"Wir haben gut connected" A comparison of German-English and Dutch-English codeswitching in communication between strangers

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Master Thesis

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Abstract

This thesis investigates German-English and Dutch-English codeswitching in conversations between strangers. The aim was to grasp speakers' perceived norms towards using English in German and Dutch speech. In order to do so, this study draws comparisons between German and Dutch speakers' codeswitching, as well as compares codeswitching towards strangers to previous findings on codeswitching amongst members of specific communities. The dataset consisted of spoken data from the German and Dutch version of the TV programme *First Dates*. Over 600 codeswitches from 74 German and 99 Dutch speakers were analysed. The analysis examined structural elements (e.g. word category) as well as semantic elements of the switch (translation equivalence). In addition to this, the analysis considered speakers' sociolinguistic features (age, gender, etc.) to see how widespread codeswitching is amongst various speaker types.

The findings include that speakers do not engage in "creative" switching (i.e. new formations regardless of standard English grammar) while communicating with strangers, in contrast to codeswitching between community members. Overall, Dutch speakers switched more often and the word categories of switches were more diverse than German speakers. This is likely due to the higher level of English exposure in the Netherlands. Moreover, accommodation in codeswitching (i.e. speakers adjust their behaviour either to emphasise similarities or emphasise differences) was correlated with whether partners wanted a second date. This suggests that speakers managed their codeswitching to moderate social distance. The use of codeswitching was not limited to specific groups (e.g. youth speakers); rather, the majority of the speakers used English expressively and functionally. These findings imply that codeswitching is generally perceived as acceptable in German and Dutch.

Keywords: codeswitching, anglicisms, accommodation, English in Europe

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1 Introduction

As a result of the dominant position of the English language worldwide, English has made an impact on European communities: English is used in for instance German and Dutch communities in various contexts, like on social media and in advertising (Cenoz & Jessner, 2000, p. 10). In these communities, it is common to encounter the embedding of English words or phrases within Dutch or German text. For example, Figure 1 displays a lens solution bottle from a Dutch drug store that shows a mixture of Dutch (*zachte lenzen,* "soft contact lenses") and English (*no rub*) [1]. The combination of these languages results in a complementary multilingual sign, which means that the phrases are not just translations of the same message, but each language contributes individually to the meaning of the full text (Reh, 2004). Interestingly, the intended audience for the text on the bottle is broad, namely all customers of the drugstore. In partly using English, the text writer presupposes that the whole audience has a certain level of understanding of the English words and phrases used.

Figure 1: Dutch lens solution bottle

This presupposition is reflected in the phrase *all-in-1 vloeistof* ("all-in-1 solution"), which displays alternation between English and Dutch. This process of alternating multiple languages within a single text is known as **codeswitching** (Clyne, 1987, p. 740; see section 3.1 for further explanation). Codeswitching occurs in numerous varieties of communication, such as spoken conversation (e.g. Zenner & Geeraerts, 2015), computer-mediated conversation (e.g. Weger, 2016) and even literary

[1] Underlined words indicate that the element stems from English.

works (Estigarribia, 2015). According to Gardner-Chloros (2012), codeswitching occurs on account of social motivations, whereby various social factors influence the speaker's behaviour. One of these social factors is the circumstances under which the language is used in a particular community, for instance when there is high prestige associated with a specific language within the community. What is compelling is that the phenomenon of codeswitching can have different forms and statuses from one community to another (Balam, Parafita Couto, & Stadthagen-González, 2020): though there are certain patterns that are uniform across communities and language pairs, there is also variation in codeswitching patterns within a language-pair between different communities (Parafita Couto, Greidanus Romaneli & Bellamy, in press). The variation between communities entails that the forms and statuses of codeswitching are partly guided by community-specific norms.

These community-specific norms are at play in communities of practice (henceforth CoPs). A CoP consists of a close-knit group of people, often formed by collective interests, who share goals and linguistic repertoires among members (Wenger, 1998, pp. 125-26). Besides the occurrence of English in German and Dutch printed commercial texts (e.g. Figure 1), various German and Dutch CoPs engage in codeswitching. For example, Vriesendorp and Rutten (2017) found Dutch-English codeswitching in chat messages between members of the Dutch gay community. Vriesendorp and Rutte describe that, in this CoP, speakers use English for constructing identity in order to be associated with English-speaking gay role models. The community norms for this CoP entail that the use of English-Dutch codeswitching is prestigious. Similar to this, the prestigious use of English is also found in a German CoP. Garley and Hockenmaier (2012) report that German speakers use German-English switching on forums of an online hip-hop community. The authors note that speakers adopt certain English phrases for the purpose of receiving in-group prestige (or "cred"). This notion is also present in other CoPs in Germany and the Netherlands (Androutsopoulos, 2003; Weger, 2016; Zenner & Van De Mieroop, 2017). So, in communication between members of these CoPs, the norms encompass that the use of English is prestigious. Certainly, norms regarding codeswitching can vary between different CoPs: codeswitching can be perceived as unacceptable and even be stigmatized in other contexts than within the CoPs mentioned above (Forson, 1979). However, it is unknown what norms regarding codeswitching are at play for German and Dutch speakers beyond communication between members of CoPs.

The aim of this thesis is to explore the codeswitching behaviour of German and Dutch speakers during a blind date. This specific setting allows for the investigation of speakers' behaviour beyond CoP context, as they are partnered with a stranger. It is generally not favourable for bilinguals to engage in codeswitching before they know their conversational partner thinks of it as acceptable (Gumperz, 1982). Speakers will normally refrain from codeswitching, as they cannot be sure their partner understands both languages. Besides that, a negative attitude of their partner towards switching can cause speakers who codeswitch to become less respected. The fact that the persons on a blind date are strangers to each other ensures that they do not know their date's proficiency in English and attitude towards codeswitching. So, if speakers do use English towards their date, they presuppose that their date has an understanding of English, as well as a neutral or positive attitude towards switching. In other words, speakers reflect on perceived norms about codeswitching, that is, their ideas about what

behaviour is accepted in society. Considering codeswitching in this specific setting will shed light on speakers' perceived norms regarding the use of English elements alongside their native language. The aim of comparing German and Dutch speakers is to identify possible differences in the speakers' perceived norms in relation to the different position of English in these countries.

1.1 Research questions

Above, it was described that the use of English is prestigious in certain CoPs, which results in codeswitching amongst members. On a general level, English also has a prestigious status in the Netherlands (Edwards, 2016) and Germany (Stefanowitsch, 2002). However, it is unknown whether speakers use English elements within German and Dutch speech when they do not know their conversational partner's proficiency and attitude towards switching. As codeswitching can also be a stigmatized phenomenon in many communities, speakers may have negative attitudes to codeswitching (Forson, 1979). This thesis will investigate speakers' perceived norms of using English when communicating with strangers. The main research question of this thesis is as follows: *to what extent do speakers of German and speakers of Dutch codeswitch when communicating with strangers?*

The research question will be approached by analysing spoken data from the German and Dutch version of the unscripted reality TV programme *First Dates*. The speakers' proficiency in English is not provided and, thus, no conclusions can be drawn about switching behaviour in relation to speakers' level of bilingualism. Yet, this data is extremely suitable for investigating speakers' perceived norms regarding the use of English elements, as the participants are partnered with a stranger. Investigating codeswitching in this setting contrasts with earlier work on codeswitching between members of a CoP, in which speakers share linguistic repertoires and therefore do not have to presuppose their conversational partner's attitudes. It also contrasts with research on written or pre-recorded codeswitching in commercial texts, which have broad intended audiences, rather than a specific conversational partner.

In answering the main research question, not only occurrence and frequency of codeswitching are of interest. Rather, I consider the form of the switches in several structural domains, like length of the codeswitch (i.e. number of words of the switch) and word or phrase category (e.g. noun, verb, prepositional phrase, etc.). In addition to this, I consider a semantic domain, namely the translation equivalence of the English phrases used (i.e. whether there is a clear German or Dutch translation). This combined approach allows for comparison to earlier research on switching behaviour in CoPs, whereby these domains of switching are under investigation for German-English and Dutch-English codeswitching (Androutsopoulos, 2003; Garley & Hockenmaier, 2012; Vriesendorp & Rutten, 2017; Weger, 2016). Hence, this thesis aims to answer the following sub-question: *does codeswitching in communication between strangers diverge from the findings on codeswitching between members of a CoP in structural and semantic domains?*

Besides structural and semantic considerations, I investigate German-English and Dutch-English codeswitching across different types of speakers. This is facilitated by the diverse sample of contestants that participate in *First Dates*, who differ greatly in age, profession, etc. I include this

sociolinguistic domain in order to see how widespread the use of English is amongst speakers of German and speakers of Dutch. The extent of widespread use is relevant in drawing conclusions about the general perceived norms. The second sub-question is formulated as follows: *how widespread is the use of English in communication between strangers amongst different types of speakers?*

This research project compares data from Germany and the Netherlands. Though English has a prestigious status in both countries, there are differences in the societal position of English. In the Netherlands, English has become a considerable part of communication in different domains, including media and education (Edwards, 2016). Overall, the Netherlands can be considered to have English as a Second Language (ESL) status. This status entails that bilingualism is widespread and English is used both at an international and an intranational level. In Germany, English is "not a widespread second language but traditionally considered a foreign language" (Androutsopoulos, 2012, p. 209). English is mostly used as a complementary code "on top of" the national language, rather than as a fully-fledged second language. More generally, all switching behaviour is influenced by social factors, both at the interpersonal level and at the community level (Deuchar, 2020; Myers-Scotton, 1993). Accordingly, the differences in societal positions of English in Germany and the Netherlands (i.e. by whom and in what domains English is used) are likely to influence speakers' perceived norms on codeswitching. Hence, the codeswitching behaviour of German and Dutch speakers will be compared to each other, with the aim to answer the third sub-question: *considering the difference in the societal positions of English, do speakers of German and speakers of Dutch differ in codeswitching behaviour when communicating with a stranger?*

In researching communication between strangers, special attention will be drawn to whether speakers accommodate their speech to their date. Accommodation Theory (Coupland, 2010) states that speakers adjust their linguistic output in accordance to their conversational partner. Speakers may adjust their behaviour to be more similar to their date in order to reduce social distance (convergence) Alternatively, speakers may adjust their behaviour to deviate from their date in order to increase distance between them and their partner (divergence). In the *First Dates* programme, participants are on a date with the goal to get to know each other and determine whether they want to have a second date. Thus, they may show converging accommodation in order to reduce distance when they want to see each other again; and diverging accommodation in order to create distance when they are not interested in each other. Including this feature into the scope provides insight into functions of codeswitching: it examines whether speakers adapt their switching to their partner in order to moderate distance between them and their date. The fourth sub-question aims to investigate accommodation: *do speakers moderate their use of English to their partner's use in order to increase or reduce social distance*?

1.2 Structure of the thesis

In order to closely examine the position of English in German and Dutch social domains, Chapter 2 covers the background of the use of English in Germany and the Netherlands. Chapter 3 gives an overview of the previous literature on German-English codeswitching, Dutch-English codeswitching and accommodation. Chapter 4 describes how the codeswitching data was gathered from the *First Dates* episodes. It specifies the sociolinguistic characteristics of the participants and the

categorizations of the codeswitches, as well as the accommodation measure. In Chapter 5, the results of the analysis are presented while drawing comparisons between the German and Dutch speakers' codeswitching behaviour. This chapter is divided in sections which cover the structural nature of switching, semantic and sociolinguistic considerations and interactional implications of codeswitching, Lastly, the discussion follows in Chapter 6, which relates the findings to community norms on switching; outlines the widespread use of codeswitching; and describes the functional character of German-English and Dutch-English codeswitching.

2 Background

The aim of this study is to investigate codeswitching behaviour in relation to speakers' perceived norms regarding German-English and Dutch-English codeswitching. Therefore, it is useful to discuss bilingualism and the position of English in Germany and the Netherlands. This chapter provides the backgrounds of English in these countries (i.e. by whom and in what domains English is used) with the aim to determine the influence of English on German and Dutch communities. Besides, the *First Dates* dataset provides no information on the speakers' language proficiency for either German, Dutch or English. This is a complication when researching the participants' codeswitching behaviour, as it is not certain to what extent the speakers have command of the languages they use (and mix). So, this chapter reviews the degree of bilingualism in Germany and the Netherlands in order to paint a picture of the participants' background as inhabitants of Germany or the Netherlands. Throughout the chapter, hypotheses regarding the research questions are formulated based on the language situation in the two countries.

2.1 Language status

Language status is the starting point in examining the position of the English language in Germany and the Netherlands. The status of English in a non-native English speaking country can pertain to English as a Foreign Language (EFL) or English as a Second Language (ESL). Edwards (2016) defines two main conditions for distinguishing between ESL and EFL. Firstly, in ESL countries, English is used by large parts of the population, whereas in EFL countries, English is used by elite groupings in specific contexts. Secondly, for an ESL status, English should have expanded functions: it is used in different domains (education, media, etc.) and serves expressive and identity construction purposes. For an EFL status, English is merely used as a lingua franca in order to communicate with people who do not speak the native language. Edwards argues that the Netherlands meets the two requirements for ESL: English is used by many speakers in a large number of contexts, e.g. Dutch companies use English as an intranational working language. Furthermore, English has many purposes besides communication with non-Dutch speakers. For example, artists in the Dutch music scene use English for greater flexibility with lyrics and rhymes.

For Germany, this distinction between EFL and ESL status is inconclusive. Among other researchers, Hilgendorf (2005) claims that Germany might be changing from an EFL to an ESL status because the German government supports institutionalization of English and German-English bilingualism is increasing. However, Kautzsch (2014) notes that there is no empirical evidence to back this up. Kautzsch points out that, though being able to speak English is highly valued in Germany, most speakers have no need for using English in every-day life. Likewise, Androutsopoulos (2012) remarks that English is not a widespread second language, but rather a foreign language, because it has no official status in Germany. Rather, it is used as a complementary code "on top of" German, which is an indication of truncated (or incomplete) bilingualism. However, Androutsopoulos also concludes that in German mediascapes, embedded English is used to index the modern connotations of English. This would serve an intranational expressive function, which falls under the expanded functions of English in an ESL country. More generally, the EFL/ESL categorization is not fit for the entire population of

Germany: for instance, German students use English to express global identities, yet bilingualism is not widespread amongst all speakers of German (Erling, 2004). Kautzsch (2014, p. 224) concludes that Germany is not easily placed on the ESL/EFL distinction, as these terms are "too static" to effectively apply to language situations in a globalized world[2]. Thus, this distinction may not adequately represent the language situation for either Germany or the Netherlands.

A closer indication of the language situation can be provided by the Education First English Proficiency Index (EF EPI)[3]. This index is a worldwide ranking of non-native English speaking countries and their inhabitants' proficiency in English, based on the results of language placement tests. According to the EF EPI, Germany is in the eighth position with "very high proficiency" and the Netherlands ranks first place worldwide, also with "very high proficiency". However, the EF EPI is based on data from relatively young speakers: the median age of respondents is 26 years. Likewise, the creators indicate that it has a bias toward respondents who are pursuing language skills[4], so it must be taken into account that the EF EPI does not represent all speakers in its statistics. In addition to this, though Germany is ranked below the Netherlands, they have the same proficiency level, which does not leave much room for comparison. So, it is more informative to discuss the two main forces that drive language acquisition: the acquisition and value of English in educational and institutional settings, referred to as "English from above"; and the acquisition and value of English in leisure time and popular culture, referred to as "English from below" (Preisler, 2003). The setting of English in education and occupation, as well as the setting of English in various cultural mediums will be described in the following two sections.

2.2 Education and occupation

In German schools, English is the most intensively taught foreign language. In fact, it is "impossible to go through the German educational system without coming into contact with English at all" (Stefanowitsch, 2002, p. 75). English lessons typically start in primary school and most kindergartens, schools and universities offer courses in English (Kautzsch, 2014). However, the main language of instruction is German – with the exception of a few bilingual programmes – and the number of programmes that offer English-only education is marginal. As a result of the focus on English in German education, a high percentage of Germans has a reasonable command of English, but there are few social environments in which speakers actually use English in daily life (Stefanowitsch, 2002). Moreover, the focus on English language education has emerged only recently; for example, English language lessons have become compulsory in primary schools in 2004 (Grau, 2009). Accordingly, the high rate of speakers learning English in school only applies to younger Germans, and the command of English is likely to be lower for older generations (Hofmann, 2002).

Similar to the Germans, the number of Dutch people that have no knowledge of English is decreasing heavily, as English is now a core course in primary school, secondary school and higher education

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[2] Other researchers also report that the distinction between ESL and EFL can be "rather hazy". For instance, linguistic innovations in ESL varieties closely resemble common linguistic errors in EFL countries (Buschfeld, 2011, p. 102).
[3] http://www.ef.nl/epi/
[4] See https://www.ef.nl/epi/about-epi/

(Edwards, 2016). Special bilingual programmes are also on the rise in the Netherlands. One difference between Germany and the Netherlands is that a large part of Dutch higher education has adapted to English as the main language of instruction, resulting in *verengelsing* ("Englishization") of many programmes. Again, these developments are all relatively recent; for instance, the *verengelsing* of certain Dutch universities took place in 2020 (Van Soest, 2020). All in all, the proficiency levels of English vary highly amongst the Dutch population: they range "from nativelike to (…) *Steenkolenengels*" (literally: "coal English"), which is a derogatory term used for Dutchified and inadequate English (Edwards, 2016, p. 26).

