, the so-called European “refugee crisis” was beginning to unfold. As the inseparably intertwined nature of post-migrant and refugee speech communities became apparent to me in the early stages of my fieldwork with post-migrant youth,⁴ the project was revised to include separate investigations of both speech communities, as well as the links between them. As such, the data collected among refugee youth represent a crucially timely documentation of and intervention into the very early stages of language acquisition, pedagogy, and policy in the context of the refugee crisis in Germany. The methodologies employed in this stage of the data collection are correspondingly adaptive and socio-culturally responsive to the unprecedented and uninvestigated political and linguistic situation.

⁴ See Chapter 4 for a more detailed account of the interaction between these speech communities and its special relevance to English

1.2.2 POSITIONALITY VIS-À-VIS YOUTH WITH MIGRANT BACKGROUNDS

Upon entering the field site where I collected data on post-migrant youth (youth with immigrant backgrounds born in Germany), a youth center where I served as a volunteer while collecting data, I did not disclose to youth or fellow volunteers that I am from the United States or that I am a native English speaker. In most cases, my interlocutors did not ask where I was from; in the multilingual, multicultural spaces in Berlin where these communities are situated, there is significant linguistic diversity even among white Germans. So, for example, on one given evening at the youth center, the staff member present had a Russian accent, one fellow volunteer was a native German speaker, and two additional volunteers were raised in Turkey and the UK. My fluent but non-native German was thus the norm in this environment, and likely had little to no effect on my interactions with my interlocutors (until, perhaps, the final period of the study where I disclosed my nationality and conducted oral proficiency interviews with students. See Chapter 4 for a more detailed description of the trajectory of my interactions with interlocutors).

It must be noted, however, that my position relative to my youth interlocutors was inherently one of power—on one hand this power was quite literal, as my role as a volunteer included enforcing rules and behavioral expectations at the youth center. Moreover, however, while the majority of the staff and volunteers belonged to majority German society (i.e. were white and German-born, most without migrant backgrounds), the majority of the youth were not. Namely, most youth spoke a language other than German at home and had parents or grandparents who had migrated to Germany from a non-Western country (see Appendix A for detailed interlocutor profiles). While I made every attempt to elicit spontaneous speech by encouraging interlocutors to interact predominately amongst themselves rather than with me, the observer's paradox may have yielded some level of hypercorrection and/or avoidance of colloquial and ethnolectal language, particularly at the times when I was verbally present in the session. On the other hand, one subject reported during our final debriefing that he was familiar with the research on Kiezdeutsch that argued that Kiezdeutsch was a valuable cultural resource because his friend had previously participated in and been debriefed on a study related to Kiezdeutsch. In this case, it might be expected that an interlocutor, recognizing the covert prestige of Kiezdeutsch and its importance to researchers, might conversely produce more prototypically ethnolectal forms than would otherwise be expected. The possibility of both hypercorrection and other possible manifestations of the observer paradox have thus been taken into account where possible.

1.2.3 POSITIONALITY VIS-À-VIS REFUGEE YOUTH

My nationality and linguistic background were somewhat more difficult to obscure in the context of my data collection among refugees compared to my data collection among post-migrant youth. Because I was volunteering as a German instructor and had to disclose my relevant training and background in informal interviews with staff and in introductions to fellow instructors, I also had to explicitly ask staff not to pass this information on to students. Because the topics of national origin and mother tongues

often come up in the context of basic language instruction, this proved difficult. On one occasion during a co-taught class, my co-instructor did accidentally reveal my nationality and native language to students while modelling a dialogue on making introductions. While no students in this course were included among my core subjects for interviews or audio recordings, it thus cannot be ruled out that some students who I interacted with in more informal ethnographic contexts may have known that I was a native English speaker. However, students who participated in formal interviews and were debriefed when I left the field site expressed surprise and interest when I told them I was from the US. I thus feel it is safe to infer that my core interlocutors, at the very least, were not inclined to speak more English with me than they would with any other instructor or staff member.

1.2.4 POSITIONALITY IN THE CONTEXT OF DATA ANALYSIS

A valid possible criticism of my work is that I, as a native speaker of English, am biased towards recognizing or interpreting certain features of language as English or English-influenced. While this certainly may be the case, it is no less true that most work conducted on German ethnolects has been conducted by native German speakers and other non-native speakers of English, and thus may suffer the opposite tendency (i.e., the tendency to overlook the influence of English). While I thus make every attempt to situate my analysis and claims about the role of English in relation to previous work which has claimed the opposite, I also contend that my unique perspective as a semi-outsider to the German-speaking world constitutes an important outside perspective which serves to complement previous work—even that work which my findings explicitly contradict. Indeed, general linguists broadly recognize the value of the outsider perspective in researching languages which one does not speak (or, from a sociolinguistic perspective, speech communities to which one does not belong).

1.3 OVERVIEW AND OUTLINE

Having positioned this research within the broad historical context of inter-Germanic language contact and contemporary ideologies about language contact and mixing, in Chapter 2 I will give an overview of the large body of literature which has been concerned with contact between German and immigrant languages unrelated to German since the arrival of guest workers in the 1960s and 70s. Furthermore, I will motivate the importance of investigating the role of English alongside immigrant languages, highlighting changing roles of English in a globalized world. Chapter 3 reevaluates the role of English in the Kiezdeutsch corpus (KiDKo), a spoken language corpus of data collected among youth with migrant backgrounds who speak an ethnolect that has been named “Kiezdeutsch” and is characterized as exhibiting both innovative new linguistic features and contact-related borrowings from immigrant languages such as Arabic and Turkish. Challenging previous studies that found little influence from English in the corpus, I find that there is robust influence from English in the areas of lexical borrowing and code-switching.

In Chapter 4, my first newly-collected data are presented. Based on data obtained in the form of recordings of spontaneous speech, targeted interview elicitation, and

general ethnographic observation, I show that English is indeed a ubiquitous second-language that is actively donating features to Kiezdeutsch in a community of speakers in Berlin. Metalinguistic data collected in this study suggest that the use of English in these communities is on the rise, in part due to the use of English as a lingua franca in contact between these second- and third-generation immigrant communities and new immigrant communities associated with the “refugee crisis” of 2015. In order to further explore this new situation, in Chapter 5, I present data collected in a similar manner in German language courses for young refugees and asylum seekers in Berlin. These data indeed confirm Kiezdeutsch speaker’s claims regarding both the prevalence of English in these communities and their contact with established immigrant speech communities. Furthermore, Chapters 4 and 5 together suggest the emergence of a new German-English hybrid repertoire which I term “Kiezenglish.” Chapter 6 concludes the dissertation, providing an overview of the research, some avenues for future work, and a discussion of the implications of the findings both for sociolinguistic description and theory and for language policy and language pedagogy in present-day Germany.

CHAPTER 2

BACKGROUND LITERATURE: IMMIGRANT LANGUAGE AND ETHNOLECTS IN GERMANY

2.0 INTRODUCTION

The aim of this chapter is to give an account of the literature on the language of migrants in Germany from postwar to present. My goal is not only to summarize this body of work, but in doing so, to investigate the ideological and political reasons underlying the fact that English has been ignored in this research. I begin with a chronological account of the terminology that has been used to describe migrant varieties of German. I then give a brief overview of the linguistic features of Kiezdeutsch, the term most commonly used in current linguistic literature to describe ethnolectal urban German. With this background in mind, I discuss how the politics and limitations of these terminologies have erased the role of English in these speech communities. Finally, I discuss why a reexamination of the role of English is crucial both for a descriptive linguistic understanding of Kiezdeutsch as a variety and for the empowerment of the speakers themselves.

2.1 GASTARBEITERDEUTSCH

In the 1960s and 70s, research on the language of guest workers (termed *Gastarbeiterdeutsch*) was sparse and remained mostly within the domains of applied linguistics and language pedagogy (e.g., Littlewood 1976). It wasn't until 1981 that Gastarbeiterdeutsch was considered as a candidate full-fledged variety of German rather than a fleeting interlanguage or learner variety. Noting the superficially pidgin-like features of Gastarbeiterdeutsch such as zero copula and overgeneralization in subject/verb agreement morphology, Carol Pfaff speculated that given the diversity of genetically unrelated languages spoken by guest workers, their speech community might provide fertile ground for creolization. However, Pfaff ultimately disproved her own hypothesis, concluding that the children of guest workers who were born and raised in Germany spoke varieties of German indistinguishable from their ethnic German peers. The possibility of Gastarbeiterdeutsch as a fledgling creole was thus quickly ruled out. However, Pfaff's study would pave the way for future investigation of features typically

associated with migrant learner varieties as potential features of new native German varieties.

2.2 KANAK SPRAK

Feridun Zaimoğlu's 1995 book *Kanak Sprak: 24 Mißstöne vom Rande der Gesellschaft* sparked new interest in migrant varieties of German among German Studies scholars. *Kanak-Sprak* is structured as a series of monologues by 24 Turkish-German *Kanaken*, a derogatory term for non-German foreigners. The narratives employ language associated with Turkish-Germans, exposing the covert prestige that these forms carry by highlighting the anti-hegemonic function of this language in creating solidarity around a marginalized Turkish-German identity. The history of the use of the term *Kanak* in Germany is hazy. Originating from the Hawaiian word for 'human being,' in Germany *Kanak* has referred to numerous white and non-white ethnic groups ranging from Slavic ethnic groups in Moravia to Southeastern Europeans to, in its predominant contemporary usage, people with Turkish and Middle Eastern backgrounds (Cheesman 2004:85, Loentz 2006:34). The intention of Zaimoğlu's purposeful use of this pejorative in the title was clearly a literary attempt at linguistic reclamation comparable to the earlier reappropriation of the pejorative "n-word" in African American English (Cheesman 2004:85, Naylor 1998).

Linguists, however, found the term *Kanak Sprak* inaccurate and potentially stigmatizing as a descriptor for the real-world language variety that Zaimoğlu ostensibly attempted to index through his use of stereotypically "Turkish-German" language features. As Pfaff discovered, the children of guest workers acquired standard German in their early years. However, as this speech community came of age in the 1990s, it began to exhibit features associated with a number of different heritage languages, as well as various common features of contact languages such as zero copula. These features were not restricted to children who spoke a particular heritage language, or even to the children of guest workers. Instead, the variety that began to emerge was also spoken by youth with other migrant backgrounds, as well as by some young ethnic Germans living in multilingual urban settings.

While Zaimoğlu himself pointed out that *Kanak* need not refer only to Turkish Germans, the term *Kanak-Sprak*, irrevocably associated with a Turkish-German author and his Turkish-German protagonists, unsurprisingly remained interchangeable with solely derogatory terms like *Türkendutsch* in public discourse. In literature, film, and popular media, *Kanak-Sprak* similarly paved the way for trends such as *Kanakcomedy*, a genre of comedy which employs a stylized stereotype of Turkish-German language in order to construct caricatures of Turkish-German characters as misogynistic, delinquent, and under-educated (Loentz 2006:43-44). These representations and stereotypes naturally tended to suggest that this language itself was a deficient, foreign form of German spoken either by second-language speakers or by individuals afflicted by the mythical *Halbsprachigkeit* ('double semilingualism'). Despite having been debunked by linguists in the mid-1980s, the folk theory of (double) semilingualism, or the belief that mixing of language and language varieties leads to inadequate, partial competence in both or all

languages, continues to circulate in popular media, education, and language policy in Germany (Martin-Jones and Romaine 1986, Wiese 2011).

To emphasize the heterogeneity of these speech communities and the fact that these varieties did not represent “broken German,” linguists proposed the alternate term *Kiezdeutsch* to describe the language that Zaimoğlu had evidently attempted to capture. This more neutral descriptor indexed the speech communities’ urban setting using the decidedly German colloquial term *Kiez* (“(neighbor)hood”) rather than a label linking the language to any one particular ethnic group or category of ethnic groups. Heike Wiese (2014:214), the primary instigator of this terminological development, says the following of the term *Kanak-Sprak*:

Semantically, it supports an othering of (a) the speakers themselves as foreign and (b) of their way of speaking as a different language, ‘Sprak.’ In contrast to this, “Kiezdeutsch” does not carry pejorative connotations and places this way of speaking and their speakers within the majority group.

Indeed, as Wiese predicted, *Kanak-Sprak* never lost its xenophobic, pejorative connotations. In fact, she notes that the use of the term *Kiezdeutsch* has interestingly faced “strong opposition...from self-appointed ‘language guardians’ such as the right-wing German ‘Verein für Sprachpflege’, who [sic] follows a purist, monoethnically and monolingually oriented agenda.” These groups unsurprisingly actually prefer the term *Kanak-Sprak*, with its accompanying stigma (Wiese 2013a:214-215). While *Kanak Sprak* was intended as a reclamation, it ultimately defined a category for the *Sprachschützer* (‘language guardians’) to malign by directly indexing Turkishness and deficient language acquisition, which linguists argued were no longer salient features of the speech communities described by Zaimoğlu. The continued stigmatization of *Kanak-Sprak* comes not only from the speakers of majority varieties of German in public discourse but is also echoed in my own fieldwork among youth with migrant backgrounds who themselves belong to the speech community in question. At the end of one fieldwork session, a German-born interlocutor with Arabic-speaking parents asked me what the topic of my research was. When I gave him my apparently unsatisfactory pre-debriefing answer of “slang and teen language in Berlin,” he immediately asked if I was studying Kiezdeutsch, specifically. His friend retorted “what, you mean Kanak-Sprak?,” to which he replied “no, it’s not Kanak-Sprak; it’s not just us, lots of young people just speak this way.”⁵

2.3 KIEZDEUTSCH

The term *Kiezdeutsch* was also useful in aligning the variety with other so-called “urban multiethnolects” in Europe, including Multicultural London English in the UK, *straattaal* (lit. ‘street language’) in the Netherlands, and *rinkebysvenska* (lit. ‘Rinkeby Swedish,’ referring to the multiethnic Rinkeby neighborhood of Stockholm) in Sweden. These varieties are termed “multiethnolects” because in contrast to well-studied American

⁵ Unless otherwise indicated, transcribed speech in prose has been translated from German to English by the author.

ethnolects such as African American English (AAE) and Chicano English, which are predominately associated with one ethnic group, multiethnolects are spoken in multilingual urban environments by young people of a variety of ethnicities. These may include, as is the case with Kiezdeutsch, ethnic majorities such as white Germans without immigrant backgrounds (Freywald et al. 2011).

Much scholarly work on these varieties has focused on their origins in multilingual urban communities where the European language was or is in contact with immigrant languages such as Turkish, Arabic, and Kurdish. Calling into question the popular assumption that these varieties are simplified or deficient forms of the European languages sprinkled with immigrant language loanwords, linguists have pointed out that the grammatical innovations in these varieties often highlight the linguistic flexibility of their multilingual speakers. Furthermore, linguists argue that they serve as tools for a number of ethnic and social minority groups to position themselves in relation to the majority society based on common identification with their multilingual urban environment, rather than with any one particular migrant background, ethnicity, or language (Rehbein et al. 2014, Wiese 2013b).

2.3.1 A DESCRIPTIVE ACCOUNT OF KIEZDEUTSCH

This terminological turn sparked renewed interest among linguists in describing and characterizing Kiezdeutsch from both a sociolinguistic and formal linguistic standpoint. Beginning in the late 1990s, Heike Wiese and her colleagues at the University of Potsdam began to pioneer what would become an extensive body of descriptive linguistic and sociolinguistic work on the Kiezdeutsch multiethnolect. On a formal descriptive level, this literature focused primarily on three characteristic categories of Kiezdeutsch features: loaned (predominately lexical) features, apparent grammatical “reductions,” and coinciding grammatical elaborations.

The first category of features, loaned features from migrant heritage languages, represents primarily only lexical and phonological features. Lexical features include, for example, loaned discourse particles such as *yalla* (from Arabic, with the German meaning ‘los geht’s’, English ‘let’s go’) and *lan* (from Turkish, a vocative particle of address prototypically addressing males and roughly equivalent to English ‘dude’ or German ‘Alter’). These loanwords are not necessarily used in the same way in Kiezdeutsch as in their source languages and are used both by speakers who do speak the source immigrant language and speakers who do not (Wiese 2009). Some phonological features are also considered to be the partial result of transfer from migrant languages. One example of a phonological feature possibly resulting from such transfer is the coronalization of /ç/, which yields pronunciations such as *isch* for *ich*. Note, however, that this change does not occur in a vacuum and is difficult to attribute exclusively to contact/transfer, since it is also a common feature of a number of native German regional dialects (Dirim & Auer 2004:207).

More commonly discussed in this body of research, however, are features of grammatical “simplification” and concomitant grammatical elaboration. Contact between languages universally tends to result in a number of common grammatical simplifications. Regardless of the specific features of the languages in contact, pidgins, creoles, and other contact varieties often exhibit a similar set of simplified grammatical

features. Despite Pfaff's conclusion that these features were not found among the children of guest workers, a number of these features are indeed now found in Kiezdeutsch. These include zero copula (omission of expected linking verbs between the subject and predicate; see Example 2.1), reduced or absent morphological inflection of nouns and verbs (see Example 2.2), and tendency of word order towards SVO (see Example 2.3).

**EXAMPLE 2.1:
ZERO COPULA IN KIEZDEUTSCH**

Kiezdeutsch

Was Ø denn los hier?
'What going on here?'

Ja, ich Ø aus Wedding.
'Yeah, I from Wedding.'

Standard German

Was **ist** denn los hier?
'What is going on here?'

Ja, ich **bin** aus Wedding.
'Yeah, I am from Wedding.'

**EXAMPLE 2.2:
REDUCED MORPHOLOGICAL INFLECTION IN KIEZDEUTSCH**

Kiezdeutsch

auf kein Fall
'in no case'

Wir kenn uns schon vom Fitness.
'We already know each other from working out'

Standard German

auf **keinen** Fall
'in no-ACC. case'

wir **kennen** uns schon vom Fitness
'We already know-1.PL each other from working out'

**EXAMPLE 2.3:
SVO WORD ORDER IN KIEZDEUTSCH**

Kiezdeutsch

Morgen ich geh Kino.
ADV SUBJ V OBJ

Standard German

Morgen gehe ich ins Kino.
ADV V SUBJ PREP OBJ

'Tomorrow I'm going to the movie theater.'

(Kiezdeutsch Infoportal)

However, as was already suggested in Pfaff's work on second-generation immigrant children, these simplifications in Kiezdeutsch are not simply indicative of deficient acquisition or even subsequent creolization. Paradoxically, researchers discovered that Kiezdeutsch does still exhibit many of these grammatical simplifications, as evidenced in these examples. However, in contrast to what would be expected in a usual contact situation leading to a contact variety such as a creole, many of these simplifications exist simply as optional variations, and their use is restricted to certain contexts. In other words, the standard, more "complex" forms coexist alongside the apparently grammatically reduced forms. The result of this option for grammatical simplification thus results, as Wiese and her colleagues argue, in an elaborated and innovative grammatical system.

This is the case, for example, with Adv-SVO structures such as *Morgen ich geh Kino* (Example 2.3), in which the usual verb-second (V2) constraint of standard German appears to be violated in favor of preserving the typologically more common SVO word order. In Kiezdeutsch, however, this word order occurs alongside the standard V2 (i.e., Adv-VSO) order. While Adv-SVO structures in isolation thus appear on the surface to constitute grammatical simplification, they are actually exploited by Kiezdeutsch speakers as an additional word order option, yielding new, elaborated grammatical patterns (Wiese 2009). This is evidenced by the fact that variation between Adv-SVO and Adv-VSO is not random, but rather is governed by information structural constraints. In standard German as well as in Kiezdeutsch, the place in the sentence occupied by the adverb in these particular constructions (i.e., the prefield/left periphery) is used as a topic position. This means that the adverb (or any other constituent) may be placed sentence-initially in order to foreground this constituent. The subject is the unmarked topic, meaning that it occurs in the topic position by default. However, if the subject is already known from context or discourse, it may be demoted to a non-topic position in order to foreground another element (e.g., an adverb). Since the verb must be the second element of a sentence, standard German only allows one element to be topicalized (in this case, either the adverb or the subject). Kiezdeutsch, however, has introduced an additional word order pattern (Adv-SVO) to allow topicalization of both the adverb and the subject (Wiese 2009). Adv-SVO word order is thus only expected where topicalizing both elements makes contextual and pragmatic sense.

This analysis is supported by the fact that Kiezdeutsch shows other apparent word order "simplifications" that, upon closer investigation, do not supplant the standard word order, but provide an additional information structural option. V1 (verb-first) word order in declarative utterances, for example, is prevalent in informal standard German and various German regional dialects, though this option is not considered standard and is predominately restricted to sentences where a pronoun is cliticized to a modal verb (see Example 2.4).

EXAMPLE 2.4:
V1 WORD ORDER IN INFORMAL STANDARD GERMAN

Musstu halt noch mal hingehen.
 MUST-YOU-2.SG.NOM PART AGAIN THERE-GO.INF

'You have to just go there again.'

(Lehmann 1991 in Kiezdeutsch Infoportal)

In Kiezdeutsch, on the other hand, the V1 option is not subject to restrictions related to the type of verb involved (Wiese 2009). V1 is used often and productively to express null topics where the subject is clear from discourse and no other sentence element merits topicalization (see Example 2.5).

EXAMPLE 2.5:
V1 WORD ORDER IN KIEZDEUTSCH

Hastu keinen Penis
 HAVE-YOU.2.SG.NOM NO-ACC PENIS

'You do not have a penis' (used in an insult, as a declarative, not as a question)

(Wiese 2009)

These word order variations may well have been influenced by word order options in immigrant heritage languages and in the learner varieties of German spoken by the migrant parents of some Kiezdeutsch speakers. However, they clearly no longer represent interlanguages, inadequate acquisition, or simplifications of German grammar. Instead, they represent additional syntactic options which have resulted in a new, systematic, elaborated information structural system. Furthermore, many of these variations are not intrinsically “foreign” or associated with any one heritage language or contact feature but rather are universal features of language contact and change that may also be found in regional dialects of German, historical forms of German, and in other Germanic languages (Wiese 2012).

