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“DO THEY KNOW THE NORMAL LANGUAGE?” LANGUAGE ATTITUDES AND IDEOLOGIES IN GERMAN HIP HOP CULTURE

Abstract:

This article presents a theoretical discussion of the relationship between language ideologies and language attitudes and builds on previous work by providing an organized framework connecting these notions. This framework is evaluated with reference to online and offline ethnographic work surrounding attitudes and ideologies about anglicisms, or English loanwords, among German hip hop fans and artists. Language attitudes are theorized as individual thoughts and expressions about language, and are often, but not always, informed by individual reproductions of language ideologies, which are conceived of as systematic, shared over groups of individuals, enduring, and mediated. Language ideologies can then be organized into interacting language ideology complexes, and I identify here a Standard Language Ideology Complex constituted of standard language ideology, Herderian ideology, and language purism working in concert. This Standard Language Ideology Complex frames metalinguistic discourse in the German-speaking sphere, and interviews with hip hop fans and artists in this study demonstrate the extent to which this ideological complex fundamentally frames and underlies conversations about language, even, somewhat surprisingly, in a space and subculture which has been conceived of as creative and counterhegemonic.

Keywords: language attitude ♦ language ideology ♦ hip hop language ♦ language contact ♦ anglicisms

Through an analysis of face-to-face interviews and excerpts from online discussion forums, this article investigates individual language attitudes and the shared language ideologies that frame them among artists and fans in German hip hop culture. Earlier work (Garley & Hockenmaier 2012; Garley 2014; Garley 2018) has discussed patterns of coinage / borrowing and use of

anglicisms (English morphological, lexical, or phrasal inclusions) in German hip hop discourse using corpus methods, but an analysis concentrating only on linguistic forms cannot account for the motivations for the use of those forms. These motivations are related to language attitudes toward English, German, and anglicisms by hip hop artists and fans. Yildiz (2004: 322–323) poses an excellent formulation of the themes which I address in this article:

Is it then “English” which puts pressure on “German” or “German” which borrows from other languages for its own purposes? I suggest that the most important question we need to ask in this respect is: what desires does the use or evocation of English satisfy for German speakers? What does “Americanization” look like from this vantage point? What functions does it fulfill? The interaction between languages does not take place unilaterally. Therefore, we need to alter our framework to register fully the processes in which the German language is involved. Even if we assume the dominance of English in general and Americanization in particular, we still need to consider local appropriations of English, as well as other languages, and what they tell us about local forms of agency and desire.

As Yildiz suggests, much of the popular discourse around language contact focuses on languages as monolithic, agentive entities—and this glosses over the real agents involved: the individuals who use language, and who hold beliefs about language. Even within academic literature, language ideologies which have been identified (such as the ideology of the standard language) are too often discussed without a focus on individual beliefs, concerns, and statements about language. Drawing on previous theoretical work on language attitudes, language ideologies, and the relationship between the two, this paper first proposes a system whereby language ideologies can be identified based on evidence from individuals’ language attitudes. This proposed framework for analysis is then used to reveal the attitudes and ideologies which circulate and operate, especially around the use of anglicisms, in discussions of German hip hop online and in interviews with hip hop artists and fans in Hamburg. In particular, this paper investigates how German-speaking hip hop fans, as part of a global culture of opposition characterized by “resistance vernacular[s]” (Potter 1995) resist and participate in the top-down operation of the Standard Language Ideology Complex described here, in favor of alternative or oppositional language ideologies.

Language Ideology

A great number of definitions have been offered for the notion of language ideology. Authors including Woolard and Schieffelin (1994), Kroskrity (2004), and Dyers and Abongdia (2010) have compared and synthesized these definitions. Kroskrity reaches the summary conclusion that language ideologies are “beliefs, or feelings, about languages as used in their social worlds” (2004: 498). Kroskrity additionally notes that language ideologies are “profitably conceived of as multiple” and are “grounded in social experience which is never uniformly distributed throughout polities of any scale” (2004: 503). Because ideology is an abstract concept, the difficulty that is

encountered in drawing lines between languages is reproduced here. Among linguists, languages themselves are widely accepted as abstractions over individual *idiolects* or even utterances; that is, the notion of a language like “English” or “Spanish” does not represent a single, monolithic form of communication, but rather a convenient abstraction over a number of instances—*idiolects* or even individual utterances, representing the linguistic behaviors and production of individual people. I argue here that language ideologies are likewise convenient, constructed abstractions over an internally diverse population of instances, namely language attitudes; when these attitudes are consistent, shared, and enduring, they give rise to language ideologies as an emergent phenomenon. This fits well with contemporary views of language ideology, as summarized here by Woolard and Schieffelin:

The new direction in research on linguistic ideology has also moved away from seeing ideology as a homogeneous cultural template, now treating it as a process involving struggles among multiple conceptualizations and demanding the recognition of variation and contestation within a community as well as contradictions within individuals. (1994: 71)

While keeping in mind that “talk about language is never just about language” (Rosa & Burdick 2016: 108), I propose here, drawing on these previous definitions, that language attitudes may target individual features (e.g., “I don’t like when people say /æks/ for *ask*”) or language varieties (e.g., “British people sound fancy”), but language ideologies have as their target entire language varieties, understood here as distinctive ways of using language, from the general (e.g., the German language) to the specific, (e.g., the type of German spoken by Greek immigrants in a specific neighborhood); situations of contact between language varieties are thus especially productive sites for the operation of language ideology as evidenced by individuals’ linguistic attitudes. While ideologies certainly can inform prescriptions regarding the use of particular linguistic features, these prescriptions do not individually constitute language ideologies, which, as Rosa and Burdick (2016) rightly point out, are never confined to being solely about language, but often interface with stereotypes and prejudices that may be extralinguistic in nature: people who object to the pronunciation of ‘ask’ as /æks/ are likely to be motivated in this objection by a distaste for variation from standardized English, prejudice against speakers who use that form, or both. Hence the following working definition: language ideologies are systematic beliefs about language varieties and, more often than not, the people who use them, which are shared by groups of speakers.

The Relation of Language Attitude to Language Ideology

If ideologies are ideologies by virtue of being systematic, shared beliefs about language, and if these ideologies exist as abstractions above the level of the individual, claims about language ideologies should nonetheless be grounded in evidence, and it is thus relevant to examine how

ideologies can be identified. In this section, I suggest a systematic relationship between ideologies and attitudes, which distinguishes individual attitudes about language use from more consistent group ideologies which are evidenced by these language attitudes, and I discuss the opportunities and pitfalls of identifying language attitudes and ideologies in ethnographic interview data.

Language attitude research in the vein of Preston’s work (see, e.g., Preston 2003 for a summary) is a domain where social-psychological experimental (in contrast to ethnographic or discourse-analytic) methods and data are generally used. In discussing this type of research, Rosa and Burdick write:

In sociolinguistics and social psychology, the study of “language attitudes” [...] shares many concerns with research on language ideologies. This work typically involves the use of experimental and survey methods [...] to track views about language. However, an important distinction between traditional work on language attitudes and language ideologies is the former’s tendency toward locating “attitudes” at the subjective level and then taking the overt expression of views regarding language at face value as direct reflections of deeply held beliefs rather than modes of performativity in particular cultural settings. That is, language attitudes research tends to focus exclusively on referentiality—the denotational content of what is said about language—rather than looking at the multiple potential functions of language ideologies and the linguistic practices through which they are articulated. [...] Thus, from a language ideologies perspective, it is crucial to track the expression and implications of “language attitudes” ethnographically. (2016: 105–106)

With the notable exceptions of Rosa and Burdick’s discussion and Dyers and Abongdia’s 2010 study, which will be discussed later, language ideologies and language attitudes have often been considered separately. In one of the few mentions of the two concepts together in previous literature, Woolard and Schieffelin note:

Although the extensive body of research on linguistic prestige and language attitudes grew up in a social psychological framework [...], the intrapersonal attitude can be recast as a socially-derived intellectualized or behavioral ideology (Bourdieu’s habitus). (1994: 61–62)

Intrapersonal attitudes here are those held internally by an individual, and not all of these are necessarily expressed (for a multitude of reasons). What differentiates these internally held attitudes from attitudes indicating the individual reproduction of ideology, however, is the systematicity of ideology. While attitudes are, in essence, individual beliefs / ideas about things, and ideologies are shared sets of these beliefs, not every attitude is ideological or part of a systematic whole.

Preston discusses the notion of a “folk theory of language” which emerges from language attitude research, generalizing from a large set of experiments to identify notions of “correctness” and

“pleasantness” as relevant dimensions for respondents’ characterizations of American dialects (2003: 62–65). His discussion reveals a folk conception of a ‘real’ language external to speakers, against which dialects and errors are judged. Preston’s “folk theory of language”, being a system of beliefs about language held by a group of speakers, is what I would consider a language ideology, one which is identified through social-psychological elicitation of individual language attitudes. Certainly, not all of the attitude expressions collected by Preston and other researchers fit this theory—the key is that a large body of them point to this conception of language.

It has been common in sociolinguistic and linguistic anthropological research in the last couple decades to shift away from language attitudes as research objects toward language ideologies; Rosa and Burdick write:

By shifting from a view of language attitudes as marginal factors in sociolinguistic analysis to language ideologies as central mediating forces through which language is made meaningful in culturally specific ways, language ideologies scholarship has made crucial contributions to the analysis of the relationship between linguistic and social structures. (2016: 108)

In the present analysis, I suggest definitions of language attitude and language ideology that theorize both more precisely and relate the two in a principled and systematic way which aims to improve the field’s understanding of language ideology, its origins, and its impact on the sociocultural milieu and context of language. The purpose of this further theorization is to assist researchers in identifying language ideologies through the analysis of language attitudes in ethnographic interviews.

The language attitudes expressed by speakers can be read as contextualized performances which may represent language ideologies those speakers hold, keeping in mind Rosa and Burdick’s (2016) assertion that these are necessarily “modes of performativity in particular cultural settings.” These attitudes may be explicitly stated, or implicitly inferred from behavior. When Kroskrity (2004: 505) writes of “ideologies of practice that must be read from actual usage”, I propose that such inferences are mediated by the identification of implicit language attitudes, and the subsequent generalization of those attitudes to language ideologies. The seeming circularity in this process is one of the primary reasons why I find an ideology-only approach problematic, and support the inclusion of language attitudes in this process.