In terms of occupation, the ability to speak English has become a basic job requirement for the Dutch and sometimes job vacancies even explicitly state that there is no Dutch proficiency required (Berns, de Bot and Hasebrink, 2007). Though it is not an official language of the Netherlands, many companies use English as the primary working language. For instance, it is not rare for business meetings to be held in English, even when all members present speak Dutch (Van der Zwan, Aukema, Coppen, de Jong & Smulders, 2009). Similar evidence of the heavy use of English in an occupational context is missing for Germany. However, one similarity arises between Germany and the Netherlands, namely that in both countries, job titles are often in English (e.g. *manager*, *sales executive*) because they are perceived as prestigious (Seitz, 2008; Edwards, 2016).

Above, the position of the English language in German and Dutch educational and occupational contexts was discussed. In researching German and Dutch speakers, it is likely that there is variation in speakers' proficiency due to differences in the position of language learning between countries, as well as due to individual differences in the level of education (Grau, 2009). According to Edwards (2016), the use of English in the Netherlands is mostly attributed to higher-educated members of society. So, it seems likely that higher-educated speakers are more likely to codeswitch more frequently than lower-educated speakers. In order to confirm or refute this hypothesis, this study will investigate whether there are differences in codeswitching behaviour between speakers with higher and lower levels of education. Hence, social class as a proxy of educational level will be taken into account in researching what types of speakers use German-English and Dutch-English codeswitching. Moreover, it was mentioned that older speakers of German have likely had less exposure to English in educational context. In order to explore whether English is used by speakers of all ages, age is included as a speaker characteristic in this study.

2.3 Media and culture

In distinguishing between "English from above" and "English from below", the sociolinguistic forces on the acquisition and use of English through media should not be ignored (Preisler, 2003). For instance, Berns, de Bot and Hasebrink (2007) note that Dutch and German teenagers' main sources of contact with English is through media. Therefore, it is important to consider the presence of English in cultural domains, such as TV programmes, books, music, and advertisement.

On German TV, most foreign programmes and films are dubbed, which means that the original vocal track is removed and replaced with one in the native language. The music channels MTV and VIVA are exceptions to the German dubbing culture; they provide "a rare source of spoken English on German

TV" (Grau, 2009, p. 166). German translations of popular films and books are widely available, as the German-speaking public in Germany, Switzerland and Austria provide a lucrative market for German translations. The ubiquity of translations is not the case for all countries in Europe, including the Netherlands. On Dutch TV, foreign programmes and films almost uniformly receive subtitles, maintaining the original English speech (Berns, de Bot & Hasebrink, 2007). Aside from full German translations of English books, there is heavy use of English vocabulary in German printed texts such as newspapers and magazines (Stefanowitsch, 2002). Similarly, English terms are used quite often in Dutch newspapers and magazines; occasionally, even entire English passages are included without a translation (Edwards, 2016). So, there is less exposure to English on German TV as opposed to Dutch TV, but English elements occur in printed texts in both countries.

In terms of music, many German speakers occasionally listen to English-language music, though the Dutch listen to songs in English primarily (Berns, de Bot & Hasebrink, 2007). So, Dutch speakers presumably have more exposure to English in terms of music lyrics. Interestingly, though music lyrics provide exposure to English, German speakers do not typically process the lyrics content-wise (Stefanowitsch, 2002). Besides the fact that speakers listen to songs that are fully in English, many German songs contain a large amount of embedded English, for example in (a). Here, the first three lyric lines in the chorus contain elements from English (e.g. *Cops*, *snobs*). Similarly, Dutch artists use English to have more freedom in lyrics and rhyme [5] (Edwards, 2016). For instance, (b) shows a mix of Dutch and English in single sentences, such as *wijffie outta town*, and this phrase rhymes with other English words (*frown*, *clown*). These examples show that speakers may receive exposure to German-English and Dutch-English codeswitching in media (see 3.5 and 3.5 for other studies on German-English and Dutch-English codeswitching).

(a)	*Im Drecksladen chin-check*	"In this shit town chin check"
	Fick cops, pack' die SIM weg [6]	"Fuck cops, take the SIM away"
	RIP snobs, Ratten links, rechts	"[Rest In Peace] snobs, rats left right"
	hip-hop-patte stimmt, schmeckt	"Hip hop flap is right, tastes good"

(Haze & Cashmo, 2020, "Chin Check")

(b)	*Glaasje rood open*	"Bottle of red [wine] open"
	Omdat het toch niks wordt	"Cuz it's gonna be shit"
	Wijffie outta town	"Girlfriend out of town"
	Dus de make-up is een frown [6]	"So the makeup is a frown"
	Maar one man party	"But a one man party"
	Niks tears of a clown	"No tears of a clown"

(Faberyayo, 2020, "Solonaise")

[5] See also the Dutch artists Outerspaß who make German-language songs with Dutch jokes and English switches.
[6] Words that are underlined with a dotted line are established loans rather than codeswitching, see section 3.1.

The last cultural source of English in Germany and the Netherlands that is discussed here is advertisements. It was already remarked upon in the introduction that it is common for German and Dutch products or signs to contain English elements. There is heavy use of English vocabulary in slogans (e.g. *because you're worth it*), company names (*Just Eat Takeaway*), and product labels (*Purple Haze*), both in Germany (Schaefer, 2019; Stefanowitsch, 2002) and in the Netherlands (Gijsbers, Gerritsen, Korzilius, & van Meurs, 1998; Korzilius, Meurs, & Smakman, 2009). Various studies report that full comprehension of English elements in advertising is not always present in the German audience (Wetzler, 2006) or Dutch audience (Korzilius et al., 2009), but that seems to be unimportant to advertisement writers. The motivations of using English in advertising include the capturing of attention (Schaefer, 2019), the high prestige of English (Stefanowitsch, 2002) and – especially when addressing a young and educated audience – the desire to evoke an international and dynamic identity (Grau, 2009). So, even though not every person in the intended audience might understand English, it is used to great extent in advertising.

To conclude this section, the influence of English on cultural domains varies between Germany and the Netherlands. Stefanowitsch (2002) argues that the English language has limited function in German popular culture. Moreover, though most German speakers have no need to use English in domains other than education, German is often interspersed with English elements in several domains, such as in song lyrics and newspapers. On the other hand, English dominates Dutch pop culture. As a result of that, the Dutch have more exposure to English in the media such as television and music. Because the usage patterns of English in these countries vary, it seems probable that the codeswitching behaviour of German and Dutch speakers also differs. As Dutch speakers in general receive more exposure to English and speak English in more domains than German speakers, it is expected that Dutch speakers use items that are less insertable more often than German speakers. For instance, they would insert constituents that are more difficult to insert such as conjunctions more often, rather than single nouns only (see the insertability scales in 3.1). Other possible similarities and differences between German and Dutch speakers' codeswitching behaviour will be under close investigation in this study.

2.4 Attitudes towards English

Now that the language status and exposure to English have been described, attitudes towards English will be discussed (see 3.5 & 3.6 for the previous literature on German-English and Dutch-English codeswitching). Here, the aim is to represent the established norms regarding the use of English on a general level. This is of interest in researching German-English and Dutch-English in conversations between strangers: as speakers cannot reflect on norms of their CoP, they are likely to consult their perceived norms of using English on a broader scale.

This, there is heavy use of English vocabulary in the German and Dutch language. This prevalence of English is a result of the weak contact situation between English and German as well as English and Dutch. A weak contact situation entails that there is limited contact with native speakers; there is unidirectional influence of English on German and Dutch, but not vice versa; and the contact is mediated through mediums like television and internet (Peterson & Beers Fägersten, 2018). Because of this contact situation, there are various influences of English on the German and Dutch language

(Backus & Dorleijn, 2012)[7]. Gerwens (2017) remarks that German vocabulary has expanded as a result of English influence, especially in the domain of pop culture and business, while deeper grammatical structures remain unaffected. Gerwens argues that these English words are mostly used in order to communicate the new concepts that arise in a globalized world. There is also significant lexical influence of English on Dutch, especially words related to technology and cultural concepts (e.g. *friend zone*). Dutch speakers often attribute new meanings to English words, e.g. *smoking* for "dinner jacket" (Edwards, 2016; Gerritsen & Nickerson, 2004). Moreover, they convert the words to Dutch morphology or spelling, such as *snowboarden* for the verb "to snowboard" (Edwards, 2016). The latter also applies to English words in German, for example *Eishockey* for "ice hockey".

The alleged "intrusion" of English on German and Dutch is often criticized when deemed unnecessary (e.g. Krüger, 2015, Van der Zwan et al., 2009). A strong indication of this opinion can be observed in online databases that list unnecessary English expressions and suggestions for a German or Dutch alternative. See for instance the databases *1000 und weniger unnötige Anglizismen im Deutch* ("1000 and a few unnecessary anglicisms in German") and *2400x Liever Nederlands* ("2400 times Dutch preferred")[8]. The makers of these databases want to preserve German and Dutch and believe that the superfluous anglicisms "spoil" the recipient language. This standpoint is also taken by several academics. For instance, Heuermann argues that "German suffers from a kind of infectious disease, a raging Anglicitis" that has to be fought (2009, p. 293). Similarly, Dutch academics emphasize "the necessity of taking action against the major impact of English" (Van der Zwan et al., 2009, p. 18). Generally speaking, the German public discourse shows negative attitudes towards intrusion of English, the latter connected to concerns about foreign influences in Germany (Hilgendorf, 2005). This negative attitude is shared in letters to newspapers or blog posts, complaining that there is "too much English" in German (Krüger, 2015). The negative attitude is also present in Dutch discourse (Edwards, 2016, p. 59).

Interestingly, this negative orientation towards English is shared by a few members of CoPs in which codeswitching is generally deemed prestigious. This is the case for members of the German hip-hop community (Garley & Hockenmaier, 2012), speakers in German youth communities (Hilgendorf, 2005) and speakers in Dutch youth communities (De Decker & Vandekerckhove, 2012). For instance, De Decker and Vandekerckhove (2012, p. 322) quote a Dutch teenager saying they find it "childish" that peers use English "to make a point or pretend that they are smart". The members' negative attitudes indicate that it is not completely accepted to mix English and German or Dutch. In the introduction, it was mentioned that speakers will normally refrain from mixing languages, before they know their conversational partner thinks of it as acceptable (Gumperz, 1982). In other words, speakers are norm-orientated and aim for locally accepted speech. Yet, linguistic attitudes of community members do not necessarily match up with their linguistic behaviour, like in the CoPs mentioned above (Kachru, 1983). Given that there are negative opinions on the mixing of English and

[7] See Table 5.1 by Backus & Dorleijn (2012, p. 57) for an overview of diachronic and synchronic contact phenomena under language contact.
[8] https://www.i-diom.at/1000-und-weniger-unnoetige-anglizismen-im-deutschen/ (DE) by I-diom. https://www.tijdgeest.eu/docs/liever_Nederlands.docx (NL) by Stichting Nederlands.

German or Dutch, the question is whether speakers will use English elements when communicating with strangers.

In conclusion, there are mixed opinions regarding English: it is generally deemed a prestigious language in Germany and the Netherlands, which entails that there are positive attitudes towards using English. It was mentioned before that in Germany and the Netherlands, English is deemed important in educational contexts. Likewise, advertisement writers presuppose the appreciation of English from the intended audience. On the contrary, academics, journalists and CoP members share negative attitudes towards the prevalence of English. Though there is indirect but heavy influence of English on both German and Dutch, Dutch speakers generally receive more exposure to English than German speakers in cultural domains. In occupational contexts, English is used to a great extent in Dutch work environments, but this is not applicable to German work environments. This thesis compares German and Dutch speakers in order to see whether the differences in the position of English lead to different codeswitching behaviour. Naturally, the language attitudes may differ per speaker, so there is no doubt that differences between individuals within the German and Dutch speaker groups will be found. However, since the data provides a relatively large and diverse sample of speakers, tendencies in German-English and Dutch-English codeswitching when speaking to strangers are likely to arise.

3 Literature Review

The previous chapter discussed the position of English in Germany and the Netherlands. This chapter provides a background on codeswitching and social motivations behind switching. It also reviews the literature on speakers' behaviour in initial interactions and in speech accommodation. Lastly, this chapter addresses previous studies on German-English and Dutch-English codeswitching. Like in Chapter 2, hypotheses regarding the sub-questions are put forward throughout the discussion of the different topics. Before considering codeswitching between members of a CoP beyond a specific community context, let us first look more closely at the phenomenon of codeswitching itself.

3.1 Codeswitching

In essence, every bilingual (that is, a sequential bilingual, a simultaneous bilingual or a second language learner) is able to switch codes. Both languages are simultaneously activated in a bilingual brain, which means that the speaker has access to linguistic representations from both languages (Kootstra, 2016). Due to this parallel activation, bilinguals can combine both resources in language production, switching from one activated linguistic system to another. In general, there are three types of codeswitching, see (c-e) below (Muysken, 2013).

(c) **alternation**, whereby speakers switch from one language to another, making use of both grammars and lexicons:
En toen zei ik van, ah I'm getting a divorce
"And then I said, ah I'm getting a divorce" (*FD,* Bernadien, 105)[9]

(d) **insertion**, whereby constituents from one language are embedded into another language, using the latter as a framework:
Ik lees vooral fantasy, maar niet high fantasy, maar meer contemporary modern fantasy
"I primarily read fantasy, not high fantasy, but rather contemporary modern fantasy"
(*FD,* Loes, 108)

(e) **congruent lexicalization**, which embodies a shared grammatical structure with input from both languages:
Bueno, in other words, el flight que sale de Chicago around three o'clock
"Good, in other words, the flight that leaves Chicago around three o'clock" (Pfaff, 1976)

The type of codeswitching depends on the degree of the speakers' bilingualism. For instance, congruent lexicalization is predominantly exhibited by speakers that have high competence in both languages. Generally, speakers can switch back and forth between languages within conversations and

[9] All excerpts from the *First Dates* dataset (*FD*) are referred to by the participant's name and the episode number (Appendix A).

within sentences. However, the mixing of languages is constrained by several structural principles; there are combinations of language elements that are ungrammatical and therefore unlikely (Belazi, Rubin & Toribio, 1994). Regarding the likelihood of switching certain constituents, Muysken raises three grammatical hierarchies for the insertability of an element in codeswitching: the insertability scales for word category, complexity and morphology are displayed in (f-h). Here, elements to the left are easy to insert and elements to the right are less easy to insert. The ellipses indicate that Muysken provides no further specification for other elements. The use of items that are less insertable is more frequent when monolingual norms have been relaxed (Muysken, 2013, p. 201).

(f) **word category**: nouns < adjectives < adverbs < verbs < adpositions < conjunctions < . . .

(g) **complexity**: stems < compounds < fixed phrases < modifier + head combinations < discontinuous idioms < . . .

(h) **morphology**: nominal plural < participle ending < derivational morphology < . . .

(Muysken, 2013, p. 199)

When discussing codeswitching, it is important to consider the debate on the distinction between codeswitching and borrowing. Commonly, the distinction is presented as follows: speakers can use established **borrowings** (or loan words) that are widespread in the language, which "share the characteristics of morphological and syntactic integration into the [recipient] language" (Sankoff, Poplack, & Vanniarajan, 1990, p. 71). So, loan words from the donor language are morphologically and syntactically integrated according to the grammar of the recipient language. For instance, verbs receive recipient-language inflections. An example of this is the German and Dutch verb *date**n***, which consists of an English stem "date" and a German or Dutch inflection *-n* for infinitives. On the other hand, there is the process of **codeswitching**. When bilinguals codeswitch, they alternate between language systems "so that the switches are integrated only momentarily and infrequently, and often extending beyond the individual lexical item to longer stretches of talk" (Hafez, 1996, p. 2). In codeswitching, the elements of the donor language maintain the characteristics of the donor language grammar (Poplack, 2017), though this position is disputed amongst researchers.

Various researchers describe a continuum between borrowing and codeswitching. For instance, Nortier and Schatz (1992) outline three stages between the two concepts, based on the switch's phonological and morphological integration. Likewise, Zenner, Speelman, and Geeraerts (2012) determine the "success" of codeswitched words becoming loan words: they measured to what extent English person reference nouns (i.e. nouns that refer to a person, like *ghostwriter*) are likely to be

adopted as loan in Dutch. Based on this perspective, codeswitches can turn into loans if they are used frequently in the recipient language [10].

However, Deuchar (2020) points out that making a distinction between borrowing and switching is not always feasible. Multi-word switches are easily classified as codeswitching because their internal syntax stems from the donor language. Single-word switches, on the other hand, are difficult to classify based on their integration into the recipient language. Phonological integration tends to vary between speakers within the same language pair (Toribio 2017, p. 217); and morphological integration is present in both loans and single-word codeswitches (Poplack & Dion, 2012). So, phonological and morphological integration are not decisive aspects in classifying single-word switches as codeswitches or borrowings. This classification problem also arises in compounds and fixed phrases, which are copied as a whole and inserted into the recipient language much like traditional loans (Zenner & Geeraerts, 2015).

Even if it were possible to make a conclusive distinction between switches and loans, this distinction is not always valuable when researching the use of other-language items. For instance, there are social motivations for speaker engaging in codeswitching (this will be discussed elaborately in the section below), but this is also the case for the use of loans. Zenner, Rosseel and Calude (2019) note that loans are not only used to fill a lexical gap. Rather, using loans is a "socially meaningful act, a contextual expression of self, social identify and language regard", as the speaker is motivated to alternate between the social attributes of the donor and recipient language (Zenner, Rosseel, & Calude, 2019, pp. 1–2). For example, Fägersten (2014) explains that speakers of Swedish make use of the differences in social implications between the donor and recipient language: speakers of Swedish use swear words borrowed from English, but not at the cost of native swear words, and with other functions than native alternatives (e.g. emphasising humour) [11]. So, both using loans and engaging in codeswitching are associated with the attributes of the donor language and both carry social meaning within conversation.