2.3.2 PROBLEMATIZING KIEZDEUTSCH: MULTIETHNOLECT, DIALECT, OR REPERTOIRE?

Despite linguists' widespread acceptance of the term *Kiezdeutsch* to describe urban (multi)ethnolects of German, a number of scholars have criticized this classification for erasing the roles of certain speakers and certain types of features from the linguistic landscapes associated with Kiezdeutsch. Linguistic anthropologists, in particular, have argued that naming a variety or categorizing a variety as a (multi)ethnolect often erases other linguistic repertoires shared within the community (in the case of this dissertation, for example, this may include proficiency in and use of English). These repertoires may

be present in the speech community but not, for example, apparently central to the “ethnic” nature of the (multi)ethnolect. Furthermore, ethnolectal speech communities are often defined in opposition majority speech communities in a manner that may unintentionally erase registers, styling practices, and repertoires which are usually associated with the standard language speech community. An individual may be described as a “Kiezdeutsch speaker,” but it is important to emphasize that no individual is *only* a Kiezdeutsch speaker. Their language might also be characterized, for example, by a regional dialect (e.g., Berlinerisch), by multilingualism in a heritage or non-heritage language (such as Arabic or English), or by features conditioned by, e.g., gender, class, age, or other social factors. In his study of Moroccan-Dutch youth language and naming practices, Jürgen Jaspers (2008:89) problematizes the concept of the monolithic (multi)ethnolect as follows:

Transforming the appearance of contact features, even if they are systematic, into the use of a variety...obscures what repertoires speakers have; whether their linguistic performances are conventional or flamboyant, competent or less than that; what local and general social and linguistic histories speakers are taking into account and are (re)constructing; what desirable or stigmatized routines and language names they are affiliating with; and with what consequences for which others in the vicinity at that moment. Thus, basically, positing the use of a variety draws attention away from the relationality of styles within a system of alternative varieties (Irvine, 2001; Pratt, 1987, p.59) and contributes to picturing the social world as consisting of separate rather than interpenetrating spheres (McElhinny, 1997).

One major reality of the Kiezdeutsch speech community which many linguists have argued is “obscured” in this way is the fact that not all speakers of Kiezdeutsch are necessarily speakers of another dialect of German (either standard German or a regional dialect). This assumption both erases the possibility of speakers for whom Kiezdeutsch is their native German dialect and minimizes the role of nonnative speakers of German in the Kiezdeutsch community. Wiese and her colleagues understandably strive to dispel the myth of Kiezdeutsch as “broken German” by drawing a clear line in public discourse between native German speakers who exploit features of immigrant languages for social purposes and second-language speakers who exhibit similar features because they do not (yet) speak fluent German. Thus, much of the work on Kiezdeutsch operates on the assumption that no speaker is a “native” speaker of Kiezdeutsch, and that Kiezdeutsch is predominately a repertoire of youth who speak some other variety of German as a “native language.”

David Huenlich (2016:116-119), however, challenges this assumption, arguing that it is not supported by the existing empirical evidence. He posits that the acquisition of Kiezdeutsch might be better seen from the perspective of koinéization, whereby a new variety emerges from the mixing of different dialects, for example in the case of the leveling of diverse English dialects in Australia and New Zealand. In these situations, the native variety of the new L1 speakers evidences far more variability and linguistic flexibility than would normally be expected in a more monolingual or monodialectal

society. This is reminiscent of the *Sprachdusche* effect that has been described for German ethnolects, whereby speakers are exposed to a ‘hybrid language shower’ which conditions the variable and diverse features of the multiethnolect (Dittmar 2013 cited in Huenlich 2016:118). In this way, L2 speakers of the developing ethnolect play a robust and crucial role in the speech community.

Indeed, Robin Queen’s 1996 dissertation, one of the few investigations of the language of native bilingual speakers of German and Turkish conducted prior to Wiese’s research, presented similar findings two decades earlier. Queen argues that bilinguals who have been raised speaking both German and Turkish employ intonational patterns from both German and Turkish in their native German⁶. She does not present this as a fleeting youth language or stylistic choice, but as the predominant intonational system of these speakers. Queen’s 10-year follow-up study showed that these intonational patterns remained stable, further supporting this claim, and leading her to argue that this is an example of a synchronic feature of bilinguals at one point in time resulting in a permanent linguistic change within a speech community (2012). These analyses of the development of an ethnolect underline the importance of taking seriously the role of the early stages of new bilingual speakers within the multiethnolectal speech community.

The idea that Kiezdeutsch represents a variety principally spoken by “youth” or adolescents is another assumption specifically associated with Wiese and her colleagues, and connects her body of research with a larger European research tradition surrounding the study of “youth languages.” As Huenlich (2016:11) points out, “most researchers on the European continent agree on the categorization as a youth language without seriously questioning the term.” A number of researchers, however, do disagree with this classification of Kiezdeutsch, arguing that younger children exhibit similar speech patterns, and that there is no longitudinal evidence to prove that these speakers will not continue to speak Kiezdeutsch into adulthood (Huenlich 2016, Keim 2012). I believe that Queen (2012) gives the first piece of evidence suggesting that these new ethnolects represent permanent language change, and thus also disagree with the absolute view that Kiezdeutsch is strictly a “youth” language. While my study pushes the boundaries of “youth” only slightly, including interlocutors up to the age of 27, trends in the most recent literature involving these communities suggest that a more thorough understanding of the issues discussed in this dissertation will require work with both younger and older speakers.

Queen’s findings are echoed in more recent phonetic and phonological research conducted by Stefanie Jannedy, who uses the English-language term *Hood German* to refer to Kiezdeutsch. Her findings also call into question the assumption that Hood German/Kiezdeutsch speakers who were born in Germany are also always proficient in Standard German (or in the regional German dialect native to their place of birth). In two controlled studies, Jannedy shows that for many speakers, the aforementioned coronalization of /ç/ represents moreover a full perceptual merger of /ç/ and /ʃ/ for

⁶ Strikingly, Queen does not mention the term *Kiezdeutsch* or any of the related literature in her more recent publications, nor have I found any European work on Kiezdeutsch which cites Queen. This, I believe, is reflective of a general cleavage between US and European work on German urban dialects. Though it is beyond the scope of this dissertation to delve further into this issue, I hope to bridge these research traditions where possible by situating my own work in the transnational scholarship on this topic in the hopes of encouraging others do to the same.

many Kiezdeutsch speakers in Berlin (2014, 2015). This would, of course, not be expected for speakers of either Standard German or the Berlin dialect. Thus, the coronalization feature of Hood German/Kiezdeutsch must be, for these speakers, “native”.⁷

In addition to oversimplifying the “nativeness” of Kiezdeutsch and excluding speakers of certain ages, the naming and narrow characterizations of Kiezdeutsch have no doubt obscured a number of other repertoires and features of the Kiezdeutsch speech community. In this dissertation, I specifically focus on the obscured role of English among speakers of Kiezdeutsch—particularly in Berlin, and especially with the arrival of an increased number of English-speaking refugees who employ English as a *lingua franca* among themselves and in interaction with established immigrant communities. In this study, I use the term “Kiezdeutsch” to refer to the constellations of non-standard features of German which are unique to highly multiethnic and multilingual urban speech communities. However, I do so without adopting the assumption that Kiezdeutsch cannot be a native variety for any given individual, and with the recognition that even if English appears to contribute features to Kiezdeutsch, the use of English might simultaneously be viewed as an entirely separate but intersecting repertoire or competence for any individual speaker.

2.3.3 THE INVISIBLE ROLE OF (KIEZ)ENGLISH

While I am by no means the first linguist to acknowledge that labelling a variety as a (multi)ethnolect often has the unintended effect of oversimplifying linguistic landscapes, this dissertation represents the first work to take seriously the flourishing and dynamic role of English in Kiezdeutsch speech communities. It is not surprising that non-linguists have failed to recognize the level of English proficiency among populations associated with Kiezdeutsch. Sociolinguistically, German-English bilingualism in Germany is classified as a situation of “additive bilingualism,” where both the first language (German) and the second language (English) are highly valued in society. The second language is widely taught in schools, prevalent in media, and commonly serves as a *lingua franca* in the workplace and in institutional contexts. Bilingualism in Turkish, Arabic, Farsi, and other migrant languages, on the other hand, is considered “subtractive bilingualism” in the German context. These second languages are often viewed by laypeople as impediments to acquisition of “correct” German. Unlike languages such as English, they are usually learned at home rather than in school, and thus lack institutionalized academic support. These individuals’ bilingualism is accordingly not granted the same status in society (Lambert 1974).

Both popular discourse and academic work on Kiezdeutsch have emphasized the connection of the Kiezdeutsch speech community with non-dominant immigrant languages associated with subtractive bilingualism. It is thus not surprising that the potential secondary role of additive German-English bilingualism in these populations

⁷ Relatedly, my data show evidence that for some non-native speakers of German, Kiezdeutsch is the predominant, and perhaps only, variety of German they command; see Chapter 5.

has been overlooked. Furthermore, the German-English bilingualism of these populations is likely recognized as different or inferior because the domains in which these populations use English do not line up with the domains in which majority speakers use English (i.e., in schools, the workplace, and other official/institutional contexts). Many of the interlocutors in my study indeed reported using English in the context of service industry jobs. However, their main reported contact with the English language was in the context of subcultural media (e.g., hip-hop, internet forums, and video games) and with non-German speaking immigrants (e.g., African drug dealers who frequent the parks where they socialize; one interlocuter jokingly referred to this variety of English as *Görlienglisch* with reference to the crime-ridden Görlitzer Park in the Kreuzberg neighborhood).

The popular attitude that these populations are not proficient in English (or, likely, in French, Spanish, and other languages associated with additive bilingualism in Germany) was often evident in my interactions with the teachers, social workers, and organizational staff whom I encountered during my fieldwork. During my recruitment phase, I contacted a number of organizations which serve Kiezdeutsch-speaking populations. Initially, my recruitment pitch included a disclosure that my research involved an investigation of the role of English in these communities. Even organizations which responded encouragingly and welcomed me explicitly also apologetically warned that “none of our clients here speak English.” This was, of course, not what I found to be the case when I visited these organizations.

The issue at hand in these circumstances was clearly the discourse surrounding what it means to “speak English” in Germany in terms of domains and contexts of use and varieties and registers commanded. This became apparent after I made an audio recording at an organization which served the Kiezdeutsch community but was run entirely by white German-born staff. As I was leaving, a staff member checked in to see how it went. She pointed at one particular young man and said, laughing, “I should have told you not to interview him – he’s being held back for failing his English course last year.” This particular young man not only self-reported speaking English as a second language, but also spoke English on a daily basis in his part-time job in the tourism industry. He spoke with me in what most Americans would likely consider fluent (but accented) English for 10 minutes of the taped session. To an American ear, his English reflected that of a sociolinguistically competent speaker able to draw on features of African American English, producing utterances such as “in Germany they say they gangsta but they not”⁸. Such language, though entirely grammatical in varieties such as AAE, would likely not earn a student high marks on an English exam in a formal school setting. It is clear that despite the broad role of English as a lingua franca in Europe, to the general German public, “speaking English” indexes literacy,⁹ academic achievement,

⁸ See Chapter 4 for a longer transcription and discussion of this particular section of the tapes.

⁹ This is not to suggest that English is mainly spoken but not written by these speakers or that illiteracy or illiteracy in English is common in these communities. On the contrary, one of the few areas where any role of English in these communities has been discussed at all is in computer-mediated communication (Androutsopoulos 2007, Wittenberg and Paul 2008). However, this again represents a domain of written language that differs from the domains in which written English language is valued in the majority speech communities (i.e., e.g., in academic texts, business English, legal and political writing). For an in-depth discussion of Kiezdeutsch and English in computer-mediated communication, see Chapter 4.

and competence in a specific formal register of English rather than communicative competence.

It is clear how stereotypes about the educational background and linguistic proficiencies of multiethnic individuals affect how the general public perceives their English skills. However, the question remains why linguists, who should be wary of jumping to such conclusions and attributing only one type of bilingualism to a given speech community, have also ignored English in favor of emphasizing the role of multilingualism in immigrant languages. This is certainly not to suggest that linguists are immune to the language attitudes that they study. However, I argue that linguists' hesitance to acknowledge the influence of English stems moreover from the fact that they feel tasked with proving to the general public that Kiezdeutsch is a full-fledged, grammatically complex variety spoken by native German speakers. This has resulted in the following three tendencies which have inadvertently erased the role of English in previous scholarship:

(1) An impulse to distract from the recognizable foreign surface features of Kiezdeutsch¹⁰ (i.e., loanwords and loaned phonology) in favor of emphasizing Kiezdeutsch's expanded grammatical possibilities. Kiezdeutsch's grammatical innovations quite succinctly and powerfully show that Kiezdeutsch is more than just a foreign-influenced, simplified form of German. The influence of English on Kiezdeutsch, like that of, e.g., Arabic and Turkish, indeed often manifests itself on the lexical and phonological levels and is thus simply not investigated. If English is mentioned at all, its influence is dismissed as "superficial."¹¹

(2) A tendency to avoid discussion of anglicisms (*Anglizismen*), which are treated predominately as a problem and a threat to the German language in public discourse in Germany. Folk-linguistic discussions of the influence of English on German often provoke the same type of moral panic as Kiezdeutsch, devolving into unscientific anxieties about Sprachverfall¹² ('language decay') through replacement of German with English or simplification and erosion of the German language (Spitzmüller 2005). Most linguists are obviously critical of these types of unsubstantiated claims. However, given the fact that Kiezdeutsch is already a stigmatized variety, linguists understandably may

¹⁰ Huenlich (2016) also draws attention to the lack of research on the lexical aspects of Kiezdeutsch.

¹¹ Wittenberg and Paul (2008), the sole article which entertains the possibility of English influence on Kiezdeutsch, deals, for example, only with "anglicisms." They conclude, based on a partial analysis of an early version of the Kiezdeutsch corpus, that anglicisms are less frequent in Kiezdeutsch than in monoethnic youth language or in the computer-mediated communication of multiethnic youth. They conclude that anglicisms in spoken language are "nicht sehr auffällig" ('not particularly conspicuous') despite citing a rather impressive number and range of anglicisms in the corpus while not providing any quantitative support for their lack of "conspicuousness." In Chapter 3, I conduct a more comprehensive analysis of the full corpus, demonstrating that the influence of English is just as present as that of Turkish (or Arabic), if not more.

¹² In linguistics, language decay refers to very specific processes (e.g., sociolinguistic, morphological, syntactic) which tend to occur once a language is moribund. Though German is clearly not moribund, this term has been coopted in popular discourse to describe certain types of language change (*Sprachwandel*) which have no correlation with language death. These changes are normal and inevitable features of linguistic evolution in contact situations and do not indicate true language decay or death (Sasse 1992).

prefer to focus on features that are given superficial value in the context of standard language ideologies such as grammatical complexity and features that also occur in valued regional German dialects or in historical stages of German and other Germanic languages.¹³

(3) As discussed in section 2.3.2, linguists are hesitant to discuss any possible continued influence of learner varieties on Kiezdeutsch (or, relatedly, the possibility that a significant proportion of the Kiezdeutsch speech community speaks Standard German non-natively). This erases the role of English as a *lingua franca* between German learners and native Kiezdeutsch speakers. This veritable “Kiezenglish” repertoire, I argue, is a crucial component of the contact situation between these two speech communities. As I will discuss further in Chapters 4 and 5, this contact represents one of the main spheres of life where native German Kiezdeutsch speakers report speaking English, namely, in their interactions with newly-arrived refugees on the streets and in *Willkommensklassen* (‘welcome classes’) at their schools.

Given the quantity of research surrounding Kiezdeutsch (and Hood English, multiethnolectal German, and the like) over the past two decades, this dissertation alone cannot possibly address the numerous places where English has been overlooked as a possible influence on Kiezdeutsch. However, I hope to give a general overview of the formal (feature-specific) linguistic as well as sociolinguistic and situational areas where the Kiezdeutsch-English connection is most transparently relevant. Furthermore, this dissertation should make clear why it is so important to understand the role of English in these communities. Most obviously, understanding the role of English is crucial to developing a descriptive linguistic account of Kiezdeutsch (for those who prefer to see Kiezdeutsch as a singularly, definable variety, at least). On a sociolinguistic level, elucidating the connection between English and Kiezdeutsch will additionally help tease apart the complex relationship between AAE and Kiezdeutsch which has already been recognized by scholars interested in the intersection between hip-hop subcultures and urban multiethnic youth languages (e.g., Androutsopoulos 2007, Garley and Hockenmaier 2012, Soysal 2004). Finally, it is likely that understanding the way English is used in these communities will be all the more important in the face of the current influx of refugees, for many of whom English is the predominant *lingua franca* upon their arrival in Germany. I argue that this use of English may be key in understanding how this new wave of migration will affect (or may not affect) the future of Kiezdeutsch and the way that these new migrants will acquire German (see Chapter 5).

More broadly, however, recognizing the presence of English—a language associated with additive bilingualism and overt prestige—in the linguistic landscape of Kiezdeutsch speakers has important social consequences for the members of the speech community themselves. By recognizing that these speech communities include proficient English speakers who make use of anglicisms and English-German language mixing in a

¹³ See, for example, Heike Wiese’s 2012 popular science book *Kiezdeutsch: Ein neuer Dialekt entsteht*, which controversially goes to the extreme of calling Kiezdeutsch a “dialect” and comparing its features to those of regional German dialects, which Germans largely take pride in as traditional heritage varieties that should exist alongside the standard language.

way similar to the majority society, linguists have the opportunity to fight the assumption that these populations do not “speak English.” In the same vein, an investigation of the role of English represents a recognition that multiethnic linguistic landscapes may not just include the dominant language and immigrant languages, but also languages with overt prestige which are commonly spoken as second languages in the majority society. This, I argue, is an important step in correcting the tendency to overemphasize the “specialness” and “unique flexibility” of Kiezdeutsch speakers which has led to accusations, often made by scholars in fields outside of linguistics, that the linguistic study of Kiezdeutsch runs the risk of manifesting “eine neue Form der Exotisierung” (‘a new form of exoticization’) (*Erinnerungsorte und Kiezdeutsch* 2012).

CHAPTER 3

ENGLISH IN THE KIEZDEUTSCH CORPUS (KIDKO)

3.0 INTRODUCTION

In order to reevaluate the assumptions which have been made about the role of English in previous data, this chapter presents an analysis of the use of English in the Kiezdeutsch corpus (KiDKo). The corpus is comprised of two parallel sub-corpora; the main corpus contains spontaneous conversations among youth in the multiethnic, multilingual Berlin neighborhood of Kreuzberg, and the so-called “complementary” corpus contains spontaneous conversations among youth in Hellersdorf, a predominately monoethnic, monolingual neighborhood of Berlin.

Section 3.1 provides further description of the corpus and discusses previous findings related to the prevalence of English and other foreign languages in the corpus data. Section 3.2 demonstrates that despite claims to the contrary, the corpus contains a significant amount of German-English code-switching. In section 3.2.1, I establish that multiple types of code-switching occur in the corpus, including intra-sentential code-switching, which is characteristic of the switching of highly bilingual speakers. Section 3.2.2 presents a conversation-analytic analysis of code-switching within one conversation in the corpus, revealing some local motivations for German-English code-switching. Section 3.2.3 provides a comparison of German-English code-switching in the monoethnic versus multiethnic subcorpora. Finally, section 3.5 discusses the implications of my analysis of the corpus for the studies conducted in the proceeding chapters and, more generally, for future research involving translanguaging¹⁴ practices in these communities.

3.1 BACKGROUND: THE KIEZDEUTSCH CORPUS

The Kiezdeutsch corpus, first released to the public research community in 2014, is a spoken-language corpus containing data gathered in June 2008 (Rehbein et al. 2014, Wiese 2012). Section 3.1.1 provides further details on the composition of the corpus, while section 3.1.2 discusses research previously conducted on the role of English (or lack thereof) and other foreign languages (predominately Turkish and Arabic) in the corpus.

¹⁴ I use the term *translanguaging* not in a strictly pedagogical/applied sense, but as what Lewis, Jones, & Baker (2012) refer to as “universal translanguaging.” This refers to the study of the integrated use of multiple languages “in the lives of bilinguals irrespective of context and particularly for gaining understandings, everyday communication, and achievement in interactions irrespective of site” (650).

3.1.1 CORPUS DESCRIPTION, COMPOSITION, AND DESIGN

The data in the corpus consist of audio recordings of youth between the ages of 14 and 17. Youth were recruited at local schools and asked to make the recordings themselves, outside of a laboratory setting, in everyday peer-group conversations and in the absence of researchers or supervisors. As previously described, the corpus consists of two sub-corpora, a corpus of multiethnic youth (approx. 48 hours and 266,000 tokens) and a smaller corpus of monoethnic youth (approx. 18 hours and 111,000 tokens). The neighborhoods in which the recordings were made, Kreuzberg and Hellersdorf, respectively, are fairly similar in terms of unemployment and welfare statistics, differing predominately only in ethnic makeup. The youth who made the recordings (the so-called *Anker-Sprecher/innen* ('anchor speakers') were specifically chosen for their demographic correspondence with the typical linguistic, socioeconomic, and ethnic profile of Kiezdeutsch speakers. Anchor speakers with a wide spectrum of home languages were chosen (Turkish, Kurdish, Arabic, and German), though all were born in Germany. Anchor speakers were instructed to make recordings in their free time for a period of one week (Wiese 2012:7-8).¹⁵

The corpus is available online as a transcription only in PDF files and through ANNIS, a platform which allows users to search annotated corpora within their browser, where transcriptions are aligned with audio. Audio is, however, not available publicly online, and must be accessed on-site at the University of Potsdam; any audio data referred to in this chapter were accessed on-site between May and September of 2016. The main annotation level ([v], the verbal annotation level), provides a minimal transcription of the recorded audio following the conventions of the *Gesprächsanalytisches Transkriptionssystem* ('discourse and conversation-analytic transcription system,' or GAT). GAT minimal transcription allows for readable, loose orthographic transcription most suitable for conversation and discourse analysis. Nonetheless, it is also compatible with more formal linguistic analysis and takes into account phonetic and paralinguistic phenomena such as pauses, lengthening, and laughter (see Selting et al. 1998 for full details on GAT and *Das KiezDeutsch-Korpus: Transkriptionsrichtlinien* 2014 for additional information on transcription and normalization of KiDKo, specifically).

The verbal annotation level is complemented by at least three additional annotation levels; one level provides Standard German glosses, another provides Part of Speech (PoS) tagging, and the final level, only available through ANNIS and not used in this analysis, provides syntactic information (for technical details related to the PoS tagging in the corpus, see Rehbein and Schalowski 2013). Where applicable, other annotations indicate non-verbal information and repairs. Additionally, foreign language items in the corpus are marked as FM ('foreign material') and translated where possible. Turkish is marked as "Turkish" on the verbal transcription level ([v]) and often

¹⁵ The most comprehensive description of the corpus data and design can be found in Wiese 2012. The information in this section represents a summary and translation of the information in this German-language article. An abbreviated description can be found in English in Rehbein et al. 2014.

translated, and Arabic is marked as “Arabic” on the verbal transcription level, but is not translated.