Dyers and Abongdia, in a review of the literature on language attitudes (LAs) and language ideologies (LIs), usefully distinguish the two, and also suggest that they are part of a unified process:

LIs serve as an overarching context within which LAs are formed and played out. Behind every set of LAs is a fairly coherent LI that has its roots in the sociopolitical and historical

environment of particular communities. When LAs in a given study like the one in this paper do not match the ‘norm’, it is likely that they are informed and shaped by a different LI than the one that informs the LAs of the majority. (2010: 132)

This echoes Irvine and Gal’s definition of language ideologies as “the ideas with which participants and observers frame their understanding of linguistic varieties and map those understandings onto people, events, and activities that are significant to them” (2000: 35). I include an integrated conception of language attitudes and language ideologies as part of a cyclical process as Figure 1.

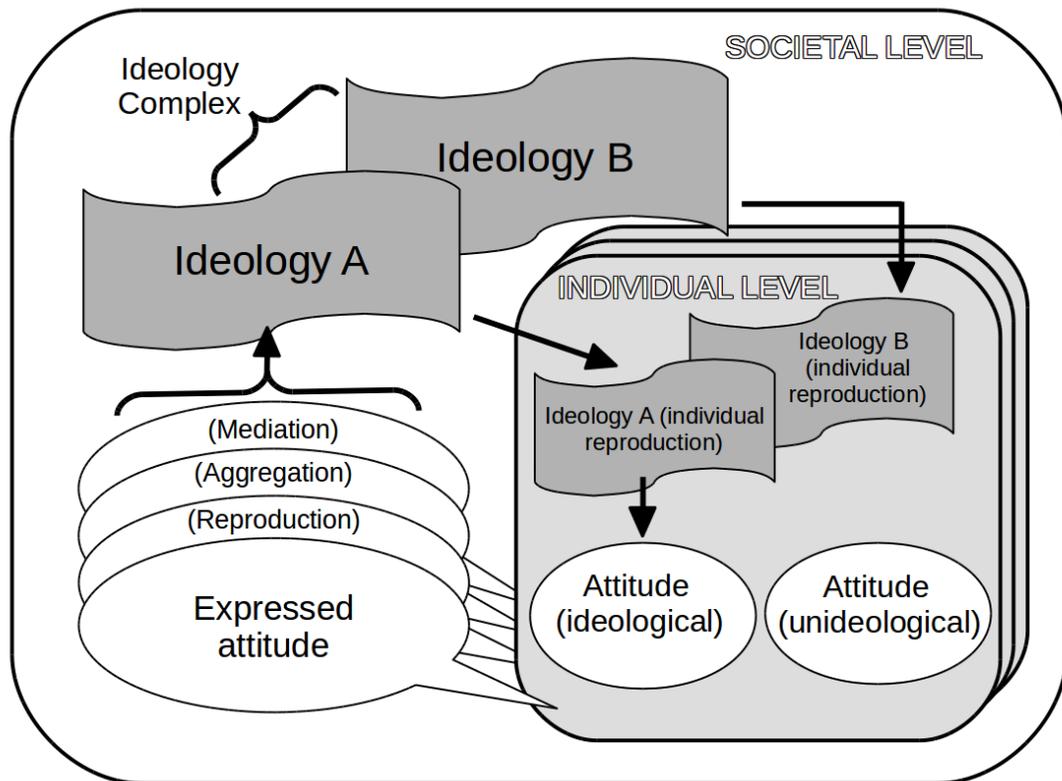


Figure 1. The language attitude and language ideology (LI / LA) system.

Figure 1 is a representation of the cyclical interaction of language ideologies and language attitudes. Ideologies, as abstract concepts, are disseminated through a variety of channels, and influence individuals, who may reproduce those ideologies internally. Individuals then harbor any number of internal attitudes, some of which are ideologically informed, and others which may not be systematic. Some of these attitudes are expressed by individuals, either directly assessing language varieties or forms, or by less explicit means. These attitude expressions may additionally be mediated and reproduced—and when these attitude expressions aggregate from multiple individuals, exhibiting some systematicity and ability to endure, they can be said to jointly

constitute supra-individual ideologies, which can form what I call ideology complexes as they overlap and interact through the action of this cycle.

I also follow Dyers and Abongdia’s view, in concord with Rosa and Burdick (2016), that ideologies are integrally linked to structures of culture and power. In terms of language attitudes as instantiations of ideologies, this means that the attitudes expressed by the powerful are more likely to be indicative of more influential linguistic ideologies (and more likely to be reproduced and widely disseminated). Attitudes expressed by these *ideology brokers* are more likely to be mediated, and as Androutopoulos notes, mass media outlets serve as “key arenas for the production and reproduction of language ideology” (Dyers & Abongdia 2010: 182). In order to test this approach, whereby the operation of language ideologies is identified based on expressed language attitudes, I examine forum posts and metalinguistic interviews with German-speaking hip hop fans and artists. Before the analysis, however, it is relevant to discuss the language ideologies which other researchers have identified as operating among German speakers.

Dominant Language Ideologies in the German-language Sphere

There are several language ideologies which have been identified, named, and described by previous researchers. Spitzmüller (2007), in particular, has traced the history and present state of metalinguistic discourses in the German-language sphere, a term I use to indicate the communities and institutions, including governments, businesses, and media organizations, primarily in Europe, in which varieties of German are widely spoken. In this section, I will discuss how Herderian ideology, standard language ideology, and language purism have been identified by previous researchers as active in this German-language sphere, and I will discuss the relationship between these ideologies, as well as the issue of whether alternative or counterhegemonic language ideologies can also be said to exist.

The ideology of the standard language has, as its most commonly cited definition:

a bias toward an abstracted, idealized, homogenous spoken language which is imposed and maintained by dominant bloc institutions and which names as its model the written language, but which is drawn primarily from the spoken language of the upper middle class. (Lippi-Green 1997: 64)

This is corroborated in the German case by Spitzmüller’s (2007) research on metalinguistic discourses. He notes that the concept of an idealized standard German was promoted by the “educated bourgeoisie (*Bildungsbürgertum*)” (265) as early as the 17th century, serving as a status symbol for this new and newly powerful class. This conception of a standard language underlies and serves as a logical prerequisite for Herderian ideology and language purism:

The close bond of nation and language as well as the link from nation and (standard) language to the bourgeois *Kultur* have constituted the metalinguistic discourse to date [...] Purism was a central part of this ideology right from the beginning, so it is not surprising that it had its revival after reunification in 1990, when the concepts of nation and national identity were discussed once again in Germany. (Spitzmüller 2007: 266–267)

Spitzmüller’s analyses track a continuous increase over time in the number of instances of metalinguistic discourse about language purism, including a fivefold increase from 1995 to 2001. These discourses continued to be salient in the political mainstream through 2009 and beyond, when Peter Ramsauer, the transportation minister in Angela Merkel’s second cabinet, began a campaign of anti-anglicism policies in his ministry (Schütz 2010).

Woolard (1998: 16–17) gives a concise overview of the history and content of the second major language ideology I will discuss here, which has been called Herderian ideology.

It is a truism that the equation of language and nation is not a natural fact but rather a historical, ideological construct. This construction is conventionally dated to late eighteenth-century German Romanticism and Johann Herder’s famous characterization of language as the genius of a people, and thus it is often referred to as the Romantic or Herderian concept of language. [...] this Herderian or nationalist ideology of language is globally hegemonic today.

In effect, this ideology, which identifies a single ethnic nation-state with a single language, is an interaction of the standard language ideology with the political ideology of the nation-state, and it is prevalent in modern discourses about German, as Spitzmüller reveals in his corpus study of German media discourses about language:

For most discourse participants, it is taken for granted that there is a *natural* link between a particular national language and ‘a particular’ national identity (this is explicitly stated in 126 documents, whereas it is not questioned in a single document in the corpus [...]) Consequently, the use of foreign words is regarded as both a *threat* to national identity and a *symptom* of an already ‘shaken’ national identity. (2007: 270)

The third piece of this ideological puzzle is language purism. According to Spitzmüller, a recent wave of language purism, expressed through anti-anglicism sentiment, reached a peak in 2000–2001, with repeated calls for political action in the form of legal protection / enshrinement of German in the constitution as a national language. In a statement which further supports the identification of anglicisms as the primary concern of language purism, Stein writes:

Purism has mostly been seen in terms of resistance to another language [...]. Language mixing – arguably the most natural of all processes in which languages are involved – is seen as the major infringement of purity, both on the level of folklore beliefs about language and the level of scientific inquiry. (2005: 190)

This ideology, then, takes a natural process—namely contact-induced language change—and recasts it as problematic. Woolard and Schieffelin elaborate further: “[...] purist doctrines of linguistic correctness close off non-native sources of innovation, but usually selectively, targeting only languages construed as threats” (1994: 64). The ideology of language purism, that is, does not treat all contact-induced change equally, but primarily objects to change originating from certain language varieties—generally those seen either as foreign standardized languages having an overbearing influence (as is the case of English with regard to German) or those not construed as proper languages (dialects, minority / immigrant languages) or languages of low prestige (see, e.g., Zentella 1997, for a related treatment of Spanish code-switching in the US). In addition, language purism clearly relies on a standard language ideology, as only a language seen as homogeneous can be threatened by change, outside influence, and heterogeneity. Language purism is also often (but not always) connected with Herderian ideology—the interaction of the nation-state ideology and standard-language ideology connects linguistic purity to national purity.

On the basis of the connections made between these ideologies in previous literature and, as will be discussed, evidence from interviewees’ ideological positioning in this study, I suggest that Herderian ideology, the nation-state ideology, and standard-language ideology do not function independently of each other in the German sphere, but rather as an interacting *ideological complex*, which I refer to as the *standard language ideology complex*. In the analysis of interview data in this article in relation to posts from the online forum, I examine the operation of this complex as evidenced by attitudes toward language among German hip hop artists and fans.

Alternative Ideologies

Having identified and related the three ideologies that constitute what I have called the German standard language ideological complex, it is relevant to ask whether there are competing ideologies which are regularly expressed in the German sphere. As Eckert writes, “Variability across communities is not limited to linguistic form but is present in the understanding of what that form means and ultimately in the ideologies that underlie language use” (2008: 467).