Because of the difficulties in distinguishing between the processes, some researchers acknowledge that making a distinction is not very effective and include all foreign language elements in their analysis (e.g. De Decker & Vandekerckhove, 2012). Likewise, in most research on English insertions in German, researchers investigate "anglicisms". This is a term that includes every element of English in German speech (Kovács, 2008). So, in those studies, no distinction is made between the two processes. Other research projects on codeswitching exclude phrases when they have an entry in the dictionary of the recipient language (Korzilius et al., 2009; Lønsmann, 2009; Zenner & Van De Mieroop, 2017). This exclusion is made under the assumption that if phrases are listed in the dictionary, they have been accepted into the language and can be considered fully-fledged loans. As both the act of borrowing and the act of codeswitching carry association with the donor language, making a distinction between the two processes was not of interest in this study. However, this study

[10] See also the "FUDGE scale" that predicts whether certain foreignisms are likely to be maintained and thus borrowed (Metcalf, 2004).
[11] The swear words are adopted into Swedish discourse and fairly standardized as Swedish media include them in public language (Fägersten, 2014).

did consider the distinction between items with an entry in the dictionary (listed) and items without an entry (non-listed) in the categorization of codeswitches. Generally, listed items are "accepted" into the language, whereas non-listed items are more marked to use in Dutch or German speech. This distinction incorporates the difference between whether the English word or phrase was either recorded in German or Dutch before, or stems directly from English.

In addition to including listedness as a categorization, this study considered the translation equivalence of the English elements used by speakers of German and Dutch. Translation equivalence involves whether the codeswitch can be directly translated to the recipient language or not, resembling the distinction between necessary loans and luxury loans respectively (Onysko and Winter-Froemel, 2011, p. 1551). When speakers use English terms in result of lexical need, the insertion of English is not a deliberate choice, because speakers are referring to specific objects or concepts that cannot be referred to otherwise. Hence, they use so-called "unintentional English" (De Decker & Vandekerckhove, 2012; Weger, 2016). On the other hand, speakers might use English elements that are optional and could be phrased differently, which often entails that (part of) the codeswitch could be said in the recipient language as well. In these cases, speakers use "intentional English" (De Decker & Vandekerckhove, 2012; Weger, 2016). The notion of translation equivalence is important to keep in mind, because cases of intentional English are telling in the pragmatical dimension of codeswitching: speakers use the donor language where their recipient language could suffice, so these speakers are intentionally using the social attributes of the donor language (Zenner, Rosseel, & Calude, 2019).

3.2 Social motivations

The section above mentioned that there are social motivations behind speakers' choice of codes. Essentially, codeswitching can occur in any type of interaction within a society where multiple languages co-exist (Wardhaugh & Fuller, 2015). However, the act of codeswitching is subject to considerations of normativity and style (Muysken, 2013, p. 199). Bilinguals make linguistic choices based on the expected community norms, which is a common set of rules on how to behave within social interactions. Naturally, communities are not a homogeneous group, and there is room for variation in attitudes and codeswitching behaviour between speakers (Finnis, 2014). However, there are general norms towards switching within a community. This means that the way that speakers' linguistic choices will be interpreted by their audience is not unrestricted, but speakers have an innate idea of either unmarked (expected) or marked (unexpected) linguistic choices with regard to the community consensus (Myers-Scotton, 1993). So, it is important to note here that the linguistic choices that speakers make are not shaped by the community norms towards codeswitching themselves. Rather, the choices are shaped by speakers' individual perceptions of social norms, that is, speakers' perceived norms (Myers-Scotton, 1993).

If the community norms towards codeswitching are perceived as positive, a speaker may freely opt to use multiple languages as a resource within conversations. Possible social motivations for the use of multiple languages include poetic creativity and the signalling of modernization or social advancement (Rezaei & Gheitanchian, 2008, p. 63-64). Another motivation is related to prestige: in communities in which there is a clear notion of prestige linked to one of the languages, this language

may be used to evoke its positive associations (Stefanowitsch, 2002, p. 79). Codeswitching may also be motivated by the act of in-group and out-group marking, whereby speakers use language choices to indicate boundaries between social groups. Garner-Chloros gives the following example of in-group marking: a Swiss shop assistant switches to Italian to identify herself with an Italian-speaking peer group (2012, p. 106). More generally, speakers strategically use language choices to negotiate interpersonal relationships; Myers-Scotton describes that "speakers use their linguistic choices as tools to index for others their perceptions of self, and of rights and obligations holding between self and others" (1993, p. 478).

Research on codeswitching between members of immigrant CoPs identifies codeswitching as a strategic choice of language as well. For instance, De Fina (2007) investigated members of an Italian card-playing society in the US that index their ethnicity within the community by means of codeswitching. In the members' speech, switches mark subtle contextual changes at the interactional level (e.g. speakers switch between languages when acknowledging another speaker's standpoint). The strategic use of language choice is also found in a youth association for Greek-Cypriots in the UK: Finnis (2014) reports that the members used codeswitching with several interactional functions, including signalling humour or directness. The author concludes that the members do not behave like a homogeneous group, but individuals use their native language to different extents, for different purposes and in different ways. In line with this, Panayiotou (2004) describes that bilinguals can meticulously navigate between their languages and pick the words that are most suitable to the situation. Generally, when the act of mixing languages falls within the community norms, speakers use codeswitching as a functional, meaningful use of linguistic resources to realize any possible communicative needs (Nguyen, 2013).

3.3 Codeswitching in initial interactions

In considering the specific setting in which persons do not know anything about each other, their language use is determined by speakers' ideas about broader social norms (Berger & Calabrese, 1975). In the first phase of the "transaction", as Berger and Calabrese call it, "communication behaviours are, in part, determined by a set of communication rules or norms" (1975, p. 99). Namely, in initial contact, speakers have to make predictions about their communication partner and select appropriate responses based on these predictions. Essentially, the speakers have zero common ground (i.e. shared history, see Clark 1996), so they have to draw on their own cultural knowledge when navigating between social meanings of language variants (Zenner et al., 2019) [12]. Their communication lacks the customs of a CoP whereby its members share practices such as values, ways of dressing or language use (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 1992).

Several studies remark on the presence of anxiety in interactions between strangers (Duronto, Nishida, & Nakayama, 2005; MacIntyre, 2019; Samochowiec & Florack, 2010). During the first interaction there are many unknown aspects about the conversational partner. Therefore, speakers are often inclined to interrogate each other on basic facts (like their occupation, hometown, etc.). This

[12] It could be that the *First Dates* participants are matched with someone they do not know but who belongs to the same community. However, as they are meeting for the first time, it is not a predefined fact that they have the same way of speaking and they still have to confirm shared values.

behaviour is attributed to the fact that speakers want to reduce uncertainty about the other person (Berger & Calabrese, 1975). As the interaction between strangers progresses, their linguistic behaviour changes. For instance, Lalljee and Cook (1973) investigated the course of filled pause rate and speech rate during initial contact. The fact that speakers use many filled pauses as well as the fact that speakers have a low speech rate are indications of high uncertainty. Lalljee and Cook found that as speakers' interactions progress, high filled pause rate decreased, while low speech rate increased[13]. So, both measures signalled the gradual reduction of uncertainty over time. In a later stage of the transaction, when individuals have interacted on several occasions and uncertainty towards the other person is reduced, the speakers advance to less socially constrained communication (Berger & Calabrese, 1975). So, in initial interactions, communication is heavily influenced by communication norms and speakers have to make predictions about their partner. Therefore, this setting is ideal for researching what strangers presuppose about their conversational partner in terms of codeswitching. Hence, investigating communication between strangers will point out what norms towards German-English and Dutch-English codeswitching are in force at a broader societal level.

3.4 Accommodation

In the context of a first interaction, the notion of accommodation is very relevant: speakers can use accommodation as a strategy for dealing with the uncertainty of not knowing whether and how they are being judged by their partner (MacIntyre, 2019). Therefore, it is important to consider accommodation as an influential social motivation behind speakers' linguistic choices. Accommodation is a concept within Audience Design, a sociolinguistic model that suggests that speakers shape their use of language while taking into account their audience (Bell, 1984). Accommodation Theory posits that speakers adapt their behaviour to their conversational partner's behaviour. Coupland (2010) proposes three strategies in accommodation:

(i) **convergence**: the speaker adjusts their behaviour to act more similarly to their partner, moving towards their partner to create commonalities.

(j) **divergence**: the speaker adjusts their behaviour to differ from their partner, emphasizing the differences between the individuals.

(k) **maintenance**: the speaker persists in their own original style, regardless of their partner's behaviour.

Individuals are free to apply these accommodation strategies in order to (either consciously or subconsciously) create, decrease or maintain social distance between their partner and themselves [14].

[13] Interestingly, bilingual speakers' speech rate is globally higher when they codeswitch as compared to when they produce monolingual speech (Johns & Steuck, 2021). This difference is attributed to effects of inhibition, whereby bilingual speakers have to restrict one of their languages in production.
[14] Beňuš et al. (2012) claim that accommodation happens at a subconscious level, but speakers might also consciously diverge in order to create distance.

Besides the fact that accommodation can manage social distance, accommodation also has social implications: converging speakers are more often positively evaluated by conversational partners than diverging speakers and the more the speaker converges, the more likely their partner is to converge in return (Giles, Taylor & Bourhis, 1973). Accordingly, Accommodation Theory can elaborate on social motivations behind speakers' linguistic behaviour (Nguyen, 2013).

Effects of accommodation have been found in various linguistic dimensions, such as speech-rate, segmental phonology and information density (Coupland, 2010). Codeswitching is one of these linguistic dimensions as well. For instance, accommodation in speech has an influence on the form of codeswitches: Kootstra, Van Hell and Dijkstra (2010) found that speakers syntactically align Dutch-English codeswitched sentences in describing pictures with a confederate who codeswitches. The effect of speech accommodation is also found in terms of the length of codeswitches: Lønsmann (2009) found that gamers mirrored the length of their partners' codeswitches [15]. More generally, the author notes that speakers' divergence from standard speech (for example through codeswitching) is used to differentiate social groups. Alternatively, accommodation can help explain the notion of reciprocal codeswitching in conversation, as speakers may mirror codeswitches with those of their interlocutor (Gardner-Chloros, 2012). An example of this is reported in a study by Zenner & Van De Mieroop (2017). They find that speakers attempt to bond with other participants by mirroring codeswitches and a lack of this mirroring marks the ongoing social isolation of one of the speakers. Interestingly, speakers' limited proficiency in one of the languages does not hinder accommodation in codeswitching (De Fina, 2007).

To conclude, previous literature reports that speakers show accommodation in the domain of codeswitching (Bawa, Choudhury & Bali, 2019; De Fina, 2007; Gardner-Chloros, 2012; Kootstra et al., 2010; Lønsmann, 2009; Zenner & Van De Mieroop, 2017). Overall, accommodation is used to manage social distance, i.e. decrease or increase social distance between speakers (Giles, Taylor & Bourhis, 1973). So, taking into account speech accommodation will provide us with more insight into the social functions of codeswitching. In the *First Dates* episodes, the speakers are on a date and are managing social distance between them and their date. Consequently, it is likely that speakers accommodate in codeswitching as a strategy for managing social distance between the date partners. More specifically, it is expected that pairs who want to go on a second date will mirror each other's codeswitching behaviour and that pairs who are not interested in each other will show divergence from their partner.

3.5 German-English codeswitching

Chapter 2 has already discussed the position of English in Germany and the Netherlands. In the last two sections of this chapter, I address previous literature on German-English and Dutch-English codeswitching. I only review research on these two language pairs. This is because the English language has a particular prestigious status in Germany and the Netherlands and so codeswitching between English and German or Dutch has different social consequences than using a stigmatized language besides Dutch or German. My aim here is to illustrate the extent of switching and

[15] Lønsmann mentions that "a long codeswitch from one informant typically is followed by a long codeswitch from another informant" (2009, p. 1146).

motivations behind the use of English specifically in German and Dutch communities. The codeswitching behaviour of speakers that interact with strangers will be compared to previous findings on codeswitching between members of communities in the discussion chapter.

Regarding the use of English elements in German, existing literature focuses on the analysis of anglicisms in written text (e.g. Coats, 2019; Kovács, 2008; Onysko, Callies, & Ogiermann, 2013). For instance, Knospe (2014) reports that codeswitches occur relatively frequently in the German newsmagazine *Der Spiegel* despite the fact that *Der Spiegel*'s target audience is native German. Knospe attributes this finding to the remote contact situation, whereby English and German are not in immediate contact, but the use of English is prominent in various media. A different study by Knospe (2007) investigated German press language around the FIFA World Cup. This study found intricate forms of language mixing between English and German (in relation to the earlier mentioned categorization in 3.1). For instance, the press language contained pseudo-anglicisms like the compound *Profikicker*. This word is based on the clipped *professional player* which is combined with the pseudo-anglicism *Kicker* ("football player") from the verb "to kick". A pseudo-anglicism is a word that looks like a word from English, but it does not actually occur in English in that meaning (Kovács, 2008). Knospe defines creative formations as imported linguistic material that is adapted to suit speakers' specific linguistic needs "irrespective of the usage in standard English" (Knospe, 2007, p. 140, footnote 2). In sum, this written text with an L1 German target audience contained various anglicisms and even creative usages thereof (e.g. pseudo-anglicisms).

In examining German printed mediascapes, Androutsopoulos (2012) introduces the notion of "English on top". Here, English is not only used for lexical borrowing, but as a strategic choice with the aim to communicate familiarity with transnational lifestyles. So, in written text, English-German codeswitching surpasses mere lexical borrowing. Rather, English is used pragmatically in discourse, for example for marking identity. A similar view comes from research on advertising on German TV by Piller (2001). They argue that the English elements are used to symbolize amongst other things modernity or to negotiate the voices of "narrator" and "narratee". So, this pragmatic use of English is extended to advertising. In addition to this, Schaefer (2019) finds that anglicisms occur frequently on German radio. Here, journalists use anglicisms as part of their daily working routine. Interestingly, Schaefer finds that comprehension of English elements is generally subordinate to other considerations such as word length.

In conversational contexts, German-English codeswitching is found in computer-mediated communication (CMC) between members of a CoP. For instance, a study on codeswitching in Swiss-German chat rooms found that the speakers switched between standard German and their local dialects, as well as English on some occasions (Siebenhaar, 2005). The phrases that were adopted from English were single-word instances such as *sorry*, *hello* and the acronym *CU* ("see you"). The English phrases were mostly used in greetings, quotations or usernames, therefore Siebenhaar concludes that they have limited function in these interactions.

Another instance of codeswitching between members of a CoP was examined by Garley and Hockenmaier (2012) on the hip-hop forum that was mentioned in the introduction. Contrary to

Siebenhaar's findings, the authors found various products of language-mixing. Speakers combined English stems with derivational and inflectional affixes (*batteln* from "to battle"), as well as compounds with one or more English parts (e.g. *möchtegerngangsterstyle*, "wannabe gangster style"). Garley and Hockenmaier find evidence for imitation of English: there is a correlation in the frequencies of the words used between English and German communities, but this correlation shows a two-year delay on behalf of the Germans as compared to the English community. So, common concepts arise in the English community and the German community mirrors these terms after two years [16]. Another study on the same forum focused on whether speakers merely imitate English-speaking hip-hop culture, or speakers rather innovate through glocalization, meaning that English terms are nativized to fit local (here: German) paradigms. Garley (2010) concludes that a case could be made for innovation, as borrowings are localized and nativized to fit German paradigms (e.g. adding German verbal inflection to English stems, such as the infinitive suffix *-en* to the stem "rap" in *rappen*). In this community, English is used as a means of negotiating community membership. Yet, the identity construction is not unambiguous, as the community fosters negative attitudes towards "crossing", i.e. switching into languages that are not thought to belong to the speaker.

The last German community discussed here that engages in codeswitching is the German youth community. Here, similar forms of mixing and motivations behind mixing arise as compared to the CoPs mentioned above. German teenagers integrate English words and phrases into German grammar, which is attributed to the exposure they receive in English-language music, on TV and on internet pages (Schlobinski, 1995). Androutsopoulos (2003) notes that German youths adopt English phrases in CMC. The author argues that this use of English is set in motion by the fact that speakers want to create their own variety and express their identity. Overall, German-English codeswitching is "associated with a young, fresh and progressive way of life" and is "often used by young people first before [it spreads] out into mainstream German usage" (Elsen, 2003, p. 268, as cited in Grau, 2009). Interestingly, Lønsmann (2009) draws the same conclusion in researching spoken codeswitching by young gamer Danes; Lønsmann notes that, initially, subculture groups use codeswitching as an resource to express themselves and this use of codeswitching later spreads to bigger communities.

As illustrated above, most research on German-English codeswitching has focused on either codeswitching in written texts with a broad audience, or computer-mediated codeswitching within specific CoPs. Thus, there seems to be a lack of research on German-English codeswitching in spoken conversation. Barasa (2016) points out that codeswitching in mediated contexts contains discourse features that are specific to CMC (e.g. speakers use shorter expressions in another language in order to save limited space). Therefore, Barasa argues, codeswitching in CMC should be viewed as a distinct entity from spoken codeswitching. In addition to this, as was mentioned in the introduction, community norms are of influence in codeswitching behaviour. Thus, codeswitching behaviour in conversations between strangers is likely to vary in form or function from codeswitching behaviour between members of a CoP. This study aims to fill the gap in research on German-English

[16] This validates the stereotype that Germans are perfectly normal people, yet on a slight delay compared to the rest of the world.

codeswitching in spoken contexts, more specifically between strangers who communicate without having specific CoP norms to reflect on.

3.6 Dutch-English codeswitching

Above, it was illustrated how German-English codeswitching is used creatively, i.e. speakers adapt English elements that result in new expressions that do not exist in standard English. In addition to this, codeswitching surpasses semantic considerations and is used pragmatically with some kind of interactional purpose. These phenomena are found in written texts as well as in communication amongst members of CoPs. The use of Dutch-English codeswitching shows remarkable similarities to features of German-English codeswitching. For instance, English elements are also heavily used by Dutch advertisement writers (cf. Piller, 2001). They use English for boosting attractiveness of the product, as English is associated with prestige. Korzelius, Meurs and Smakman (2009) report that more than a third of all radio advertisements they investigated used at least one English element. The authors find that the target audience does not always comprehend the English elements (cf. Schaefer, 2019, on English in German advertising). They also report that appreciation of products did not increase for commercials that used English.