Notably, however, English language items are only sometimes marked explicitly as foreign material or as English, specifically, and English material in the corpus is never translated into German. When foreign material in English is marked explicitly as such, it is not marked on the main verbal transcription level as Turkish and Arabic are. This is instead specified on the non-verbal annotation level, and only in the very specific reoccurring contexts of *singt englisch* (‘sings (in) English’) or *englische Aussprache* (‘English pronunciation’). Compare, for example, the excerpts from the annotated PDF files of the corpus given in Examples 3.1-3.3. 3.1 gives an occurrence of the simple Turkish loanword *lan* (roughly equivalent to German ‘Alter’ or English ‘dude’), which, as described in Chapter 2, is a common form of address in Kiezdeutsch. Despite that fact that literature on Kiezdeutsch describes *lan* as a frequent loanword in Kiezdeutsch, *lan* is not only marked as foreign (FM), but additionally identified as (*Fremdsprachlich, Türkisch* ‘Foreign-language, Turkish’) on the main level of transcription. Multiple further levels of annotation provide a translation and additional information for this item. On the other hand, in Example 3.2, an entire phrase in English is simply marked FM, with no further information or annotation given. In Example 3.3, English items are explicitly marked as English, but this is done in smaller font on the auxiliary non-verbal ([nv]) annotation level instead of the main level of transcription, as is the case for other foreign languages.

**EXAMPLE 3.1:
FOREIGN MATERIAL IN KIDKO: TURKISH**

	15 [00:08.6]	16 [00:08.8*]	17 [00:08.9*]	18 [00:09.1*]	19 [00:09.3*]	20 [00:09.6*]
MuP1MK [v]	WAS (geht)					
MuP1MK [n]	Was	geht	?			
MuP1MK [POS]	PWS	VVFIN	\$.			
SPK101 [v]			(fremdsprachlich, türkisch)			ich
SPK101 [n]			FOREIGN		!	Ich
SPK101 [POS]			XYU		\$.	PPER
SPK101 [tr]			lan			
SPK101 [trnorm]			Ulan		!	
SPK101 [trdtwwue]			Junge			
SPK101 [trdtue]			Junge!			
MuP1MK [utterance]	2					
SPK101 [utterance]			3			4

(KiDKo mu_split 5.pdf:278)

EXAMPLE 3.2:
FOREIGN MATERIAL IN KiDKO: ENGLISH (LANGUAGE UNSPECIFIED)

	662 [03:23.1*]	663 [03:23.3*]	664 [03:23.6*]	665 [03:23.8]	666 [03:24.0*]	
MuH9WT [v]	(you)	CHECK	it		und	
MuH9WT [n]	PAUSE_S	You	check	it	.	Und
MuH9WT [POS]	FM	FM	FM	\$.		KON
SPK105 [v]				(unverständlich)		
SPK105 [n]				UNINTERPRETABLE	#	
SPK105 [POS]				XYU	\$#	
SPK102 [nv]						
MuH9WT [utterance]	177				179	
SPK105 [utterance]				178		

(KiDKo mu_split 4.pdf:1854)

EXAMPLE 3.3:
FOREIGN MATERIAL IN KiDKO: ENGLISH (LANGUAGE SPECIFIED ONLY ON [NV] LEVEL)

	3527 [29:58.1*]	3528 [29:58.4*]	3529 [29:58.8]	3530 [29:59.1*]	3531 [29:59.3*]	3532 [29:59.6*]	3533 [29:59.9*]
MuH19WT [v]		yes		i	'm	gonna	
MuH19WT [n]		Yes	.	I	'm	gonna	
MuH19WT [POS]		FM	\$.	FM	FM	FM	
MuH19WT [nv]			<i>singt englisch</i>				
SPK101 [v]		(-)					
SPK101 [n]		PAUSE_M					
SPK101 [POS]		PAUSE					
SPK101 [nv]	<i>lacht</i>						
MuH19WT [utterance]		695		696			
SPK101 [utterance]							

(KiDKo mu_split 2.pdf:1599)

To be sure, it is likely that one major reason that English was not translated or explicitly marked is simply a practical consideration. The academics in Germany who assembled the corpus are, of course, German-English bilinguals who likely mix these languages regularly themselves. It might seem odd that English is spelled out and left untranslated on the normalization level of annotation ([n]) given that this level is described as the “level of orthographic normalisation where non-canonical pronunciations, punctuation, and capitalisation are transferred to Standard German spelling” (Rehbein et al. 2014:2). However, English *does* represent part of a fairly standard German repertoire for the researchers insofar as English-German mixing is part of the

standard language practices of the vast majority of academics and researchers in Germany. Nonetheless, this treatment of English has the effect of deemphasizing the robust role of English as a language of loaning and translanguaging in the corpus. Correspondingly, the influence of Turkish and Arabic is then, I argue, overemphasized. In the same way that a German-speaking researcher using this corpus would be familiar with the phrase *fuck you* and thus require no translation, the very common Turkish loanword *lan* in Example 3.1 should also require no translation for the intended audience. To explicitly mark a Turkish loanword as “foreign material” while not giving the same marking to English loanwords suggests a problematic tendency towards the exoticization of non-Western languages in the study of post-migrant speech communities. This bias is most obviously manifest in the fact that this inconsistent tagging means that one cannot search the corpus for English material as easily as one can for Turkish and Arabic material. The visual layout of the corpus also reinforces this bias; while Turkish and Arabic are allotted multiple annotation levels and marked with large font on the main verbal annotation line, English, if explicitly marked at all, is represented only in small italic font and relegated to the auxiliary “non-verbal” and “PoS” annotation levels.

Ideally, the English material in the corpus should be marked in the same way that Turkish and Arabic material is. This would allow the user to isolate all instances of English for analysis and would make clear the relative distribution of foreign material from different source languages. Given the size of the corpus and the fact that this would likely have to be completed manually, this task is too great for an individual researcher. For this reason, I have taken alternate, smaller-scale approaches to examining particular domains where English plays a role in the corpus in this chapter. In the future, a full tagging of the corpus for English material would provide a valuable basis for a more rigorous quantitative comparison of the occurrence of foreign material from various source languages in the corpus.

3.1.1 PREVIOUS WORK USING THE CORPUS

As mentioned briefly in Chapter 2, Wittenberg and Paul address the role of English in a subsection of the corpus in their 2008 article “„Aşkım, Baby, Schatz ...“ Anglizismen in einer multiethnischen Jugendsprache” (“Askim, Baby, Schatz”...Anglicisms in a multiethnic Youth Language”). Their research examines the use of English by multiethnic youth in both a corpus of language from social network sites and in a subsection of the Kiezdeutsch corpus. The authors conclude that English is indeed common in computer-mediated-communication among multiethnic youth, though the English used is, according to the researchers, fairly ritualized and formulaic. On the other hand, they argue that the less-ritualized spoken language of KiDKo contains few anglicisms at all. They claim that in spoken language, these youth generally draw on Turkish and Arabic elements instead of anglicisms.

Wittenberg and Paul’s analysis has a number of weaknesses. First, by immediately approaching the issue of English in the corpus as a search for “anglicisms,” there is clearly an assumption being made from the beginning that the influence of English will only manifest itself in the form of simple, superficial loanwords. As I argue in this chapter, this is simply not the case; the corpus contains numerous examples of the

productive use of non-formulaic English material and even intra-sentential code-switching between German and English. This should not come as a surprise, given that Turkish-German code-switching is well-evidenced in the corpus. Secondly, it is unclear what the methodology of the researchers was, since they do not address *how* they went about searching for English-language material in the corpus. As described in the previous section, identifying English material is no easy feat, since English is not explicitly tagged in the corpus. Furthermore, a number of English loanwords are tagged inconsistently. *Motherfucker*, for example, which Wittenberg and Paul do in fact identify as an anglicism, is sometimes annotated as foreign material (FM) and sometimes treated as if it were a German word (see this discrepancy in Examples 3.4 and 3.5 below). It seems, then, that this study must have been fairly impressionistic. Indeed, their analysis of data from social network sites is far more comprehensive.

EXAMPLE 3.4:

***MOTHERFUCKER* ANNOTATED AS FOREIGN MATERIAL**

	134 [00:39.0*]	135 [00:40.2*]	136 [00:41.4*]	137 [00:42.6*]	138 [00:43.8*]
MuH9WT [v]	(--)		motherFUCker		(unverständlich, 6.2)
MuH9WT [n]	PAUSE_M		Motherfucker !		
MuH9WT [POS]	PAUSE		FM	\$.	XYU
MuH9WT [nv]			<i>ruff</i>		
SPK103 [v]	schackaMACka				
SPK103 [n]	Schackamacka ?				
SPK103 [POS]	SPONO	\$.			
SPK41 [nv]					<i>lacht</i>
MuH9WT [utterance]			42		43
SPK103 [utterance]	41				

(KiDKo Mu_split4.pdf:2833)

EXAMPLE 3.5:

***MOTHERFUCKER* ANNOTATED AS GERMAN**

	..627 [04:08.6]	628 [04:09.1*]	629 [04:09.7*]	630 [04:10.2*]	631 [04:10.7*]	632 [04:11.2*]	633 [04:11.7]
MuH12MD [v]							
MuH12MD [n]							
MuH12MD [POS]							
SPK101 [v]	IH		und	motherfucKER	(--)		hast
SPK101 [n]	Ih	!	Und	Motherfucker !		PAUSE_M	Hast
SPK101 [POS]	SPITJ	\$.	KON	NN	\$.	PAUSE	VAFIN
MuH12MD [utterance]							
SPK101 [utterance]	137		138				139

(KiDKo Mu_split2.pdf:262)

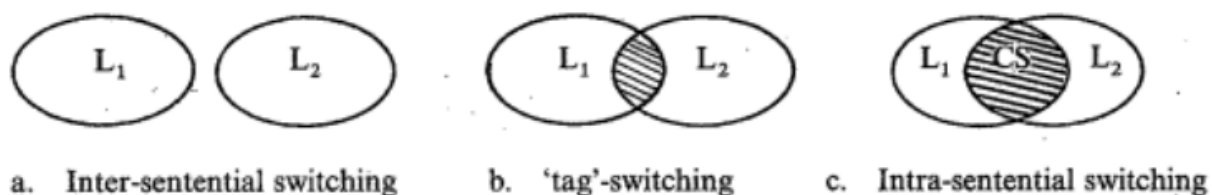
3.2 CODE-SWITCHING IN THE CORPUS

The frequency and scope of simple English loanwords in the multiethnic portion of the corpus is clearly much larger than previously claimed. In this section, I argue even further that the influence of English is not limited to individual lexical items. On the contrary, I demonstrate that there are numerous examples of different types of code-switching in the corpus. First, in section 3.2.1, I demonstrate that the corpus contains multiple types of code-switching, including patterns of code-switching which can be taken as evidence of a high level of German-English bilingualism and language contact in the speech community. Secondly, in section 3.2.2, I will explore some possible motivations for German-English code-switching by taking a conversation-analytic approach to an excerpt from the corpus. Finally, section 3.2.3 compares German-English code-switching in the multiethnic versus monoethnic subcorpora (all other data discussed in this chapter are taken only from the multiethnic subcorpus).

3.2.1 TYPES OF GERMAN-ENGLISH CODE-SWITCHING IN THE CORPUS

A basic distinction between different types of code-switching is often made between intra-sentential vs. inter-sentential code-switching. Intra-sentential code-switching refers to code-switching that occurs within a sentence (i.e., at any syntactic boundary). Intra-sentential switching is associated with a higher level of bilingualism and is subject to what Shana Poplack refers to as “the equivalence constraint,” which states that code-switching tends to occur such that the syntactic rules of neither language are violated (1980:586). Inter-sentential code-switching, on the other hand, is switching that occurs at sentence or turn boundaries. It does not require the speaker to fully command the linguistic structure of both languages and is thus the more common form of code-switching among less fluent speakers (though may also, of course, be used in tandem with intra-sentential code-switching by more fluent bilinguals). In other words, with inter-sentential code-switching, speakers can make use of the rules they are comfortable using in the L2 without the complication of incorporating them into L1 sentences. Less-fluent speakers may also favor what is referred to as “emblematic” and “tag” switching. Tag switching involves switches of syntactically free “tags” which may be inserted anywhere in discourse; these are most often single noun switches and switches “heavily loaded in ethnic content” (Poplack 1980:589). Poplack provides a visual representation of this relationship between L1 and L2 competence and types of code-switching in Figure 3.1 below. While inter-sentential switching allows the speaker to use both languages while keeping them entirely syntactically separate, tag-switching requires some incorporation of the L1 and L2, which in turn requires a higher degree of proficiency in the L2. Finally, intra-sentential switching requires both the highest degree of L1/L2 integration and, consequently, the highest degree of proficiency in the L2.

FIGURE 3.1:
L1 L2 RELATIONSHIP AND CODE-SWITCHING TYPES (POPLACK)



(Poplack 1980:615)

As discussed in section 3.1 above, insufficient tagging of the corpus prevents a full, quantitative analysis of the prevalence of all instances of code-switching in the corpus. Nonetheless, simple single-word searches for high frequency English words and orthographic clusters specific to English (e.g., *tlh*) yield numerous examples of English utterances, many exceeding single words. I argue that the fact that all three types of code-switching are present, including the type of intra-sentential switching indicative of intensive code-switching in a highly multilingual community, is reason enough to suspect that the influence of English in the corpus has been severely understated. By way of individual examples, I will demonstrate each type of code-switching, beginning with the simplest type, inter-sentential switching, in example 3.6 below. English material is bolded where switching occurs.

EXAMPLE 3.6:
INTER-SENTENTIAL SWITCHING

MuH19WT :¹⁶ ey SPK38! [*(Gelächter)*]
 ‘hey SPK38 [*(laughter)*]

SPK38: [ja=a]?
 ‘yes?’

MuH19WT: wollt ihr misch VOLL verarschen? (-) [gi= mir =ne KIPpe!]
 ‘are you trying to fuck with me? (-) gimme a cigarette!’

SPK38: [wir ham damit NIX zu] (*(lacht)*)

¹⁶ Examples of material from the corpus in this chapter which are not direct images from the corpus pdf files represent a transcribed subset of the available data. Namely, transcripts provide only information from the verbal annotation line and the non-verbal annotation line, with punctuation provided on the normalization level inserted into the material from the verbal annotation level for purposes of legibility. Overlapping speech is represented by bracketing. English translations are the author’s and are given in single quotation marks, italicized under German material in the transcripts. With the exception of pauses, prosodic information is eliminated in translations.

‘we don’t have anything to ((laughs))’

MuH19WT: **gim= me a KIPpe!**
 ‘gimme a cigarette!’

(KiDKo Mu_split2.pdf:1772)

In this conversation, the anchor speaker (MuH19WT) first asks their interlocutor for a cigarette in German, then, in a new sentence, switches to English. Though the word *Kippe* (‘cigarette’) remains in German, since the matrix language (i.e., the language providing the grammatical structure of the utterance) is English, this represents an inter-sentential codeswitch. As Poplack points out, such inter-sentential switching is not complex and does not require a high level of bilingualism. However, even such basic switching certainly casts doubt on the previous claims that the presence of English in the corpus is limited to individual loanwords or short, formulaic constituents (e.g., *best friends*). Of additional interest in this particular instance of inter-sentential switching is the mirrored contraction of *gib mir* to *gimir* in German and *give me* to *gimme* in English, which suggests a greater degree of competence and complexity than might normally be assumed for inter-sentential switching. *Gimme* is a high-frequency construction in English, likely imported as a single lexical construction into German. However, its similarity to *gimir* is nonetheless reminiscent of a feature of intra-sentential code-switching which Pieter Muysken (2000) refers to as “congruent lexicalization,” where the speaker implicitly recognizes and exploits the fact that two languages share a particular linguistic structure. Unsurprisingly, such switching is more common between typologically similar languages; given the genetic-typological similarity between English and German, future exploration of congruent lexicalization in German-English code-switching may prove fruitful.

As Poplack argues, tag-switching requires a somewhat higher level of overlap between (and competence in) the L1 and L2 than inter-sentential switching, though it is still formulaic insofar as it relies on switches that are “ethnically loaded” and consist of a single noun or a discourse unit that could often be inserted at multiple syntactic boundaries. Such “emblematic” switches might, for example, represent food items or other cultural objects associated specifically with the culture of the non-matrix language. Example 3.7 gives a typical example of German-English tag switching in the corpus, where German is the matrix language and the speaker uses an English lexical item due to the salience of English in the cultural context of the discussion.

EXAMPLE 3.7:
TAG-SWITCHING

MuH1WD: was is =n VIrus? [(-)] WAS is n virus?
 ‘what is a virus?’ ‘what is a virus?’

SPK10: [WAS?]
 ‘what?’

SPK10: na wenn man mir sowas schickt von wegen sexy **CHICKS** und bla

‘well when someone sends me something about sexy **chicks** and blah’

SPK10: (unverständlich)
(unintelligible)

MuH1WD: o=OH!
‘oh!’

(KiDKo Mu_split3.pdf:1149-1150)

The tag-switch in this conversation, “(sexy) chicks”, is clearly conditioned by the cultural context of spam email, which is often written in English regardless of the country of origin or receipt. This particular switching is certainly indicative of meaningful cultural and linguistic contact with English among the speakers. However, of course, such a single noun phrase switch requires little linguistic competence in English to achieve. Examples 3.8-3.10 thus exemplify the types of intra-sentential code-switching found in the corpus, which do, in fact, require significant fluency in English since they require more complex switching at syntactic boundaries.

In Example 3.8, the English phrase *just for fun* is syntactically embedded into a German-language utterance as it is incorporated in full into a larger adverbial phrase *einfach mal so just for fun*. Since “just for fun” is likely best analyzed as a chunk, requiring little to no knowledge of the syntactic rules of English to use, this switch might be seen as falling somewhere in-between a tag switch and an intra-sentential switch. Nonetheless, this switch shows quite fluid, comfortable movement between German and English on the part of the speaker, as it could hypothetically have been used as a true tag switch at the very end of the German utterance, unembedded in the adverbial clause (i.e., *Stell dir vor ich ruf nachher einfach mal so an, just for fun...*).

EXAMPLE 3.8:
INTRA-SENTENTIAL SWITCHING

SPK 10: stell dir VOR (-) ich RUF nachher einfach mal so **just for fun** an JA stell dir das mal VOR
‘imagine (-) I call afterwards **just for fun** YES imagine that’

(KiDKo Mu_split3.pdf:98-100)

Example 3.9, by contrast, involves switching of both a question word and a verb, requiring the speaker to identify a syntactic correspondence between German and English syntax to execute the switch.

EXAMPLE 3.9:
INTRA-SENTENTIAL SWITCHING

Non-verbal: ((Sound of voices/yelling))

MuP1MK: aber (**where**) is schlägeREI? schlägeREI jetzt
'but where is (the) fighting? Fighting now

(KiDKo Mu_split5.pdf:503)

Example 3.10 similarly represents a fluent syntactic embedding of the English phrase *like that* into a German utterance. Unlike the previous two examples, which could be replaced directly by German-language equivalents (*nur zum Spaß* and *wo ist*, respectively), this use of *like that* does not have a direct German equivalent. Rendered in German without code-switching, the sentence would have to read along the lines of “und es is schon fünfzehn Uhr isch kann nix mehr **sowas** (tückisches?) Essen.” *Tückisch* (‘harmful’) is rendered in parentheses, signifying that it is not entirely intelligible and may not be an accurate transcription. Indeed, I would have interpreted this utterance as an incomplete word representing a speech error, perhaps in recognition of the fact that German syntactic rules would normally place “tückisch” earlier in the sentence. Arguably, this may have prompted the addition of English “like that,” which would, indeed, by English syntactic rules, be able to come at the end of the sentence (*I can’t eat anything more like that*). Whether or not “tückisch” represents a speech error or not, this English embedding is clearly more complex than that of a prototypical tag switch, and it surely does not possess any of the “ethnically loaded” character of tag switches.

EXAMPLE 3.10:
INTRA-SENTENTIAL SWITCHING

SPK102: Frühlingsrolln (-) LECKER Hmm: LECKER
'Springrolls (-) delicious hmm: delicious'

MuH2WT: und es is schon fünfzehn UHR isch kann nix mehr essen (Tückisch) **like THAT** isch hab heute nur ein hamburger mit FLEISCH (-) zwei (unverständlich) ein (unverständlich) (-) und (unverständlich) und süßigkeiten geGESSen
'and it's already three o'clock I can't eat anything (harmful) **like that** anymore today I've only eaten a hamburger with meat (-) two (unintelligible) one (unintelligible) and (unintelligible) and candy.'

(KiDKo Mu_split4.pdf:302-310)

Example 3.11 gives a final example of inter-sentential switching (though there are, to be sure, many more in the corpus). This switch is similar to 3.6 in that it does require some recognition of compatible word order rules in German and English. However, I present this additional example as an introduction to the question I pose in Section 3.2.3, which is *why* and in what contexts German-English code-switching occurs.

As previous examples have shown, English is often used in the context of insults. Usually these are tag switches, where single English curse words (e.g., *motherfucker*, *bitch*) or short phrases (*fuck you*) are inserted into German utterances. These are prototypically “ethnically/culturally loaded” insofar as they bear obvious resemblance to the use of English in German hip-hop on “diss tracks” (which in turn index African American oral insult traditions such as “The Dozens”) (Toop 1992:193). Furthermore, taboo language is unsurprisingly susceptible to code-switching, given that multilinguals perceive less emotional force in taboo words of languages learned after their first language (Dewaele 2010, Lantto 2012). Crucially, however, example 3.11 demonstrates that this use of English for “dissing” is not limited to individual taboo words or tag-switches characterized by swear words, but that the social context of trading insults may activate more complex, intra-sentential switching, as well.

EXAMPLE 3.11:
INTER-SENTENTIAL SWITCHING

MuH2WT: das war grad eine es zeh HA lampe
‘that was a s-l-ut (lit. s-c-h-lamp) right there’

SPK102: (GEH) (doch) (-)
‘just go (-)’

MuH2WT: he was HÄSSlich (-) SHE was hässlich
‘ugly’ ‘ugly’

SPK102: (unverständlich)
(unintelligible)

SPK18: was SAGST du? (-)
‘what are you saying (-)?’

MuH2WT: isch rede auf englisch irgend so ne SCHEIße
‘I’m talking some shit in English’

(KiDKo Mu_split4.pdf:419-421)

3.3 LOCAL FUNCTIONS OF CODE-SWITCHING: A CONVERSATION ANALYTIC APPROACH

The preceding examples demonstrate that English-German code-switching indeed occurs in the corpus, and in fact follows patterns characteristic of a highly multilingual speech community. However, beyond these somewhat unsurprising correlations between English and insults, the question remains *why* this code-switching occurs; that is to say, whether it is tied to any particular situational context(s) or carries any particular social meaning(s). To be sure, these youths are not likely to be using German-English code-switching to directly index identification with any English-speaking ethnic group. On the

other hand, it is possible that they are using English to capitalize on either the overt prestige of English as an institutional lingua franca in Germany or on the covert prestige of English as a language of global urban youth culture. Rather than attempt to prescribe any such narrow social meaning to particular uses of English, I thus prefer to follow Auer (1984) in analyzing the “meaning” of code-switching as a function of the sequential development of the conversation. While I do not necessarily rigidly follow Peter Auer’s procedural methodology for analyzing code-switching, I broadly aim to investigate some local functions of German-English code-switching through conversation analysis. In agreement with Auer, my conversational analytic approach assumes that the local meanings of code-switching, while representing specific stylistic choices within a given conversational context, also still reflect macro-sociological meanings inherent to the respective connotations of each language in a larger social/“macro-sociological” context (1984:96).