One such alternative might be found in the valorization of elite German-English bilingualism connected to globalizing forces. Piller’s (2001) discussion of language indexicality in German advertising is not framed primarily as an ideological approach, focusing instead on voicing and identity construction. However, some of her findings point to the implicit representation of English as a language with a particular role in conceptions or constructions of identity.

[...] although German advertising may construct both identities of the national Self and of the national Other as multilingual, bilingualism in English and German is set up as the “natural” option for successful middle-class Germans, while other languages (e.g., Italian,

Russian, or Spanish) are presented as languages of the cultural and national Other. (2001: 155)

Piller writes that English bilingualism in German advertising indexes internationalism, future orientation, success, sophistication, and fun, while the neighboring national languages of French and Italian are relegated to portrayals of eroticism and delicious food, respectively. English is used ironically to criticize its typical indexical values in only two advertisements (out of a larger corpus), one by a non-profit bicyclists’ union, and another by the language purist organization *Verein Deutsche Sprache* (Association for the German Language). These few examples can be seen as reflexes of language purism against the prevailing ideology of limited and carefully prescribed bilingualism in standardized English and standardized German. English in advertising is only one domain where this ideology of elite English bilingualism is found—Hilgendorf (2005), for example, finds an overwhelming shift toward English in German foreign language education, largely motivated by the same globalizing forces. However, this ideology of elite bilingualism is not counterhegemonic in any meaningful way: it is popularly conceived of as an individual bilingualism (as opposed to a societal multilingualism), diglossic (with English firmly understood as a foreign language used in business, higher education, and interactions with the European and global communities and international pop culture), and is supported by Lippi-Green’s “dominant bloc institutions” (1997: 64). This is bilingualism in standardized German and standardized international English, and is for the middle (and particularly upper middle) class, those who attend *Gymnasium* and later university. Thus, in its interactions with the Standard Language Ideology Complex, the ideology of elite bilingualism challenges language purism, but does not conflict with Herderian or standard language ideologies in meaningful ways.

The subculture of hip hop, while it is distributed through globalizing channels, may carry with it different language ideologies from the elite-bilingual ideologies mentioned above. Specifically, since hip hop is often theorized as a subculture of resistance to the mainstream, it is possible that this subculture also resists the Standard Language Ideology Complex introduced in the previous section. One of the most oft-cited statements about language and hip hop is summarized by Mitchell:

Potter [1995] sees African-American rap as a form of “resistance vernacular” which takes the minor language’s variation and redefinition of the major language a step further and “deform[s] and reposition[s] the rules of “intelligibility” set up by the dominant language. (2002: 41)

It has been noted by a number of authors (including Mitchell himself) that this notion of rap, and hip hop language more generally, as a “resistance vernacular” is perhaps even more valid in hip hop culture’s global instantiations than it is for the commercialized hip hop scene in the US. Even so, Alim and Pennycook contrast the views on language offered by US hip hop artists—which

valorize marginalized language—with “dominant ideologies of monolingualism and monoculturalism” (2007: 90–91). Citing an interview with the rapper Jubwa conducted by Alim in 2000, the authors demonstrate attitudes that may be indicative of an ideological view of ‘Black language’ as limitless and unrestricted, positively evaluating the notion of breaking / changing rules. Alim’s (2004) own work has itself been central to *flippin the script* by subverting Herderian ideology into a relationship between a (Global) Hip Hop Nation and (Global) Hip Hop Nation Language(s). However, work like Alim’s on attitudes toward language in American hip hop culture generally stops short of identifying constructs like Hip Hop Nation Language as part of an ideology or ideological complex, and it is furthermore unclear whether, even if such an ideology exists, it is reproduced in hip hop contexts in Germany. The mediatization of ideologies in mass media outlets is key for the identification of dominant, widely-circulating ideologies, but alternative ideologies may be more difficult to find represented in the mass media.

In order to gain access to subversive, oppositional, or alternative language ideologies, I examine the expression of language attitudes in metalinguistic discourses from a German hip hop forum, based on elicited reactions to these posts from interviews with German hip hop fans and artists, and unelicited attitudes from those interviews. In every case, the context of the attitude expression, as well as its corroboration (or lack thereof) by established ideologies and other expressed attitudes, is carefully considered before claims are made that the attitude is indicative of an ideology.

Methodology

In order to shed light on the issue of language ideologies among some German hip hop fans and artists, I used a variety of ethnographic (broadly understood) and discourse-analytic methods to collect attitudes expressed by individuals, examining Internet data (German hip hop forums at MZEE.com) alongside a range of participant-observation research activities undertaken in Hamburg, Germany, in the summer of 2010 and continuing online through 2012.

Data examined in this analysis was collected from two sources. The first source is a collection of discussion threads on the MZEE.com hip hop forums, which were originally collected as part of a larger corpus for a project examining the prevalence and morphological features of anglicisms used in German hip hop culture on the Internet (Garley & Hockenmaier 2012, Garley 2014, Garley 2018). The MZEE.com forums, which are now defunct, were at the time of data collection the most popular German-language hip hop discussion forums online. The MZEE website was a hip hop culture portal online associated with a catalog of hip hop fashion and accessories, and featured alongside the forum a concert calendar, mixtape downloads, and hip hop news. MZEE billed itself as the “*größtes deutschsprachiges Hip Hop Medium überhaupt*”, the “largest German-language hip hop medium overall.” These corpus analyses investigated patterns of anglicism use, anglicism

spread through the forum communities, and the novel and hybrid ways in which morphological and phonological rules from varieties of German and English interact to produce new orthographic forms. During that data collection and analysis, forum threads which contained overt metalinguistic comments about anglicisms from hip hop fans’ perspectives were catalogued for later qualitative work. These threads included the thread *Anglizismen!!!* (Anglicisms!!!) from the *off topic* section of the MZEE forum, where users discussed their reaction to the use of English borrowings in, e.g. hip hop music, MTV shows, etc. as well as other comments and discussions directly assessing or discussing the use of anglicisms by other posters in the forum. Some of the posts from these threads were also used as interview prompts in the ethnographic interviews discussed here.

The second source of data for this project was a collection of fourteen face-to-face interviews, some of which involved online follow-ups, conducted primarily in Hamburg over a three-month period in the summer of 2010. Interviewees involved with hip hop culture in Hamburg (although not all participants originated in Hamburg or lived in Hamburg, all interviews were conducted there), including a rapper, a DJ / producer, a radio DJ, and self-identified hip hop fans, were identified through friend-of-a-friend approaches and through interactions with students and instructors at the Hip Hop Academy Hamburg, a non-profit youth program supported by the city-state of Hamburg which offers instruction from well-known Hamburg hip hop scene veterans in rapping, DJing, breakdancing, graffiti art, and other hip hop-related practices. Of the fourteen interviews involving fifteen participants (one interview involved two interviewees), twelve were successfully recorded and conducive to transcription, and two others exist as notes. Interview length ranged from 7 minutes to 3 hours 22 minutes. Nine of the fifteen interviewees were directors, instructors, and students at the Hip Hop Academy (the instructors in particular are also active hip hop artists outside the context of the Academy), and the other six interviewees were unaffiliated with the Academy.

The interviewer introduced himself as an American academic and hip hop fan, and the interviewees were asked first if they would be willing to be interviewed for an academic work about English borrowings in German, and whether they consented to being recorded, with the knowledge that future publication of transcripts from the recordings would not include names or personally identifying details. The interview was semi-structured, with the interviewer using a written interview protocol including questions in the following categories:

1. Hip hop listening habits (e.g., “Do you listen to more American or German hip hop? Why?”);
2. Thoughts about hip hop in Germany (e.g., “Do you think there’s a particular language of hip hop?”);

3. Attitudes about anglicisms (e.g., “What do you think of the use of anglicisms in hip hop/in everyday life or advertisements here in Germany?”);
4. Reactions to interview prompts (e.g. a clipped advertisement from a German hip hop magazine which contained a particularly large number of anglicisms, some forum posts complaining about anglicisms).

The interview settings ranged from cafes to bars to hip hop events, or—in one case—a DJ’s studio, and the interviewer strove to keep the general atmosphere of the interviews casual and informal. Overall, I was able to collect notes or recordings from fourteen interviews and two less-structured participant-observation sessions with multiple participants over the course of the research project. All interviewees were over 18, and ages ranged into the late 30s. Five of the fifteen interviewees were women, and ten were men. Two of the fifteen interviewees were of a visible minority ethnicity (although more than this may have had ‘migration backgrounds’—see further discussion of this below). The interviewees were not directly questioned about their ethnic identification, but all fifteen confirmed that they were native speakers of German.

The history of race and ethnicity as social constructs among speakers of German is complicated, and a full accounting of it is beyond the scope of this project. The initial target of interest for this project was German speakers who participate in aspects of hip hop cultural activities as artists and fans, and this population is large, geographically distributed, and ethnically diverse. The sample of people interviewed for this project is, unfortunately, small, and I can identify several factors which may have contributed to this being a less-than-representative array of participants in German hip hop culture. First, the friend-of-a-friend approach finds its limitations in the diversity (or lack thereof) of people’s social networks. Second, the interaction of ethnicity and social class may have had an effect, particularly when trying to interview people at the Hip Hop Academy: Rothchild (2016), whose work concentrated on the students of the Hip Hop Academy Hamburg, uses the term *Migrationshintergrund* (migration background), which is a more politically acceptable categorization in the German-speaking sphere, as opposed to the historically fraught notion of ethnicity. Rothchild notes that the Hip Hop Academy specifically “targets youth with a *Migrationshintergrund* [...] who comprise over 80 percent of participants,” with the goal of “transmitting shared social values of discipline, punctuality, and professionalism” (2016: 157) through a variety of classes on various hip hop practices. Additionally, Rothchild notes that “Academy students learn primarily from ‘ethnic German’ professional hip-hop artists,” noting however that this term is complicated, and is used in this context “with caution and as a descriptor of shared cultural customs rather than biological provenance” (2016: 157). During my visits to the Hip Hop Academy in 2010, including an interview with the director, it was not clearly expressed that the intention of the project was as an integration project for youth of migration background—

likely because such projects, as well as the proposed choice between ‘integration’ and ‘multiculturalism’ are hotly contested and very politically charged in modern Germany.