The identity marking by means of codeswitching that was observed in the German hip-hop community, is found in the Dutch gay community in the Netherlands. Vriesendorp and Rutten (2017) examined codeswitching behaviour in chats between friends within a Dutch gay CoP. They found that speakers adopt idiomatic phrases, but also creatively interact with English elements: they make puns and use Dutchified spelling. Vriesendorp and Rutten explain that the members use codeswitching in order to construct their identity and their membership of the gay community. Codeswitching aids the construction of identity: this CoP has positive norms towards Dutch-English codeswitching, as speakers want to associate themselves with English-speaking gay icons.

As is the case in German-English codeswitching, adolescents engage in Dutch-English codeswitching in an online context. De Decker and Vandekerckhove (2012) investigated codeswitching in the chatspeak of adolescents[17]. They found that 13% of all posts contained at least one English lexeme, with a majority of one-word switches. The authors note that this abundance of single-word insertions is an indication that the speakers' proficiency should not be overestimated, as more proficient speakers are more likely to produce longer or less insertable switches. Moreover, most switches pertained to the word categories 'exclamations' and 'interjections' (e.g. *fuck*, *damn*). The members' multi-word switches closely resemble existing idioms in English (like *who gives a shit*), which hints at switching based on imitation[18]. Though most switches are embedded into a Dutch utterance unadapted, the speakers in some cases use English in a creative way: their switches are glocalized (i.e.

[17] The study by De Decker and Vanderkerckhove (2012) is based on Flemish youth (from Belgium) rather than Dutch youth (fromthe Netherlands). However, the language situation of English is comparable across these two groups (Zenner & Geeraerts, 2015).

[18] Yet, cases of trans-languaging are also present in Dutch online contexts, whereby multilingual speakers use all their languages as an integrated communication system. For example, the hybrid expression *beste X ever* ('best X ever') is used alongside the English variant, which indicates both matter and pattern replication (Zenner, Heylen, & Van de Velde, 2018).

nativized to fit native language paradigms) and contain deviations from English grammar. For example, they combine English stems with a Dutch diminutive suffix (e.g. *aceje*, "small ace") and "Dutchify" spelling of English words (*olraajt* for "alright"). Interestingly, the authors found that switching also occurs without any functional motivations. De Decker and Vandekerckhove point out that glocalization and linguistic creativity are used by speakers in order to add a personal touch to their speech: members of the youth CoP distinguish themselves from people outside of the community through codeswitching.

Similar to De Decker and Vandekerckhove, Weger (2016) also found inventive cases of Dutch-English codeswitching and integration with Dutch grammar amongst members of a Dutch teenage chat corpus. They report that roughly 3% of the words in their corpus consist of English elements, again mostly single-word switches. Most of the speakers' switches were used to express emotions. The authors attribute the high amount of codeswitching to the prestige status of English in the Netherlands, as well as to the boost of expressivity that is enabled by codeswitching. This boost is facilitated by the fact that speakers can draw on the connotations of both languages and can combine the languages to create (partially) new expressions. So, in youth communities, Dutch-English codeswitching is used creatively and speakers engage in codeswitching in order to mark in-group behaviour or to boost expressivity.

It was stated earlier that there is little research on German-English codeswitching in spoken language. On the contrary, Dutch-English codeswitching in spontaneous speech has been investigated in Dutch reality TV programmes. Zenner & Geeraerts (2015) investigated the multi-word insertions in the Belgian-Dutch programme *Expeditie Robinson*. They examined to what extent English multi-word insertions are fixed. Fixed insertions mean that they are conventionalized phrases which are copied from English as a whole. Comparable to the studies on chat conversations, the majority of English inclusions were single-word insertions: roughly 70%. The authors conclude that multi-word insertions are typically fixed expressions; the occurrence of expressions with open slots, or codeswitches that involve free switching regardless of English patterns, are very rare in their data set. Another study on *Expeditie Robinson* investigated Dutch-English codeswitching with an interactional sociolinguistic approach (Zenner & Van De Mieroop, 2017). In this study, Zenner and Van De Mieroop find that two participants "form an ingroup with its own discursive norms, including the regular use of English items" (2017, p. 77). Interestingly, when the participants are separated from each other, their use of English decreases. This suggests that the speakers' use of English depends on with whom they are communicating. Zenner and Van De Mieroop also find that a third participant frequently uses English as well, but the participant's code rather marks social isolation than social cohesion. This fluid social meaning of using English is in line with Finnis' conclusion (2014) that communities are not a homogeneous entity, but display variation in codeswitching behaviour and its social meaning. Hence, it is important to keep in mind that the speakers in the *First Dates* dataset are by no means a homogenous group, so they are likely to vary in codeswitching behaviour and motivations, too.

In researching German and Dutch speakers' codeswitching behaviour, it is expected that participants will mostly use insertion of English, in accordance with the findings of the studies mentioned above. Regarding the form of the codeswitches, researchers find a majority of single-word switches (De

Decker & Vandekerckhove, 2012; Garley, 2010; Garley & Hockenmaier, 2012; Siebenhaar, 2005; Vriesendorp & Rutten, 2017; Weger, 2016). Therefore, this is likely to occur in *First Dates* as well. With the exception of "empty" insertions in the Swiss-German chat conversations (Siebenhaar, 2005) and the fixed constructions used on Dutch TV (Zenner & Geeraerts, 2015), these studies also report on creative interaction with English elements (i.e. speakers create new expressions that do not exist in standard English), such as morphological integration, puns and alternative spelling. Thus, it is expected that the speakers in *First Dates* will use English creatively to a certain degree, conforming to the creative codeswitching as found in CoPs.

One of the aims of this study is to investigate whether specific types of speakers use English. I do not expect any differences between gender, as in previous studies codeswitching behaviour and gender were not correlated in any direct way (Gardner-Chloros, 2012). However, Gardner-Chloros (2012) notes that codeswitching intersects with variables that intervene with gender-related topics. Vriesendorp and Rutten (2017) identified the use of English to be a feature of the gay community in the Netherlands. Therefore, it is likely that gay participants codeswitch more frequently than heterosexual speakers. So in examining what type of speakers engage in codeswitching, sexuality will be investigated. I also predict that young speakers will codeswitch more frequently as compared to older speakers, since German and Dutch adolescents use codeswitching to a high extent (Androutsopoulos, 2003; De Decker & Vandekerckhove, 2012; Grau, 2009; Weger, 2016). Although the programme has no teenage speakers, the factor of age will be tested in relation to codeswitching frequency (as was mentioned in 2.2).

Though all German and Dutch speakers have access to English-language sources through media, another factor that might be at play in codeswitching behaviour is their place of residence. Taking into account speakers' place of residence, besides the speakers' country of residence, reflects an aspect of the speakers' social environment (parallel to the factor of speakers' social class or age). Lucht, Frey and Salmons (2011) report that there is a more rapid language shift in urban environments than in rural communities. This difference is attributed to the fact that urban environments have richer networks of speakers and more variety in language behaviour, whereas rural community speakers value minority languages or dialects more (Turcanu, 2012). It is important to keep in mind that the boundary between urban and rural speech is a continuum rather than a sharp border (Dejmek, 1987). Yet, speakers who live in an urban area come into contact with many diverse speakers and speakers from rural areas have closer community ties at a local level (Cornips, de Rooij, & Smakman, 2017; Turcanu, 2012). Though all speakers have access to English-language sources, speakers from an urban environment may come into contact with English-language communication more often. Therefore, urban speakers are likely more inclined to codeswitch often than speakers from rural areas. Urbanity of the speakers' place of residence will be examined as a variable in this study.

4 Methodology

The previous chapter provided an overview of the literature on codeswitching in general and on German-English and Dutch-English codeswitching specifically. It also discussed social motivations behind codeswitching, as well as speakers' behaviour in initial interactions and in speech accommodation. The aim of this study is to explore to what extent German and Dutch speakers use codeswitching in conversations with a stranger. For this purpose, the codeswitching behaviour of the participants in the German and Dutch version of the TV programme *First Dates* was examined. This chapter describes the dataset and the participants of the selected episodes. Subsequently, the chapter elaborates upon the processes of determining and categorizing the codeswitches. The last section of the chapter defines the measure for accommodation in codeswitching.

4.1 Dataset

The dataset consisted of codeswitches gathered from ten episodes of the German *First Dates: Ein Tisch für Zwei* (broadcaster: VOX) and ten episodes of the Dutch *First Dates* (broadcaster: BNNVARA) [19]. The Dutch episodes were the most recent material at the time of data collection, which aired around September 2020. The German episodes aired in the second half of September. Since the episodes were the most recent subsequent episodes, it is presumed that this dataset is representative of the programme and that a different selection of episodes would yield the same results. An overview of the selected episodes and their airdates can be found in Appendix A.

The main benefit of using this data is that there is no previously established common ground between the participants, as they are meeting for the first time. In addition to this, the participants come from a great variety of social environments, differing in professions, age groups and places of residence. This wide pool of speakers is useful in investigating what kinds of speakers engage in codeswitching when communicating with a stranger. On the other hand, the data stems from reality TV programmes. In using TV programmes as data, it is important to consider the nature of the language use, such as that the programme contains non-scripted speech. Personal correspondence with the production team of *First Dates* (NL) confirmed that the dialogues are non-scripted[20]. The German production team did not respond to the request to confirm that the programme is non-scripted. However, as the programmes follow exactly the same format, it is presumed to be the case for *First Dates: Ein Tisch für Zwei* as well. In follow-up interviews, candidates from past episodes have accused the makers of intentional mis-matchmaking [21]. Nevertheless, participants indicated that "nothing about [*First Dates*] is fake" and "the conversations you have with each other are real" [21]. A complication that must be taken into account when analysing language use in TV programmes is that the programme material

[19] Accessed via https://www.tvnow.de/shows/first-dates (DE) and https://www.npostart.nl/first-dates/BNN_101378960 (NL).
[20] Josephine van Rhijn, member of the production team, communicated that the dialogues in the programme are entirely unscripted via firstdates@bnnvara.nl.
[21] https://www.extratipp.com/fanbase/first-dates-schock-alles-fake-vox-zwei-kandidaten-packen-erzaehlen-geheimnisse-roland-trettl-zr-9909418.html
and https://www.superguide.nl/nieuws/hoe-misleidend-is-first-dates-tv?utm_medium=Social&utm_source=Facebook#Echobox=1603287833

has been edited (Zenner & Van De Mieroop, 2017). Thus, it is unknown whether the order of the scenes is the actual order in which the events happen, and it is unknown what happens between aired scenes.

Despite the general similarities, there is a slight difference in the programmes' setting: the Dutch season shows dates that are socially distanced (i.e. the dates keep their distance and there are plastic separation screens between them) [22], whereas the German season was presumably filmed earlier and shows dates without participants keeping their distance. Other than that, the programmes follow the same structure. Viewers follow a number of couples that have a blind date on camera. The couples are matched on pastime interests, preference for their date's characteristics, etc. The date takes place in a restaurant and viewers see the participants interacting with their date, as well as with the restaurant staff. In addition to these casual conversations, the candidates are asked several questions beforehand and afterwards in a confessional setting, i.e. a secluded area with a camera and a producer. After the date, the couple appears in the confessional together – the so-called "moment of truth" – and are asked whether they want to see each other again.

4.2 Participants

Overall, a total of 173 daters were included in the dataset. The Dutch episodes contained more speakers than the German ones: 74 speakers from Germany and 99 from the Netherlands. Likewise, the total amount of time the speakers spent on screen differed. The speaking time counted the time when the speaker was talking or listening to either their date, one of the staff members or the camera. German speakers had around 535 minutes speaking time in total and this number was just below 700 for the Dutch speakers [23]. Still, the average number of minutes speaking time per participant is just above 7 for both German and Dutch speakers. So, the broadcast material of participants is comparable across the German and Dutch version.

In the episodes, each speaker is introduced alongside their name, age and profession, see Figure 4.1. In the German version of the programme, they also show the speaker's place of residence. In the Dutch version, this information is not given by default. However, the place of residence is mentioned in conversations with the staff or date in around 60% of the cases. These cases were included in the data. The paragraphs below discuss these social characteristics. See Appendices C and D for an overview of the coding and examples of coding for the social characteristics.

[22] Because of the regulations surrounding the COVID-19 virus, persons from different households had to keep 1.5 meters distance from each other.
[23] This difference is explained by the fact that the Dutch episodes are slightly longer and the German episodes show a lot of footage of food being prepared.

Figure 4.1: Still of the introduction of Erix, a 39 year-old event organizer from episode 101

The participants were divided into age groups ranging between 18-30, 30-45 and 45-90 for further analysis. The choice for age groups was made because it is less likely that there are linear effects of age in codeswitching frequency, e.g. between a 19 and 20 year-old, than effects between speakers from different generations. The age groups were established based on the fact that each group had sufficient participants across age group and country (at least 20 speakers), so that statistical analysis could be performed on this variable. Hence, the wide age range in the third group was not divided up further so that the group would be roughly comparable to the other two age groups in number of participants. The mean age and age range is displayed in Table 4.1 (page 34). See Appendix B for the distribution of participants in age groups.

The gender of the participants was assumed on the basis of the pronouns used by the voice-over. For the German participants, the percentage of female speakers was 46% and for the Dutch participants 41% (Table 4.1). The sexual orientation of the participant was – by lack of other indications – based solely on the kind of date the person had in the programme. So, participant's sexual orientation was simplified as homosexual or heterosexual. The participant's orientation could in reality deviate from this; for instance, if a participant is bisexual and on a date with someone from the same sex, this then was classified as homosexual. For the German participants, 87% of the speakers was heterosexual and for the Dutch participants 81% (Table 4.1).

In examining social classes of the speakers, their profession was used as a proxy for social class. As it was difficult to make a more precise distinction based on the information given, the three-way social class stratification from Wardhaugh and Fuller (2015, p. 153) was applied, see (l-m).

(l) lower class: manual or unskilled labourers;
(m) middle class: schooled or skilled workers; and
(n) higher class: university-educated workers.

In unclear cases, information about the profession was looked up [24]. Some of the contestants' introductions provided the speaker's enrolment in a certain educational programme; in those cases they were categorized according to their current education. For example, a student of architecture was classified as if they had completed their studies and thus would fit the third class. Altogether, 28% of the German speakers were from lower class, 57% from middle class and 12% from higher class. For the Dutch speakers, 39% of the speakers were from lower class, 47% from middle class and 12% from higher class. In cases in which the profession did not give an indication of education, such as a German *Privatier* ("man of independent means") or a volunteer, these accounts were recorded as non-categorizable data (2.5% for the German version and 2.0% for the Dutch, see Table 4.1).

In order to investigate whether switching behaviour differs between speakers from rural or urban areas, the decision was made to classify the participants' place of residence in terms of urbanity. The degree of urbanisation (DEGURBA) classification defines a city in Europe as an urbanized area when it has a population of more than 50,000 inhabitants. Moreover, DEGURBA recommends the distinction between populations of 50,000 and 100,000 inhabitants (Dijkstra & Poelman, 2014). Based on this classification, a three-fold distinction was made for urbanity, see (o-q) below.

(o) urban: a large city with more than 100,000 inhabitants;
(p) intermediate: a city with between 100,000 and 50,000 inhabitants; and
(q) rural: smaller towns with under 50,000 inhabitants.

For the number of inhabitants, the German *Statistische Landesamt* from 2019 and 2020 was consulted per *Bundesland* [25]. 42% of the German speakers were from an urban area, 11% from intermediate and 47% from a rural area (see Table 4.1). For Dutch speakers, the Dutch databank of the *Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek* from 2020 was consulted [26]. 31% of the Dutch speakers were from an urban area, 12% from intermediate and 20 from a rural area. As mentioned above, some of the datapoints for urbanity are missing for speakers of Dutch. This is the case for 36% of the participants ("Urbanity: missing" in Table 4.1).

In principle, all participants in the programme were included in the analysis, unless speakers were non-native in German or Dutch. The reason for this was that non-native speakers would be more likely to switch to English when they have trouble retrieving the word in Dutch or German (Lipski, 2016, p. 157). Non-native speakers indeed codeswitched to English (functioning as lingua franca) when they did not know the word in German or Dutch. Four speakers from Germany and one from the Netherlands were excluded from the dataset. Another reason for exclusion was that a German couple

[24] e.g. https://www.ausbildung.de
[25] The information is listed separately per *Bundesland* (province), e.g. https://www.statistik-bw.de/BevoelkGebiet/GebietFlaeche/ and https://www.it.nrw/statistik/gesellschaft-und-staat/gebiet-und-bevoelkerung/gebiet.
[26] https://www.cbs.nl/nl-nl/maatwerk/2020/11/voorlopige-bevolkingsaantallen-1-1-2020.

had already met each other [27]. As they are not strangers to each other, they do not qualify for this study. Moreover, the utterances of staff members were excluded in the main data analysis, since there is no information provided on their social background. Yet, what staff members said to participants was taken into account as context of switches and in repetition by the participants. Moreover, though they contained codeswitches, utterances from the voice-over that narrates the programme were excluded, because this is scripted text rather than naturalistic speech.