Blom and Gumperz (1972) posit a basic distinction between two types of code-switching; situational switching and metaphorical switching. Situational code-switching is “patterned and predictable of the basis of certain features of the local system” (Blom & Gumperz 1972:409), and thus associated with domains where switching is culturally “necessary.” Code-switching in the context of talking about food specific to the culture associated with one language but not the other would thus be considered situational. Metaphorical switching, on the other hand, exploits these social meanings within the context of a given conversation to enhance social and interactional meaning within a situational context. Metaphorical switching thus covers the type of switching which, for example, serves to signal in-group belonging by switching to a language with covert prestige. As Auer points out, the distinction is rarely so simple; metaphorical and situational switching might better be seen as prototype categories, with real examples of code-switching exhibiting features of both types to varying degrees.

However, Example 3.12 evidences what is perhaps a very rare instance of nearly “pure” situational switching, in that the language of conversation is a direct result of speakers imitating languages in their physical environment. During this conversation, the speakers are watching a soccer game on television. Though the background noise makes it difficult to hear exactly what it is being said on TV, English words can be heard coming from the television within the context of this otherwise seemingly bizarre and inexplicable switch. It seems fair to assume that SPK 101 and MuP1MK are thus imitating English being spoken on television, perhaps in an advertisement. As the conversation turns back to the soccer game when a player ostensibly does something *ordentlich/schön* (‘proper(ly)/nice’), the speakers consequently immediately revert back to German.

EXAMPLE 3.12:
SITUATIONAL CODE-SWITCHING

(Date: 19.6.2008)

SPK 101: **do you want CHIPS?**

MuP1MK: **I LIkE (-) I LIkE CHIP (--) **(high) FIVE! (3.5)****

SPK101: this¹⁷ are really GOOD chips

SPK101: (--) (ja) (--)
'(--) (yes) (--)

MuP1MK: ja mach [ORNTlich]!
'yes do (it) properly!'

SPK101: [SEHR] schön – SEHR SCHÖN (4.0)
'very nice – very nice (4.0)'

(KiDKo Mu_split5.pdf:452-453)

Example 3.12 may indeed represent a rare moment where code-switching is very much governed entirely by a given situation. The fact that this is situational code-switching does not, however, make this instance of code-switching uninteresting from a sociolinguistic perspective; the exchange is a powerful reminder that English is ubiquitous in the social environment of these youths. Moreover, however, in tapes recorded only days later, one of the same speakers (MuP1MK) engages in code-switching that includes the lexical item at the core of the switching above (*chips*, in and of itself an established loanword from English and not indicative of switching). Thus, in Example 3.13, a previously purely situational use of code-switching transforms into an interactional tool.

The exchange in Example 3.13 constitutes what might be best considered a “marked” use of code-switching as defined by Myer-Scotton (1983), i.e., language choice that is unexpected and unpredictable from situational context and thus serves, in this context specifically, to defuse a tense argument by underlining a change in topic. Namely, Speaker 38 makes MuP1MK uncomfortable by pontificating on the fact that life is short, and one should drink alcohol to live life to its fullest. MuP1MK retorts that this is inappropriate—that they are Muslims and that SPK38 is *schamlos* (“shameless”). SPK38 immediately realizes that he has caused offense, and replies that it was only a joke, making an abrupt topic switch to the fact that there is no food left. This topic switch is enhanced by an accompanying language switch as SPK 38’s code-switches to English *best friend* and *cracker(s)*. While it is impossible to ascertain SPK38’s intentions, it is also possible that the specific reference to “chips,” along with the English borrowing *best friends*, additionally highlights SPK38’s lack of ill intent by further indexing the light-hearted exchange from a few days before.

**EXAMPLE 3.13:
MARKED CODE-SWITCHING**

(Date: 23.6.2008 - Timestamp: 20:57.8)

¹⁷ I question the rendering of *these* as *this* in the transcription, particularly on the normalization level; while the vowel is indeed somewhat fronted, to me this sounds like phonological interference from German rather than a lexical error.

- SPK 38:** irgengewann ma werden wir ALLe du WEIß schon (-) STERben (-)
‘sometimes we all you know (-) die(-)’
- MuP1MK:** ja so =n (unverständlich)
‘yeah such a (unintelligible)’
- SPK 38:** so viel woFÜR wir sollten das leben geNIEßen und alles (-) spenden was wir HABen
‘so much we have to enjoy life and spend/donate¹⁸ everything (-) we have’
- MuP1MK:** ((*lacht*))
‘((laughs))’
- SPK 38:** WA? (-) alles zu COCKtails kaufen (-) rischtisch viel ALkohol weil WIR (-) [(wir) (sin)]
‘Right? Everything to buy cocktails (-) lots of alcohol because we(-) we are’
- MuP1MK:** [wir sin] ja [MOSlems]
‘we are Muslims though’
- SPK38:** [wir] sin ja buddHISten (unverständlich)
‘we are Buddhists though (unintelligible)’
- MuP1MK:** [(SCHAMLOS)] alter
‘Shameless, dude’
- SPK38:** [*lacht*] NEIN mann SPAß mann (-) wir sin **BEST FRIEND** (--) kuck CHIPS_ **cracker** toMAten (gibt) (es) (nisch) (mehr)
‘no man joking man (-) we are best friends (--) look there are no chips, crackers, tomatoes anymore’

(KiDKo Mu_split5.pdf:639-641)

The argument is temporarily diffused, but minutes later, as shown in example 3.14, another quarrel erupts. MuP1MK wants to go out to get more food, and SPK38 does not. Now, MuP1MK imitates SPK 38’s use of English for the same purpose of attempting to diffuse the conversation, eventually saying “come on, man.” MuP1MK proceeds to explicitly acknowledge the switch, saying (in German) that maybe they should just switch to English. Again, while it is impossible to know for sure, it seems reasonable to infer that MuP1MK is explicitly recognizing the use of English as an

¹⁸ ‘Spenden’ means to ‘donate’ in German, but this does not make sense in light of SPK 38’s next utterance (...everything to buy cocktails and alcohol). It is thus likely that SPK 38 is borrowing the English meaning of the cognate ‘spend.’

interactional tool for defusing an argument by switching to a more playful topic, and, in tandem, a more playful use of multiple languages.

EXAMPLE 3.14:
MARKED CODE-SWITCHING CONT'D

(Date: 23.6.2008 - Timestamp: 23:17.7)

MuP1MK: lass noch ne PIZza holn oder irgenwas!
'get a pizza picked up or something!'

SPK38: isch BRAUCH keine pizza (-) ([unverständlich])
'I don't need any pizza (-) (unintelligible)'

MuP1MK: [irgenwas] zum Essen
'something to eat'

SPK38: (man) (kann) ruhisch HUNGrisch bleiben (--)
OA:H (kuck) (das) (ESsen)
(da) (rüber)
one can simply stay hungry (--)
oh look at the food over there

MuP1MK: NEIN mann (--)
KOMM!
'no man (--)
come on!'

SPK38: (eisKALT) (--)
hast GLÜCK mann!
Sie sind WEG
'ice cold (--)
you are lucky man!
They are gone'

MuP1MK: ((lacht)) (fremdsprachlich)
'((laughs)) (foreign language)'

SPK38: (geht) (ma) (WEG) von (unverständlich!)
'get away from (unintelligible)'

MuP1MK: come O:N man!

SPK38: (unverständlich) (--)
'unintelligible (--)'

MuP1MK: wir SOLLten uns ma ge äh wir SOLLten uns ma gewöh nur noch
ENGLisch zu spreschen.
'We should just get us uh we should just get used to only speaking
English'

(KiDKo Mu_split5.pdf:655-658)

In Example 3.15 this conversation continues, and SPK38 takes MuP1MK up on the offer to continue in English. However, this is done with arguable passive-aggression,

as SPK38 immediately mocks MuP1MK by saying “I’m hungry.” MuP1MK continues to back down, both saying such explicitly and emphasizing the humor of the situation in doing so by translating the German idiom *jetzt halte ich die Klappe* (‘now I’ll shut up’, lit. ‘now I’ll hold the mouth’) directly into English (*jetzt ‘now’ I hold me...*). Nonetheless, SPK 38 insults MuP1MK’s cooking skills before he can finish his sentence, and SPK38 throws the insult originally directed at himself back at SPK 38, this time in German, saying *halt bloß die Klappe alter* (‘just shut your mouth dude’).

**EXAMPLE 3.15:
MARKED CODE-SWITCHING CONT’D**

(Continued directly from example 3.14)

SPK38: Englisch? Dann reden wir ma jetzt ENGLisch
‘English? Then we’ll just speak English right now’

MuP1MK: oKE:
‘okay’

SPK38: (i) (‘m) (HUNGry) (-- i ‘m HUNGry bedeutet ich hab HUNGger WA?
‘means I’m hungry or?’

MuP1MK: was bedeutet i am TOO?
‘what does’ I am too ‘mean?’

SPK39: WAS (-) i TOO (-) AUCH
‘What (-) I too (-) also’

MuP1MK: oKAY I TOO (-- und JETZ (-) i HOLD me (-- ÄH (-)
Okay I too (-- ‘and now’ (-) I hold me (-- uh (-)

SPK 38: wie SAGT man was man (unverständlich) geKOCHT hat
(unverständlich)
‘how do you say what one (unintelligible) cooked (unintelligible)’

MuP1MK: halt bloß die KLAPpe alter kann ja rischtisch gut KOchen ey!
‘just shut up (lit. ‘hold your mouth’) dude (I) can cook really well, hey!’

(KiDKo Mu_split5.pdf:658-662)

Seemingly “even” with each other after this series of quips, the conversation which follows becomes playful again. Dropping the question of whether they will go out to get food now, the speakers instead discuss foods they like more generally. Again, the more playful conversation is mirrored in playful code-switching, as both speakers sprinkle in English words and phrases for types of food items such as *chicken*, *chicken wings*, and *trendy dings* (trendy ‘things’).

From an interactional perspective, code-switching to English is established as a contextualization cue in this series of interactions. English indexes playfulness and lightheartedness, thereby serving as a change in footing from argumentative to amicable. However, as Auer argues, the seemingly primarily interactional functions of code-switching here are nonetheless inseparable from the larger sociocultural context of English. Indeed, echoing in the background of the exchange is the ostensible origin of the original switch in English-language terms for food used in television advertisements. As Ingrid Piller argues, English in such advertising most often indexes attributes of “internationalism, future orientation, success and elitism, sophistication, fun, youth and maleness (2001:168). It would be unsurprising if these speakers, who are characterized in the literature on Kiezdeutsch as sharing a common identity that certainly includes, at the very least, internationalism, fun, youth, and maleness, were not simultaneously indexing these social meanings of English to reinforce the interactional force of English as a playful tool for diffusing an argument.

3.3 CODE-SWITCHING IN THE MULTIETHNIC VS. MONOETHNIC SUBCORPORA

An impressionistic examination of the monoethnic subcorpus reveals a similar frequency of German-English code-switching, as well as many similar situational contexts of such switches. Tag-switches abound in the context of insults and dissing (*fuck/what the fuck/bitch*). Moreover, monoethnic youth exhibit both prototypically situational German-English code-switching (Example 3.15) as well as more complex intra-sentential and metaphorical or “marked” switches (Example 3.16).

EXAMPLE 3.15: SITUATIONAL CODE-SWITCHING (MONOETHNIC CORPUS)

SPK 101: er so: **ERor Error! SCHEIße!** Schon wieder SOFTware (-) äh schon wieder **SERver down**
‘he was like: error! error! shit! already software (-) uh already server down again’

(Mo.pdf:844-845)

SPK 101’s code-switching here is clearly conditioned by the situational context of (1) a quotation of someone else (i.e., the possible motivation of preserving the quoted individual’s exact words and thus language choice) and (2) the context of the language used to display computer errors, often shown in English by default. By contrast, the German-English code-switching in 3.16 is seemingly unpredictable, non-patterned, and unconditioned by any situational context.

EXAMPLE 3.16: INTRA-SENTENTIAL MARKED CODE-SWITCHING (MONOETHNIC CORPUS)

SPK 18: ich möchte mich immer noch hinsetZEN (-) ihr könntet ruhig RUTschen
‘I still want to sit down (-) you (pl.) could just slide over’

SPK 24: ja wo soll ich denn HINrutschen?
‘yeah where should I slide over then?’

SPK 39: ((leicht lachend)) da RUNter
‘((laughing slightly)) down there’

Mo12MD: DA! sie is **WAT**ching you (--)
‘there! She is watching you (--)’

(Mo.pdf:1060-2082)

The switch in *sie is watching you* not only seems unconditioned by any obvious situational factors, but also requires alignment of German and English syntax. Furthermore, making this switch requires command of the English progressive aspect, which is non-Standard in German and, if used at all by speakers from this demographic, would likely take a periphrastic form (*am* + infinitive) that does not resemble the English morphology.

The fact that German-English code-switching appears quite similar in both frequency and type between the two subcorpora again calls into question the alleged “special” multilingual flexibility of Kiezdeutsch speakers as potential exoticification of normal multilingual speech practices. To be sure, the only foreign languages present in the monoethnic corpus are English and one exceedingly formulaic use of Spanish (*uno momento*). However, while it is certainly true that Kiezdeutsch speakers have a richer multilingual repertoire in terms of code-switching with a larger number of distinct named languages (i.e., Turkish and sometimes Arabic in addition to English), it is important to note that the monoethnic corpus contains plentiful German-English code-switching, as well as switching between varieties and registers. This includes, for example, switching between Berlin dialect and a more “standard” High German. Notably, their code-switching is also characterized by switches between more standard German and stylized slang characterized by features of Kiezdeutsch, which at one point provokes a speaker to reprimand their interlocutors, saying *ach komm wir nehmen doch auf, wir wolln ja nich wie die Türken klingen!* (‘oh come on, we’re recording, we don’t want to sound like the Turks!’) (Mo.pdf:1065).

Perhaps more telling than the actual presence of code-switching is the consistency of transcription and annotation of code-switches in the monoethnic versus multiethnic corpora. While common forms such as *happy* and *bitch* are, as previously described, often PoS tagged as if they were German-language material in the multiethnic corpus, many of these are much more consistently tagged as FM (‘foreign material’) in the monoethnic corpus. Though there are certainly also some words and short phrases that occur only once and seem to constitute foreign English material but are not marked as such (e.g., *stupid, my baby, mom, high*), the monoethnic corpus appears overall to be much more consistent in marking longer stretches of English and high-frequency English forms as foreign material. Irrespective of whether or not these words should be considered loanwords or foreign material, this inconsistency in tagging between the

corpora appears to reveal stereotypes surrounding what speech communities use what languages on the part of both the researchers and transcribers and, undoubtedly, German society at large.

3.5 DISCUSSION AND IMPLICATIONS FOR FUTURE STUDIES

This chapter has attempted to explore some uses of German-English code-switching in the Kiezdeutsch corpus and has indeed demonstrated that the role of English has been underestimated. However, the more important finding of this reconsideration of the corpus lies in the exposure of the weaknesses in data collection, transcription, and analysis which make analyzing the role of English difficult, if not impossible, based on the corpus data alone. This reanalysis thus yields the following considerations that should be taken into account in future studies which wish to take seriously the role of English or, for that matter, any non-German language in these speech communities:

- While allowing interlocutors to make audio recordings on their own, in the absence of a researcher or supervisor, is useful for the elicitation of maximally spontaneous speech, untainted by any observer effects, it does not yield data that are practical for the interactional analysis of code-switching. Code-switching is often conditioned by non-linguistic contextual and environmental features which are erased on an audio recording (e.g., languages being spoken on television, written language in public, language switching triggered by cultural elements in the environment such as ethnic foods). In the absence of information about whether these triggers are present, it is difficult to distinguish more situational instances of code-switching from complex, marked, interactional uses of code-switching. For this reason, **code-switching data are best collected either as video recordings or with a researcher or other informed observer present for data collection.**
- **Care should be taken to establish consistent guidelines for what constitutes “foreign material” versus incorporated loanwords in corpus tagging.** It is particularly important that this tagging remains consistent across all demographics of speakers, especially if some demographics are popularly stereotyped as proficient or non-proficient speakers of a particular foreign language. Furthermore, if one language is additionally tagged explicitly (e.g., as “Turkish”), all languages should be tagged accordingly.
- **Where possible, a native speaker of each language present in the data should be involved in transcription.** It does not seem to be a coincidence that many instances of both English and other foreign languages in the corpus are accompanied by an unusually high number of utterances marked as (*unverständlich*) ‘unintelligible’. While I, as a highly-proficient yet non-native speaker of German, was unable to make sense of some areas of the tapes where intelligible transcriptions had nonetheless been made, certain areas of allegedly “unintelligible” speech sounded fairly obviously like English to me (often in the

context of speakers singing or otherwise imitating English). Indeed, there is also an abundance of utterances marked simply as [*fremdsprachlich*] on the verbal annotation level, with neither a transcription of any actual phonological material or any indication of what the language might be. It thus seems prudent to consider whether the bias of the transcribers as (one can only assume) native speakers of German may have had an effect on the visibility and distribution of both English and other second languages in the corpus.

Undoubtedly, these recommendations represent an ideal research situation which is in many cases likely unachievable, especially if the main purpose of the data collection is not for the analysis of multilingual speech behavior. Indeed, it is not my intention to criticize the Kiezdeutsch corpus on the whole, as most research using the corpus has been concerned with analyzing characteristic features as “native” to this German ethnolect. However, the corpus is clearly not well-suited for studying translanguaging practices or ascertaining the relative influence of non-German languages in the corpus. Furthermore, there are obvious practical limitations to following these recommendations; my own data in the proceeding chapters have not yet been re-transcribed by a native speaker of German, nor have my data of the other languages which appear on my recordings. However, this analysis of the corpus motivates my collection of data in the presence of a researcher observing situational contexts. In addition, my more careful attention to distinctions between foreign and non-foreign material will, I hope, motivate other researchers to take such issues into consideration.

A further contribution of this preliminary investigation of code-switching in the Kiezdeutsch corpus yields another consideration that may prove useful in future study; it is taken into account in my own data collection. Namely, the situational domains of language that have previously been shown to exhibit a high frequency of “anglicisms” also unsurprisingly condition more complex code-switching. As Wittenberg and Paul (2008:100) note:

Das Vorkommen von Anglizismen in jugendsprachlichen Varietäten wurde in der Forschung bereits ausgiebig beleuchtet (z.B. Androutsopoulos 1998, Zifonun 2000, Schubert & Watzlawick 2004). Dürscheid und Spitzmüller (2006: 27) bemerken, dass „Bereiche, in denen Anglizismen vergleichsweise häufig vorkommen, im Leben vieler Jugendlicher eine wichtige Rolle spielen“. Sie nennen dabei u.a. „Musik“, „Sport“, „Technik“ und „neue Medien“ (ebd.)

(“The occurrence of anglicisms in youth language varieties has already been extensively elucidated... Dürscheid and Spitzmüller observe that “domains in which anglicisms frequently occur play an important role in the lives of many youth.” They mention specifically, among others, “music,” “sports,” “technology,” and “new media.”)

However, contrary to Wittenberg & Paul’s claims, the corpus clearly exhibits not only simple “anglicisms”, but also code-switching in these domains. With this in mind, the design of my interview methodology in the proceeding chapters aims to elicit such

code-switching by using these domains as triggers. Indeed, given the amount of metalinguistic discussion surrounding Kiezdeutsch and the ways that Turkish youth speak more generally in the corpus, it seems likely that some of the speakers' use of Kiezdeutsch and code-switching was triggered by some level of awareness of the context and purpose of the recordings. However, my analysis of the corpus also shows a significant amount of non-situational switching, i.e., switching that is not obviously triggered by any ethnic-linguistic context. This type of code-switching, which serves more complex interactional functions, arguably evidences a higher degree of proficiency in the L2 and, in turn, a higher degree of multilingualism in the community, and is thus of greatest interest. For this reason, elicitive interview data in the following chapters are complemented by additional spontaneous speech data, collected in the presence of a researcher such that any situational cues in the environment can be ruled out.

On a final note, the analysis of the corpus in this chapter has been limited to the linguistic form of “speech” in the narrowest sense. Absent from this analysis is the English element that is perhaps most striking to a researcher who, having worked with the transcribed corpus available online, hears the audio recordings of the corpus on-location in Potsdam for the first time. Namely, English is a pervasive element of the linguistic landscape in the background of the tapes and in non-linguistic/non-speech utterances; speakers spontaneously sing and rap in English at seemingly regular intervals, and the television in the background blares English-language sound. Furthermore, the youth speak about the English in their visual and auditory environment, unseen to the researcher listening to the tapes; for example, they point out *Engländer* (‘English people’) in their vicinity and jokingly suggest recording them, miming a conversation in English with them. After all, as Irmengard Rauch points out, “...the human body initiates sound in non-body parts,” including, for example, by way of mechanically-reproduced speech sounds (2012:6). In this way, purposefully turning on a song in English can be interpreted as a semiotic, if not even potentially linguistic, act in and of itself. Indeed, recent semiotic work on translanguaging has called attention to the fact that linguistic landscapes, particularly when viewed as sites of translanguaging, not only involve multiple intertwining languages, but also other types of interdigitated human sounds and semiotic modes (cf. e.g., Pennycook 2017, Shohamy & Ben-Rafael 2015). A broader semiotic approach to analyzing the tapes might thus, in the future, prove fruitful in understanding the multimodal roles of English in the larger semiotic soundscapes of the linguistic environment.

CHAPTER 4

NEW FIELDWORK DATA: ENGLISH USE AMONG POST-MIGRANT YOUTH

4.0 INTRODUCTION

In Chapter 3, I demonstrated that the influence of English on the Kiezdeutsch speech community has likely been understated. However, it should be noted that this argument is based on “old” data; the recordings that make up the Kiezdeutsch corpus were made in 2008 (Wiese et al. 2012). Certainly, common sense suggests that influence of the internet and social media may have contributed to an even stronger presence of English in the daily lives of young people a decade later. Additionally, the youth recorded in 2008 would have experienced the German school system during a time of reforms that has strengthened the role of English at the elementary school (*Grundschule*) level in particular. In 1998, Berlin began requiring students to learn a second language starting in the third rather than in the fifth grade. By 2002, the only options for second languages available to students at this level were English and French, with an ever-declining number of schools offering the latter (Gewerkschaft Erziehung und Wissenschaft 2002). Consequently, the teenagers who provided the data for the Kiezdeutsch-Korpus (now young adults) most likely had mixed experiences with English in their earlier years relative to the youth of today.