Rothchild’s work at the Hip Hop Academy, which took place after my own, delves much more deeply and incisively into identity, the politics of ethnicity, and the claims of students with *Migrationshintergrund* to Germanness on their own terms. During my brief research stay in Hamburg, I visited the Hip Hop Academy only a few times, and the interviews I was able to conduct were constrained by a few key factors. First, Institutional Research Board approval of the project excluded any interviewees under the age of 18—and likely due to interactions between ethnicity, class, unequally distributed socioeconomic resources, and limited time for extracurricular activities among students at the Hip Hop Academy, the students over 18 (and thus of working age) were less likely to be visible minorities (though this designation does not track directly with *Migrationshintergrund* by any means). Second, those with the most time and enthusiasm for interviews at the Academy tended to be instructors there who, as Rothchild notes, might generally be considered ‘ethnic German’. This also has to do with the history of hip hop as a subculture in Germany. An influential wave of hip hop in Germany in the early 1990s, which has been characterized as “the happy-go-lucky party rap music of the New School (for which the Stuttgart-based, solidly middle-class crew *Fantastische Vier* functioned as a midwife)” (von Dirke 2007: 101), introduced hip hop to middle class youth (who were largely without migration backgrounds)—and as a commodified, globalizing media culture, hip hop culture and its associated artifacts and practices, including the purchase of albums, commodified fashion, production and DJing equipment, music video channels on television, and so forth, were initially most accessible to the German middle and upper classes. Regarding the issue of gender, it is difficult to estimate proportional gender representation of the participants in hip hop culture, which has long been seen as a space dominated by masculinity, and in many cases even misogyny. Women are certainly present and active in hip hop culture, and many artists work to counteract the misogynistic tendencies in hip hop culture, but women remain underrepresented among hip hop fans and artists. As a brief demographic examination of the MZEE.com forums in Garley (2018) revealed, of 50 user profiles examined, 16 users provided ages (ranging from 21-31), and 26 users provided gender information, all of whom reported their gender as “man.” None of the 50 users reported their gender as “woman,” although there are significant disincentives for women in online communities to openly identify as such, as discussed in Garley (2018).

In order to analyze the collected data, the interviews were transcribed, and in conjunction with the forum excerpts, were examined for attitudes about language as expressed through metalinguistic discourses. Where such expressions of attitudes were coded, they were collected and entered into a spreadsheet where they were grouped with other expressed attitudes in order to identify patterns across the data sources. When several interviewees expressed attitudes that indicated a coherent

and shared system of beliefs, i.e., a language ideology, this was noted and the language ideology was qualitatively analyzed, keeping previous researchers’ findings in mind.

Analysis of Results

In this section, I present the qualitative analysis of conversations and statements made both on- and offline. The common thread here is that all of these data excerpts include one or more *expressed language attitudes*, particularly revolving around anglicisms. As discussed in the introduction, language attitudes do not individually indicate the presence of a systematic and enduring language ideology; for this reason, I have focused here on those language attitudes which, through the expression of consistent views across several interviewees, suggest the expression of a language ideology. In this section, I present the four ideologies which emerged from the interviews with illustrative examples: first, an ideology which associates anglicisms with teenagers (and in one case particularly teenagers of migrant backgrounds), who are additionally perceived as deficient with regard to proficiency in Standardized German. The second ideology identified involves the notion that anglicisms, and the use of English generally, poses an existential threat to the German language, which, allegedly, will invariably lead to the decline and loss of German. The third ideology identified across interviews involves the view that anglicism use is linked to novelty; and in hip hop culture, such novelty wears off in inverse relationship to frequency of use. The final identified ideology, which I call a language-aesthetic ideology, assigns certain consistent aesthetic qualities to German and English, respectively.

Anglicism Use, Youth, and the Notion of a “Hip Hop Language”

A post from a thread about anglicisms in the *off topic* forum on MZEE.com, and three reactions to that post from ethnographic interviews, form the basis for discussion in this section. The attitudes in the post itself, critical of the perceived proliferation of anglicisms in media, were both reinforced and criticized in roughly equal measure by various responses in the thread, which had ten replies. The post was chosen for use as an interview prompt because of its polemical expression of anti-anglicism attitudes and its inclusion of a constructed example of perceived anglicism overuse. As it was hypothesized that this post might prompt lively discussion and further attitude expressions, the post was read or shown to interviewees, who were then asked to comment on the statements therein.

(1) [Post from forum thread on Anglicisms, 09/15/2003]

*Ich krieg die Krise.....Ich seh MTV und dann sagen die: “Lasst die **Crowd ausflippen** mit eurem **Sound**, gewinnt 2 **Tickets** und **rockt backstage**.” [...] Keine deutschen Wörter mehr sondern nur noch Anglizismen, Anglizismen, Anglizismen....Da isses kein Wunder, dass die deutschen Schüler zu blöd zum Scheißen sind....*

I’m losing it...I watch MTV and then they say “Let the **crowd flip out** with your **sound**, win 2 **tickets** and **rock backstage**.” [...] No German words any more, instead only anglicisms, anglicisms, anglicisms....That’s why it’s no wonder that German students are too dumb to shit....¹

This post, which reflects a common refrain among critics of the perceived overuse of anglicisms, overtly connects Anglicisms to the purported low intelligence of German (grade school) students. It is important to note that Anglicisms are associated here not with the elite, modern conception of English (see Piller 2001) but are instead connected with youth culture.

In the ethnographic interviews, Bo², an 18-year old DJ and breakdancer at the Hip Hop Academy, at first seems to take issue with the claim in the forum post.

(2) B: *Also es stimmt, dass es sehr viel Anglizismen sind. Ob das jetzt eine Auswirkung hat, auf, ehm, auf die Bildung von Jugendlichen, weiß ich jetzt nicht? Ich glaube eigentlich eher nicht? Ehm, es stimmt, auf jeden Fall, dass viele Jugendliche nicht mehr richtig reden können. [...] Also wenn die jetzt aus Problemvierteln kommen, dann haben die Probleme, glaube ich, sich gewählt auszudrücken? Also, vornehm, da mit [unint.] mit höheren Personen reden kann. Und deswegen, ist es, also es gibt ja viele Problemkinder im Moment, die halt keine, manchmal keine deutschen Eltern haben, und die halt auch in Hip Hop drin sind? Und dann auch diese Sprache nicht wegmachen können. Also, ich kann ja mit höheren Personen reden, und die denken [unint.] und ich kann auch [unint.] Also, ich beherrsche das, zwei Sachen zu machen, und ich glaube deswegen, und es gibt viele Jugendliche die das so zu sagen nicht machen können, und das ist natürlich schade, mmh. So kommt man nicht weit im Leben, oder im Jobleben.*

B: So, it’s true that there are a lot of anglicisms. Whether it then has some sort of effect on, um, on the education of young people, I don’t know? I actually don’t think so? Um, it’s true in any case that many young people can’t speak correctly anymore. [...] So, when they come from problem neighborhoods, then they have problems, I think, choosing how to express themselves? So, to conduct themselves, with [unint.] able to speak with higher [-class] people. And that’s why, there is, so there are a lot of problem children at the moment, who just don’t, sometimes don’t have German parents, and they’re into hip hop? And then they can’t get rid of this language. So, I can speak with higher people, and they think [unint.] and I can also [unint.] So, I’m proficient at doing two things, and I think that’s why, and there are a lot of youth that can’t do this, so to speak, and that’s naturally a shame, mm. You don’t get very far in life, or in a career that way.

Bo’s statement begins by expressing skepticism that anglicisms have much effect on education, instead placing anglicisms and purported speech problems as part of a larger constellation of problems related to socioeconomic status (‘problem neighborhoods’), social class (‘higher [-class] people’), ethnicity (‘don’t have German parents’), and hip hop (‘they’re into hip hop’). This is not

¹ Anglicisms are noted in bold.

² ‘Bo’, like the other names used here for interviewees, is a pseudonym. I asked interviewees to choose their own pseudonym, and assigned one to those who declined to choose.

an isolated concern; another MZEE thread is titled *Sprachprobleme der Hip hop Jugend*, ‘language problems of the hip hop youth’.³ Bo suggests that while he masters the ability to switch between an anglicism-containing hip hop variety and a more standard variety, a number of youth can’t, in his opinion—and they are less employable because of it.

Georg, 26, a Heidelberg-based host of an all-German hip hop radio show, shares these concerns:

(3) G: [...] *Aber mit Anglizismen. [pause] als Teil finde ich, geht es, weil es immer noch Leute gibt die reines Deutsch sprechen, das nicht durchsetzt ist, ja, in der hip- [pause] Ja. Manchmal fälltts mir negativ bei Hip Hop Hörern auf, gerade bei Jugendlichen, die dann so 15, 16 sind, die nur Englisch hören, die sprechen schon sehr stark geprägt. Und dann ist natürlich die Frage, inwiefern sie überhaupt die normale Sprache [pause] beherrschen, natürlich. Kennen sie sie? Also sie- wenn sie schon kennen denk ich, die deutsche Sprache, sie kennen die deutschen Wörter und sie verwenden sie natürlicherweise nicht. Und s- dann nicht nur, wenn sie über Hip Hop sprechen, sondern im allgemeinen Sprachgebrauch. Weil dann natürlich auch, ihre Clique? Ihre Freunde die selbe Musik hören, die selbe Sprache sprechen, und dann sprichst du auch nicht nur musikalisch mit diesen Begriffen [...]*

G: [...] But with anglicisms [pause] taken separately I find, it works, because there are still people who speak the clear German that is unadulterated, yeah, in the hip- [pause] Yes. Sometimes I find it negative, with hip hop listeners, especially with youth, that are like 15, 16, that only listen to English, their speech is already very strongly influenced. And then, the natural question is, to what extent do they command the normal language, naturally. Do they know it? So they- if they already know the German language, I think, they know the German words and they naturally aren’t using them. And s- then not only, when they’re talking about hip hop, but in general language use. Because then of course, their clique? Their friends that listen to the same music, that speak the same language, and then you’re naturally not speaking only musically with these concepts [...]