Table 4.1: Overview of speakers' details per version

	German		**Dutch**	
Number of speakers	74		99	
Total speaking time (minutes)	535		699	
Mean age	34.1		37.1	
Age range	18 - 57		19 - 87	
	% of speakers	**total**	**% of speakers**	**total**
Female	46.0 %	34	41.4 %	41
Male	54.0 %	40	68.6 %	58
Heterosexual	86.5 %	64	80.8%	80
Homosexual	14.5 %	10	19.2 %	19
Social class: lower class	28.4 %	21	39.4 %	39
middle class	56.8 %	42	46.5 %	46
higher class	12.6 %	9	12.1 %	12
non-categorizable	2.5 %	2	2.0 %	2
Urbanity: urban	40.5 %	31	31.3 %	31
intermediate	10.8 %	8	12.1 %	12
rural	47.3 %	35	20.2 %	20
missing	-	-	36.4 %	34

4.3 Determining codeswitches

All instances of English words and phrases that were used by the participants were recorded. These instances were recorded in the context of the sentence in which they were said, along with the preceding and following sentence. Following Zenner & van de Mieroop (2017), only direct anglicisms were included in the data, i.e. foreign items which are structurally recognizable as English to speakers of Dutch or German. Though Backus and Dorleijn (2012) argue for the importance of including indirect anglicisms when studying codeswitching behaviour (like the German loan translation *ausschaffen*, a rendering of "to work out"), they were not considered in this study. The reason for that

[27] They had dated each other before, though the man playfully says that "a gentleman doesn't tell".

is that loan translations are covert uses of English and need not be picked up by conversational partners as such.

Three specific English words were excluded from the codeswitching data: the word *single*, as well as the noun *date* and the verb *daten*. These items are all very frequent within the corpus [28]. More importantly, there is evidence that the producers ask the speakers questions involving these words in the confessions that take place before the date. The producers' questions are not included in the footage and only the response is recorded on tape. However, sometimes the speakers repeat the question in their answer, for instance in (i). The same goes for the words *date* and *single*. As these specific words seem to be primed by the producers, participants are much more likely to use these words (Broersma, 2009). So, these items were disregarded in further considerations. The phrase *blind date* is an exception to this, as there is no similar evidence for this compound.

(i) *Warum soll mann mich daten? Weil ich ein Unikat bin.*
"Why should people date me? Because I'm unique." (Islam, 308)

In addition to this, English proper names were not considered as codeswitches, as these sets of English words are fixed elements. Using proper names does not involve the speaker's own linguistic production, as there is no way of saying it in Dutch or German without using this exact wording (Weger, 2016, p. 23). To check for proper names, the *Oxford English Dictionary* (OED) was consulted [29]. If the phrase was not in the OED or spelled with capital letters in the dictionary entry, it was excluded. Examples of excluded proper names are *Sex on the Beach* and *the Beatles*. Likewise, the name of the programme is mentioned a couple of times, for instance in example (ii). There were also two instances of English lyrics being sung in the German episodes. These instances were not included for the same reasons as proper names. Likewise, the shadowing repetition of English items was excluded. In two cases, the speaker shadowed their partner in using English to ask for clarification. This occurs for example in episode 103, where Desiree mentions her hobby and her date Jan repeats the word in the next turn, see (iii). These instances of English were excluded.

(ii) *Ich hab schon noch nicht so etwas mitgemacht wie bei First Dates*
"I've never experienced anything like at First Dates" (Stefan, episode 304)

(iii) Desiree: *Als ik thuis ben dan doe ik veel diamond painting*
"When I'm at home, I do a lot of diamond painting"
Jan: *Diamond painting, wa's dat?*
"Diamond painting, what is that?" (103)

[28] The three words are used more than forty times each, which is not unexpected in a date-setting.
[29] https://www.oed.com, accessed through login at an educational institution.

As mentioned in section 3.1, the distinction between loans and codeswitches is difficult, sometimes impossible to make. As both loans and codeswitching carry association with the donor language, making a distinction between the two processes was not of interest in this study. However, there are many loans that are ingrained in Dutch or German, both in terms of frequency in general and relative frequency compared to Dutch/German counterparts. For example, in a study on anglicisms on German radio, a radio host indicates that the German counterpart (*Lied)* of the borrowing *Song* is not in use anymore, see (iv). Since these loans are used so frequently, they are likely not recognizable as loans from English, but rather perceived as regular items from the native language.

(iv) *Lied sagt niemand mehr. Lied würde ich wirklich nur noch ironisch sagen.*
"Nobody says *Lied* anymore. I would actually only use *Lied* ironically now."
(Schaefer, 2019, p. 83)

In order to check for loans that have become an inherent part of the language, the frequency of the English items was checked in corpora of TV subtitles. The corpora used for this purpose are the Dutch SUBTLEX corpus, consisting of 44 million words (Keuleers, Brysbaert & New, 2010) and the German SUBTLEX corpus, consisting of 25 million words (Brysbaert, Buchmeier, Conrad, Jacobs, Bölte & Böhl, 2011). The SUBTLEX corpora give a good indication of the word frequencies in spoken language; these corpora closely resemble the type of language used in *First Dates*. Still, one issue arises in using these corpora: they are both around ten years old and do not account for recent additions in German and Dutch. Important to note here is that only the frequency of single words could be retrieved in the database. Moreover, it was not possible to use the cumulative frequency, which relates word frequencies to the corpus size, because the cumulative frequency was not available for the Dutch corpus (Brysbaerts et al, 2011). Instead, the count frequency was used, which counts all instances of the word in the corpus in total. Words that were extremely frequent in these corpora were not included in further analysis. A threshold of 4000 instances was established after consultation with a native German informant on the assimilation of highly frequent words [30]. These highly frequent words do not carry any information on the use of English when they are considered normal German or Dutch speech. Examples of frequent words that were excluded are *cool (*including *coole, cooles and cooler)* and *okay/ok* in both German and Dutch.

4.4 Categorizing codeswitches

After the codeswitches were inventoried as explained above, they were categorized on a number of dimensions. The following categories were coded for all codeswitches: number of words; word category; adaptation to the recipient language; translation equivalence of the codeswitch; and its listedness in the Dutch or German dictionary. The aim of categorizing them in this manner was to draw precise comparisons between speakers of German and speakers of Dutch, as well as to compare the findings to other studies on German-English and Dutch-English codeswitching. These categories

[30] Personal correspondence with native speaker and linguist Pascal Hiller.

are explained in detail in the paragraphs below. An overview of the category coding can be found in Appendix C and two examples of the coding of codeswitches can be found in Appendix D.

4.4.1 Number of words

For this category, the number of words in the codeswitch were counted. For example in the sentence *mijn boekenkast is mijn most prized possession* ("my bookcase is my most prized possession"), the switch was counted as three words. Switches that involved compounds which were listed in the dictionary as one entry, were counted as a single word (e.g. *road trip, friend zone)*. However, an exception was made for compounds of which a part of the compound was used separately, too. So, for instance *heavy metal* and *blind date* were counted as two, because the speaker used *metal* and *date* on other occasions.

4.4.2 Word or phrase category

The switches were divided into categories like nouns (e.g. *smile)*, verbs (*kickboxen)*, adjectives (*chill)*, et cetera. Switches that contained multiple words were coded in phrase categories, for example *strong independent woman* as noun phrase and *in love* as prepositional phrase. Since the data consisted of colloquial conversations, two other categories were included: interjections that involve words like *fuck, sorry, oh my god;* and exclamations like *cheers, hi* and *hey*. For the words *yes* and *hey,* in the dataset these were used as both an interjection and an exclamation, see for instance (v). Moreover, words that were used in a compound with German or Dutch elements were coded with the label 'noun/verb, part of compound' (e.g. *soul-maatje,* "soul-mate"*)*. Other word categories, like numerals, were classified as 'miscellaneous'.

(v) Interjection: staff: *dan heb ik hier de rekening voor jullie*
"I've got the bill for you here"
Elke: *yes, dankjewel*
"yes, thank you" (110)
Exclamation: *en dan denk ik, yes! geweldig!*
"and then I think, yes! great!" (Loes, 108)

4.4.3 Adaptation to recipient language

The next category that was coded was whether the English element was adapted to the grammar of the recipient language. When the word or phrase was a bare insertion of English, then this was labelled 'unadapted'. An example of this is displayed in (vi), where nothing has been added or altered to the English phrase *mid life crisis*. Insertions of English in a German or Dutch compound structure did not show any inflectional elements added to the English insertion. Therefore, compounds such as *fantasy-buch* "fantasy-book" were classified as 'unadapted'. Words that had undergone any type of adaptation to the recipient language were coded 'adapted'. An example of this is *connecten* in (vii), which consists of an English verb *connect* with the Dutch infinitive inflection *-en* from Dutch attached to it. It should

be noted that only morphological adaptation was considered: analysing phonological adaptation of every single item is beyond the scope of this project [31].

(vi) *Ich hatte schon meinen mid-life crisis gehabt*
"I have had my mid-life crisis already" (Julian, 307)

(vii) *Ik kan niet zo goed connecten met jonge meiden*
"I cannot connect well with young girls" (Ömer, 102)

4.4.4 Translation equivalence

In order to compare the codeswitches at a semantic level, the switches were classified in terms of whether the codeswitch can be directly translated to the recipient language. Certainly, there is a more gradient scale between 'yes' and 'no' for the translation equivalence of a term. For instance, previous research on translation equivalence showed that words such as emotion terms (Wierzbicka, 1999) and connectives (Zufferey & Gygax, 2017) differ partially in meaning across languages and, therefore, do not have one-on-one translation equivalents. However, in line with other studies on codeswitching that consider an intentional versus unintentional nature of the codeswitch, a two way distinction was applied (De Decker & Vandekerckhove, 2012; Weger, 2016; see the last paragraph in section 3.1). The translation equivalent category was coded 'yes' for switches that had a clear German or Dutch alternative for the element, for example when English *sorry* was used in German instead of *Entschuldigung*. The category was coded 'no' if the insertion of English was not a deliberate choice. In these cases, speakers are referring to specific objects that have English names or concepts that cannot be referred to otherwise, e.g. *piper* (a type of airplane). Most multi-word switches were categorized as having a translation equivalent, since they can (partly) be phrased in the recipient language as well. The coding of the German translation equivalent was done in consultation with the aforementioned informant [28].

4.4.5 Listedness

Another category that was coded was listedness of switched elements in the recipient language dictionary. In order to check whether the switches were reported in the dictionary, widely accepted online dictionaries were consulted: for German, the *Digitales Wörterbuch der Deutschen Sprache* (DWDS), and for Dutch, the *Van Dale Online (*VanDale) [32]. The switch was 'listed' when it had an entry in the dictionary and 'non-listed' when it had no entry. Switches consisting of more than a single word were rarely listed in the dictionary, with the exception of fixed compounds like *small talk* and a few idioms like *in the middle of nowhere*. Moreover, subsequent words from English (e.g. *online dating apps*) can be interpreted either as subsequent listed items or as an non-listed codeswitch consisting of multiple words. These instances were counted as non-listed codeswitches, because these are more likely one stretch of English than a subsequent combination of multiple inserted items.

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[31] Pronunciation was, however, included in qualitative analysis of repairs and the deviation from dictionary entries, because these circumstances are telling for speakers' expectations about their date.
[32] https://www.dwds.de/ freely accessible; https://www.vandale.nl/ access through login at an educational institution.

Moreover, if the word appeared in the digital search, but did not have its own entry, it was categorized as non-listed. For example, ***internetdating*** could be found in the VanDale under examples of compounds with "internet-" , but had no separate entry. Thus, it was coded as non-listed.

Besides the classification of switches as listed or non-listed in the dictionary, two other labels were used: 'deviating' and 'youth language'. If the word was reported in the dictionary but did not match the definition, the word was coded under a separate label 'deviating'. For example, the use of ***gay*** in Dutch to describe a lesbian did not concur with the definition in VanDale '*van mannen: homoseksueel*' ("of men: homosexual"). Here, it should be noted that some participants used well-adapted loans that were listed in the dictionary, but pronounced the words in an English manner nonetheless. It is noteworthy that, though the word is listed in the dictionary and has pronunciation adapted to the recipient language, speakers pronounce the word in an English way. Speakers technically deviate from the adapted item as listed in the dictionary, so these were counted as instances of 'deviating' as well. In addition to this, some words were explicitly included in the dictionary as "youth language" [33], for example the word ***crazy*** in the German dictionary. These words were labelled separately under 'youth language' when categorizing listedness. This category was included because it relevant for the second sub-question on how widespread the use of codeswitching is amongst different types of speakers. Accordingly, it is beneficial to see whether youth language that stems from English is only used by young speakers, or whether older speakers use such words as well.

4.5 Accommodation measure

The fourth sub-question of this project aims to investigate accommodation in codeswitching between the date partners. An accommodation measure was modelled after Beňuš, Levitan and Hirschberg's measure (2012) for researching accommodation in filled pause behaviour in court hearings. They use a measure for accommodation (or entrainment) that determines an accommodation score per pair. The formula was adapted to calculate a score for the distribution of codeswitching frequency (CS_freq) per matched couple ($accommodation_{pair}$). The formula is portrayed below. The accommodation score is 0 when both partners codeswitch equally often, whereas if one person only contributes to the total frequency, this score is 1 or -1. The score was made absolute for further calculations, resulting in a score between 0 and 1 for accommodation per pair.

$$accommodation_{pair} = \left(\frac{CS\_freq_{speaker}}{CS\_freq_{total}}\right) - \left(\frac{CS\_freq_{date}}{CS\_freq_{total}}\right)$$

Beňuš et al. (2012) compare their accommodation measure with a binominal variable that is an indication of social distance between the speakers. As they research court hearing conversations in which judges and lawyers interact, they use the variable whether a judge votes in favour or against the particular lawyer. In *First Dates,* there is also a binominal variable that indicates social distance between the speakers, namely whether they want to have a second date or not. Here, the outcome of

[33] *besonders Jugendsprache* in DWDS and *jongerentaal* in VanDale.

the so-called "moment of truth" – in which the speakers indicated whether they want a second date– was related to the accommodation score [34]. When participants indicated they wanted to see each other again, this was coded 'yes' and when they did not want a second date, this was coded as 'no'. In some cases, one of the participants did want to have a second date and the other did not; because there would not be a second date taking place, these were coded 'no'.

In examining accommodation, accommodation in the occurrence or form of codeswitching was also considered in a local context. This means that the codeswitches were analysed qualitatively in the context of subsequent turns. The fact that speakers adopt the words that their date uses is a relevant dimension in accommodation, because it shows that speakers literally mirror the language use of their date. More generally, repetition was also included in the analysis because reiteration of codeswitched elements is of importance in researching codeswitching in conversational context (Harjunpää & Mäkilähde, 2016); speakers can use the reiteration of codeswitched elements for various conversational functions, such as clarification or humour. In order to look at what kind of repetition takes place, these items were coded as self-repetition or allo-repetition, based on the distinction made by Tannen (1987, pp. 63–67). The switches were also coded for whether they were instances of shadowing, local or later repetition. Shadowing means that speakers repeat the codeswitch immediately. In local repetition, speakers repeat the switch somewhere in the following utterance. When speakers repeated the codeswitch in any place later in the conversation, this was coded as later repetition. Note that shadowing repetitions that asked for clarification were not included in the data, see 4.3.

All in all, this chapter has described the dataset, the participants and the choices that were made in determining and categorizing codeswitches. It also explained the accommodation measure that will be used to investigate accommodation in codeswitching. For further analysis, the data was cleaned up in Stata (StataCorp, 2019) and any calculations and tests were done in RStudio (RStudio Team, 2020). A full overview of the data is available on OSF [35].

[34] Sometimes the participants gave different answers in their own confessional as compared to their response in the "moment of truth", and sometimes the participants indicated wanting to have a second date, but later recorded footage showed that they had no interest in seeing each other again.
[35] https://osf.io/jue7y/?view_only=2ae88923b8cf4ee988cc03b24e93d905

5 Results

This chapter reports the findings on codeswitching behaviour of German and Dutch speakers in the TV programme *First Dates*. In discussing the codeswitch categories (number of words, word or phrase category, adaptation and translation equivalence), findings are divided up into listed and non-listed items. To reiterate, listed items are roughly "accepted" into the language, whereas non-listed items would be more marked to use in Dutch or German speech. This division was made in order to incorporate the distinction between whether the English word or phrase was recorded in the dictionary or stems directly from English. This chapter covers the nature of the switching that occurs in *First Dates*, encompassing frequency, length, word category and adaptation of the switches. Subsequently, it considers semantic and sociolinguistic variables that may influence switching, namely translation equivalence and the likelihood of codeswitching across speaker types. Lastly, this chapter presents findings on repetition and accommodation in switching as well as other interactional implications of switching.

5.1 The nature of codeswitching

5.1.1 General frequency and listedness

For both speaker groups, the codeswitching most closely resembled insertion [36], whereby constituents from English are embedded into German and Dutch. Apart from three switches at the sentence level by German speakers and eleven by Dutch speakers, the speakers did not alternate between codes. A total of 614 English words or phrases were found: 202 in the German data and 412 in the Dutch data. Overall, German speakers codeswitched 0.4 times per minute speaking time with a mean of 2.5 insertions per speaker; the Dutch participants switched 0.6 times per minute with a mean of 3.8 insertions per speaker.

The distribution of listed and non-listed items in German was as follows: 56% of the codeswitches were items attested in the German dictionary (114 in total); 44% of the switches were not listed (88 in total). 13% of those switches were 'youth language' (for example *crazy* in (1) is labelled as "youth language" in the DWDS; 11 in total) and 3% deviated from the dictionary (3 in total).

The distribution of listed and non-listed items in the Dutch version quite closely resembles the percentages from the German version: 57% of the switches were listed in the Dutch dictionary (233 in total). 43% of the switches were non-listed (179), of which 6% 'youth language' (10 in total) and 25% 'deviating' (44 in total). This relatively high percentage of deviating items as compared to German speakers was mainly due to the fact that they used the interjective *yes* on 28 different occasions. For example in (2), Danny uses *yes* to confirm after the server serves food. *Yes* is listed in the Dutch dictionary as an exclamation of enthusiasm, whereas here it is merely used to confirm the fact that they ordered the dumplings. All except two cases of *yes* are confirmations.