A second motivation for collecting new data is to use the opportunity to complement the corpus data, which represent only spontaneous speech, recorded in the absence of a researcher, with more narrowly targeted elicitation investigating the role of English, specifically. The methodologies in this chapter are thus aimed at (1) eliciting speech related to conversational topics prototypically associated with English in German popular culture (such as music and video gaming) and (2) conducting informal oral proficiency interviews in English to ascertain the subjects’ approximate English abilities. Thus, the objectives of this chapter are three-fold: The first objective is simply to re-examine the influence of English on Kiezdeutsch ten years after the Kiezdeutsch-Korpus data were collected. Secondly, I will take a closer look at the influence of English on specific cultural domains of discourse prototypically associated with English and English-language cultures. And, finally, I aim to evaluate the influence of English through the lens of the subjects’ actual English abilities. This final objective is crucial in determining the nature of the contact situation. The central question is: are loaned features from English the result of English-German multilingualism within the Kiezdeutsch community itself, or do they simply reflect “trickle down” influence from English-German multilingualism in German society at large?

4.1 RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

In pursuit of the objective of providing data which complements the Kiezdeutsch-Korpus, as outlined in the Introduction, much of the methodology for this study follows the general approaches taken in gathering data for the Kiezdeutsch-Korpus as described in Wiese et al. (2012). One notable difference is that while speakers in the Kiezdeutsch corpus study were provided with recorders and allowed to record conversations themselves, I recorded and was present for all sessions (1). While the latter has the obvious drawback of the researcher's presence potentially interfering with the authenticity of the data, establishing this relationship with my subjects was crucial for later gathering the data to accomplish the larger objectives (2), and (3), as described in the Introduction for eliciting discourse on particular cultural domains and conducting proficiency and informational interviews in English. Furthermore, I minimized this effect by taking the role of a participant observer. Before I began making recordings for the study, I established myself in the speech community by becoming a volunteer at the *Offene Jugendarbeit* (non-profit drop-in youth center) at which I later recruited my interlocutors. This served the primary purpose of allowing me to establish familiarity with my interlocutors as a normal part of their environment at the youth center rather than as an intrusive researcher gathering data in a socially-marked setting. In addition, my more casual interaction as a volunteer yielded ethnographic data that functioned as a backdrop to the formulation and execution of my more formal data-gathering and targeted elicitation and evaluation of my interlocutors' English.

The methodology of this study is thus informed both by traditional linguistic elicitation methods and by a broader participant-observation approach to collecting linguistic data.¹⁹ Specifically, I conducted participant-observation in the context of my role as a volunteer, while also at times making audio recordings and using guided informal interviews to elicit particular linguistic features. Recordings were made in groups of two to five speakers (including the researcher, and, in a few instances, an additional staff member or volunteer facilitating conversation). In addition to using the tools of formal linguistic elicitation, my methodology is thus, like any linguistic fieldwork project, also more generally informed by ethnographic observation and theory. Appendix B contains a bank from which questions for targeted elicitation were selected. These questions served two purposes: (1) eliciting demographic information (age, languages spoken at home, experience with the English language, etc.); (2) eliciting discussions that centered around topics associated with English culture in Germany (e.g., music, internet use, and interactions with foreign tourists). This allowed me to easily elicit identical linguistic forms (e.g., the loanwords *rap* and *hip hop*) from multiple interlocutors during different recording sessions without having to use more artificial methodologies such as wordlists. While such strategies have their place in certain types of research, the broad and exploratory nature of this study necessitated keeping language in its natural context to the greatest extent possible in order to avoid the observer's paradox, whereby the

¹⁹ For additional discussion of the motivations for using ethnographic methodologies in researching multiethnolects, see Quist (2005), which uses a similar model in a study of Danish multiethnolects.

presence of the researcher (“observer”) affects subjects’ language usage (Labov 1972: 209).²⁰

The youth center where interlocutors were recruited represents the demographics prototypically associated with Kiezdeutsch. Located in the multiethnic neighborhood of Kreuzberg, the organization predominately served youth with migrant backgrounds. The leadership included both paid staff and volunteers with both migrant and non-migrant backgrounds. Notably, the organization regularly solicited volunteers on a website designed to connect ex-pats living in Berlin with volunteer opportunities. This meant that many volunteers did not identify as German and/or spoke German as a second language, rendering my presence as a foreigner in the environment significantly less conspicuous, if it was noticed at all.

4.1.1 SUBJECT RECRUITMENT AND PROFILES

Thirteen interlocutors between the ages of 16 and 24 (with a mean age of 19) were recorded at this field site. All interlocutors were literate and signed consent forms prior to participating in recorded discussions. One interlocutor wished not to participate in the English language interview; all other interlocutors consented to all other portions of the study. All but one interlocutor was born in Germany,²¹ and all participants reported speaking German as a first language (*Muttersprache*). Other first languages included Turkish (four interlocutors), Arabic (three interlocutors), and Polish (one interlocutor). The most commonly spoken second languages were English (eleven interlocutors), French (three interlocutors), and Spanish and Arabic (two interlocutors each); other second languages included Kurdish, Russian, and Italian. While two interlocutors did not self-report speaking English as a second language, only one participant was unwilling to speak English during the fieldwork sessions (though this interlocutor, like his peers, did produce English forms while speaking German). Of the thirteen interlocutors, only two identified as female. This can be accounted for by the co-ed nature of the program, coupled with the minimum subject age of 16 for this study. While the center served youth as young as 13, the program director reported that females over the age of 15 rarely attended the co-ed drop-in program due to cultural norms of gender segregation for teenagers in most local immigrant communities. Subsequent work conducted in female-only programs is therefore necessary, and the gender imbalance in these data is taken into account wherever it may potentially be relevant. For more detailed subject profiles, please see Appendix A.

4.1.2 AUDIO RECORDING AND TRANSCRIPTION

Audio recordings were made on a Zoom H2 portable stereo recorder. While some recordings were conveniently made in the recording studio at the youth center (the most comfortable and coveted room for “hanging out”) and thus contain little to no audio

²⁰ While all possible precautions were taken in eliminating the effects of the observer’s paradox, it must of course be noted that its role cannot be eliminated entirely. Please see section 1.2 of the Introduction for a discussion of the potential effects of the positionality of the researcher on data collection and analysis.

²¹ One interlocutor was born in Turkey but moved to Germany as an infant.

interference, others contained background noise and were normalized in the multi-track audio editor Audacity. The audio recordings were transcribed, by the researcher only, in accordance with the HIAT²² conventions using the EXMARaLDA Partitur-Editor.²³ All attempts were made to align the transcription conventions for this study with those of the Kiezdeutsch corpus in order to produce consistent transcriptions that can readily be compared with the Kiezdeutsch corpus data.

4.2 DATA: ENGLISH

Chronologically speaking, interlocutors were interviewed in English as the last phase of the study so as not to reveal the purpose of the research or of the researcher's own positionality as a native speaker of English. However, the English data will be presented first in this chapter, since it provides a crucial backdrop to the multilingual nature of the speech community as well as the interlocutors' use of features of English in their native German.

4.2.1 SELF-REPORTED USE OF ENGLISH

Both for the purposes of information gathering and stimulating conversation surrounding issues of English in society, interlocutors were asked how often and when they spoke English during their everyday lives (i.e., outside of a formal language classroom environment). All participants reported using English in these contexts at least once a week outside of the classroom, and six interlocutors reported using English every day or almost every day. Commonly reported daily situations where interlocutors reported regularly coming into contact with English included, but were not limited to, the following:

- **In the workplace.** Approximately half of the youth in the study either had a part-time job or were completing an internship as part of career training. Of these interlocutors, four reported using English at work. Three interlocutors worked in the restaurant industry and regularly served non-German-speaking tourists. One interlocutor worked for a construction company and reported that he often spoke a combination of English, German, and Turkish with coworkers who did not speak German as a first language.
- **While using technology.** A majority of the interlocutors reported using English while playing video games. The game "Metal Gear" was a common topic of

²² HIAT is an acronym of "halb-Interpretative Arbeits-Transkription" ("Semi-Interpretative Working Transcriptions"). In contrast to most other transcription conventions, HIAT is modeled on a musical score, allowing for precise representation of simultaneous and overlapping speech. Each speaker's language is transcribed on a separate tier, which is crucial for functional-pragmatic analysis of spontaneous speech between multiple interlocutors. The HIAT conventions are furthermore particularly suited to transcribing multilingual data, since these tiers can also be used for interlinear translations (cf. Rehbein et al. 2004).

²³ EXMARaLDA ("Extensible Markup Language for Discourse Annotation") is a software suite for transcribing, analyzing, and sharing spoken language corpora.

conversation, and those who played it did so in English. While the game is an action-packed military game that requires the players to interact verbally during gameplay, which they reported doing mostly in German, English is inescapable as the matrix language of the game; the boys often mimed the short quips that the characters in the game use between allies and enemies (e.g., “Who’s that?!”), “You’re mine!”, “Gotcha!”, “Start talking!”).

Beyond these game-specific collocations, exposure to English through video games was thus predominately passive/receptive in nature, through English-language narrations and navigation menus. However, though some games on international, multilingual platforms such as Steam provide multilingual settings such as voiceovers or subtitles, German users often prefer the English versions both for reasons of authenticity and ease of use. As one German user on a gaming forum remarks on a post debating whether the game *Fallout 4* is better played in German or English, “Untertitel bitte aus lassen, die sind so furchtbar buggy”²⁴ (‘please leave off the subtitles, they are so awfully buggy’). Notably, even some games produced in Germany such as *Airline Tycoon* only provide English user interfaces on popular platforms such as Steam, possibly due to copyright complications.

In addition to this receptive exposure to English, two interlocutors reported active exposure to English in video games while speaking English with other players in multiplayer games with VoIP (Voice over Internet Protocol). During the English interview, I asked one interlocutor how he learned English. He answered, “not really the most in school, I learned much from games and from speaking with other people, they spoke English to me” (referring to other game players communicating with him over VoIP). Indeed, much research has already shown that such games, while often exploited to create language-learning technology, also provide a natural, organic setting for multilingual communication and language contact online (Thorne and Fischer 2012). In addition to using English for video games, interlocutors reported using English online with customer service chatbots and twitter accounts, as well as on hip-hop forums while searching for music downloads.²⁵

- **Listening to English music.** Interlocutors reported listening to a number of musical artists with English lyrics, including some rock such as the band Kiss, but predominately hip-hop. The Canadian rapper and singer Drake (of African American descent) was particularly popular among the boys, and they would often spontaneously and fluently belt out his lyrics (e.g., “You used to call me on ma’ cell phone...”). Many of the Arabic-speaking interlocutors also reported

²⁴ AkinaNatsuki [pseud]. ca. 2016. Fallout 4 in welcher Sprache [online forum comment]. Message posted to https://www.reddit.com/r/rocketbeans/comments/3rzuz7/fallout_4_in_welcher_sprache_spielen_was/

²⁵ This use of English among German youth is well-documented; see Hockenmaier & Garley 2012 for a comprehensive study of anglicisms in online hip-hop communities.

listening to Arabic-language music, and one Turkish-speaking interlocutor named a Turkish band that he listened to. However, interlocutors unanimously either actively disliked German-language hip-hop or said that they simply didn't listen to it. The consensus was that German-language hip-hop lacked the authenticity of English and Arabic-language hip-hop. One interlocutor, for example, said that German rappers "think they[re] gangsta but they[re] not." When I asked his friend to elaborate on what "Gangsta/er" meant and why it was bad in this context, he said the following:

"...also Gangster ist irgendwie dieses 'wir tun alle auf hart und wollen Respekt haben indem wir ähmm Gossensprache benutzen.' Mm-mmm. Ich würde das als Gangster bezeichnen. Nein, ich glaube, die meinen eher damit, weil ganz viele türkische und arabische Rapper sind ja, hart aufgewachsen sag ich mal, die reden immer von der Straße, so auf die [sic] Straße aufgewachsen, die haben scheiße gebaut, Leute abgezogen und dies und das; und die deutschen Rapper sind gut aufgewachsen, tun aber so, als ob sie hart wären. Deswegen Ghetto, halt dieses Möchtegern-Rap. [...] die Deutschen müssen nicht hart aufgewachsen sein. Ja...aber die sprechen trotzdem im Rap über hartes Aufwachsen auf der Straße und so."

'...so Gangster is kind of this „we do everything hard and want to have respect by ummm using gutter (vulgar) language. Mm...mmm. I would call that gangster. No, I think they actually mean than many Turkish and Arabic rappers have, you know, grown up hard I'll say, they always talk about the street, like they grew up on the street, they fucked shit up, killed people and this and that; and the German rappers grew up well, but pretend that they're hard. So it's just this ghetto, just this Wannabe-Rap. ...the Germans don't have to grow up hard. Yeah...but they talk about growing up hard on the streets and such in their rap anyway.'

(Omer²⁶, age 24)

These youths apparently see an authenticity in English-language rap that they don't in German. Furthermore, the lack of authenticity is signaled through language (*Gossensprache*). This interlocutor echoes what his peers said—the German rappers have no right to use this language. When interlocutors spoke of "German" rappers, they did so with the assumption that these rappers were white German youth without immigrant backgrounds, bringing up specific examples

²⁶ All interlocutors have been given pseudonyms that reflect their reported gender and the source language/culture associated with their real names.

such as Cro and Sido.²⁷ Conspicuously, the only German hip-hop artist mentioned in a positive light was Xavier Naidoo, with the caveat “obwohl er nicht mal richtiger Deutscher ist“ (‘even though he’s not really a real German’). Naidoo, born in Germany, is the son of a South African mother of Arabic descent and a half-German, half-Indian father. He produces music in both German and English.

- **In interactions with tourists and ex-pats in the city.** Most interlocutors lived in the neighborhoods of Kreuzberg (also the location of the youth center) and neighboring Neukölln, which have historically been home to sizable Turkish and Middle Eastern populations. However, over the past decade, these neighborhoods have increasingly gentrified and become popular with tourists, expat musicians and artists, and new, non-German/Arabic/Turkish-speaking migrant populations (Balicka 2013, Füller and Michel 2014, Heinen 2013). Unsurprisingly, all but one interlocutor reported having spoken English with a tourist either on the street or at work within the past month. One young man, for example, explained that his neighbor rented out his apartment on AirBnB, an apartment-sharing website connecting private homeowners with tourists looking for a place to stay. He would often hand over the key to tourists on behalf of his neighbor and would usually invite the tourists in for tea and hookah. These seemingly minor interactions alone, he reported, amounted to an average of five hours of English conversation a month, usually with native English speakers from the US or UK.
- **With immigrants.** Perhaps the most surprising context where the interlocutors reported speaking English was with non-German-speaking first-generation migrant youth and young adults. Two group interviews yielded animated, lengthy discussions about the interlocutors’ experience with the new *Willkommensklassen* (‘welcome classes’) at their schools. Willkommensklassen are special classes for newly immigrated students to learn German language and culture before they are fully integrated into the German school system. These are not, however, segregated from the rest of the school; new arrivals also attend *Regelklassen* (‘mainstream classes’) for courses such as physical education and music lessons, and interact with other students during breaks and school activities. While these courses were first offered in the 2010s in Berlin, the number of students in these classes rose from 630 in 2011 to 3000 in 2014, and the classes became somewhat of a cultural phenomenon.²⁸ The proliferation of such classes in schools with high concentrations of youth with migrant backgrounds (i.e., Kiezdeutsch-

²⁷ Not all of the artists that interlocutors put in this category self-identify as solely ethnically German. For example, Sido’s mother is Sinti, and he has stated in interviews that he is one-eighth Iranian. Sido is his stage name; his full name is Paul Würdig. Sido stands for “super-intelligentes **D**rogenopfer” (‘super intelligent drug victim’). Multiple interlocutors clearly considered this posturing and, like the interlocutor quoted here, considered him a “möchte-ger” (‘wanna-be’).

²⁸ Über 3000 Kinder in Willkommensklassen. *Tagespiegel*. August 19th, 2014.

<http://www.tagesspiegel.de/berlin/schule/schulnachrichten-aus-berlin-ueber-3000-kinder-in-willkommensklassen/10349486.html>

speaking populations) has implications both for the future of Kiezdeutsch and for the future of English in these communities. The initial conversations with my interlocutors about their use of English with newly-arrived refugees, both at school and “auf der Straße” (“on the street”) inspired the fieldwork conducted with such refugee youth in Chapter 5.

It should, of course, be noted that many of these daily encounters with English are predominately receptive in nature (e.g., listening to music, navigating the internet). The picture that these interviews paint should also not be taken as characteristic of post-migrant German youth throughout the country. Relative to much of Germany, Berlin is an international city, popular with English-speaking ex-pats and tourists, and host to immigrants from a wide variety of countries who use English as a lingua franca. However, it is quite clear that English is an everyday reality, at least for these youth. Furthermore, it is not simply a communicative necessity or an academic chore, but an integral part of their social lives and social identities (as, for example, videogame players, music fans, and members of their multicultural social groups at school). In the next section, I will take a closer look at the features of their English which suggest corresponding sociolinguistic competence that goes beyond the varieties and registers of English learned in school. Despite stereotypes associating these populations with poor English proficiency, my data suggest that English is very much a part of the multilingual, multivarietal “feature pool” that has been described as characteristic of the Kiezdeutsch speech community (Wiese 2013b).

4.2.2 ENGLISH INTERVIEWS

It is clear not only from the self-reported data but also from oral proficiency interviews that interlocutors (1) have a strong command of English, with most in the range of the B2-C1 CEFR levels (please see a brief overview of CEFR levels in Figure 4.1 below)²⁹ and (2) are sociolinguistically as well as communicatively competent English speakers, drawing on features of African American English (AAE) and other English varieties that serve parallel social purposes to Kiezdeutsch.

²⁹ CEFR stands for *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages*. For a full overview of the CEFR levels, see Council of Europe 2007. Any evaluation of CEFR levels given in this paper is based on self-assessments and/or oral proficiency interviews and classroom observation conducted by the researcher.

Figure 4.1 – CEFR Global Scale

This “global” scale provides a brief overview of CEFR levels for the non-specialist; for more detailed descriptions of CEFR levels, please see Council of Europe 2007.

Proficient User	C2	Can understand with ease virtually everything heard or read. Can summarise information from different spoken and written sources, reconstructing arguments and accounts in a coherent presentation. Can express him/herself spontaneously, very fluently and precisely, differentiating finer shades of meaning even in more complex situations.
	C1	Can understand a wide range of demanding, longer texts, and recognise implicit meaning. Can express him/herself fluently and spontaneously without much obvious searching for expressions. Can use language flexibly and effectively for social, academic and professional purposes. Can produce clear, well-structured, detailed text on complex subjects, showing controlled use of organisational patterns, connectors and cohesive devices.
Independent User	B2	Can understand the main ideas of complex text on both concrete and abstract topics, including technical discussions in his/her field of specialisation. Can interact with a degree of fluency and spontaneity that makes regular interaction with native speakers quite possible without strain for either party. Can produce clear, detailed text on a wide range of subjects and explain a viewpoint on a topical issue giving the advantages and disadvantages of various options.
	B1	Can understand the main points of clear standard input on familiar matters regularly encountered in work, school, leisure, etc. Can deal with most situations likely to arise whilst travelling in an area where the language is spoken. Can produce simple connected text on topics which are familiar or of personal interest. Can describe experiences and events, dreams, hopes and ambitions and briefly give reasons and explanations for opinions and plans.
Basic User	A2	Can understand sentences and frequently used expressions related to areas of most immediate relevance (e.g. very basic personal and family information, shopping, local geography, employment). Can communicate in simple and routine tasks requiring a simple and direct exchange of information on familiar and routine matters. Can describe in simple terms aspects of his/her background, immediate environment and matters in areas of immediate need.
	A1	Can understand and use familiar everyday expressions and very basic phrases aimed at the satisfaction of needs of a concrete type. Can introduce him/herself and others and can ask and answer questions about personal details such as where he/she lives, people he/she knows and things he/she has. Can interact in a simple way provided the other person talks slowly and clearly and is prepared to help.

(Council of Europe 2007)

Not only does the speakers English evidence possible influence from English ethnolects, but the English of these interlocutors shows a number of potential influences from Kiezdeutsch. Though more targeted elicitation would be required to tease apart this intertwined relationship, the complexity of which is evidenced in Example 4.1, it is likely

that translanguaging involving features of both AAE and Kiezdeutsch is at play in these speakers' English.

EXAMPLE 4.1

NON-STANDARD ENGLISH OF A KIEZDEUTSCH SPEAKER³⁰

Fieldworker: ((laughs)) what's bad about [German] hip-hop?

Assistant: (((laughs)))

Muhammed: there'ssss (--) a lotta image

Fieldworker: [a lotta image]

Assistant: [a lotta image] and American hip-hop (---) less image?

Muhammed: no but uh (-) in Germany they say (--) uh that they gangsta and some shit but they not

In this exchange, Mohammad expresses a common attitude—that English-language hip-hop is authentic relative to German-language hip-hop—unsurprisingly echoing his apparent linguistic identification with AAE. On a formal linguistic level, there is evidence of a “translation” of a Kiezdeutsch identity to an AAE identity in Muhammed’s English utterance *they say that they gangsta and some shit but they not*. Most apparent is the double zero copula (*they gangsta/they not*), which appears to constitute interference from either Kiezdeutsch or AAE, which also allows zero copula. This isolated example is far from the only evidence of influence from non-Standard ethnolects of English in these speakers’ English; coupled with the frequency of lexical items and pronunciations which index (at the very least, stylized) AAE such as *gangsta*, *brotha/sista*, *yo*, and *what up*, it is likely that both Kiezdeutsch and AAE are at play in this conversation and in the speech community at large. Recognizing this is crucial in reevaluating previous assumptions that have been made about English proficiency in these communities, as well as the role of English in their German, to be discussed in the following section.

4.3 DATA: GERMAN

As demonstrated in the previous section, English plays a significant role in the interlocutors’ lives. Furthermore, their English proficiency is not, as is so often assumed for these populations, reflective of a form of English learned (with, allegedly, middling success) in a classroom. On the contrary, these youths speak proficient, communicative English, and, moreover, employ non-standard features of English that suggest sociolinguistic competency. While research in the context of English language education at the secondary level would be necessary to further understand why so many of these youths allegedly perform poorly in English as it is taught in schools, my interviews evidence proficiency in both vernacular English and more standard informal English

³⁰ In the HIAT conventions, simultaneous speech is represented by square brackets [], paralinguistic features are notated in double parentheses (()), and bullet points, transcribed here as dashes, mark unmeasured short pauses (three bullet points maximum for pauses up to 1 second). Unintelligible speech is notated as (unintelligible), and items which are difficult to understand are given in single parentheses () with a slash / between candidate interpretations. For a full guide to the HIAT conventions, see Rehbein et al. 2004.