Georg’s statement expresses a number of language attitudes: First, that anglicisms are not seen (in and of themselves) as a major concern in mainstream society, because speakers of ‘unadulterated German’—a clear link to the language-purist ideology discussed in the beginning of this article—still exist. Georg then goes on to note that anglicisms in hip hop culture are, in fact, a personal concern of his. He connects anglicisms and a hip hop-influenced speech to specifically teenaged youth, and raises concerns about their competence in standard German, echoing Bo’s concerns in (2), but without the direct connection to migration background. In addition, the concept of luxury loans appears again—‘they know the German words and they naturally aren’t using them.’ Finally, Georg discusses the possibility that hip hop-related anglicisms are not confined to hip hop usage,

³ This thread was accessed on 11 October 2011 at [<http://www.mzee.com/forum/archive/index.php/t-100080845.html>]; it has since disappeared from the site (older threads tend to go missing with some regularity).

but instead infiltrate general speech situations, much like Bo’s belief that hip hop youth are effectively unable to style-shift to a more overtly prestigious dialect.

Peter, 22, a beatboxing student at the HHA, also connects anglicisms to youth language, and in particular teenagers:

(4) P: *Ja, es ist natürlich übertrieben, zum größten Teil, mmh? Also, ehm, ich glaube, damit sind so 15-, 14-jährige Kinder angesprochen, die das dann cool finden, [changes tone] oah, die Crowd, uhh, toll! [returns] so? ähm, aber e- es stimmt schon, also ich sage, das Wort, Crowd, zum Beispiel, auch, ‚voll die fette Crowd‘, das brauch ich schon manchmal, ja? Aber relativ selten, und dann auch eher mit so einem lachenden Auge, so. Also nicht wirklich, [changes tone] ‚Tickets Backstage‘ joah.*

P: Yeah, naturally it’s overdone, for the most part, mm? So, uh, I believe, it’s speaking to these 15, 14-year-old kids, that then find it cool, [voice change] oh, the crowd, ooh, cool! [returns] Like that? Um, but i- it’s true, so [even] I say that word, crowd, for example, also, ‘a completely phat crowd,’ I use that sometimes, yeah? But relatively rarely, and even then also with mixed feelings, like that. So not really [voice change] ‘tickets backstage,’ oh yeah.’ [emphasis added on anglicisms]

Peter connects this use of anglicisms to teenagers (‘15, 14-year-old kids’) who find them ‘cool,’ but in the same move distances himself (as an older hip hopper, one gets the impression) from this usage and, while he admits to using the word, he uses a German turn of phrase *mit einem lachenden Auge*, a short version of *mit einem lachenden Auge und einem weinenden Auge*, ‘with one laughing eye and one crying eye’—an idiom indicating mixed feelings about an action.

Excerpts (1-4) suggest an ideological positioning of anglicisms as connected to (a negatively-assessed) youth language and hip hop culture, although interviewees’ attitudes vary regarding the role of anglicisms in the supposed decline of the German language as a whole. Rather, the perceived overuse of anglicisms is considered to be related to larger social problems affecting youth education and jobs. Georg’s response, in (3), also indicates an ideological connection to language purism and standard language ideology, and this is perhaps unsurprising given a bit more context: Georg, a radio DJ and graduate student, is unique among interviewees in reporting that he listens almost exclusively to German-language hip hop, whereas the remainder of the interviewees reported listening either exclusively to American hip hop or (more commonly) to both German and American hip hop music.⁴

⁴ For the purposes of this paper, the author uses the term “American” to refer to largely English-language hip hop music and culture from the United States, in accordance with interviewees’ understanding and use of the adjective *Amerikanisch* as referring in most cases to the US, and not, e.g., Latin America.

Anglicisms and the Fate of German

In reviewing the collected data, one concept in particular reverberated throughout the interviews and forum posts—the notion that a continuing influx of anglicisms might lead to the decline or even the disappearance of the German language after a certain amount of time (in this case, often cited as 100 years):

(5) [Post from *off topic* Anglicisms thread, 09/15/2003]

*Ganz genau! Ich find wirklich unglaublich! Wirklich überall, “**Lets go**, zu großen **Family Party** mit vielen **Boys und Girls** in deinem Alter, finde neue **Friends**”*

ich hab mir schon mal ernsthaft darüber Gedanken gemacht, ob in 100 Jahren noch irgendjemand in Deutschland deutsch spricht... Obwohl wir ja laut einer These schon in 50 Jahren mehr Ausländer, als Deutsche in Deutschland haben, aber das is was anderes...Warum machen wirs nicht so wie die Franzosen? Die haben das staatlich geregelt... schade, wenigstens die schlimmsten Aglizismen [sic] könnte man doch wohl öffentlich unterbinden. Wenigstens Anglizismen, für die es auch deutsche Wörter gibt, sollten ‚verboten‘ werden...

Exactly! I find it completely unbelievable! Really everywhere, “**Let’s go**, to big **family party** with many **boys** and **girls** your age, find new **friends**”

I’ve already thought seriously about whether there will still be anyone in Germany who will speak German in 100 years... Although according to one argument, in 50 years we’ll have more foreigners than Germans in Germany, but that’s something else...

Why don’t we do it like the French? They’ve regulated it through the government... a shame, at least one could publicly forbid the worst anglicisms. At least anglicisms for which German words exist should be ‘prohibited’...

This diatribe against excessive anglicism use certainly suggests that anglicisms threaten the continued existence of the German language, and reproduces a strong version of language purism, suggesting specifically that not only do anglicisms pose a threat to German, but that this threat should be responded to by the application of language policy; this can be compared with similar suggestions from the Verein Deutsche Sprache (Spitzmüller 2007). It should be noted that even the suggestion that anglicisms *could* somehow be eliminated in this way is an ideological statement, and this forum post also ends by reproducing the categorization of ‘necessary’ vs. ‘unnecessary’ borrowings, rating the latter as much worse / more harmful than the former. Finally, an implicit instantiation of Herderian ideology is seen, as the connection between Germany and the German language (and, in passing, even German ethnicity) is evidently being assumed by the poster.

Reactions to this post in the interview data were varied, but none seemed to agree with the statement that German should be regulated, so it is likely that while this view connects to mainstream (or extreme versions of mainstream) language ideologies, it is an ideology reproduced by only a minority in the hip hop community. Bo’s response to this post is seen in (6):

(6) B: *Nö, denk ich, ne? Ich bin auch eigentlich ganz OK mit Anglizismen, ah, [unint.] Stimmt, Franzosen, und, ah, Italiener, und Spanier sprechen ganz wenig Englisch, und fast auch gar keine [unint.], die sind also stolz auf ihre Sprachen? Ich hab, ahh, ich hab- bin nicht stolz auf Deutsch, so zu sagen? An sich, weil, ich glaub auch die wenigsten Leute stolz auf Deutschland sind, wegen den ganzen Kriegsgeschichte? Also, hast du [unint.] mitbekommen, dass wir kaum ‚national Pride‘ haben, so mäßig?*

B: Nah, I don’t think so, yeah? I’m actually completely OK with anglicisms, ah, [unint.] It’s true, the French, and, uh, Italians, and Spanish speak very little English and almost no [unint.] they’re too proud of their languages? I have, uh, I have- am not proud of German, so to speak? In and of itself, because, I also think the fewest people are proud of Germany, because of the entire war history? So, have[n’t] you [unint.] noticed, that we don’t have much ‘**national pride**,’ something like that? [emphasis added]

In this excerpt, Herderian ideology is still evident. The ‘French,’ ‘Italians,’ and ‘Spanish’ are invoked as nationalities, and the attributive *ihre Sprachen*, ‘their languages’ is presented as unproblematic. Here, it is key to note that while Bo disagrees with the solution proposed in the post, he crucially does not disagree with the notion that anglicisms threaten German, or the suggestion that German might disappear in 100 years. Instead, Bo notes that he’s not especially ‘proud’ of German. Connecting linguistic pride to national pride, he uses the English *national Pride* rather than the German form *Nationalstolz*, underlining the extent to which the concept is still somewhat taboo in modern Germany, precisely because of the *Kriegsgeschichte*, ‘war history’. In doing so, he draws a connection between the language purism evident in the post and nationalist attitudes, distancing himself from the whole.

Another HHA student, Keeya, a 19-year old ‘nu-style’ hip hop dancer, expresses a similar lack of concern:

(7) M: *Und, ahm, hast du irgendwie so, ein bisschen Angst für die deutsche Sprache, dass es, so, ehm, dass- deutsche Sprache, so, nicht nur weiterentwickelt wird, sondern auch vielleicht zerstört wird durch Anglizismen, oder,- [...]*

K: *Ja, i- ja, ich verstehe was du meinst. Dass es ein bisschen [unint.], dass es sich so ein bisschen zurückentwickeln könnte, wenn man die deutsche Sprache so an sich sieht. Das könnte natürlich passieren, meiner Meinung nach, ich würde es nicht schlimm finden, aber es, also, wenn ich mir überlege, dass es vielleicht in den nächsten hundert Jahren nochmal so weiter geht? Dann kann es schon sein, dass, [pause] dass sie vielleicht ein bisschen verloren geht [...]*

M: And, umm, do you have, somehow, a little bit of fear for the German language, that it, like, umm, the German language, like, will not only [not] develop further, but also might be destroyed through anglicisms, or, [...].

K: Yeah, I—Yeah, I understand what you mean. That is a little [unint.], that it could regress / decline a little bit, when you look at the German language in and of itself like that. That could naturally happen, in my opinion, I wouldn't find it bad, but it, so, when I consider, that maybe in the next hundred years goes further? Then it really could be the case, that, [pause] that it maybe is a little lost [...]:

Keeya goes on to give a few examples that come to mind, including a reduction in the number of TV show and movie titles that are translated into German (being carried over wholesale or adapted from English instead), and continues:

(8) K: *Für uns— für die jüngere Generation, finde ich das nicht schlimm? Weil wir junge Menschen setzen uns sowieso mit- viel m- mit Englisch ause- irgendwie auseinander, weil es zurzeit eine Weltsprache geworden ist, für meine Oma, zum Beispiel, ist es voll schwer. [...] Das müsst sie natürlich eher überlegen, denn dass eine ganz andere Generation noch ist. Ich glaube, das müsste mit der Zeit irgendwie zusammen so gehen.*

K: For us- for the younger generation, I don't find it bad? Because we young people, we deal with a lot w- with English somehow, because right now it's become a world language, for my grandma, for example, it's very hard. [...] She naturally is more likely to have to think about it, because that's still a completely different generation. I think, it somehow has to go with the times.