[36] Though the distinction is not clear-cut: insertion may also display characteristics of alternation or congruent lexicalization (Muysken, 2013).

(1) *Du bist mir doch ein bisschen zu <u>crazy</u> drauf*
"You're a bit too crazy for me" (Christian, 307)

(2) Server: *ik heb de dumplings tweemaal*
"I have the dumplings twice"
Danny: *<u>Yes</u>, dankjewel*
"Yes, thank you" (101)

5.1.2 Number of English words

The majority of the non-listed items in German consisted of a single word, a few consisted of two-word and three-word switches, and there was a single occurrence of a four-word switch. Example (3) illustrates a longer stretch of English alongside two other insertions. For the listed items, German speakers predominantly used single-word insertions and a tenth of their switches consisted of two words. So, overall there were only short insertions of English elements in German code. Table 5.1 shows the relative frequencies and frequencies for the number of English words in German-English switches.

(3) *Ich liebe <u>country</u>musik, und darum auch das <u>style</u> als <u>cowboy western style</u>*
"I love country music, and that's why I have a cowboy western style" (Daniel, 310)

Table 5.1: Relative and absolute frequencies of codeswitch length in German

	Non-listed		**Listed**	
Number of words	**%**	**total**	**%**	**total**
1	72.7 %	64	89.5 %	102
2	15.9 %	14	10.5 %	12
3	10.2 %	9	-	-
4	1.1 %	1	-	-

Dutch speakers used slightly longer utterances in English, ranging from one to seven words (see Table 5.2). Here, one-word switches are relatively less frequent than in German, two-word switches more frequent and three-word switches slightly less frequent. Switches consisting of four or more words each occurred in less than 3% of the cases. Example (4) shows the seven-word switch. The Dutch length of listed items closely resembles the length in German with a main tendency of single words and a few two-word switches. Yet, speakers used two longer stretches of English that are listed in the Dutch dictionary, i.e. *<u>out of the box</u>* and *<u>in the middle of nowhere</u>*.

(4) *Dat is een tekst, <u>what doesn't kill you makes you stronger</u>*
That's a text, what doesn't kill you makes you stronger" (Jaimy, 106)

Table 5.2: Relative and absolute frequencies of codeswitch length in Dutch

	Non-listed		**Listed**	
Number of words	**%**	**total**	**%**	**total**
1	64.2 %	115	90.6 %	211
2	21.2 %	38	8.2 %	19
3	8.9 %	16	-	-
4	2.8 %	5	0.9 %	2
5	1.1 %	2	0.4 %	1
6	1.1 %	2	-	-
7	0.6 %	1	-	-

5.1.3 Word category

Proceeding to the word categories in the German version, nouns (such as *<u>spikeball</u>*) were used most frequently in terms of non-listed items. Exclamations (*<u>cheers</u>),* interjections (*<u>sorry</u>)* and adjectives (*<u>old-school</u>)* also occurred frequently. Moreover, nouns dominated the use of listed items and verbs were used relatively more often in listed codeswitches as compared to non-listed codeswitches. Similarly, English nouns that were part of a German compound, such as the word *<u>Fantasy</u>buch* ("fantasy book"), occurred more often in the listed switches. Table 5.3 shows all categories that were used and their relative frequencies. It is relevant to note here that the tables were based on tokens.

Table 5.3: Relative and absolute frequencies of word/phrase category in German

Number of words	**Non-listed**		**Listed**	
	%	**total**	**%**	**total**
Noun	25.0 %	22	65.8 %	75
Exclamation	22.7 %	20	3.5 %	4
Interjection	14.8 %	13	-	-
Noun phrase	12.5 %	11	4.4 %	5
Adjective	10.2 %	9	8.8 %	10
Verb	5.7 %	5	12.3 %	14
Sentence	4.5 %	4	-	-
Noun, part of compound	1.1 %	1	5.3 %	6
Adverb phrase	1.1 %	1	-	-
Miscellaneous	2.3 %	2	-	-

In the Dutch data, the most frequently used word category for the non-listed items is not nouns, but adjectives like *steady* and *awkward*. The Dutch did not use non-listed nouns as often as German speakers, whereas they used noun phrases slightly more often. The use of non-listed interjections (e.g. *yes*) is comparable to the German data, but exclamations (*cheers*) are relatively less frequent. For the listed items, nouns and verbs are used most frequently, which is similar to the German data. Dutch speakers displayed more variety in the sort of phrases that are attested in the dictionary, for example interjections (*shit*) and a verb phrase (*fuck you*). Dutch speakers used a wider variety of word categories in general, including verb phrases that were part of a compound (*master your mind-cursus,* "course"), prepositional phrases (*in love)* and determiner phrases (*the big five)*. Interestingly, determiner phrases (i.e. nominal phrases containing a determiner as head) were only used by speakers who switched more than five times. Moreover, the Dutch used more varying English phrases (versus lexical items) than German speakers, see Table 5.4.

Table 5.4: Relative and absolute frequencies of word/phrase category in Dutch

Number of words	**Non-listed**		**Listed**	
	%	**total**	**%**	**total**
Adjective	20.7 %	37	12.4 %	29
Noun	19.0 %	34	48.1 %	112
Interjection	17.3 %	31	4.3 %	10
Noun phrase	14.5 %	26	3.9 %	9
Sentence	8.4 %	15	-	-
Exclamation	5.6 %	10	3.9 %	9
Verb	5.0 %	9	21.9 %	51
Noun, part of compound	2.2 %	4	3.4 %	8
Verb phrase	1.7 %	3	0.4 %	1
Prepositional phrase	1.1 %	2	1.3 %	3
Adjective phrase	1.1 %	2	-	-
Determiner phrase	1.1 %	2	-	-
Adverb	0.6 %	1	0.4 %	1
Adverb phrase	0.6 %	1	-	-
Miscellaneous	0.6 %	1	-	-
Verb, part of compound	0.6 %	1	-	-

5.1.4 Adaptation to recipient language

All switches were coded as adapted or unadapted. In adapted switches, speakers adjust English insertions to German or Dutch grammar; in unadapted switches, they copy unaltered English into the recipient code. For German speakers, 5% of the non-listed switches and 13% of the listed switches

were adapted (respectively 4 and 15 items). German speakers mostly added German verbal inflections to English verbs, for instance the infinitival affix added to an English root in (5). One speaker added a comparative suffix inflected for German case to an English adjective, see (6). In one adaptation of a verb, the speaker produces two versions of a past participle: first the un-adapted English variant and then the German past participle circumfix with the same English stem, see (7). Generally, all verbs were inflected for German grammar, but there were three occurrences of verbs that were inserted with the English inflection, like the first verb in (7) and the verb in (8).

(5) *Muss ich mal <u>googl</u>**<u>e</u>n***
"I should google it sometime" (Ute, 305)

(6) *Wenn das eine <u>softer</u>**<u>e</u>** Variant des <u>heavy metal</u> Spfäre ist, würde ich selbst da auf ein Konzert mitgehen*
"If that's a softer variant of heavy metal, I would even go along to a concert" (Ute, 305)

(7) *Ich bin der Einzige in meinem Dorf - quasi - der sich <u>outed</u> oder **<u>ge</u>**<u>out</u>**<u>et</u>** hat*
"I'm the only one in my village - kind of - that has come out [of the closet]" (Maurice, 302)

(8) *Wir haben gut <u>connected</u>, das fand ich mega*
"We connected well, I found that great" (Jessica, 307)

Dutch speakers displayed slightly higher percentages of adaptation than German speakers: 8% of the non-listed switches and 22% of the listed switches were adapted (respectively 15 and 51 items). Dutch speakers also mainly modified verbs to fit Dutch grammar, such as in (9). In addition to this, there were occurrences of an English verb stem that received a Dutch imperfect participle affix, resulting in a deverbalized adjective, see (10). Dutch speakers also altered adjectives by adding an inflection for an undetermined noun, for example in (11). One speaker even creatively adapted the English exclamation *cheers* by means of deriving it to a Dutch verb, see (12). In one of the cases, a Dutch speaker formed a verb with an English stem and the Dutch past participle circumfix, as shown in (13). There were hardly any instances in which the participants did not inflect the verb for Dutch morphology. Exceptions to this are the verbs in verb phrases and the verbs in sentence-level switches that retained their English inflections. In contrast to this, German speakers did insert verbs with English inflection.

(9) W*aarom? Doe even <u>inzoom</u>**<u>en</u>**, dat is waarom*
"Why? Zoom in a little, that's why" (Dylan, 105)

(10) *Ik zoek in een relatie iemand die ook een goeie vriend is eigenlijk en niet <u>claim</u>**end** of dit of dat*
"For a relationship, I am looking for someone who also is a good friend and not clingy or anything" (Annabella, 107)

(11) *Ik zit redelijk vol maar was echt wel een <u>chill</u>**<u>e</u>** avond*
"I'm pretty stuffed but it was a really chill night" (Thomas, 110)

(12) *We mogen niet <u>cheers</u>**<u>en</u>**, dan maar in de lucht*
"Since we're not allowed to toast, we'll just do it in the air" (Anniek, 107)

(13) Daan: *Nu is dat wel echt **<u>ge</u>**<u>restore</u>**<u>d</u>***
"Now that has been restored"
Marrie: ***<u>ge</u>**<u>restore</u>**<u>d</u>***
"restored"
Daan: *Ja of hoe zeg je het, nu spreek ik hem wel elke week*
"Yeah or how do you say it, now I speak to him every week" (102)

Furthermore, there were two occurrences of English elements that did not concur with either Dutch or English grammar. Firstly, a speaker used an English noun that is modified by a Dutch adverb, see (14). Secondly, a speaker used a singular form where the plural form *<u>eyes</u>* would be expected, see (15). I assume that this is a play on the bartender's sparkly blue eyes and the song "Mister Blue Sky" by ELO, which entails that the speaker creatively adapted English elements to make a pun. Lastly, there were two repairs that sparked attention. Firstly, after producing an English adjective, a participant repairs to the Dutch equivalent, see (16). Indy probably repairs because of the indefinite gender of *ravage*, as *<u>total</u> ravage* resembles the incongruent Dutch adjective (**een totaal ravage*). Therefore, he switched to the Dutch adjective, as indicated by the stress shift. Secondly, there was an instance of a speaker repairing their partner's utterance, see (17). So, the Dutch data contains cases in which either the speaker themselves or their partner thinks there are "incorrect" uses of English that need repairing. Example 13 could also be considered as such. Marrie shadowed the word, which indicates that it was a marked form in her opinion, after which Daan chooses different words to make himself clear., since it is unlikely that Marrie does not understand English because she switches on multiple occasions. Besides this, Marrie's intonation (no rising pitch) suggests that she does understand what Daan is talking about, but rather questions the form.

(14) *Dat vind ik wel echt goed van je trouwens, echt <u>courage</u>*
"I think you did that very well, really courage" (Patrick, 102)

(15) *Ik ga meedoen als <u>mister blue-eye</u> komt*
"I'll join you when 'mister blue-eye' gets here" (Pieter, 109)

(16) *Ik klink nu echt als een <u>tótal-</u>, totále ravage*
"I sound like a total-, total mess right now" (Indy, 106)

(17) Roland: *En in september wil ik weer terug naar school om <u>social worker</u> te studeren*
"And in September I want to go back to school to study social worker"
Richard: *<u>Social work</u>? <u>Nice</u>*. (108)

In summary, the nature of switching generally consisted of insertions, that is English words and phrases in German and Dutch main code. The distribution of listedness was roughly the same in German and Dutch (around 55% listed versus 45% non-listed items), but Dutch speakers used more

items that deviated from the dictionary entry. Dutch speakers switched more frequently: they switched 0.59 times per minute, while German speakers switched 0.40 times per minute. Overall, most switches pertained to one-word or two-word insertions, though the Dutch embedded longer strings of up to seven words, whereas the maximum in German was four words. Dutch speakers, in comparison to German speakers, used a more diverse variety of word and phrasal categories and adapted more English insertions to Dutch grammar. However, adaptation of English was not frequent in both languages, especially for non-listed items (below 10% for German and Dutch). Besides the descriptive categorizations of the switches that were discussed above, German-English and Dutch-English codeswitching was examined for semantic or sociolinguistic trends in switching. The aim here was to investigate what factors might be associated with speakers' codeswitching behaviour. These semantic and sociolinguistic factors will be discussed in the following section.

5.2 Semantic and sociolinguistic considerations in switching

5.2.1 Translation equivalence

In order to look at the lexical motivations behind switches, the codeswitches were coded for translation equivalence. In 71% of the cases for non-listed and in 45% of the cases for listed items, German speakers used English terms that had an equivalent in German (respectively 62 and 51 items). For instance, the non-listed noun *style* has the equivalent *Stil*, and the listed adjective *happy*, that can be translated as *froh* or *glücklich*. An example of an English term that has no clear translation in German was the word *ice-breaker*.

For both classifications, Dutch speakers used items that had a translation equivalent in Dutch more frequently, that is 85% of the switches for non-listed items and 62% for listed items (respectively 152 and 145 items). An example of translation equivalence is the non-listed adjective *goofy,* translatable as *gek* or *maf*. Words that did not have immediate translations in Dutch include *bungeejumpen*. Moreover, in the Dutch data, there were two English words that were used on nearly every occasion by a great variety of speakers, that is *matchen* for "matching clothing" (compare to Dutch equivalent *bijpassende kleren)* and *splitten* for "splitting the bill" (Dutch *de rekening splitsen*). It seems that the English expressions have become the unmarked way to express these concepts rather than their Dutch equivalents. These words were not frequent in the Dutch SUBTLEX corpus, so this is likely a recent development.

Another finding arose in investigating listed items without a translation equivalent: there are similarities in what kinds of words are adopted from English across German and Dutch. For instance, both German and Dutch speakers borrow English words for (extreme) sports, such as German *spikeball, joggen, Fitness, kickboxen,* as well as semi-adapted *Eishockey* (from "ice-hockey") compared to Dutch *snowboard, surfen, bungeejumpen, crosstrainer* and *body pump*. Similarly, English words for book or music genres are also attested in both languages, e.g. German *fantasy, country* and *heavy metal* compared to Dutch *science fiction, hardstyle, dance*. This also goes for travel-related topics (German *work and travel* and *green card* compared to Dutch *backpacken, all-inclusive, work holiday*), as well as clothing-related topics (German *style, costume, outfits* compared to Dutch *sneakers, matchen* [of clothes]). Interestingly, both languages have adopted a different word

from English to represent an alcoholic beverage: German speakers often use *drink* and Dutch speakers use the word *cocktail*.

5.2.2 Speaker characteristics

In order to examine associations between social characteristics and switching, a number of regressions were run. One of the aims was to see whether there were any differences in switching between German or Dutch speakers. Therefore, a binary logistic regression was run on the association of the speakers' country with the likelihood of speakers codeswitching at all (yes/no). Table 5.5 shows the results of this binary logistic regression. Here, the exponents of coefficients were interpreted as odds ratios (ORs). The ORs indicate the likelihood that a speaker switches or does not switch during the date: numbers above one mean that speakers are more likely to switch and numbers below one that speakers are less likely to switch. The results of this regression reveal that Dutch speakers are 4.5 times more likely to codeswitch than German speakers ($Z = 3.19$, $p = .001$).

Table 5.5: Results binary logistic regression codeswitching (yes/no) for country

	Estimate	Standard Error	Z value	P value	OR
(Intercept)	1.06	0.27	3.99	0.000 *	2.90
country - NL	1.51	0.47	3.19	0.001 *	4.54

Note: * indicates $p < 0.05$, OR = odds ratios, NL = the Netherlands

Table 5.6: Results binary logistic regression codeswitching (yes/no) including other variables

	Estimate	Standard Error	Z value	P value	OR
(Intercept)	0.46	0.64	0.72	0.472	1.59
age group - 30-45	0.55	0.58	0.95	0.343	1.74
age group - 45-90	0.18	0.59	0.31	0.753	1.20
social class - middle	0.19	0.49	0.39	0.694	1.21
social class - high	0.89	0.87	1.02	0.307	2.44
sexuality - homosexual	0.32	0.64	0.51	0.612	1.38
gender - female	-0.28	0.47	-0.60	0.548	0.75
country - NL	1.65	0.49	3.37	0.001 *	5.23

Note: * indicates $p < 0.05$, OR = odds ratios, NL = the Netherlands

This effect remains when the other speaker characteristics are considered, i.e. age group, social class, sexuality and gender. So, taking into account other characteristics of speakers, speakers' country is the only factor significantly associated with codeswitching at all during the date ($Z = 3.37$, $p = .0007$, OR = 5.2; see Table 5.6). Urbanity was left out of the logistic regression because of the missing datapoints for Dutch speakers. However, the effect of urbanity was examined in another test to see whether it

interacts with codeswitching: this is not the case for the category 'urbanity: intermediate' (Z = 0.84, p = .403) and the category 'urbanity: rural' (Z = -0.021, p = .983) as compared to 'urbanity: urban'.

Besides looking at whether speakers codeswitched or not, this study included an analysis on the frequency of switching in relation to speakers' characteristics. First, a one-way ANOVA was used to verify that speaking time was not a factor in the number of codeswitches (F(1, 171) = 0.05, p = .821, ηp^2 = 0.45). Then, a negative binominal regression was run to analyse the relation between frequency of codeswitching and the social categories mentioned above [37]. Table 5.7 shows the results of this negative binominal regression. Here, 'social class: middle class', (Z = 2.03, p = .04) and 'country' (Z = 3.28, p < .001) were statistically significant factors and 'age group: 45-90' was a marginally significant factor (Z = -1.87, p = .06). Contrary to the binary logistic regression whereby ORs are in place to interpret the exponents of coefficients, these exponents are rather interpreted as incidence rate ratios (IRRs) for negative binominals [38]. IRRs indicate the odds of how often people are likely to codeswitch, whereby numbers above one mean that speakers are more likely to have multiple instances and numbers below one less likely to have multiple instances of switching. The IRRs point out that Dutch speakers are 1.58 times more likely to have more instances of codeswitching compared to German speakers. Moreover, middle class speakers are 1.35 times more likely to have more instances of codeswitching than speakers from lower social class. Lastly, speakers above the age of 45 are 0.72 times less likely to have more instances of codeswitching compared to younger speakers.