(e.g., the type of English used in a service encounter with a tourist). Considering also the value of English as an authentic manner of signaling identification with urban hip-hop culture, it is difficult to imagine that English does not thus play a role in the interlocutors' "native" ethnolect. This section presents evidence from recordings of German interviews and spontaneous speech that reveals influence from English on Kiezdeutsch in both the areas of lexicon (4.3.1) and phonology (4.3.2), as well as in more generalized multilingual translanguaging practices (4.3.3).

4.3.1 LEXICAL INFLUENCE FROM ENGLISH

Casual interviews and spontaneous speech in German elicited a great deal of English lexical material, for the most part quite similar in frequency and type to English words found in the Kiezdeutsch corpus. While many single English lexical items are not of particular interest, as they are already established as frequent in the Kiezdeutsch corpus and quite superficially index an urban, hip-hop influenced English (e.g., *bitch*, *motherfucker*, and *yo*, among other words cited as frequent in Chapter 3), there is a striking number of higher-register English lexical items that one would expect in business or academic German. These include, for example, *exchange*, *crucial*, and *Queen's English*. The fact that such forms are not common in the Kiezdeutsch corpus provides evidence for my hypothesis that proficiency in school-taught English has increased in these populations since the corpus recordings were made.

In addition to single English words, the tapes contain many full English phrases that nonetheless might be best analyzed as lexical chunks, imported in full as tag-switches, i.e., barely integrated or not at all integrated into German syntactic structures. These include, for example, formulaic phrases such as *ladies first*, *what's up man?*, and *huge party*. Also "merely" lexical but of special interest are seemingly spontaneous calques, both English to German and German to English, which were not found in my analysis of the Kiezdeutsch corpus, and which, in their largely playful nature, seem to require significant fluency in English. Such a German-to-English calque transcribed from the tapes, for example, was *Sandwichkind* ('middle child') rendered as *Sandwichkid*, with English pronunciation. Given the English origin of the term *sandwich*, this speaker may have assumed that the word *sandwichkind* was also of English origin; nonetheless, even in this case, such confusion evidences the fuzzy boundaries between English and German. A particularly interesting English-to-German calque recorded in my notes during participant observation was *Freundin-Freundin* ('female friend-female friend'), used by a young man to emphasize that a girl was just his friend and not his romantic partner. This seems to be a calque of the English form "friend-friend", which exhibits contrastive focus reduplication, a fairly recent but highly frequent and productive syntactic rule in English which, by reduplicating a word or phrase, "restricts the interpretation of the copied element to a 'real' or prototypical rendering" (Ghomeshi et al. 2004). While it is possible that this is "just" lexical influence in that the speaker was only familiar with this particular use of contrastive focus reduplication, it is also conceivable that he was aware of this syntactic rule and might apply it productively to other German nouns.

Though such complex lexical borrowing provides ample evidence of robust linguistic contact between German and English, as Irmengard Rauch succinctly states it, "Language contact means diffusion by borrowing. Borrowing is a mechanism not on par

with language change. It may lead to language change but it is not language change *per se*” (1978:37). In the following sections, I show that the contact situation at stake transcends a situation of simple lexical borrowings. Specifically, in the realm of phonology, I show that generalizations from borrowed English words motivate phonological analogy between German and English words, causing changed pronunciations of previously “German” lexical items.

4.3.2 PHONOLOGICAL BORROWING

A closer look at the phonology of the lexical borrowings reveals yet stronger evidence for a robust contact situation between Kiezdeutsch and English. When words from a source language are loaned into a host language, they are usually assimilated to the phonology of the host language. This is consistent with a more general observation of linguistic change that “borrowing can lead to language change in any component of the grammar, but it is generally agreed that phonological change is least affected by contact evidence, while lexical change is most affected” (Rauch 1990:45). This is then, unsurprisingly, especially true when contact is “weak”, i.e., while there is cultural contact, bilingualism in the source language is low in the host community; see, for example, the German pronunciation of early English loanwords (e.g., *Schal* from English *shawl*) or the English pronunciation of Japanese loanwords like *Sushi*. Partially assimilated loanwords may be found where bilingualism is moderate. The more recently loaned English-German word *Sprayer* (‘tagger’), for example, does not show the expected assimilation of the initial consonant cluster [sp] to [ʃp]. *Sprayer* does, however, show assimilation of the final [ə] (orthographic *er*) to [ɐ] (this could also be a British English pronunciation, but this is unlikely given the popular associations of graffiti with American urban hip-hop culture). Where contact between two languages is intensive and the level of bilingualism in a population is high, however, it is possible for words to be loaned without assimilation, resulting, in extreme cases, in entirely new sounds being loaned into the host language (cf. Sicoli 2000). This was the case in historical German, for example, when intensive contact between German and French resulted in the loaning of nasal vowels in words like *Balkon*, *Restaurant*, and *Parfum*. Nasal vowels have subsequently disappeared in some dialects of German along with the general decline of German-French bilingualism in Germany.

Interlocutors in this study consistently use native English pronunciations for a number of English loanwords that have previously been loaned and assimilated into German. The loanword *rap*, for example, is not at all new to the German language. It is documented in the Duden and is very clearly morphologically assimilated, having masculine gender and numerous morphological derivations (e.g., *Rapperin* ‘female rapper,’ *rappen* ‘to rap’). While the Duden doesn’t distinguish between non-distinctive realizations of *r* in German, many multilingual dictionaries that give phonetic pronunciations report that the English postalveolar approximant [ɹ] is assimilated to the German uvular [R].³¹ The speakers in this study, on the other hand, consistently pronounce *Rap* the way a speaker of American English would—with an initial postalveolar approximant. Cross-

³¹ See, e.g., “Rap.” Wiktionary. 2016. <https://de.wiktionary.org/wiki/Rap>. Accessed March 29, 2016.

linguistically, it is uncommon for a phone not already present in the phonetic inventory of a host language (like the post alveolar approximate) to be loaned from a source language. If this does happen, it is generally indicative of speakers being bilingual in the source language (i.e., shows that there is a high degree of contact/influence between the two languages). The same is true for the cognate ‘Mann/man’ as a form of address (as in English *what’s up, man?*/German *wie geht’s, Mann?*); in the Kiezdeutsch corpus, I did not note any instances of the English pronunciation of ‘man.’ In my data, on the other hand, the English pronunciation is nearly as common as the German pronunciation, even where surrounding discourse is entirely in German; clearly, analogy between the English and German form is altering the “native” pronunciation of *Mann* as a form of address. To be sure, these processes are not unique to Kiezdeutsch speakers; the American pronunciation of *rap* is also common in the contemporary language of young bilinguals of all socioeconomic classes throughout Germany. However, the observation that this kind of “de-assimilation” *also* occurs among youth who are not commonly stereotyped as proficient English speakers is noteworthy.

4.3.3 GERMAN-ENGLISH TRANSLANGUAGING

As demonstrated in my analysis of the Kiezdeutsch corpus in Chapter 3 and in my own data in section 4.3.1 of this chapter, lexical borrowing from English is extremely common. However, the data collected in this study are unsuited to a token-type or other quantitative analysis; because I purposefully used certain domains of discourse to elicit English text, it is possible (and likely) that my tapes contain more English than would be characteristic for this speech community in a normal setting. Nonetheless, code-switching and translanguaging (as previously defined in the broadest sense) is as common in my data as in the Kiezdeutsch corpus. A closer look at this translanguaging—elicited or not—reveals a level of creative language use and multilingual flexibility that could not spontaneously arise in a research setting but must be a common practice of the speech community. In Example 4.2 below, not recorded in the context of any domain usually related to the use of English, interlocutors use full English phrases, inserted into German as a matrix language, in a highly interactive and fluent manner:

EXAMPLE 4.2:

GERMAN-ENGLISH TRANSLANGUAGING

Rani: bist du criminal Polizei? [fragst (mein/my)] Ausweis? ist es **Emergency?**
 are you criminal Police? ask my ID is it Emergency?

Fieldworker: [((laughs))]

Amin: ich bezahl **electric- electric- electricity (--)** and television
 I pay electricity and television

In this exchange, Rani is teasing a third (unheard) interlocutor for asking a long string of prying questions and playfully questions if he is a policeman. Amin, a bystander to this conversation, plays along with Rani, promising the “policeman” that he paid his

bills. On the surface, this exchange contains a tag-switch (*Emergency*) and an intra-sentential switch (*electricity and television*, inserted syntactically into a German matrix sentence). However, a number of additional features stand out as potentially representing a deeper level of influence and a high level of inter-language creativity. First, Rani's intonation and pronunciation of *Kriminalpolizei* is not consistent with the expected German pronunciation [krɪmi'na:lpoli'tsɛi], pronounced as one word with main stress on the syllable [na:l]. Instead, his pronunciation is ['kɪmənəl poli'tsɛi], indicating English pronunciation of *criminal* and German pronunciation of *Polizei*. *Emergency* is also pronounced with an exaggerated American accent. Though the utterance between *fragst* and *Ausweis* is unintelligible, it is likely either a shortening of *mein* to *mei'*, or, potentially, and probably more likely since this is not common for these speakers, the corresponding English possessive pronoun *my*. If this analysis is correct, this could represent intra-sentential switching, albeit stilted, as it breaks both German and English morphosyntactic rules by treating *Ausweis* as a direct object of *fragen* rather than embedding it in the expected prepositional phrase (*fragen nach/ask for*).

Most indicative of intensive contact between Kiezdeutsch and English here is the full intra-sentential switch to *electricity and television*. One of the primary reasons for borrowing is to extend referential potential (cf. Muysken 1998). For this reason, borrowings of content words that refer to new culture concepts are cross-linguistically common (see, for example, anglicisms in standard German such as *Trainer*, *Western*, and *Ice Tea*). Function words like *and*, on the other hand, are not often loaned, as they must replace an equivalent grammatical word, phrase, or morpheme in the host language. Loaning of such function words therefore represents a high level of bilingualism within the speech community, where social (rather than semantic) factors are the main motivation for borrowing. Furthermore, given the playful nature of many of these exchanges and the fact that such borrowed function words occur only in conjunction with English content words, this might better be viewed as German-English translanguaging, playful interlanguage exchange involving multiple types of code-switching, rather than simple borrowing.

It should also be noted that though some interlocutors were fluent in shared heritage languages (Arabic, Turkish), translanguaging between German and these languages is rare on the tapes. Indeed, there was never a situation in which every interlocutor present during a given session spoke Arabic or Turkish; English is clearly the dominant co-language among this group of teenagers. Often, non-Turkish speaking interlocutors expressed frustration when a pair of Turkish speakers engaged in German-Turkish translanguaging. Likewise, in the Kiezdeutsch corpus, there are multiple instances where one irritated speaker who doesn't speak Turkish tells their interlocutors to *red' Deutsch!* or *sprich Deutsch!* ('talk/speak German') in the midst of German-Turkish code-switching.

High proficiency in English seems obvious, given the fact that English is used so productively, while the influence of Arabic and Turkish on Kiezdeutsch is limited predominately to individual lexical words with cultural significance that are not easily mapped to German equivalents (e.g., *wallah*, Kiezdeutsch 'I promise', lit. 'I swear to God', from Arabic). Furthermore, one major function of translanguaging is to index group identity. In the case of Arabic and Turkish loanwords, this connection is obvious.

However, keeping Omer's comments about German versus English or Middle Eastern hip-hop in mind, it is likely that English, like Turkish and Arabic, can index a more general global identity with urban struggle and "hardness". In this way, the use of English in these communities may differ significantly in form and function from the use of English by members of the German majority society, constituting a new "Kiezenglish" repertoire.

4.4 DISCUSSION: THEORETICAL AND PRACTICAL IMPLICATIONS

Since the early 2000s, numerous linguists have confronted the popular belief, widespread both in academia and popular discourse, that English constitutes a threat to a multilingual EU and to individual EU languages. Fueled by recent memory of Soviet linguistic hegemony and assumptions based on historical lessons learned from linguistic imperialism in the colonial and post-colonial world, these fears, thankfully, seem largely unfounded in the EU context. Juliane House, for example, has shown that English has no effect on German discourse conventions in text or speech, even in the presence of English borrowings, and that the use of English as a medium of instruction in German universities does not pose a threat to the role of German. House (as well as others, perhaps most notably Seidlhofer 2007) also argue, however, that the continued peaceful coexistence of English in a multilingual EU will rely upon the notion of English as a Lingua Franca (ELF). House (2003:559) defines the utility and purpose of ELF in the European context as follows:

ELF can be regarded as a language for communication, that is, a useful instrument for making oneself understood in international encounters... In using ELF, speakers are unlikely to conceive of it as a 'language for identification': [sic] it is local languages, and particularly an individual's L1(s), which are likely to be the main determinants of identity, which means holding a stake in the collective linguistic-cultural capital that defines the L1 group and its member... Using ELF for instrumental purposes does not necessarily displace national or local languages, as they are used for different purposes.

House goes further to suggest that ELF should be considered a type of hybrid language practice, a co-existence of native language(s) and ELF, resulting in features such as translanguaging and local varieties of English. Indeed, the reclamation of the value of local or "glocal" (global + local) Englishes in a post-colonial context has also been of interest outside of the European context (cf. e.g., Kperogi 2015). The body of literature arguing for the promotion of the notion of ELF in Europe has focused on the benefits of ELF for the multilingual EU in official and institutional contexts and with reference to native EU languages. However, I argue that it is worth considering whether the case for ELF might be strengthened by considering the role of English outside of these contexts—namely, in informal settings and among populations with lower socioeconomic standing. For the youth in this study, for example, English clearly constitutes a complement to Kiezdeutsch as a linguistic tool for indexing group identity through identification with English ethnolects. While the many features of Kiezdeutsch which draw upon Turkish and Arabic index identification with youth of Turkish and

Arabic-speaking heritage, the use of ethnolectal English indexes belonging with a global, and, accordingly, glocal community of young, multicultural urban youth. Accordingly, a veritable “Kiezenglish” emerges, which might be described as an ELF practice characterized by (multi)ethnolectal hybridities.

It is evident that these youths are practicing a complex translanguaging which interweaves both majority and minority dialects of both English and German, creating exactly the kind of hybridity that Hauser claims is characteristic of ELF as a co-language. Despite this, there seems to be a widespread attitude among social service workers that these youths have little to no command of English. After I interviewed one interlocutor, a staff member at the youth center remarked that I shouldn’t have interviewed him because he had failed his English class. Similarly, during the recruitment phase of my study, I was forced to rephrase the description of my research to obscure the fact that I was interested in investigating English proficiency. The mere suggestion that these youths might use English in any sort of productive manner immediately triggered many organizations to decline my request on the basis that their clients did not speak English. On the other hand, while staff reported that many youths were *türkischsprachig* (“Turkish speaking”), most youth of Turkish heritage reported passive knowledge of Turkish at best. This is, perhaps, reflective of a more general “monolingual paradigm” in that, paradoxically, might pervade even discourse on multilingualism (Gramling 2016:216). Turkish-German bilingualism is, in other words, viewed as a bimodal monolingual repertoire which excludes other linguistic competencies.

These ideologies highlight the fact that English competence in Germany is associated with the notion of EFL (English as a Foreign Language) rather than ELF (English as a Lingua Franca). In other words, “speaking English” means commanding English as taught in schools and doing so in a manner that is free of any hybridity with German or any other language. Clearly, promoting the notion of ELF rather than EFL as an ideal would be beneficial in making English proficiency among these populations visible. All but one of the youth in this study saw themselves as English speakers. Unfortunately, the people who have been given the license to evaluate and to speak on behalf of these people’s language abilities—teachers, social workers, and mentors—clearly do not view them as proficient English speakers.

On a practical level, the most important implication of these post-migrant youths’ unrecognized use of English lies in their special contact with the current influx of new migrants to Germany (see section 4.2.1). It is in this context that their use of English transcends stylistic use and becomes a crucial tool of communication—a true lingua franca in House’s sense of the term. While no academic research has yet addressed what impact the current refugee crisis may have on the German language, linguists have already speculated in popular media about the potential of this unique situation to have a profound effect on German ethnolects and, potentially, the German language as a whole (cf. e.g., McWhorter 2015). Meanwhile, the German media have been rife with opinion pieces by authors, teachers, and public intellectuals decrying that refugees, unable to communicate with each other in a common language, prefer to rely on a combination of “broken” English and deficient, “childish” German, resulting in a *Simpelsprech* (“simple-speak”) that poses a threat to the German language (cf. e.g., Schümer 2016).

To a linguist, this sort of rhetoric rings xenophobic and unscientific; it is well-documented that translanguaging is both a common behavior of fluent bilinguals and a

normal, often beneficial, reality of second-language acquisition (Creese and Blackridge 2010, García 2009). Furthermore, it is no surprise that new migrants are echoing the linguistic behavior of the post-migrant communities that are absorbing them. By recognizing that German-English translanguaging is a normal mode of communication among native German-speaking youth such as those described in this chapter, we take a step in normalizing these practices amongst migrant youth acquiring German as a second (or, more often, third or fourth) language. The next chapter thus outlines the results of a similar study I undertook with newly-arrived refugee youth, substantiating the emergence of a “Kiezenglish” repertoire shared between these communities. I aim to investigate both the use of English among refugee youth and linguistic evidence of their contact with Kiezdeutsch speakers, ultimately proposing some potential linguistic and sociolinguistic consequences of the current influx of refugees for multiethnic urban speech communities at large.

CHAPTER 5

NEW FIELDWORK DATA: KIEZDEUTSCH AND KIEZENGLISH USE AMONG REFUGEE YOUTH

5.0 INTRODUCTION

Having established English as a crucial point of connection between post-migrant and refugee communities in Chapter 4, this chapter investigates both potential linguistic evidence of this connection as well as the more general proficiency in and use of English by newly-arrived refugees in Berlin. As discussed in the previous chapter, the fact that English is very much present in these communities is already apparent in the public anxieties of educators, journalists, and politicians concerned that the use of English among refugees is impeding their ability to acquire German. This type of moral panic about the effects of immigration on language change is, of course, not unknown in Germany (cf. Chapter 2). Ironically, journalists like Dirk Schümer (above) often draw parallels between refugees' alleged English-German "Simpelsprech" and existing (multi)ethnolects of German such as Kiezdeutsch, ignoring the overwhelming linguistic literature which shows that these varieties, when spoken by native, German-born speakers, do not constitute broken, deficient, or simplified German. As was the case with Kiezdeutsch in the early 2000s, research on the current linguistic situation of refugees is clearly a necessary tool in countering this xenophobic rhetoric.

In this chapter, I offer an initial evaluation of multilingual competencies and practices of youth at a refugee language school. It should be noted that these data were collected from fall 2015 through summer 2016—at the very beginning of the so-called "refugee crisis" in Germany—and may thus not reflect or predict how the situation will unfold in the coming years. However, these data provide an important baseline in beginning to explore the role of English as a lingua franca and, potentially, a language of social identification among refugees associated with this wave of migration. Furthermore, it reveals a connection between established post-migrant speech communities both through this use of English as a lingua franca and through the use of features of Kiezdeutsch by refugees acquiring German.

5.1 RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

As in my study of post-migrant youth, I began collecting ethnographic data with refugee youth as a participant-observer in my role as a volunteer German teacher at a non-profit cultural and migrant aid organization. Later, I recorded informal interviews and spontaneous speech in small groups with selected interlocutors. The refugee organization

was also located in the Kreuzberg neighborhood, and the center was run predominately by staff of Turkish heritage. The linguistic setting of the school, run by volunteers and staff associated with an older wave of migration, thus substantiates McWhorter's (2015) hypothesis of a geographic and linguistic collision between new and old migrant speech communities in Germany. This also, of course, provides further confirmation of the intensive contact with refugees reported by my post-migrant interlocutors in the previous chapter. The majority of the students in the language courses were taking advantage of a law which went into effect in late October of 2015 allowing persons with *BüMA* ("Bescheinigung über die Meldung als Asylsuchender," a certificate of registration as an asylum seeker) to enroll in German courses paid for by the *Arbeitsagentur* [Federal Employment Agency]. This meant that the majority of students had not yet been granted asylum status, though the large backlog of asylum seekers in Berlin meant that many of them had been in Germany for 3-8 months and already spoke German at the CEFR A2 level or higher.

5.1.2 SUBJECT RECRUITMENT AND PROFILES

Interlocutors were recruited from two different types of courses that I taught. The first was a class for unaccompanied minor refugees (mostly between the ages of 14 and 18, though only interlocutors over the age of 16 are included in this study). This class was taught by a paid teacher completing her *Praktikum* ("internship") to become a *Deutsch als Zweitsprache/DaZ* ("German as a Second Language") instructor. In this class, I thus both taught and observed the intern's lessons. The second class was targeted at individuals of all ages with higher German proficiencies, and I taught this course alone. Additionally, I observed a number of other volunteer teacher's classes. The recruitment and consent process meant that I was unable to work with individuals who were either illiterate or uncomfortable with the Roman alphabet;³² such individuals accounted for approximately 1 in 5 students at the organization. The data presented in this chapter should thus be viewed through this lens; it is conceivable, though not certain, that these individuals have, on average, lower proficiency in English and less contact with native German speech communities.

As in the previous study, a total of thirteen interlocutors were recorded at this field site. Interlocutors ranged in age from 16 to 27, with a mean age of 18. Six of these students came from Afghanistan, three from Syria, and one each from Iran, Gambia, Lebanon, and Albania. Seven students spoke Farsi/Dari as a first language, while four reported Arabic as their mother tongue. My interlocutors from Gambia and Albania reported Mandinka and Albanian as first languages, respectively. Notably, all thirteen students reported speaking English as a second language. Two interlocutors spoke Arabic as a second language, two interlocutors reported Pashto as a second language, and

³² Students who were truly illiterate and students who were only literate in a non-Roman alphabet were most often placed in a single "literacy class" by default. Unsurprisingly, many students in the latter group were frustrated by this state of affairs, particularly since many of them were capable of typing in English and/or German using the Roman alphabet on their phones and were only uncomfortable printing the Roman alphabet on paper from a mechanical standpoint. Many such students attended both the literacy classes and the German language classes; I thus did have contact with some of these students in the context of my participant-observations, but they are not included in my recorded interviews.

the Gambian student additionally reported Wolof and Spanish as second languages. All thirteen interlocutors at this field site identified as male. Again, this is largely reflective of the restriction to interlocutors between the ages of 16 and 28 and the fact that ten out of the thirteen students arrived in Germany as unaccompanied minors, which reflected the demographics of the school. Half of minors traveling to Europe are unaccompanied, and of these, 90% are male (International Organization for Migration 2015). All of the literate women who I did encounter during my fieldwork spoke English and German at a similar level as their male peers. However, this gender imbalance will also require seeking out a more diversified subject population in future data collection. A number of students reported having arrived in Germany with wives and partners but said that their partners stayed at home while they came to language classes. While some said that their female partners attended language classes held at their refugee housing facilities where childcare was available, most of my students who attended such classes reported that such classes were largely informal in nature, large in size, and did not involve individual student participation. Furthermore, many men felt that the gender imbalance at the school made the environment uncomfortable and potentially unsafe for women, and, indeed, if a woman did come to class, she often did not return. Seeking out female populations may require recruitment at organizations that specifically work with women and girls. While it is beyond the scope of this work, this situation also suggests the need for research on and support for women's access to language classes in Berlin.