In (7), Keeya expresses agreement with the idea that German could, in some way, be damaged by the influx of anglicisms, but with the reservation that this is only the case if one sees “German in and of itself like that,” i.e., considers it as a monolithic structure. While Keeya doesn't assess the hypothetical decline of German negatively, she does note that if an influx of anglicisms continues for 100 years, German could be lost. Finally, Keeya expresses concern not for German, but for the elderly and their ability to comprehend a changing language. This excerpt, then, shows little evidence of standard language ideology (German is only reluctantly considered an object in and of itself) or Herderian ideology. English is conceptualized as a “world language” and again associated with youth. It is worth noting that Keeya is also a member of a visible minority in Germany (and, as a woman, as a gender minority in hip hop culture), and the marked difference between her attitude and other respondents' attitudes may be related to an experiential difference in identification with the Herderian ideology equating a language with a people and with a monolithic ethno-nation—even though, like all other interviewees, Keeya identified German as her native language.

On the question of anglicisms and German language decline, Georg, the radio DJ, speaks directly:

(9) M: *Deiner Meinung nach, also, bedrohen Anglizismen die deutsche Sprache? Die deutsche Identität?*

[long pause]

G: *Ich glaube schon, dass die deutsche Sprache dadurch verliert, dass es viel Anglizismen gibt, ja, und? [long pause] Ja, und in weiten Teilen gibt es kein Bewusstsein dafür, dass man sehr viele Worte im Englischen benutzt, und deutsche Entsprechungen verliert. Ich finde es nicht problematisch in moderner Sprache, und international wird in d- In der Computer-Branche, oder Informatik find ich es nicht problematisch. Ich find es problematisch, wenn es in die Alltagssprache kommt, wenn man zu v- zu viel übernimmt, dass [unint.] Ich find das Problem, wo ich glaube, dass die Deutschen recht großes Bewusstsein dafür haben, recht [unint.] dass es vielen Kulturen gibt, gerade Türkisch, dann hast du auch andere Einflüsse in der deutschen Sprache, das heißt, nicht nur dieses Einseitige, dass es nur aus dem Englischen kommt, sondern eher ein generelles Problem, dass die deutsche Sprache ‚verbessert‘ wird, und teilweise durch Dialekte ihre Reinheit verliert, teilweise durch türkische Einflüsse, teilweise durch Anglizismen.*

M: In your opinion, then, do anglicisms threaten the German language? The German identity?

[long pause]

G: I think that the German language loses through the fact that there are many anglicisms, yes, and? [long pause] Yes, and in large parts there’s no consciousness of the fact that one is using a lot of English [words / phrases], and loses German counterparts. I don’t find it problematic in modern language, and internationally there’s in th- In the computer field, or informatics I don’t find it problematic. I find it problematic when it’s found in everyday speech, when too m- too much is adopted, that [unint.] I find the problem, where I think that the German people have a truly large awareness of, right [unint.] that there are many cultures, for example Turkish, then you also have other influences on the German language, that means, not just this one-sided, that it’s just coming from English, but rather a general problem that the German language is being ‘improved,’ and partially through dialects, loses its [purity / clarity], partially through Turkish influences, partially through anglicisms.

Here, Georg expresses serious concern about the future of the German language, and views anglicisms as only one source of influence (the others being Turkish and German dialects). The specific concern that German dialects are playing a role in the loss of *Reinheit* underlines that this concern is not for the German language including its dialects, but rather, for the loss of an idealized, standard German, which is furthermore described in terms of its *Reinheit*. *Reinheit* here raises a difficulty in translation and interpretation—it can mean either ‘clarity,’ a concept less directly connected to language purism, but it can also indicate ‘purity,’ in which case a direct connection to language-purist ideologies is evident. In any case, Georg expresses attitudes indicative of both a standard-language ideology and the notion of subtractive or disruptive borrowing, indicating that

the use of English is directly connected to the loss of German words. As a final note on the translation, I translate the phrase *dass die deutsche Sprache verbessert wird*, as ‘that the German language is being improved’, which seems out of place in the overall discourse (given that it is explicitly stated as a ‘problem’). The reason is that *verbessern* in this context is likely used in a somewhat ironic manner.

Another post from the MZEE forum seems to take a position more like the statements of Bo and Keeya:

(10) [Post from Anglicism forum thread]

Sprache lebt nun mal, sie entwickelt und verändert sich. Wenn irgendwelche Betonköpfe kommen, die auf Teufel komm raus die deutsche Sprache retten müssen, dann kotzt mich das an.

Freut euch doch. Je mehr andere Sprachen einen Einfluss auf die eigene haben, umso weniger fällt es schwer, fremde Sprachen zu lernen. Ich habe nichts dagegen, wenn die Menschen auf der Welt in hundert Jahren wieder eine gemeinsame Sprache sprechen.

Language lives, it develops and changes. If some hardliners come along that need to save the German language by exorcism, then that makes me sick.

Be glad. The more influence other languages have on your own, the easier it is to learn foreign languages. I don’t have anything against it if, in a hundred years, all people on the world have a common language again.

This forum post begins by espousing a belief that most socio- and historical linguists (who are, as Spitzmüller (2007) notes, ideology brokers) would heartily agree with—and one which is often silenced or erased in expressions of mainstream / standard language ideologies: the notion that language change is normal and inevitable. The poster, however, then treads into linguistically dubious water, expressing the possibility that languages could essentially converge into a “world language” within a century. What is not stated outright here is that this outcome would entail the loss of the German language as distinct, but as seen in (5–9), the positive assessment of such an outcome is contested.

For some engaged with the German hip hop culture, then, a rather conservative view of the German language echoes the set of concerns tied up in standard language ideologies which operate in the German sphere. For others, however, the use of anglicisms is not considered problematic—but this is only because these speakers won’t mourn the ‘inevitable’ loss of German. The common theme from (5-10) is that none of the expressed attitudes consider a possible future in which the German language incorporates anglicisms while still remaining, in essence, the German language. Crucially, both sets of attitudes expressed here—that anglicisms are a problem because they threaten the German language and that anglicisms are not a problem because the loss of German

isn't something to mourn—rely on the tacit assumption (a shared and enduring belief and therefore part of an ideology) that the German language is necessarily in decline at least in part because of English influence. However, evidence from previous research contradicts this claim. Garley and Hockenmaier (2012) demonstrate that the vast majority of anglicisms in German hip hop culture have a short lifespan of popularity, and Garley (2014, 2018), finds that such borrowings are almost always systematically integrated and morphologically adapted into German according to the German morphological system.

Anglicism Use and Novelty

In (5) above, Peter reacts to an excerpt containing anglicisms with derision, noting that the anglicisms are, in effect, “speaking to these 15, 14-year-old kids, that then find it cool.” This statement, which suggests that the appeal of anglicisms may be relatively brief or confined to a particular phase of life, is of particular interest in light of a corpus-analytic result from Garley and Hockenmaier (2012): in looking at a decade of German hip hop forum posts, the most frequently-used anglicisms were likely to experience a drop in frequency over time. A final pair of excerpted statements about anglicism use from Peter and Erik directly illuminates some motivations for that finding:

(11) P: *Ich hab schon mitbekommen, dass viele Leute [unint.] sich so ein paar [englische] Wörter raussuchen? Aber ich glaube, dass ist nicht- also es ist glaube ich nicht so extrem. Also es ist vielleicht schon- kommt schon vor, dass man dann das ein oder andere englische Wort irgendwie mal für ein- für ein halbes Jahr sagt, aber das wars auf jeden Fall schon.*

P: I have already noticed, that a lot of people pick out for [unint.] themselves, like, a few [English] words? But I think, that it's not, so it's not, I think, so extreme. So, it's maybe already- it has happened, that one then says some English word or another somehow for like- for like half a year, but that's it, in any case.

In (11), Peter directly addresses the way in which novel anglicisms are used, and there are two components of his statement that I would like to call attention to. First, *sich raussuchen*, ‘to pick out for oneself’ suggests that novel anglicisms are first used as stylistic idiosyncrasies by individual speakers. Second, the short-lived nature of some anglicism usage is highlighted by the statement that “one then says some English word [...] for like half a year, but that's it.” Erik's statement in (12) further illuminates the process of anglicism adoption:

(12) EE: *Zum Beispiel. Es ist so, dass ich- ich zum Beispiel eine Zeit lang immer gesagt habe, so, ‚Ja, Rocket!‘ so? Einfach aus Scheiß! So, wie ich auch sagen könnte, ‚Klar, Alter!‘ aber auf ‚Alter‘ hab ich halt keinen Bock mehr gehabt.*

EE: For example. It’s the case that I- I for example, for a certain time always said, like, ‘Ja, Rocket!’, like that? Just for the hell of it! So, when I could also say, ‘Klar, Alter!’ . But I just didn’t have any interest in ‘Alter’ anymore.

Erik goes on to explain that he picked the phrase up from the German-dubbed version of the 1988 American movie ‘Colors,’ in reference to Don Cheadle’s character, Rocket. Particularly interesting here is the suggestion that the novelty of this phrase—rather than the idea that it could express something inexpressible in German (Erik mentions *klar, Alter!* ‘yeah, man!’ as fulfilling an identical pragmatic function)—was the key motivation for its use. Second, Erik mentions that he lost interest in the slang address term *Alter*. *Alter* is a native German term, and not an anglicism, but its use in this context is, essentially, slang—it fulfils the requirements laid out by Dumas and Lighter (1978) in that it lowers the dignity of the occasion in which it is used and expresses a special familiarity with the referent (this can also be construed as expressing solidarity). Erik’s loss of interest in *Alter*, then, and move to the idiosyncratic quasi-borrowing (*Ja, Rocket!*) can be ascribed to the drive for novelty in slang; and for the hip hop community, the American hip hop vocabulary provides a large number of novel candidates for borrowings. However, the process is seen to come full circle when we return to expressed attitudes like those in (4), where it is obvious that some of these forms, especially those perceived to become popular among teenagers, are eventually discarded.

The Language-Aesthetic Ideology

A number of interview prompts produced responses including expressed attitudes about German, English, and the use of anglicisms in German more generally—these attitudes, which consisted primarily of assessments, of, e.g., English as an ‘easier’ language than German, have much in common with the sort of attitudinal dimensions that researchers like Preston (e.g., 2003) engage with. As such, these attitudes deal primarily with perceived inherent properties of the German and English languages.