Table: 5.7: Results negative binominal regression codeswitching (frequency)

	Estimate	Standard Error	Z value	P value	IRR
(Intercept)	0.84	0.21	4.0	0.000*	2.32
age group - 30-45	-0.06	0.16	-0.36	0.722	0.94
age group - 45-90	-0.32	0.17	-1.87	0.061 .	0.72
social class - middle	0.30	0.15	2.03	0.042 *	1.35
social class - higher	0.32	0.22	1.49	0.136	1.38
sexuality - homosexual	-0.05	0.19	-0.29	0.770	0.94
gender - female	-0.06	0.14	-0.45	0.656	0.95
country - NL	0.45	0.14	3.28	<0.001 **	1.58

Note: . indicates p < 0.1, * indicates a p < 0.05, ** indicates p < 0.01, IRR = incidence rate ratios

In checking the effect of urbanity, it was found that the frequency of codeswitching significantly interacts with the variable 'urbanity: rural' (i.e. speakers who stem from a town with less than 50,000 habitants; Z = -1.97, p = .049). The IRR was below one, namely 0.71. This means that speakers from smaller towns were 0.71 times less likely than other speakers to exhibit more codeswitches during the

[37] A negative binominal regression proved to fit the data better than a Poisson family regression.
[38] Interpreting the exponents of coefficients as IRRs fits concepts of sociological rather than logical importance.

date. The negative binominal regression was also run for the use of non-listed items separately in order to check for differences between the use of listed and non-listed English. Here, there was no variation in variables that were associated with codeswitching frequency in comparison with the regression for all items. So, the statistically significant variables were 'social class: middle class', 'country' and 'age group: 45-90'. The only difference was that in this regression, the 'age group: 45-90' p-value was not marginally significant, but highly significant with $p = .008$ ($Z = -2.65$). So, speakers above 45 were 0.41 times less likely to use more non-listed items.

To conclude this section, for German speakers, 71% of the non-listed items and 45% of the listed items have a translation equivalent in German, so these were not embedded in German speech because of lexical shortage. Speakers of Dutch used English less often for filling lexical gaps, as these percentages were higher: around 85% of the non-listed and 62% of the listed English items have an equivalent in Dutch. Moreover, the regressions pointed out that the only factor associated with the likelihood of switching at all was the speaker's country; Dutch speakers were more likely to switch at all during the date. Considering the codeswitching frequency, the regressions showed correlation with a few speaker characteristics: Dutch speakers and speakers who stem from middle class are more likely to have more instances of codeswitching. In addition to this, speakers from small towns, as well as speakers above 45 years old, are less likely to have more instances of codeswitching.

5.3 Interactional implications of switching

5.3.1 Repetition

After reporting on semantic and sociolinguistic considerations, there is one feature of switching behaviour that has not been discussed yet, namely how speakers used codeswitching in the conversational context. In examining the interactional context of switching, this study considered repetition by either the speaker themselves or their date. In German conversations, there were 22 occurrences whereby speakers repeated the English elements, of which eleven were self-repetitions. Six self-repetitions occurred locally (i.e. somewhere in the following utterance) and five on later occasions, repeating for instance their hobbies in a confessional and also in the restaurant. The other eleven repetitions involved the speaker's conversational partner adopting the same English phrase: this occurred five times locally, three times on later occasions and on three occasions the speaker shadowed the English element only, such as in (18). Besides this repetition of the English element, speakers on three separate occasions reiterated the message in another code: they first used the English element and then gave a German equivalent, see (19).

(18) Nicole: *Also, cheese!*
"So, cheese!"
Christopher: *Cheese!* (302)

(19) *So 'nen frisches, herzliches smile, so 'nen lächeln*
"Such a fresh, warm smile, such a smile" (Alex, 310)

In Dutch conversations, 46 items were repeated, of which 30 were self-repetitions. There were twelve instances of local self-repetition and eleven in later conversations. Interestingly, seven cases of shadowing arose, whereby speakers repeated the English element immediately, as if to emphasise the switch, see (20). One remarkable case of reiteration occurred when a speaker first said the word *vloggen* (to vlog) with an English /g/, but when her partner did not understand, she switched to a Dutch /χ/ (21). There were sixteen allo-repetitions, of which seven were local instances and one came later in the conversation. Moreover, in the Dutch data, there were eight instances whereby speakers shadowed their date's switch. In nine cases, Dutch speakers also reiterated speech in English and Dutch code, like in (22). Here, the participant used the word *goofy* and then the Dutch word *gek*, which have similar meanings. However, the manner of reiteration differed: German speakers consistently used English first and then German, whereas Dutch speakers did not show such a pattern. Another remarkable instance of this is shown in example (23), where a speaker translated Hebrew in English as well as in Dutch. The same speaker also partially repeated a switch in (24), putting emphasis on the notion of "one function only" by using both Dutch and English code.

(20) Richard: *Ik zoek iemand met een beetje een snorretje en een baard*
"I'm looking for someone with a bit of a moustache and a beard"
Roland: *Baard, where, where?*
"Beard, where, where?" (108)

(21) *Met mijn nichtje doe ik vloggen* (René: hm?) *vloggen*
"With my niece I sometimes vlog" "vlog" (Annabella, 107)

(22) *Ik moet met je om de domste dingen kunnen lachen en gewoon echt goofy enneh gewoon gek doen*
"I should be able to laugh with you about the stupidest things and just really be goofy and eh just goofy" (Desmond, 103)

(23) *Hij vroeg hoe het met me ging in het Hebreeuws, hij vroeg 'what's going on', 'hoe is het', op een jongeren slang manier*
"He asked how I was doing in Hebrew, he asked 'what's going on', 'how are you', in a youth slang way" (Nofar, 102)

(24) *Die stamper heeft één en one fucking function only*
"That [lemon] masher has one and one fucking function only" (Nofar, 102)

In contrast to instances of self-repetition, both speaker groups also exhibited intraspeaker variety in using English and German or Dutch elements for the same concept. For instance, a German speaker first talked about a *Tattoo* and later used the German word *Tatuierung* (Leon, 305). Similarly, a Dutch speaker used both Dutch *evenement* and English *event* interchangeably (Jeroen, 106). On top of that, there was also a case of intraspeaker variety whereby the speaker changed her use of English to her target interlocutor: she used English *hi* and *hello* to the host and her date, but when apologizing to her grandma for talking about sex in the confession, she uses German *hallo Oma* ("hello Grandma"; Kim, 302).

5.3.2 Accommodation

One of the aims of this project was to investigate whether speakers used accommodation strategies in codeswitching to negotiate social distance between them and their date. In order to investigate this, a measure of accommodation was formulated (section 4.5). This accommodation measure is a score between zero and one: the score is 0 when both partners codeswitch equally often and the score is 1 when only one person contributes to the total frequency.

The accommodation score was tested for correlation with the outcome of the "moment of truth", i.e. whether the pair wanted a second date or not. Accordingly, a Wilcoxon rank sum test with continuity correction was performed [39]. The p-value was marginally significant ($W = 998.5$, $p = .059$). The group median was 0.51 for pairs that did not want a second date, while it was 0.33 for pairs that did want a second date. The fact that the accommodation score was closer to zero for the latter group means that pairs contributed more equally to the total number of switches when they wanted to see the other person again. Though there is difference observed between the groups for 'second date: yes' and 'second date: no', it should be noted that a low score (which means strong accommodation in codeswitching) does not directly indicate mutual liking for all couples. For example, two speakers indicated that they immediately thought of their date as a mismatch. Still, their accommodation score was close to zero, namely 0.26 (Kim and Patrick, episode 302).

The Wilcoxon test was also run for listed and non-listed items separately, but there were no associations observed between accommodation in the use of only listed or non-listed items (respectively $W = 856$, $p = 0.580$ and $W = 821.5$, $p = .816$) [40]. This indicates that speakers do not distinguish between accepted words and words that stem directly from English when accommodating to their partner. An additional Wilcoxon test was performed in order to see whether there was a difference in accommodation between German and Dutch speakers, but the country variable was not associated to the accommodation score ($W = 1026.5$, $p = .195$). So, no difference was found in the accommodation behaviour in German or Dutch as far as the global accommodation measure is concerned.

The paragraphs above described the results of the global approach to accommodation. Accommodation was also investigated in a local approach (i.e. in consecutive speaking turns). The findings include that speakers often mirrored their partner's use of English, especially in exclamations. This was already noted when discussing the repetition of ***cheese*** in (17). An interesting instance of this occurs in episode 303, whereby a speaker has already said *prost* ("cheers"; Stefan, 303). Yet, he still accommodates to his date by repeating her ***cheers***, presumably in order to establish a connection while toasting. There were also various instances of local accommodation concerning other English elements than an exact repetition of the switch. For instance in example (25), Daan does

[39] The accommodation score variable was first tested for normal distribution using a Shapiro-Wilk normality test. As this result was significant for positively skewed data ($p < .001$), the variable was tested for homogeneity of variance. Here, the variance was not different ($p = .493$), which means that the variance within each group is equal for all groups and an independent T-test can be done, albeit one corrected for a non-normal distribution.

[40] These two variables were also tested for normal distribution as explained above. They had the same results, i.e. positively skewed but no homogeneity of variance.

not repeat the switch but rather mirrors Marrie's use of English in the turn immediately after hers. Furthermore, there was also an interesting case (see 26) where a speaker complemented his date's search for words in English: she had been switching to English often in the conversation and he switched to finish her sentence, though he did not switch on other occasions. This pair indicated that they wanted a second date, so Imre likely uses codeswitching here with a pragmatic purpose, namely to be more similar or likable to his date.

(25) Server: *nog even de afstand bewaren naar de tafel*
"Keep your distance when walking to the table"
Marrie: *Alright*
Daan: *Zeker zeker let's go*
"Sure, sure, let's go" (102)

(26) Loes: *Ik weet niet hoe je het zegt…*
"I don't know how to say it…
Imre: *Shy? Introvert?*
"Shy? Introverted?" (108)

Besides these local occurrences of convergence, the data also contained occurrences of divergence [41]. For instance, a couple generally codeswitched often in episode 106, yet Indy reacts to Jaimy's *cheers* by saying *proost* ("cheers"). So, convergence does not apply to every instance of switching. One instance arose by a speaker who does not use any English items in conversation, except when her date mentions that he loves doing household chores, which is the exact opposite from what the speaker prefers, see (27). Here, she likely used English to create distance between her and her partner to indicate the disagreement. Moreover, there was a remarkable instance of a participant that diverged in episode 105: Noella explicitly used *op meisjes vallen (*"to be attracted to girls") rather than adopting the word *gay* that Romkje used multiple times before. This suggests that Noella diverged from her date's codeswitching in order to create distance, as the pair does not want to see each other again. However, this is not always the case when speakers diverge from their partner in codeswitching: the same behaviour was found in a German conversation, in which Kevin repeats a noun phrase, but instead of using his date's utterance (English *costume),* produces the full German version *lieblingskostum* in (28). Yet, they indicate that they do want a second date.

(27) *Also, darin bin ich echt old school. Ich bin immer ganz froh wenn der Mann das Handwerkliche macht und die Frau kocht*
"So, I'm really old school when it comes to that. I'm always happy when the man does the manual work and the wife cooks" (Jasmin, 304)

[41] It could also be an instance of maintenance, but it is not possible to tell if the participants' original style outside of this context involves codeswitching.

(28) Maurice: W*as ist dein Lieblings<u>costume?</u>*
"What's your favourite costume?"
Kevin: *Was mein Lieblingskostum ist?*
"What my favourite costume is?" (302)

5.3.3 Other findings

The section above described the notion that speakers adjusted their codeswitching behaviour functionally to manage social distance. Besides accommodation, there were three separate occasions whereby a German speaker used English with a specific interactional function, in these cases to attenuate the message. In the "moment of truth", German speakers switched to soften the blow of rejecting their date partner, see (29), (30) and (1). These instances indicate that German speakers used English pragmatically to lessen the heavy load of their message.

(29) *<u>Sorry</u> dass ich es so sage, ich möchte leider kein zweites Date*
Sorry for saying it like this, I don't want a second date" (Aleks, 308)

(30) A*ber trotzdem hat mir das - wie soll ich das nennen, ja - der <u>flirty moment</u> gefehlt*
Yet, I missed the - how should I call it, yeah - the flirty moment" (Micheal, 310)

(1) *Du bist mir doch ein bisschen zu <u>crazy</u> drauf*
"You're a bit too crazy for me" (Christian, 307)

Besides the use of English, there were also uses of other languages: in German, there were four instances of French (e.g. *chapeau,* 'well done'), two of Italian and one of Thai. In Dutch, there were five instances of French, one instance of German, Sanskrit, Japanese, Hebrew and Frisian each. There was also an instance of a Dutch dialect called Twents: *kiek'n wat 't wot* ("we'll see what happens"). As speakers used other languages that weren't understood by the date partner, speakers used these language not as a means of communicating content per se. Rather, the speakers constructed their identity through codeswitching. For instance, the participant that switched between Thai and German identified himself with Thai culture (Stefan, 304). In addition to this, speakers used other languages to negotiate social relationships between their date and themselves. An example of this arose when two Dutch speakers bonded over the fact that they both speak Hebrew (Nofar and Ömer, 102).

In conclusion, this section described the interactional context of using English (as well as other languages). The dataset did not contain strong differences in self-repetition or allo-repetition of English elements between German and Dutch speakers and intraspeaker variation was found in both speaker groups. Interestingly, both speaker groups sometimes uttered one message twice, in both English and German or Dutch code. Yet, the form of the repetition differed, which implies that there were differences in the interactional functions of those repetitions as well. In terms of accommodation, it was found that the accommodation score interacted with the variable 'second date: yes/no'. This means that speakers levelled or diverged in codeswitching in relation to the social distance between the pairs. Although this effect between accommodation score and social distance

does not apply to all couples, the same notion is found in turn-based accommodation, whereby speakers exhibit local convergence and divergence. Furthermore, it was noted that German speakers used English to attenuate rejection of their date and speakers of both languages used switching to other languages to signal specific identities. All findings will be interpreted and related to previous research in the next chapter.

6 Discussion

This thesis investigated German-English and Dutch-English codeswitching behaviour by speakers on a blind date in the TV programme *First Dates*. The codeswitches were analysed in terms of several structural (i.e. codeswitch length, word or phrase category, adaptation to the recipient language) and a semantic characteristic (i.e. translation equivalence). This was done to facilitate drawing comparisons on codeswitching behaviour between the *First Dates* participants and findings on members of German and Dutch CoPs that have been reported to codeswitch. In addition to this, it facilitates drawing comparisons between German speakers and Dutch speakers. In addition to this, the study explored which types of speakers use English. The aim was to see how widespread the use of English is amongst German and Dutch speakers. Lastly, accommodation in codeswitching and repetition of English elements were examined in order to investigate whether speakers would use codeswitching functionally to moderate social distance. Below, the findings are related to the main research question and the sub-questions that were posed in the introduction (section 1.1). Subsequently, this chapter notes the limitations of this study and proposes suggestions for further research. Lastly, a preliminary conclusion on codeswitching behaviour in communication between strangers follows.

6.1 Revisiting the research questions

6.1.1 Community norms regarding codeswitching

Previous research has focused on German-English and Dutch-English codeswitching within specific communities of practice (CoPs). CoPs are close-knit groups of people that share goals and linguistic repertoires among members (Wenger, 1998, pp. 125-26). It was not known to what extent codeswitching also occurs beyond the context of the CoPs that have been investigated, whereby speakers do not share linguistic repertoires that are specific to communication between CoP members. Therefore, the aim of this project was to examine the following: *to what extent do speakers of German and speakers of Dutch use codeswitching when communicating with strangers?*

The main findings include that speakers mainly embed English words and phrases into German or Dutch speech (insertion). Only a few sentence-level switches were found in the *First Dates* data (alternation). German speakers codeswitch around three times and Dutch speakers codeswitch four times on average per speaker in the course of a first date. Zenner and Van De Mieroop (2017) note that, as language contact with English is largely indirect [42], Dutch-English codeswitches are not expected to occur in day-to-day conversations between speakers of Dutch. In the *First Dates* dataset, native speakers of German and Dutch communicate with other native speakers on national TV. Therefore, it would be legitimate to assume this is a single language context, in which bilinguals do not engage in switching before knowing their partner's attitude towards it (Gumperz, 1982). Yet, the sheer amount of switches that occurred in *First Dates* – around 400 by Dutch speakers and 200 by German speakers in total during the average seven minutes of screen time per speaker – points in a

[42] Most contact is mediated and there is limited interaction with native speakers, see section 2.4.

different direction: it is deemed conventional to codeswitch between German-English and Dutch-English while conversing in German or Dutch.

Though the dataset contained a few speakers that did not codeswitch and the codeswitching frequency differed considerably between speakers, the majority of the *First Dates* participants used at least one English element when communicating with a stranger. The German and Dutch episodes portrayed a wide mixture of speakers from various age groups, various places of residence and various social classes; the fact that the majority of these participants codeswitched is also an indication of positive perceived norms regarding use of English in German and Dutch.