5.1.1 AUDIO RECORDING AND TRANSCRIPTION

As in the previous study, audio recordings were made on a Zoom H2 portable stereo recorder. Given the chaotic, noisy nature of the organization's setting, all tapes contained background noise and were normalized in Audacity. Relatedly, some portions of the audio tapes had to be cut when a subject who had not participated in the consent process entered the room without warning. Transcriptions follow the same guidelines as in the previous chapter.

5.2 DATA

This section presents some preliminary observations on the use of German (Section 5.2.1) and English (Section 5.2.2) among refugee students in German language classes. The data analyzed here consist both of excerpts from and observations about data recorded in the form of spontaneous speech and casual interviews, as in the previous chapter, as well as data from my fieldnotes, taken over the course of my year-long ethnographic participant-observation at the school and tagged for metalanguage and discourse domains (see particularly Section 5.2.2.1). As in the previous study, interview questions from the question bank in Appendix B were occasionally used to elicit domains of language prototypically associated with English usage.

5.2.1. GERMAN PROFICIENCY AND USE

Oral proficiency interviews conducted with the thirteen core interlocutors revealed CEFR proficiencies in German ranging from low A2 to high B2. This was broadly

representative of the average proficiencies of students who arrived at the school during my time there. While a student occasionally arrived speaking little to no German, long wait times for registration, housing, and social services in Berlin meant that almost all students had been exposed to German for months, sometimes up to a year, before attending formal classes. Many students had received informal instruction and/or textbooks for self-teaching at their housing centers, and all students were already using German on some level in their daily lives (e.g., at the grocery store, with volunteers at refugee housing centers, in social interactions on the streets, and, in the case of older students, with their children who had already been placed in German schools). Even students who arrived with A1 proficiency often had considerable lexical and communicative abilities, despite showing significant morphological and syntactic deficits.

Of particular interest are a number of unique features of the student's interlanguages, i.e., their ever-changing, incomplete learner grammars of German (Selinker 1972). These features point to meaningful differences between these refugees' acquisition of German and the acquisition of German by previous waves of migrants. These features may, in turn, eventually influence ethnolectal German speech practices, as was the case with Kiezdeutsch. One of these features, which is beyond the scope of this study yet may prove crucial for future research, is a larger number of Arabic-influenced features in German interlanguages relative to previous waves of migration, which have largely been dominated by Turkish-influenced interlanguages. Two additional interlanguage characteristics of interest are German-English translanguaging and the use of ethnolectal (i.e., Kiezdeutsch-influenced) features, which will be discussed in the following sections.

5.2.1.1 GERMAN-ENGLISH TRANSLANGUAGING

In recordings made in the classroom setting, interlocutors primarily spoke only German, as they were repeatedly instructed to by staff and teachers, who were largely trained, however briefly, in immersive communicative approaches. Likewise, the data in the following section on the use of English represent sessions where I specifically asked interlocutors to speak only English. However, language use outside of the classroom was much different, and most students at the school spent the majority of their time together outside of the classroom. Many students had at least a 45-minute commute to school, which many made together with friends from their housing units. For the unaccompanied minors, formal classes took place for 5 to 6 hours a day, but a great deal of time was spent largely unsupervised while eating meals in the school kitchen, playing sports in the small gymnasium at the school or at the local park, and gathering in the *Hof* ('courtyard') of the building that housed the school before, after, and in-between classes. In order to document how the students communicated in these scenarios, I made a number of recordings of small group conversations in these locations during free time. During these sessions, I avoided interfering in group conversation as much as possible. However, when necessary, I addressed the students in German so as to stay within my role as a German teacher and not create a situation where the students felt freer to speak English than they would in the vicinity of other staff.

Unsurprisingly, students communicated in a combination of their native languages, English, and German outside of the classroom. While German often served as

the matrix language, as staff sometimes enforced “German-only” policies in common areas as well as in classrooms, this German was rarely as “pure” as in the classroom. Conversation in native languages³³ occurred in a delimited fashion, between the isolated pairs and triads who spoke the same languages and dialects. Conversation in German and English, on the other hand, flowed freely through time and space. All interlocutors used both German and English to communicate, and the languages were often inseparable; it was rare that a given turn could be classified either as “English” or “German”. The data presented in Example 5.1 evidence this profound German-English translanguaging, demonstrating how a kind of shared mixed German-English interlanguage has developed between them. In a classroom setting, this conversation could well have occurred entirely in German; all interlocutors recorded on the tapes were capable of engaging in basic conversations about everyday topics in German (CEFR level A2 or higher). Conversely, most of the students had strong English skills (CEFR level B2 or higher) and could also have spoken only in English. Thus, the translanguaging in Example 5.1 does not merely arise from a lack of vocabulary or poor communicative abilities in either German or English, but rather from an active use of the community’s pooled linguistic resources in constructing meaning, a common behavior of multilingual speech communities in general.

EXAMPLE 5.1:
GERMAN-ENGLISH TRANSLANGUAGING

Fahim: I learn English in chatting [to my friend] (--) chatting...
Fieldworker: ‘(((laughs)) in cha-]’
Musa: yeah of course
Fieldworker: ((laughs)) [WhatsApp]?
Musa: [ich auch]
‘me too’
Fahim: WhatsApp [message, Viber]...das ist-
‘it/that is-‘
Ali: [yeah yeah yeah yeah]
Ali: ich hab ich hab ein äh (--) Freund äh ich äh (-) [message-]...
‘I have I have a uh (--) Friend uh I uh’
Fieldworker: [mhm]
Ali: ich sprech’ Englisch with him
‘I speak English with him’

Some instances of translanguaging in Example 5.1 are clearly an indication of translanguaging in the context of incomplete language acquisition, for example Ali’s mixing, which is accompanied by fillers and pauses indicative of uncertainty and

³³ Arabic and Farsi were the only languages heard regularly outside of the classroom. However, the use of Arabic was limited by the fact that many students spoke non-mutually intelligible dialects of Arabic. Furthermore, common languages did not necessarily structure the students’ social circles; class and religion seemed to constitute stronger boundaries. One Arabic-speaking student reported, for example, that he preferred to associate with a Farsi-speaking friend because he did not approve of some of the behaviors of the Arabic-speaking students in the class (e.g., drinking and consuming haram food).

hesitance. However, other uses of German or English show signs of “true” code-switching in that the mixed elements are freely chosen and highly interactional, discourse-oriented tag-switches of discourse and response particles (e.g., *genau/ super/ ach ja* vs. *oh/ of course/ what’s up*). This is seen, for example, in Musa’s rapid switching between English *yeah of course* and German *ich auch*. Notably, some of the discourse particles associated with Kiezdeutsch via Arabic such as *wallah* and *yallah* appear on the tapes as well. Indeed, this kind of acquisition-induced code-mixing is likely the original source of these particles in Kiezdeutsch. It would thus be unsurprising if the use of such English discourse markers also “survived” the acquisition process and became permanent features of this speech community’s German.

It should be noted that students were very much aware of their mixing and clearly avoided English in the classroom. Contrary to the worries of hand-wringing journalists, concerned that this is the only language these youths will be capable of, this type of mixed communication thus did not seem to impede acquisition of German. In fact, it often led to metalinguistic conversations about similarities and differences between German and English, and, crucially, gave students the confidence to engage in conversation with peers who did not speak their native language. While such switching was rare in formalized classroom activities, the prevalence of English among refugees, coupled with the close genealogical relationship between English and German, could actually make English a beneficial classroom tool. Indeed, many linguists argue that allowing code-mixing under certain circumstances “enables students with different language proficiencies to focus on learning the classroom concepts instead of having to focus entirely on decoding [the language],” “provides a manner of giving each language equal prestige,” and “encourages a kind of language behavior that is commonly used with bilinguals” (Grosjean 1982, Kamwangamalu 1992, Kwan-Terry 1992 and Miller 1984 in Brice 2000:21).

Many of these considerations seem particularly important in a setting where students do not necessarily share a common language other than English, have varying proficiencies in German, and may feel overwhelmed by social pressure to speak only German not only in the classroom, but also in the outside world. In addition, while teachers trained in German as a Foreign Language were generally knowledgeable about the grammatical and phonological structures of the students’ heritage languages and regularly made comparisons between Arabic, Farsi, and German, they tended to avoid English out of fear of such translanguaging “leaking” into the classroom. This means that the opportunity was lost to make comparisons between German and English, the latter a language which almost all students were familiar with and which shares much more in common with German. These data suggest that “German only” classroom policies should be reevaluated in light of students’ English proficiencies, their German-English translanguaging behaviors in their “natural” acquisition of German outside of the classroom, and, more broadly, in light of linguistic research on the efficacy of code-mixing and the benefits of harnessing second languages in teaching a third language (Jessner 1999).

5.2.1.2 THE KIEZDEUTSCH CONNECTION

At the same time as they are learning German, many refugees are being absorbed into Kiezdeutsch speech communities. As demonstrated in the previous chapter, one result of this is an increase in the use of English as a lingua franca among post-migrant youth as they come into contact with new refugees. However, the data from the refugee language school show that influence is also going in the opposite direction; refugees learning German are using, at the very least, some lexical features associated with Kiezdeutsch. Because the refugees currently arriving in Germany share cultural and religious ties to established populations with migrant histories, contact between these communities is significant, as reflected in the German-Turkish leadership and staff of the refugee language school. Though communication in any language other than German was discouraged at the language school, students quickly understood that the Arabic loanwords used in Kiezdeutsch (e.g., *yallah*, *wallah*) were fair game in conversation with staff and volunteers with migrant backgrounds. White, non-migrant teachers, on the other hand, often issued warnings such as *das ist kein schönes Deutsch* ('that's not nice/good German') in reaction to students' use of Kiezdeutsch discourse particles. Most students were also being housed in areas of Berlin with historical immigrant populations and thus making daily social contact with speakers of Kiezdeutsch in public spaces. One Syrian student, for example, proudly showed me a picture of himself with his girlfriend, born in Germany to Turkish parents. Later, during a warm-up where students were to share a new word they had learned outside of school, the same student taught the class the common Kiezdeutsch discourse particle *ischwör* (lit. 'I swear').

Another student, a young refugee from North Africa, arrived in the middle of my six-week course. He had been assigned to my A1.2 course, but since there were no rigorous placement criteria in place, I had developed a short series of exercises to evaluate new students' CEFR levels. When I began to evaluate this new student's writing sample, I was surprised to read a text on the level I might expect from a student at the high B2 CEFR level. At first, I assumed that like many other students, he had perhaps started learning German in a *Willkommensklasse* before he had turned 18 and then relocated to a camp for adults, losing his place in the class. However, when I asked him if this was the case, he had an entirely different explanation for how he learned German—"Ich war im Knast" ('I was in prison'), he told me. As I continued to talk to him, I realized that he did indeed speak what I would classify as near-fluent German, but, unsurprisingly, what he had learned "im Knast" was something much closer to Kiezdeutsch than Standard German. While it cannot yet be said exactly what effect the current refugee situation will have on Kiezdeutsch and vice versa, linguists can no longer ignore the active and continued role of language acquisition in the evolution of Kiezdeutsch and the fact that English will likely play an important role in this contact. Indeed, the stigma attached to Kiezdeutsch is clearly being carried over to a new generation of migrants.

5.2.2 ENGLISH PROFICIENCY AND USE

Oral proficiency interviews conducted with the thirteen core interlocutors revealed CEFR proficiencies in English ranging from low B1 to C1. As with their German, these levels of proficiency were broadly representative of the average English abilities of

students at the school. Many students who spoke no English or very little English were also illiterate and were thus excluded from the study. Other students who spoke poor English when I met them developed significant English skills during their time at the school. When asked explicitly about the role of English in their daily lives, most interlocutors were quick to emphasize the fact that English had been their main language of communication on their journeys from their home countries to Germany, which for most involved multi-month trips by foot, car, bus, and train through countries where they did not speak the national language, but where English is a common *lingua franca*. A number of students specifically reported having spent significant time in camps in Greece, the Czech Republic, and Hungary, where English was often a more common *lingua franca* than Arabic, the other obvious candidate. Many students, including the vast majority of Syrian students, had also learned English formally in school from a young age. However, when asked how they had learned English, interlocutors stressed that English was a language of practicality and social networking in their lives in Germany, rather than an academic competence. Many, for example, reported that they usually searched for answers to questions about daily life and legal procedures for refugees in Germany in the English language on the internet, since they found bureaucratic German difficult to read, and online information scarce in their native languages. Furthermore, most used English in their searches for housing and work, often connecting with English-speaking ex-pats in Germany on social media. In addition to these practical uses of English, many of my refugee interlocutors also reported encountering and using English in the same kinds of media and urban cultural contexts as my post-migrant interlocutors, including while listening to music, watching movies, and following sports news.

The importance of Juliana House's arguments in support of ELF for these populations is clear. English has the potential to empower these youths both on a practical level, as they adapt to life in Germany before they speak the language fluently, and on a psychological level, since they clearly feel that English is an importance competence that they possess. As one student said in a discussion about job skills that should be included on a German resume, *Ich spreche Englisch – das gut aber das alles* ('I speak English – that [is] good but that [is] it'). Unfortunately, however, the discourses surrounding refugee's English in Germany are primarily negative. My fieldnotes, annotated for, among other discourse domains, metalinguistic commentary on English (e.g., teachers telling students not to speak English or one student telling another student about an interaction they had in English) reveal language ideologies which manifest significant stigma and linguistic discrimination against refugees who use English. More interesting than the linguistic form of my interlocutor's English is the conflict between their own attitudes surrounding English versus the attitudes of the staff and volunteers, which I analyze in the following section.

5.2.2.1 LANGUAGE IDEOLOGIES SURROUNDING ENGLISH

Language ideologies, defined broadly as “shared bodies of commonsense notions about the nature of language in the world” (Rumsey 1990:346), are, as many recent studies have shown, a natural part of the linguistic socialization into a language community (cf. e.g., Szabó 2013). Learning a language, in other words, entails not just learning the form-

meaning structure of the language, but also in the process learning to understand the way the target speech community views their own language. This might include, e.g., coming to understand the ways speakers of the target language position their language relative to other languages in the linguistic landscape or learning the attitudes surrounding dialects and varieties of the language that exist in the speech community. Of course, no adult language learner is a language ideological “blank slate”; language ideologies held by speakers of the target language may conflict with language ideological systems of the learners’ native speech communities. Such a conflict, left unexplored, may unintentionally create stigma and hinder learners’ ability to integrate the linguistic practices of the target language community into their own larger linguistic repertoire. In the case of this study, conflicting ideological systems surrounding the use of English (and particularly the use of English in translanguaging practices) gives rise to stigmatization of refugees’ use of English, ultimately hindering their progress in acquiring German.

While language ideologies manifest in various linguistic and non-linguistic forms, ranging, e.g., from language policy to actual language use, the most superficially obvious manifestation of language ideologies is in metalanguage—i.e., in explicit talk about language itself (Jaworski et al. 2004). An analysis of my fieldnotes for metalinguistic discourse among refugees surrounding the use of English reveals three interrelated yet distinct language-ideological discourses which characterize English as:

- (1) A **competence** that they have, as described in the previous section.
- (2) “**Cool**” – signaling social alignment with a hip, international, urban population
- (3) “**Useful**” – as lingua franca and as a language with high status in majority German society (e.g., in business, engineering, and academia). Relatedly, they feel English is useful for learning German, specifically, both because it is a language commonly spoken by Germans and because of its linguistic similarity to German.

The “cool” factor of English is not surprising and echoes the social identification with English as an urban lingua franca expressed by my post-migrant interlocutors in the previous chapter. Much to the dismay of many of the “natives”, Berlin is increasingly becoming an international city, and relatively wealthy ex-pats from the US, UK, and Australia flock to Berlin for its tech scene, nightclubs, and eccentricity. The English speakers have the “cool factor”, and nowhere was this more evident than at the language school where I conducted fieldwork. The “school” shared a building—and, consequently, common spaces—with a start-up and a trendy design museum, both of which employed large numbers of ex-pats. The sounds of English (with and without an accent) echoed through the *Hof* (“courtyard”) into the classroom, English words mingling with their German cognates. One younger student remarked during a lesson on career-related vocabulary, „Ich möchte Künstler sein. Dafür muss ich an der Kunstschule studieren

und sehr gut Englisch sprechen“ (‘I want to be an artist. In order to do that, I need to study at art school and speak English very well’).

This quotation also reflects the related ideology that English is “useful”. In this case, the practical advantage of speaking English is quite clear; English is a prerequisite for many desirable skilled professions in Germany. However, the “usefulness” of English transcends simply English as a job skill or a means of networking. Most refugees have non-Indo-European mother tongues or speak Indo-European languages such as Farsi which bear little obvious resemblance to German for the non-expert. It doesn’t take a linguist, however, to see the resemblances between English and German. The discourses of linguistic similarity thus paint English as a bridge to German. Notably, these readily apparent resemblances extend beyond simple lexical similarities to deeper grammatical resemblance. When I corrected one student’s utterance “Ich müde” (‘I tired’) to “Ich bin müde” (‘I am tired’), he knowingly echoed back in English “ah, I AM tired,” implicitly acknowledging the recognition of a parallel rule disallowing copula drop in English and German in contrast to his native language, Arabic, which allows copula drop in the present affirmative.

Analysis of metalinguistic commentary about among teachers, staff, and other aid workers in the school’s environment revealed four dominant language ideologies which, in contrast to refugee’s ideologies, reflect a predominately negative stance toward refugee’s use of English and English in German society more generally. These are displayed below, shown in parallel to the language ideologies of refugees to reflect this opposition, which is also mirrored across the first three individual ideologies. The fourth ideology—that English is a threat to German—might be considered a larger “macroideology,” encompassing the ideologies about refugees’ use of German, but also merging these with broader ideologies about English and anglicisms in Germany, as discussed previously in the context of public moral panic in journalism and on the internet concerning the use of English in Germany.

Ideologies among Refugees

- (1) English is a **competence** that they have.
- (2) English is “**cool**”—signaling social alignment with a hip, international, urban population.
- (3) English is “**useful**”—as lingua franca and as A language with high status in the higher domains of German society (business, engineering, and academia). Relatedly, they feel English is useful for learning German specifically, both because it is a language commonly spoken by Germans and because of its linguistic similarity to German.

Ideologies among Teachers/Staff

- (1) Refugees speak poor, broken English.
- (2) English is an advanced skill, primarily of practical use.
- (3) English is detrimental to refugees acquiring German.
- (4) **English is a threat to German**

The conflict between ideology (1) for refugees versus teachers and staff is straight-forward; while refugees largely saw themselves as competent speakers of English, teachers and staff often did not. Whereas my interlocutors considered themselves as speaking English well, staff often complained that students who didn't speak German well were difficult to communicate with because their English was poor. While this may sometimes have been the case, it more often seemed to be a conflict between the staff's own careful, rigid, academic English clashing with the more interactive, casual English spoken by students among themselves in the courtyard and in the common room. This English naturally did not resemble the socially valued English of the German business and academic worlds. Characterized by code-switching with German and Arabic and slang that included features of AAE likely picked up from the internet and popular media, their English did not fit the narrow acceptable role of English in Germany as a utilitarian language designed for maximum efficiency in intercultural communications. This is manifested in discourses which reflected the opposing ideologies in (2). For refugees, English was both a useful tool and a language imbued with social meaning. They characterized English as *fun* and *easy* to speak, and as a language that naturally intertwined with all of their linguistic repertoires in various social domains of communication, such as online or in receptive engagement with global media. For teachers and staff, on the other hand, metadiscourse marked English as a tool, at best—predominately as a last communicative resort with students who arrived speaking poor German and, more rarely, as a means of helping to connect refugees with English-speaking ex-pat employers and landlords. Such connections to English-speaking populations were largely treated as a temporary band-aid and a necessary evil. *With the Germans, one should speak German*, one staff member told a young man when he saw me proofreading his English email to a potential German landlord.

Finally, the same discourses of resemblance between English and German that generated positive ideologies surrounding the use of English as a stepping stone to learning German among refugees spawned rather opposite, negative ideologies among teachers and staff. The same patterns of lexical and grammatical similarity between English and German—the fact a German word could so easily be replaced with an English one, the clear mappings between German and English grammar—were largely painted as a threat both to refugees learning German, and, taken together with larger ideological systems concerning English in general, as a threat to the German language on the whole. Indeed, the ideological fear that English represents a special threat to German because of its genetic similarity may hold some scientific truth; linguists have observed that code-switching does occur more productively and naturally between languages which resemble each other, whether for reasons of genetic relation or by pure coincidence (Haig 2001:218-222, Schulte 2012).

That code-switching is detrimental to language acquisition or to the health and survival of a language with the social status and number of speakers that German has, is, of course, a less well-substantiated view. Such anxieties echo the sentiments expressed in Dirk Schümer's piece in *Die Welt*, claiming that refugees were developing a pidgin characterized by both deficient English and deficient German. In fact, this article first came to my attention when it was being discussed during a volunteer teacher meeting,

where multiple volunteers backed Schümer's claims with similar warnings against allowing English in the classroom that they had heard from "expert teachers" at workshops and trainings for non-DaF trained teachers preparing to teach German to refugees. Quite clearly, the decades old myth of *Doppelte Halbsprachigkeit* ('double semilingualism') has not been vanquished in German public discourse. Such calls for full, German-only immersion in refugee language education were indeed discussed with excitement and implemented informally among the teachers at the school I worked at. In my observations of fellow teachers, I noticed that these German-only classrooms became quieter and more timid, and students largely complained about such policies. Much more disturbingly, however, I witnessed students in crisis being silenced when they were unable to express their needs in German. One student, an unaccompanied minor, arrived at school having been stopped by the ticket inspector on the subway and told that his bracelet ticket was not valid.³⁴ As he tearfully tried to show a staff member his fine, she admonished him repeatedly for speaking English, aggressively repeating each English word he said back to him in German until he gave up and sought help from an older student who spoke his native language, instead.