In the first excerpt, Kranker Karl, a 30-year old underground rapper in Hamburg, has just mentioned that he began (as a teenager) by writing his raps in English, but shortly thereafter switched to German, for which he provides justification.

(13) KK: *Das Ding ist halt einfach, ehm, ich würde halt schon sagen, dass ich finde, dass es ich auf Eng- also, dass Englisch einfach eine geeigneterere Sprache ist? Weil, also einfach von dem ganzen Klangbild, äh, das, äh, einfach wesentlich, ähm, ja, wesentlich harmonischer ist, als, äh, Deutsch, alleine schon durch diese, diese ganzen, diese ganze scharfen Laute in der Deutschen Sprache ist es schon teilweise, das merkst du s-. Merkt man, gerade daran wenn man halt schneller rappt, das ist halt einfach sehr- auf Englisch wesentlich besser [unint.] Aber? Ehm, ich finde. [pause] Wenn man sich wirklich entwickeln will, als Künstler? Muss man zu der*

Muttersprache greifen, das geht halt nicht anders egal wie gut man eine Sprache beherrscht, das ist halt nicht dasselbe. Dieses Gefühl? [pause] man- dieses Gefühl, was man vermitteln möchte, das finde ich kann man nur in der Muttersprache vermitteln und in Deutschland klappt das auch überhaupt nicht [in einer anderen Sprache / Englisch zu rappen].

KK: The thing is just simply, umm, I would say at this point, that I find that it- I in Eng- so, that English is simply a more suitable language? Because, so, just from the entire soundscape, uh, that it's, uh, just essentially, um, yes, essentially more harmonious, than, uh, German, already just through, through these, all these, all these sharp sounds in the German language it's already partially, you notice s- one notices that, particularly when rapping faster, that it's just much easier to [unint.] in English. But? Umm, I find. [pause] If you want to really further yourself, as an artist? You have to take hold of the mother tongue, you can't do otherwise no matter how good you control a language, it's just not the same. This feeling, that one- [pause] this feeling that one wants to communicate, I find that it can only be communicated in the mother tongue and in Germany it also just doesn't work [to rap in another language / English].

Karl expresses several attitudes here toward English and German. English is described as *harmonisch*, ‘harmonious’ and German sounds as *scharf*, ‘sharp’, an attitude that will be echoed by several other interviewees. English is also seen by Karl as a better language for rapping faster—and the statement seems to be, in essence, a sort of excuse for the use of German. Karl concludes that rapping in a non-native language is not the same, and German, after all, is his *Muttersprache* or mother tongue. The suggestion that English is effectively more suitable for rapping is unexpected, especially in light of the fact that (from my perspective) Karl's signature rapping style (compared to other German rappers) is rather harsh and aggressive; if German has a sharper, less harmonious sound, it seems that this would provide an advantage.

While not all interviewees were rappers like Karl, assessments of the perceived inherent qualities of German and English were nonetheless frequent and were elicited especially well by asking whether the interviewee preferred to listen to American or German hip hop, and why one might be preferred over the other. Especially striking in (14) and (15) is the repetition of similar perceived attributes for English and German, even though in (14) Klaus, a 19-year-old producing student from the HHA, prefers American hip hop, and in (15) Janet, a 27-year-old hip hop fan, prefers German hip hop.

(14) M: *So, ehm, wieso hörst du, so, mehr, amerikanisches Hip Hop? Worauf liegt es?*

K: *Ehm, ich mag die Sprache viel lieber? Ich find, die Sprache ist viel flüssiger, flüssiger, nicht so abgehackt wie Deutsch, Deutsch ist sehr doch sehr [pause] abgehackt, sehr, ja, kantig, so? [unint.] English ist einfach, eine einfachere Sprache, eine flüssigere Sprache, und, die klingt schöner, einfach.*

M: So, uh, why do you listen to, like, more, American hip hop? What's the reason?

K: Umm, I like the language much better? I find the language to be much more flowing, more flowing, not so choppy like German, German is just really [pause] choppy, very, yeah, angular, you know? [unint.] English is just, an easier language, a more flowing language, and, it simply sounds nicer.

(15) M: *Warum, dann, hast du so, deutsche Hip hop, also, gern- lieber als amerikanisches?*

J: *Ehm, ich finde halt, [pause] ich finde deutschen Hip hop irgendwie so [pause] es hat einfach was- ich m- ich mag deutschen Hip hop, glaub ich, weil ähm [pause] weil ich das geil finde, wie die- da verstehe ich diesen Sprachwitz besser als im amerikanischen, aber beim amerikanischen ist es einfach, ich meine, da kommt's halt her, und, du kannst einfach viele Sachen viel leichter irgendwie auf Englisch sagen, als auf Deutsch. Und ich finde den **Flow** einfach besser, also es ist so, die alles in ein- die haben's einfach m- die haben einfach mehr drauf.*

M: Why, then, do you like, like German hip hop, so- better than American?

J: Um, I just find [pause] I find German hip hop somehow so [pause] it's just something t- I I- I like German hip hop, I think, because umm [pause] because I think it's cool, how the- I understand the wordplay better than in the American, but with the American it's just, I mean, it's just from there, and, you can simply say things a lot more easily somehow in English than in German. And I find the **flow** simply better, so, it's just, the all in- they just have it m- they just have more to offer.

In (14), Klaus clearly rates English as *flüssig*, ‘flowing,’ *einfach*, ‘easy / simple,’ and as a language that sounds nice (*klingt schön*). German, by contrast, is characterized as *abgehackt*, ‘choppy’ and *kantig*, ‘angular.’ While Janet begins by explaining why she prefers German hip hop to American hip hop, it is a utilitarian argument for understanding the wordplay better as a German native speaker—and crucially, not some inherent positive quality of German. The response turns around to focus on American hip hop, and some perceived attributes of English similar to those in (13) and (14) are brought forward, revealing an underlying positive attitude toward English; it's easier (*leichter*) to say many things in English, and Janet uses the anglicism *Flow* to highlight another contrast between the languages (with English still the clear winner).

These sorts of attitudes toward English and German are not only found in the interview data. In a thread on the use of anglicisms in hip hop from the MZEE forum, the following post appears:

(16) [Post from Anglicisms thread on MZEE forum]

Meine subjektive Meinung:

*I) es gibt Wörter, deren Bedeutung nicht 1-1 übersetzt werden kann: **Styles kicken, bitches, pimpen, husteln, chillen....***

*II) allein schon vom Klangbild her ist Englisch eine rundere **flowigere** (-noch son wort wie unter I. beschrieben) Sprache als Deutsch (stark betonte harte konsonanten etc.)*

Von daher finde ich nichts schlechtes an einem bewussten Umgang mit der Englischen sprache, sei es auf ganze lieder angewandt (dann aber bitte akzentfrei!) oder in Form von Anglizismen.

Just my 2 cents ;)

My subjective opinion:

I) there are words, which have meanings that can't be translated 1-1: **Styles kicken, bitches, pimpen, husteln, chillen....**

II) Even just from the sounds, English is a rounder, **more 'flow'ing** (-yet another word like those described under I.) language than German (strongly emphasized hard consonants etc.)

For this reason I don't find anything wrong with deliberate contact with the English language, whether it's applied to entire songs (but then please without an accent!) or in the form of anglicisms.

Just my 2 cents ;)

Here we have multiple statements of language attitude to consider. First, there is the implied invocation of the ‘luxury loan’, the idea that some English words have exact or suitable translations in German (which should then be used; the use of the English word in this case being the ‘luxury’), but other words do not, and thus constitute legitimate or necessary borrowings. This is also a recasting of the view that borrowing is motivated by either need or prestige (Hock & Joseph 1996). Interesting here is that the anglicism *flowigere* (roughly ‘more flow-y’), which the forum user points out as an untranslatable borrowing, might easily be replaced by the native form *flüssigere* ‘more flowing’, which, in its non-comparative form, is in fact used to describe English in (14). Also important to note is that this use of a declined adjectival form of English *flow* expresses an attitude toward language in an iconic fashion, reinforcing the overt commentary on language. The use of English is also perceived as *rundere* ‘rounder’ which should be contrasted with the description of German in (13) as *kantig* ‘angular’. There is also a similar characterization of German sounds; *harte* ‘hard’ consonants in a statement here reminiscent of *scharfe* ‘sharp’ sounds in (13).

In (13-16), then, we see the kind of corroboration of attitudes about English and German that suggests an ideological basis; English is described as aesthetically pleasing, flowing, round, and easy. German, on the other hand, is sharp, hard, angular, choppy, and is described as a less aesthetically pleasing language; in general, then, (13-16) seem to take a positive attitude toward

(at least the aesthetics of) English and anglicisms and a rather negative attitude toward German, in spite of the differences in communicative goals.

This negative attitude toward German aesthetics, however, does not extend to all other aspects of the language. Janet, 27, also describes German as a beautiful (*schön*) and useful language. Nevertheless, in the same statement, Janet expresses the attitude that anglicisms are *super*, and gives a more nuanced explanation of why some words (in this case, *chillen*, which is also mentioned in (16)) are simply untranslatable:

(17) M: *Also, eh, was hältst du von die Verwendung Anglizismen in **Hip Hop** Kultur hier im Deutschland, oder Englisch, im großen und ganzen?*

J: *Also, ich, ähm, ich studiere halt auch Deutsch? Deutsche Sprache, so? Und Englisch. Und, ich finde, ahm, [pause] ich finde die Deutsche Sprache total, es ist eine schöne Sprache, mit der du auch [unint.] sehr viel machen kannst, aber, für den Alltagsgebrauch, finde ich das mit den Anglizismen, super. Also weil, es ist genau wie ich sage, ich finde, du kannst sag- manche, manche Sachen sowie ‘**chillen**’ zum Beispiel, es gibt einfach kein deutsches Wort, dass das so, du würdest dann ‘entspannen’ sagen, aber es würde immer noch irgendwie was fehlen, also so ‘geil abhängen,’ mit- also, ‘**chillen**’ impliziert so viel, einfach, und die Leute wissen genau was gemeint ist, und das gibt’s meine ich, mit vielen Wörtern.*

M: So, uh, what do you think of the use of anglicisms in hip hop culture here in Germany, or English, in general?