5.3 DISCUSSION: THEORETICAL AND PRACTICAL IMPLICATIONS

From a descriptive-linguistic standpoint, the results of this study emphasize the need for Kiezdeutsch research to take into account the potential continued influence of second language speakers. This is particularly relevant in light of the new influx of refugees into the physical spaces (e.g., language schools, neighborhoods, and public spaces) of older populations of migrants. The characteristic features of Kiezdeutsch are clearly not in and of themselves indicative of deficient language acquisition by native-born Germans, and it is likely that second-language speakers will soon pick up many of these features as well. In doing so, they may become an active and linguistically influential part of the speech community. Furthermore, communication between older and newer migrant populations in English (as well as in Arabic and other shared heritage languages) will likely, in time, affect linguistic practices of urban communities in the same way that Turkish and Arabic originally affected Kiezdeutsch (even if, as Wiese argues, these effects are largely limited to loaned lexical items). Though my data do not directly evidence this, there is also, of course, a possibility of linguistic-social stratification between Kiezdeutsch speakers and new migrants. While old and new populations are colliding, they are also not on equal social ground in most situations. This is manifest, for example, in the social positionality of refugees vis-à-vis the staff at the language school and the ticket inspectors on the subway, many of whom have Turkish immigration backgrounds and belong to the demographic associated with Kiezdeutsch speakers. In any case, understanding the future of Kiezdeutsch will clearly necessitate studying the relationship between established Kiezdeutsch communities and newly-migrated youth and young adult populations. In

³⁴ In late 2015, BVG, the company providing most of Berlin's public transportation, offered free rides to asylum seekers who had not yet completed their registration. Asylum seekers were required to show the bracelet given to them at LaGeSo (*Landesamt für Gesundheit und Soziales* 'Regional Office for Health and Social Affairs') to ticket inspectors. This proved controversial, and rumors circulated that some ticket inspectors, many of whom had migrant backgrounds themselves and felt that they and their parents and grandparents had not been offered such treatment, refused to accept the bracelets as valid.

Chapter 2, I describe how Kiezdeutsch has increasingly been treated as a stable variety spoken solely by native speakers of German; clearly, this view is increasingly problematic in light of the influx of new non-native speakers into the communities associated with Kiezdeutsch.

From a practical standpoint, this study brings to light a number of issues in migrant language acquisition which have not necessarily been encountered or confronted in previous waves of migration. Some of these, such as the question of women's unequal access to language courses and the implicit understanding of "literacy" as a pen-and-paper, non-digital competence, are beyond the scope of my work, yet raise urgent questions for future research. However, this study does elucidate the fact that the multilingual language-mixing practices of new migrants are subject to the same stigmas and myths about language mixing that have long circulated in Germany. Furthermore, the role of English, specifically, in these practices simultaneously provides new opportunities for migrants to connect with local speech communities and new justifications for Germans to stigmatize multilingual migrants' linguistic behaviors. This holds true not only for the refugee youth in this study, but also for the post-migrant youth in Chapter 4. The conclusion of this work will thus suggest how language in migration contexts can be used to promote social justice across multiple domains of society, including in applied linguistics and pedagogy, language policy, and in future linguistic study of urban ethnolectal speech practices in Germany.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

6.0 LANGUAGE MIXING IDEOLOGIES IN GERMANIC REVISITED

Ich handle das Biz, bang deine Bitch
Meine Lines sind tight, weil'n bisschen Englisch drin ist

*I handle the biz, bang your bitch
My lines are tight, because there's a little English in them'*

(*Sübelzabntiger RMX*, 257ers)

War ein echter fan, der sogar die Texte kennt
Die Mukke ständig dabei gehabt
Meine Lehrer Guru und Pac, sie haben Englisch mir beigebracht

*'(I) was a real fan, who even knew the lyrics
always had the music with me
My teachers Guru and Pac, they taught me English'*

(700 Bars, Eko Fresh)

Meine Sprache 4-3, kein Oxford Englisch
Vallah, G, Zazaki, this is my language

*My language 4-3, no Oxford English
Vallah, G, Zazaki, this is my language'*

(*Aẓẓlacḳẓ Bumaye*, Veysel)

While John Trevisa bemoaned the effects of language mixing 14th-century England, modern-day German hip-hop artists' metalinguistic reflections on the mixing of German and English are overwhelmingly positive. The findings of this study would come as no surprise to the lyricists who crafted the lines above. As the 257ers proclaim, English makes *lines tight*; on all levels of German society, English carries positive social value. However, as Eko Fresh points out, his English teachers were the rappers Guru

and Tupac; English is no longer a language learned predominately in formal classroom settings, and the value of English for him is covert rather than overt. English is taught on the streets and on the web, through the global forms of English that spread through the lingua francas of people on the move and through English-language media, transmitted faster than ever. The consequence, as Veysel tells us, is the proliferation of new, non-standard forms of English, characterized both by features of ethnolectal and non-Standard Englishes (e.g., *G*, slang for gangster originating in AAE) and features that represent mixing with other languages (in this case Arabic *Vallah* and Zazaki, Veysel's Indo-Iranian heritage language).

Unfortunately, ideologies about language mixing in mainstream, majority German culture remain largely negative. Moral panic surrounding the increasing role of English in German society is not new. However, anxieties about the alleged “replacement” of German with English were formerly limited to domains accessible predominately only to the educated and the wealthy, where English came “from above”, signaling identification with globalized business and politics. English is now entering German society “from below” as well, as it becomes a language of social identification with urban multiculturalism and a lingua franca not only in the upper echelons of society, but also for an increasingly diverse population of migrants. Accordingly, negative linguistic ideologies surrounding English—particularly those which paint English-speakers as a threat to German language and culture—are beginning to take on a more sinister, xenophobic tone.

Shortly after the data for my study were collected, a wave of anxiety surrounding the use of English in the service industry, particularly in cafes, swept through Berlin. Politicians such as Jens Spahn, who called for measures requiring service personnel to address customers in German, aimed much of their rhetoric at “elitist hipsters” and “elitist-global tourism”. Nonetheless, migrants were also targeted explicitly as secondary offenders or casualties of this new English-speaking culture, as a central concern became the “poor example” being set for refugees and other migrants (Burack 2017). Meanwhile, far less media attention has been granted to the isolated (and predominately non-German) journalists questioning whether a double-standard is being applied to speakers of English who are migrants, refugees, and people of color vis-à-vis speakers of English who are “ex-pats” from majority cultures (cf. e.g., Clermont 2018, a Haitian-American journalist living in Berlin).

These debates, already a matter of significant public discourse, demand scholarly intervention. Just as authors and scientists intervened in such public discourse surrounding Turkish-Arabic-German multilingualism and language mixing, in the face of the current crisis, too, linguistic landscapes represent a crucial site of social justice. In the following pages, I outline both the practical social justice implications of my study for issues of language pedagogy and policy, as well as, finally, for future directions of research on multilingual and multiethnolectal German.

6.1 LANGUAGE AS A SITE FOR SOCIAL JUSTICE

The broad conceptualization of language as an issue of social justice, with its roots in variationist sociolinguistics and the study and AAE in the United States, has gained significant global attention in recent years. In particular, social justice has become

a central concern in the budding field of “applied sociolinguistics”, which recognizes the need for applied linguistics (in particular, in the realms of language pedagogy and language policy and planning) to reflect on the more scientific facts of sociolinguistic inquiry. Scholars in applied sociolinguistics have, for example, called on language pedagogy to question monolingual approaches to language teaching, thus reflecting the sociolinguistic reality of the translanguaging practices of the youth in this study, which, as sociolinguists and psycholinguists observe, constitute natural and normal behavior of multilingual individuals.

Two recent works, Ingrid Piller’s *Linguistic Diversity and Social Justice: An Introduction of Applied Sociolinguistics* (2016) and Phillippe Van Parijs’ *Linguistic Justice for Europe and for the World* (2011), draw attention specifically to the role of global English as a social justice issue. To be sure, English has indeed posed a threat to many languages, and, consequently, peoples and cultures, in the post-colonial world. In a contemporary European context, however, the “threat” of English, my data suggest, is not so much a threat of English in and of itself or a threat to European national languages, specifically. Indeed, it would be prudent for applied sociolinguistics to reflect on more formal sociolinguistic work that suggests that the threat of English to German and other European national languages is grossly exaggerated (cf. e.g., Garley 2012, House 2013). The threat of English seems rather to be a more general threat of English as a “monolingual habitus” or “monolingual mindset” in Piller’s words, drawing on terms coined by Ingrid Gogolin and Michael Clyne, respectively (Clyne 2008 and Gogolin 1997 in Piller 2016:31) The problem, in other words, is not that English is widespread, but rather that certain homogenous forms and uses of English are privileged over others. The remedy to this, I argue, is not to limit the role of English in Europe, but to promote English as a natural hybrid language practice, as Juliana House (2003) suggests.

While English may indeed privilege anglophones in Europe, the category of “anglophones” is ever-expanding, and, by self-identification, is coming to include migrants to Europe who, if not comfortable speaking a European national language like German, often view English as their primary linguistic competence. Validating these new forms of English—which include translanguaging practices, non-standard forms, and new domains of use—is thus an important act of empowerment and social justice. Intervening in language ideologies, of course, is easier said than done. Recent studies have drawn attention to the problematic nature of so-called “error correction”, whereby sociolinguists have traditionally attempted to intervene in stigmatizing linguistic discourses by appealing to notions of linguistic fact, rather than by interrogating “the political and economic structures allowing these evaluations in the first place” (Lewis 2018:341). The following sections thus take an applied sociolinguistics approach to this problem, providing suggestions for how Germany might take steps towards reevaluating the role of English in two larger structural applied linguistics contexts, namely, language pedagogy and language policy.

6.1.1 LINGUISTIC JUSTICE IN LANGUAGE PEDAGOGY

The clearest implication of my study for language pedagogy is the need to question “German-only” policies in refugee aid contexts and, more broadly, communicative approaches to language teaching which rely heavily on immersion and discourage the use

of other languages, either for practical or pedagogical purposes, in the classroom. To be sure, the observation that such approaches do not mirror the natural behavior of multilinguals is not new to applied linguistics. However, the extent to which German language pedagogy has developed viable alternatives to such approaches is limited. While translanguaging pedagogies, pedagogical approaches which encourage students to draw on multiple languages and linguistic repertoires, have long been implemented in English ESL and Spanish-English K-12 contexts (cf. e.g., García & Levia 2014), such approaches are understudied and underutilized in German language teaching of all kinds (i.e., DaF and DaZ at all levels). One notable recent exception is Susanne Becker's 2016 *Translanguaging im transnationalen Raum Deutschland-Türkei*, which offers an essential step away from monolingual approaches to teaching German and crucial reflections on how the natural behaviors of German multilinguals might inform the way we teach a new generation of multilinguals. In the refugee language classroom this might include, for example, incorporating hybrid English practices and features of Kiezdeutsch which constitute normal speech behaviors of the multiethnolectal German speech communities that new migrants will no doubt encounter. This might include such simple interventions as introducing Kiezdeutsch lexical items where regional variation is traditionally emphasized in the language classroom (e.g., teaching *hadi çüs*, a common farewell in Kiezdeutsch, alongside *tschüss/servus/auf Wiedersehen/ciao*). At higher levels, this might include metalinguistic activities which encourage students to reflect on grammatical variations, for example Adv-SVO word order, as register-specific alternatives rather than as "incorrect" German (such interventions have already been developed with German in mainstream German schools in mind; see Paul et al. 2008). Translanguaging pedagogies not only mirror normal, healthy multilingual speech behavior, but also empower students, recognizing their multilingual competencies as valid, and, in the case of related languages like German and English, provide a scaffold for learning the new language.

Likewise, taking a heteroglossic approach to English pedagogy within the context of German primary and secondary schools may provide a first step in intervening in the "monolingual habitus" (Gogolin's term above) that accompanies English in Germany. Particularly at the secondary level, English pedagogies must step away from the simplistic American- versus British-English dichotomy which has traditionally characterized the acceptable types of English in the German English classroom. By giving representation to the many global dialects, ethnolects, and sociolects of English, as well as more broadly to post-colonial global English literatures and cultures, English teachers can encourage students to call into question ideologies which, explicitly or implicitly, stigmatize non-Standard English and hybrid language practices involving English.

6.1.2 LINGUISTIC JUSTICE IN LANGUAGE POLICY

My study also suggests a number of interventions in language policy which might contribute to social justice for refugees and migrants, specifically. One of these is a reconsideration of English as a *Verwaltungssprache* ("administrative language") in German municipalities. Many students who I encountered at the language school expressed frustration that German refugee aid workers and bureaucrats at registration centers did not speak English and that this resulted in long waiting times for translators who spoke their native languages, slowing the asylum process and access to social services. Indeed,

CDU and FDP leaders have already proposed making English a *Verwaltungssprache* for this very reason, and the issue has received significant media attention (cf. e.g., Graf Lambsdorff 2014). Such proposals, particularly when specifically targeted at benefitting refugees rather than a broader population of international migrants, provide a practical solution to long wait times for asylum seekers in cities like Berlin. Moreover, however, they represent an important move towards redistributing the social value of English from the majority society to domains where English has traditionally lacked social or practical value.

Of most crucial importance in the current political climate, however, is perhaps to question who will be affected by policies which aim to “protect” the German language or to decrease the use of English. While it is possible that some such policies are well-intentioned, in the case of anxieties surrounding English café culture in Berlin, arguments about the use of English being a “bad example” for refugees too frequently belie underlying xenophobic motivations. As one of my students at the refugee language school pointed out, “[staff member] speaks bad English, that’s why he always say no English.” It is crucial to continually question whether there is a sociolinguistically sound argument for limiting the role of English in a given domain, particular if the poorly substantiated, purist argument that English is “threat to German” is being invoked, or whether such attitudes might reflect a fear on the part of the socially powerful that the social value of English may no longer only lie in the hands of the elite.

6.2 FUTURE DIRECTIONS FOR RESEARCH ON MULTIETHNOLECTAL GERMAN

In addition to contributing to broader, interdisciplinary dialogues on issues of language and social justice, this study suggests a number of avenues for future research within the narrower field of linguistic study of multiethnolectal German. A thread which runs through this study, yet has not been remarked upon explicitly, is the circulation of language ideologies surrounding refugee’s use of English and other types of language mixing across various types of media, ultimately intersecting with discourse in the “real world”, e.g., among volunteer teachers at the language school. Further discourse analysis exploring these connections is thus crucial, should linguists wish to intervene in potentially damaging ideologies surrounding refugee language. A second recurring theme of this study which deserves future investigation is the special role of Computer Mediated Communication (CMC) in the linguistic practices of the recent wave of refugees to Germany.

Furthermore, my study offers a number of possibilities for future research which may be of more general interest to linguists working on multiethnic urban language in Germany. Most apparently, this study underlines the need for researchers working with multiethnolects of German—whether “Kiezdeutsch”, “Hood German”, “Turkish-German”, or simply “multiethnolectal German”—to take seriously the role of English in these speech communities. Specifically, researchers must question the popular and scholarly assumption that these populations have low English proficiency and that influence from English is limited to “anglicisms” or other forms of influence which imply superficial contact. On the contrary, my data shows that the influence of English constitutes a unique repertoire—a Kiezenglish—which is characterized by both multilingual and multiethnolectal hybridity.

In addition, this study provides evidence which supports some previous criticisms of the Kiezdeutsch research program as discussed in Chapter 2. First, a new influx of migrants into post-migrant speech communities necessitates the re-evaluation of the possible significant influence of non-native speakers on Kiezdeutsch. This, in turn, calls into question the categorization of Kiezdeutsch as a “youth language”. Finally, this study serves as a reminder that the role of gender in these communities, specifically the presence of women, has been underexplored. While Inken Keim’s 2008 *Die “türkischen Powergirls” – Lebenswelt und kommunikativer Stil einer Migrantinnengruppe in Mannheim* provides one notable and fruitful exception to this trend, my study underlines in particular the need for research specifically on women’s language and access to language courses in the context of new, non-Turkish migration to Germany.

In 1927, long before the term “sociolinguistics” was in use, Bloomfield already recognized that “the nearest approach to an explanation of ‘good’ and ‘bad’ language seems to be this, then, that by a cumulation of obvious superiorities, both of character and standing, as well as of language, some persons are felt to be better models of conduct and speech than others” (439). It should come as no surprise that the same language, English, when spoken by marginalized populations and majority populations, might spawn contradictory language attitudes and, given the historical precedent of English as a language of elite domains of life in Germany, might not even be recognized as a competence of marginalized groups at all. Thus, I end with the reminder that while global English may indeed, in some circumstances, represent a potentially insidious tool of global hegemony, the sweeping demonizing English will not, at this point, remedy this state of affairs. For much of the world, speaking English is not a choice, but a matter of the ability to survive, to cross borders, and to build new lives in a foreign country.

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APPENDIX A: INTERLOCUTOR PROFILES

CHAPTER 4 SUBJECT PROFILES

Pseudonym	Age	Birthplace	Native Language(s) ³⁵	Other Language(s)	Gender	Neighborhood
Omer	24	Berlin, Germany	German	Turkish, English, French, Arabic (“a little”)	Male	Kreuzberg
Muhammed	19	Berlin, Germany	German and Arabic	English	Male	Neukölln
Jonas	21	Schleswig-Holstein, Germany	German	French (“a little”), English	Male	Steglitz
Leon	23	Berlin, Germany	German and Polish	English	Male	Kreuzberg
Amin	16	Berlin, Germany	German and Arabic	English	Male	Kreuzberg
Rani	16	Berlin, Germany	German and Arabic	English (<i>geht ja so</i> – ‘works well enough’)	Male	Kreuzberg
Ayse	17	Berlin, Germany	German and Turkish	English	Female	Kreuzberg
Luka	21	Berlin, Germany	German	English, Spanish, Russian (“a little”)	Male	Neukölln
Ceylan	18	Germany	German and Turkish	English, French	Male	(No answer)
Emir	18	Turkey	German and Turkish	Arabic, Kurdish	Male	(No answer)
Kevin	21	Hamburg, Germany	German	English, Spanish (“a little”)	Male	Charlottenburg
Sofia	18	Bochum, Germany	German	English, French, Italian	Female	Kreuzberg

³⁵ Interlocutors were asked “was sind deine Muttersprachen?” (‘What are your mother tongues?’) to elicit answers which (1) reflected their self-identification and (2) did not force them to choose one language. Further information that I recorded in subsequent interview questions about language (see Appendix B) was considered where relevant.

David	18	Germany	German and Turkish	English, Kurdish	Male	(No answer)
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CHAPTER 5 SUBJECT PROFILES

Pseudonym	Age	Birthplace	Native Language(s)	Other Language(s)	Gender	Neighborhood ³⁶
Musa	17	Gambia	Mandinka	English, Spanish, Wolof, Arabic, German (“a little”)	Male	Neukölln
Massoud	16	Afghanistan	Dari ³⁷	English (“a little”), German (“a little”)	Male	Lichtenberg
Farhad	16	Afghanistan	Dari	English, German (“a little”)	Male	Lichtenberg
Salib	17	Lebanon	Arabic	English (“a little”), German (“a little”)	Male	Mitte
Ali	17	Syria	Arabic	English	Male	Wedding
Reza	16	Syria	Arabic	English	Male	(No answer)
Fahim	16	Afghanistan	Dari	Pashto (“a little”), English	Male	Lichtenberg
Nasrat	18	Afghanistan	Dari	English, German (“a little”)	Male	(No answer)
Zahir	19	Afghanistan	Dari	Pashto, English, German (“a little”)	Male	(No answer)
Erza	27	Albania	Albanian	English, German (“a little”)	Male	(No answer)

³⁶ Because many subjects were living in temporary accommodations for refugees, many were moved during the study, and some were in the process of moving and weren't sure where their current accommodations were located. The neighborhoods given here represent their locations (if known) at the beginning of the study.

³⁷ I follow my interlocutors in using the term ‘Dari.’

Davood	16	Afghanistan	Dari	Arabic, English ("understand")	Male	Kreuzberg
Salman	20	Syria	Arabic	English	Male	(No answer)
Omid	18	Iran	Farsi	English ("a little")	Male	(No answer)

APPENDIX B: INTERVIEW QUESTION BANKS

Bank 1 – Demographic Questions

All interlocutors at both field sites were asked the following questions, though all questions were not necessarily asked in a single session (e.g., questions about English were not asked until later sessions so as not to reveal the purpose of the study), nor were the questions necessarily asked in this sequence. These questions served both to gather demographic information, providing information for the interlocutor profiles, as well as to stimulate conversation during early/introductory sessions where I had not yet had a one-on-one discussion with all interlocutors during my more general participant-observation.

1. Wie heißt du?
‘What is your name?’
(Asked only in rare sessions where all interlocutors had not met each other)
2. Wie alt bist du?
‘How old are you?’
3. Wo bist du geboren?
‘Where were you born?’
4. Wie lange hast du schon Englisch gelernt?
‘For how long have you learned English?’
5. Wie lange hast du schon Deutsch gelernt?
‘For how long have you learned German?’
(Only asked of refugee interlocutors)
6. Welche Sprachen sprichst du? Wann und wie hast du diese Sprachen gelernt?
‘Which languages do you speak? When and how did you learn these languages?’
7. Kannst du diese Sprachen auch lesen und schreiben?
‘Can you also read and write these languages?’

Bank 2 – Conversational Interview Questions

These questions were not necessarily asked of every interlocutor but were used at both field sites as needed to stimulate conversation in more casual interviews as well as in recording of more spontaneous speech in order (1) to elicit domains of conversation which tend to evoke English and (2) to create comparable discourse contexts between different audio recordings and different groups of speakers. Some of these questions were also asked in English during oral proficiency interviews. With the exception of #3, questions specifically pertaining to Berlin were asked predominately at the refugee language school, where “getting to know the city” was a common discourse topic in natural settings and this did not attract attention to my status as a non-local.

1. Was für Musik horst du gern? Hast du einen Lieblingssänger oder –rapper?
‘What kind of music do you like to listen to? Do you have a favorite singer or rapper?’
2. Hast du eine Lieblingsserie? In welchen Sprachen schaust du fern?
‘Do you have a favorite TV show? What languages do you watch TV in?’
3. Wo hängst du gern in Berlin ab? Was wird in Berlin überbewertet?
‘Where do you like to hang out in Berlin? What is overrated in Berlin?’
4. Was hältst du von den BVG? Fährst du oft Bus? U-Bahn?
‘What do you think of the BVG (Berliner Verkehrsbetriebe ‘Berlin Transport Company,’ the main public transport company in Berlin)? Do you ride the bus often? The subway?’
5. Was hast du am Wochenende gemacht?
‘What did you do over the weekend?’
6. Hast du in letzter Zeit irgendwelche guten Filme gesehen?
‘Have you seen any good movies lately?’
7. Was für Sport machst du? Schaust du auch Sport? Was sind deine Lieblingsmannschaften?
‘What kinds of sports do you play? Do you also watch sports? What are your favorite teams?’
8. Was ist dein Lieblingsfach in der Schule?
‘What’s your favorite subject in school?’
9. Welche Videogames spielst du?
‘What video games do you play?’

10. Was isst du gern (in Berlin)?
'What do you like to eat (in Berlin)?'
11. Was findest du besser, Sommer oder Winter? Warum?
'Do you like summer or winter better? Why?'