J: So, I, um, I also study German? German language, right? And English. And, I find, um [pause] I find the German language totally, it’s a beautiful language, with which you can also [unint.] do a lot of things, but for everyday use, I find that with the anglicisms outstanding. So because, it’s just like I’m saying, I find, you can say- some, some things like ‘**chillen**’ for example, there’s just no German word, that does- you would then say ‘entspannen’ [to relax], but something would still be missing somehow. So like, ‘geil abhängen’ [to hang out in a cool way], with- ‘**chillen**’ just implies so much, and the people know exactly what’s meant, and that’s the way it is, I believe, with many words.

Janet’s comment suggests another reason for using English, in addition to aesthetics: some connotative component is lost in the translation (‘something would still be missing somehow’ / ‘[it] just implies so much’.) This, then, can be seen as a corroboration of the earlier idea in (16) that some words, even when not describing technological innovations, new flora & fauna, etc., can fill a sort of ‘gap’ in the language or, at the least, express something that cannot felicitously be expressed in German and are thus legitimate / necessary borrowings. This observation is brought into high relief in an interview with Michelle, a 23-year-old hip hop fan and university student. In (18), I ask about the use of certain hip hop-related anglicisms and candidate German translations:

(18) M: *Oder ‘beef’?*

Mi: ‘Beef’ sag ich ja- sage ich ja schon immer.

M: Was ist die dann, was ist dann die, große Unterschied in so, ahm, Bedeutung zwischen ‘Beef’ und ‘Streit’?

[long pause]

Mi: Es gibt keinen, es gibt keinen.

M: Und ‘Battle’ und Kä- ‘Kampf,’ so?

Mi: Ja, da gibt’s schon einen, find ich.

M: Ja?

Mi: Ja, wei- weil der ‘Battle,’ das ist ja, meistens- ist ja mit Spaß verbunden,

M: Oder ‘Wettbewerb,’ dann, ‘Battle’ und ‘Wettbewerb,’ dann?

[pause]

Mi: Ja, gibt eigentlich doch keinen-

[laughter]

Mi: Stimmt. [unint.] Stimmt, [unint.] weil es einfach cooler klingt, auch. Einfach so- einfach so auch zum Spaß. Und weil man das so gewohnt ist.

M: Or ‘beef’?

Mi: I say ‘beef’ all- I say it all the time.

M: What’s then, what’s the big difference, then, in like, uh, meaning between ‘beef’ and ‘Streit’?

[long pause]

Mi: There isn’t one, there isn’t one.

M: And ‘battle’ and ‘Kä’- ‘Kampf’, like?

Mi: Yeah, there there’s one, I find.

M: Yeah?

Mi: Yeah, be- because the ‘battle,’ that’s, well, mostly- is connected to fun.

M: Or ‘Wettbewerb,’ then, ‘battle’ and ‘Wettbewerb,’ then?

[pause]

Mi: Yeah there’s not really one-

[laughter]

Mi: True. [unint.] True, [unint.] because it just sounds cooler, also. Simply just- simply just also for fun. And because one’s used to it.

For the word pair *Battle* and *Wettbewerb* ‘contest,’ Michelle explicitly states that there is no difference in meaning, but suggests that the English terms are used essentially because they have a connection to fun (*Spaß*) and they sound ‘cooler.’ Finally, the words are also established—this echoes Janet’s assertion that with *chillen*, ‘you know exactly what’s meant.’ These attitude

expressions can be compared to Piller’s (2001) findings that English indexes a ‘fun orientation’ in German advertising. (17) and (18) above also reinforce the notion that *prestige* (Hock & Joseph 1996) plays a role in borrowing, and that this role is in fact overtly noted. Coolness, after all, could well be considered a social meaning—compare Eckert’s (2008: 465) treatment of ‘toughness’—conveyed using certain stylistic resources that carry local (in the social-network sense, if not in the geographic sense) prestige.

Excerpts (13-18), then, highlight several language attitudes which I suggest here are ideological in nature, due to the similarity of their reproduction by multiple actors. First, there appears to be a consistent ideological difference in the characterization of German and English; German is found to be aesthetically displeasing as highlighted by the operation of metaphors conceptualizing language-as-substance—German is seen as rough, sharp, angular, and choppy or less-flowing (only Janet’s suggestion that German is ‘beautiful’ stands against the rest of the conceptualizations). English on the other hand, is not only seen as aesthetically pleasing (round, flowing) but additionally as an ‘easier’ language especially with regard to its use in hip hop—although it is not particularly clear at this juncture whether this is in reference to the perceived ease of learning, or perceived ease of use—both, in fact, seem likely, in light of the data presented. The second component language ideology evident in (13-18) is reflected in statements that suggest the necessity of borrowing, e.g., *chillen*, due to the inability to express the same concept in German—some borrowings are, then, conceptualized as legitimate or authorized due to their filling of a conceptual gap in the German language. I will refer to this as the ideology of the necessary borrowing; it interacts with the contrasting and established concept of the luxury loan, and these are evident in some of the earlier statements as well.

Discussion and Implications

In the analysis presented in this chapter, each of a set of ideologies which I have called the Standard Language Ideology Complex (which includes the ideology of the standard language, language purism, and Herderian ideology) came to the fore in interviewees’ attitudes toward German. The analysis here, however, reveals a larger and more complex system of enduring and shared ideologies which interact with these and with each other, and which regard the use of anglicisms and orientations to English among artists and fans in German hip hop culture.

Two complex interacting systems of beliefs, related in different ways to the standard language ideological complex, were identified in this analysis. The first, which applies the major tenets of the standard language ideological complex, is instantiated in views that anglicisms in this context are indicative of a non-standard language variety, which is alternatively or simultaneously identified as hip hop language and youth language. This non-standard variety is either negatively assessed or perceived to be negatively assessed (by others); this is a result of the interaction of this

ideology, or else the reliance of this ideology upon the standard language ideology and language purism. Multiple commentators also draw a link between this anglicism-containing, non-standard hip hop / youth language and lower classes or Germans with migrant backgrounds, crucially associating anglicism use with an imagined user who is the antithesis of the orderly, upper-middle class “elite bilingual.” While the term was not used in interviews, likely because of its status as a taboo / offensive designation, there exists a great deal of agreement between the characterization of non-standard varieties in the interview / forum data and popular conceptions of a minority-based *Kanaksprak* (Yildiz 2004). Serious parallels, then, can be drawn between this configuration of non-standard varieties, ethnolects, and youth language in the German sphere and the influence of (or appropriation of) African American English on (or in) youth language and popular slang in the US across ethnicities (for treatment of which see, e.g., Bucholtz 1997, Cutler 1999, and Cutler 2008).

Finally, the interviews show that anglicisms are perceived as inevitably harmful to the German language, and this perception is a distinct ideological component visible in the ethnographic data. This is made evident through a sort of shared story that emerges from different assessments of concern about the future of German. While interviewees and forum users do not, in general, agree on whether the decline or development of German through English influence is a good or a bad thing, there is a shared underlying assumption that a continued influx of anglicisms will eventually cause the decline or destruction of the German language within about a century. This ideology interacts with the ideology of language purism in that it equates foreign inclusions with impurities which will eventually lead to language death, but interviewees assess this eventuality differently with regard to whether the potential decline of German or a resultant shift to English (both seen as vanishingly unlikely by the researcher) would be unfortunate or welcome.

The ideologies identified above are instantiations of the Standard Language Ideology Complex to different degrees. While the assessment of potential outcomes may be contested within German hip hop culture, a number of standard-language, language-purist, and Herderian assumptions consistently frame the attitudes expressed by these interviewees and forum posters. Crucially, this runs counter to the hypothesis that these ideologies would generally be opposed by the “resistance vernacular” of hip hop culture. Speaking generally about the excerpts above, the views expressed are surprisingly congruent with the standard language ideological complex. Views on the mixture of English with German, i.e., the use of anglicisms, are sometimes surprisingly and strongly negative. In fact, there exist definite parallels between views expressed by former German Transportation Minister Peter Ramsauer, a high-profile conservative figure fighting against anglicisms in his *stern* interview (Schütz 2010), and material in the excerpts from the ethnographic research here, from the Herderian equation of nation and language in the MZEE thread in (5) to Keeya’s concern about the disruption of intergenerational communication in (8) to Georg’s assertion that Germans do not give enough consideration to their language in (9). The dichotomy

of *necessary borrowing* vs. *luxury loan* discussed in the final results section is also related to this complex.

Finding reproductions of the Standard Language Ideology Complex among hip hop fans and artists demonstrates the extent to which the Standard Language Ideology Complex suffuses, penetrates, and frames discourse in the German sphere, even in a domain where a ‘resistance vernacular’ is expected. However, this is only part of the story; much of the data, like Keeya’s statement in (7), or Kranker Karl’s and others’ positive assessments of English vis-à-vis German, indicate some lack of concern about the fate of German. Hip hop fans and artists acknowledge that anglicisms have both communicative and social utility, but some interviewees and forum posters in this study find an increased or abnormally frequent use of anglicisms, especially by lower-class Germans, teenagers, Germans of migrant background, or by mass media outlets targeting these demographics, negative and thought to indicate a lack of education in the former cases or inauthenticity and pandering in the latter. Some cautions here are warranted; due to the lack of data on interviewees’ and forum posters’ ethnic identification and socioeconomic status, it is possible that this study may have sampled a set of German hip hop fans and artists drawn primarily from middle- and upper-middle-class backgrounds, and thus may underrepresent the engagement of ethnic minorities and Germans with migration backgrounds; it is worth noting that a similar study concentrating on minoritized populations engaged in hip hop culture in the German-speaking sphere might be expected to find differing results or additional interactions between language ideologies.

In closing, one set of attitudes in the present study might well be described as entirely related to the status of hip hop as a subculture, and directly speaks to the findings of a negative correlation between anglicism frequency at an initial time and change in anglicism frequency discussed in Garley and Hockenmaier (2012). The relationship between anglicisms in hip hop culture and novelty found in the interviews underlines the notion that participants in hip hop culture (and likely in youth cultures generally) prize novelty in language (and discard, on an individual or group level, forms that no longer fulfill the requisite stylistic functions). This ideology, which prizes novelty, creativity, and idiosyncrasy in language use, suggests that there is something to the notion of hip hop language as a resistance vernacular which carries over to the German hip hop scene. Thus, there is evidence that, while the Standard Language Ideology Complex frames the conversation about anglicisms and language use, even in a subcultural community, alternative forms of expression are valued.

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