Furthermore, speakers used both listed items that are attested in the German or Dutch dictionary as well as non-listed items that stem directly from English code. More specifically, by using English to communicate with their date, participants assume that their date has an understanding of English, as well as a neutral or positive attitude towards switching. This is in line with the fact that German and Dutch texts are interspersed with English words and phrases in for example advertisements and song lyrics (see section 2.3). The abundance of codeswitching in a blind date context shows that the negative norms towards English in written German (Krüger, 2015) and Dutch (Van der Zwan et al., 2009) are not perceived by speakers as such when conversing with a stranger. Rather, it has become an unmarked and acceptable choice to use English while speaking to a stranger, which entails that speakers perceive the norms regarding German-English and Dutch-English codeswitching as positive. In order to get more insight into the frequency, form and meaning of codeswitching by German and Dutch speakers, several sub-questions were posed in the introduction. The answers to these sub-questions and further remarks on the hypotheses are elaborated upon in the following sections.

6.1.2 Codeswitching in communication between strangers

The section above described that speakers perceive codeswitching outside of CoP-specific context as acceptable. The first sub-question aimed to examine whether there are differences between codeswitching between members of the CoPs that were reported to codeswitch and codeswitching in communication between strangers. Regarding the form of the codeswitches, it was hypothesised that most of the switches would involve insertion of a single English word in German or Dutch speech. In the *First Dates* data, this heavy single-word tendency is also present and longer stretches seldom occurred in the data. Even amongst pairs that used English relatively often, speakers hardly ever used longer strings of English (i.e. a maximum of four words in German and seven words in Dutch). This finding corresponds to the fact that previous research found a majority of single-word switches in online contexts (e.g. Siebenhaar, 2005; Vriesendorp & Rutten, 2017). Still, the length of the codeswitches was in general shorter than studies on CoPs. For instance, Weger (2016) finds that 5% of all switches are complete sentences, whereas in *First Dates* it is only 0,1%. Moreover, there were no stretches of English over multiple turns. However, it could have been the case that these were simply not broadcasted.

Moreover, most studies on codeswitching in CoPs find “creative” interaction with English elements (i.e. speakers create new expressions that do not exist in standard English), such as morphological integration, puns and alternative spelling (e.g. Garley & Hockenmaier, 2012; Weger, 2016). In this

study, speakers did not frequently adapt the English element to the recipient language grammar: for non-listed items less than 10% was adapted, and for listed items less than 25%. Moreover, most adaptations pertained to the conjugation of an English verb to fit the German or Dutch sentence (e.g. *snowboarden*). The *First Dates* participants seldom exhibited any other cases of adaptation. Though Dutch speakers on two occasions interacted creatively with an English element (that is, the pun on the bartender's eyes, see (15), and the verbal derivation of an exclamation in *cheersen*, see (12), p. 49), these are only two instances in over 400 codeswitches. German speakers did not creatively adapt English elements at all. So, in contrast to what was hypothesised, the creative adaptation of English as found in CoPs was not nearly as frequent in speech directed towards strangers. Overall, glocalization of English in German and Dutch (i.e. nativization of foreign elements to fit native language grammar) was less common and less diverse than what was found in CMC (computer-mediated communication) between members of CoPs (Garley & Hockenmaier, 2012; Vriesendorp & Rutten, 2017; Weger, 2016). This difference can be explained either by the fact that the speakers in *First Dates* are less proficient than the speakers in research on CMC, or by the fact that adaptations and puns are more difficult to produce in speech than in computer-mediated conversations. Alternatively, creative adaptation is more marked to use in this particular setting: as the participants do not know their date's proficiency in English, they do not creatively combine English elements with German or Dutch.

The sections above described the form and adaptation of codeswitching. In order to compare the codeswitches at a semantic level, this study also examined the translational equivalence of the switches. Interestingly, the data contained many exclamations (e.g. *cheers*) and interjections (*sorry*) that have translation equivalents in German or Dutch. Overall, speakers of Dutch used more English words that have a translation equivalent than speakers of German (also known as "intentional English"). The findings for speakers of Dutch correspond to Weger's findings (2016) on the use of intentional English by Dutch youth: in both datasets roughly 80 percent of the switches have a Dutch equivalent. This indicates that, for this measure, the behaviour in *First Dates* is similar to Dutch speakers' behaviour in this specific CoP. There is no research on translation equivalents or intentionality in German-English codeswitching. Further research could explore whether differences regarding intentionality arise in communication within and beyond CoP contexts. For instance, it could be the case that speakers of German mainly use "necessary" English items to fill lexical gaps when talking to strangers, but would use more intentional switches towards other audiences.

In investigating translation equivalence, additional findings pointed out that speakers navigate between connotations of the languages they use. Certainly, the data contained instances of intraspeaker variation: participants used an English term interchangeably with its German or Dutch translation equivalent. The fact that speakers showed intraspeaker variation indicates that the English and German or Dutch term are equal to those speakers. Yet, both German and Dutch speakers used switches which have suitable language equivalents, whereas the English variant has other connotations (cf. Fägersten, 2014). For instance, a speaker drew on the youthful connotations of English in the Netherlands to communicate a "youth slang way" of speaking (see 23). This notion of speakers drawing on different connotations is also found in so-called "evaluative" language use. In evaluative language use, speakers embed value judgements in a second language in their native code.

An example of this is when a speaker calls his date *zu crazy drauf,* "too crazy" for him, see (3). These evaluative codeswitches are also remarked on frequently in previous literature (e.g. De Decker & Vandekerckhove, 2012). So, there is little difference between speakers communicating with members of their CoP or strangers in this respect. The evaluative switches indicate that the speakers are likely to carefully navigate between meanings of phrases in English and in their native language. This is in line with the fact that bilinguals distinguish in language choices between for example emotion terms that differ in multiple languages and choose the most appropriate one (Panayiotou, 2004). This result also correspond to findings on switching in social media and printed communication: the use of English supplements German or Dutch discourse and is used pragmatically, for example, to evoke the modern connotations of English (e.g. Androutsopoulos, 2012; De Decker & Vandekerckhove, 2012; Knospe, 2007).

In conclusion, codeswitching behaviour when communicating with a stranger does not differ from behaviour in communication between members of the CoPs that were reported to codeswitch in terms of single-word insertions, translational equivalence (for Dutch) and evaluative language use. Creative adaptation, however, are not found in the context of a blind date, but this difference could be explained by the fact that creative adaption is more difficult to produce in speech than in CMC.

6.1.3 Widespread use of codeswitching

Another aim of this research project was to explore how widespread the use of English is amongst different types of speakers. A number of hypotheses were raised regarding what types of speakers might be more inclined to codeswitch – at all or more frequently – than other speakers. Certainly, it is important to keep in mind that speaker types are not homogeneous groups. This means that not all speakers that belong to the same type exhibit identical codeswitching behaviour or have identical social motivations behind switching (Finnis, 2014). Rather, the aim here was to find general tendencies between certain stratifications of speakers (or a lack thereof).

Firstly, codeswitching frequency was not associated with the speakers' gender. This is in line with the hypothesis that speaker's switching would not interact with the gender variable. This finding corresponds to Gardner-Chloros' remarks (2012) that in most studies on codeswitching that take gender into account as a sociolinguistic variable, codeswitching cannot be correlated with speakers' gender. Secondly, this study hypothesised that gay participants would switch more frequently, as codeswitching is reported to be a feature of the Dutch gay community. This study found no correlations between codeswitching frequency and participants on a date with someone from the same gender. So, this finding refutes the hypothesis regarding the association between speaker's sexuality and codeswitching frequency. The finding contrasts with the fact that English-Dutch codeswitching is a feature of the Dutch gay community, whose members closely identify with English-language role models (Vriesendorp & Rutten, 2017). However, this difference could be explained by the fact that not every homosexual speaker is automatically part of the gay community. Alternatively, it is possible that the dataset has too few gay participants to find an effect of speakers' sexuality (15% of the German speakers and 20% of the Dutch speakers).

Another hypothesis on speaker types stated that young speakers would be more inclined to codeswitch than older speakers. The regression analyses revealed a correlation between codeswitching frequency and the age group for speakers above 45: speakers above 45 are less likely to have more instances of codeswitching compared to younger speakers. It is noteworthy that this effect is found for speakers above 45 rather than for speakers above 30. The hypothesis on age is confirmed in part, as speakers under 45 were more likely to codeswitch, rather than young speakers specifically. This finding is not in line with previous research that states that adolescents in particular codeswitch in communication between members of youth CoPs (Androutsopoulos, 2003; De Decker & Vandekerckhove, 2012; Grau, 2009; Weger, 2016). Moreover, it is difficult to link this finding to the fact that younger speakers have more exposure to English in education and leisure. The reason for this is that more intensive exposure is a very recent development and would not extend to speakers above 30 years old (Edwards, 2016; Grau, 2009). So, the effect that participants under 45 are more likely to codeswitch is unexpected. A feasible explanation for this finding is that the use of codeswitching has extended from youth speakers to broader groups in society, a notion that was already introduced by Elsen and Lønsmann (2003; 2009). Another finding that supports this notion is the fact that older speakers use English phrases that are labelled as 'youth language' in the dictionary (e.g. David, who is 31 years old, uses the word *crazy*). This indicates that youth language, including codeswitching, spreads to broader groups of speakers.

Furthermore, it was expected that higher-educated members of society would codeswitch more frequently than lower-educated members. This study did not find any correlations between social class levels (as a proxy of educational level) in codeswitching at all during the date. In terms of codeswitching frequency, however, middle class speakers were more likely to have more occurrences of switching than lower class speakers. Edwards (2016) states that the use of English is attributed to highly-educated members specifically, who have had intensive exposure to English in university education. Yet, this effect is not found in the *First Dates* data. Rather, the data reveals that speakers who have received vocational education are more likely to codeswitch frequently than lower-educated speakers. The notion that codeswitching spreads from specific groups to broader groups of speakers (as illustrated in the paragraph above) might also apply to the case of social class.

The last hypothesis on speaker types predicted that the urbanity of the speaker's place of residence might affect codeswitching behaviour. The results correspond to the prediction that speakers living in urban areas would be inclined to codeswitch more often than speakers from rural areas: the data showed that speakers who live in a relatively small town (<50.000 inhabitants) codeswitched less frequently than speakers from more urban areas. The difference between speakers can be explained by the fact that rural communities have less rich networks of speakers, as rural communities have close community ties on a smaller scale (Turcanu, 2012); therefore, German and Dutch speakers from rural communities presumably do not codeswitch as often, because they have less need for speaking English, e.g. they do not come into contact with non-natives with whom they use English as a lingua franca. The correlation between urbanity and codeswitching behaviour has not been reported before. However, this study did find an effect between urbanity and codeswitching. This shows that the

urbanity of the speakers' place of residence is a relevant factor when researching social factors on codeswitching.

The findings on German and Dutch speaker types indicate that there are not one or two types of speakers that codeswitch (e.g. only higher-educated speakers, youth speakers or gay speakers). So, English is not only used by elite groupings (such as the groups mentioned above), but rather across a wide variety of the German and Dutch population. This study found that large parts of the German population switch and that German speakers use codeswitching with specific functions (to manage social distance and to attenuate a rejection). The functional use of English indicates that English has expanded functions. So, these findings provide the empirical evidence for the ESL status of Germany that Kautzsch (2014) mentioned to be absent in previous studies. The use of English in German and Dutch speech possibly stems from subcommunities originally. Yet, the fact that various types of speakers do codeswitch in conversations with strangers indicates that the use of codeswitching is widespread across large parts of the German and Dutch population.

6.1.4 German-English vs. Dutch-English codeswitching

Above, it was described that, although higher-educated speakers and young speakers have likely had more exposure to English, most types of speakers engaged in codeswitching during a first date. Therefore, it seems that exposure is not necessarily influential on what types of speakers codeswitch. This is probably because every German and Dutch speaker has access to English-language sources. Moreover, this can be due the fact that English has a prestigious status in both Germany and the Netherlands, though exposure differ between these two countries. Generally, similarities were found between German and Dutch speakers: the distribution of listed and non-listed items barely differed between the two speaker groups. In addition to this, there was considerable overlap in semantic categories of English words that are adopted from English in both languages (e.g. sports terms). These findings suggest that, when it comes to acceptance of English items into another language, both German and Dutch are influenced in a comparable way. However, some noteworthy differences arose in the codeswitching behaviour of German speakers and Dutch speakers.

Generally, the analyses revealed variation between German speakers and Dutch speakers in terms of frequency: Dutch speakers codeswitched more frequently per minute speaking time, as well as more frequently on average during the course of a first date in comparison to German speakers. Moreover, the only factor that showed correlation with the likelihood for participants to codeswitch at all during the date was the speakers' country: Dutch speakers were five times more likely to use English than German speakers. This effect remained even when taking into account other sociolinguistic variables. So, a Dutch speaker switched more often on average as compared to a German speaker, even though both participant pools were very diverse and other social characteristics were taken into account in testing this. Not only did Dutch speakers codeswitch more frequently than German speakers, the Dutch data also contained longer strings of English.

Regarding the form of the switches, it was expected that speakers of Dutch would likely use items that are less insertable more often. Both German and Dutch speakers mostly exhibited insertion of English, rather than alternation or congruent lexicalization between English and German or Dutch.

So, the speaker groups did not show much variance in the manner of switching. Likewise, the majority of the switches pertained to noun or adjective insertions in German and Dutch. Yet, the Dutch participants used a much wider variety of word and phrase categories. When relating the findings to the insertability scales, Dutch speakers used less insertable items in their Dutch speech, i.e. items that are less easy to insert according to Muysken's insertability scales (2013, explained in 3.1). In terms of category, the German speakers only inserted verbs, while Dutch speakers also used English adpositions, which are less easy to insert than verbs. In terms of complexity, the German speakers mostly stuck to the insertion of compounds, while speakers of Dutch also inserted English fixed phrases and modifier-head combinations into Dutch (e.g. an English adjective modifying an English noun). The use of items that are less insertable is more frequent when monolingual norms have been relaxed (Muysken, 2013, p. 201). Therefore, the monolingual norms are presumed to be stronger in Germany, possibly because the opposition to foreign influences in German is stronger than for Dutch (Hilgendorf, 2007). Altogether, it seems that Dutch speakers are more agile in switching, meaning that they switch more often, in longer stretches and use less insertable items.

The adaptation of the codeswitches showed variation in a similar direction: Dutch speakers displayed higher percentages of adaptation to the recipient language. German speakers mostly adapted verbs, with a single instance of an adjective inflected for German case. Though it did not occur very frequently in *First Dates*, speakers of Dutch generally produced more diverse instances of adaptation (i.e. different morphological processes). Their adaptation included inflection of adjectives and even a verb derived from an exclamation (*cheersen*). So, according to the insertability scale for morphology, Dutch speakers again used less easily insertable items, since they used elements that are lower on the insertability scales of Muysken (2013). Besides, this study found evidence that Dutch speakers have "learned" how to switch (i.e. they adopt codeswitching patterns from other speakers, see Boumans, 2002); the evidence for this claim is that Dutch speakers sometimes repaired their own or their partner's codeswitch, as if there were established or normalized patterns in Dutch-English codeswitching (cf. normalized patterns in Spanish-English communities; Balam et al., 2020).

The Dutch data also contained adaptations of English at levels other than morphological adaptation: in using of English elements, speakers on some occasions deviated from the dictionary entries. Moreover, Dutch speakers often used the interjection *yes*, which differs from the meaning as reported by the Dutch dictionary (i.e. as a marker of confirmation rather than as an exclamation of joy). Its use also differs from the use of this word in English, as *yes* is not used as a marker of confirmation but rather as marker of agreement in English. This broadened meaning of an English word in Dutch is a quite recent development [43]. Certainly, Dutch speakers use entire fixed phrases in English (e.g. *in the middle of nowhere*), which indicates imitation rather than innovation (Zenner & Geeraerts, 2015). However, more instances of semantic broadening of English words occurred in Dutch. For example, a speaker uses *gay* for "lesbian", while according to the OED, in English this term is mostly used for

[43] *Yes* has a very low frequency in the Dutch SUBTLEX corpus, especially compared to its frequency in *First Dates* (Keuleers, Brysbaert & New, 2010).

homosexual men. The fact that speakers attribute new meanings to English words hints at a semantic stage of innovation rather than imitation (cf. Gerritsen & Nickerson, 2004).

There is a lack of evidence that German speakers use English innovatively like the Dutch do. Whereas Dutch speakers on two occasions creatively adapted English elements (see 6.1.2), no such cases were found in the German data. Moreover, German speakers infrequently adapted English words and phrases to the recipient language, so the use of glocalized English elements was not encountered in the German *First Dates*. On the other hand, German speakers sometimes pronounced established loans, that are phonologically adapted (as reported by the dictionary), as if they were not adapted by maintaining the English pronunciation. In line with this, the German codeswitches contained a few verbs that were inserted without being adapted to German grammar. The lack of innovation by German speakers contrasts with findings on the hip-hop CoP that was discussed before, where German speakers show innovation in using anglicisms (Garley, 2010).

Regarding semantic considerations in codeswitching, German speakers generally used more items that have a translational equivalent. This can be seen as an indication that Dutch speakers codeswitched for lexical purposes less often (cf. De Decker & Vandekerckhove, 2012), whereas German speakers are presumably guided more by lexical motivations. However, it must be noted here that the German informant coded the translation equivalence for German, whereas I coded the translation equivalence for Dutch. Therefore, the difference in translation equivalence of codeswitched items may partly be due to variation in the process of rating. Another interesting finding is that, in the Dutch data, speakers on some occasions repeated their codeswitch in the same utterance. By doing this, they marked the fact that they are using another code, so as to draw attention to or emphasize the English element (Harjunpää & Mäkilähde, 2016). For German speakers, however, there was a different tendency in repetitions: English elements were sometimes immediately followed by a German translation, presumably in order to make sure their partner understood them. So, there are different tendencies in codeswitching between German and Dutch speakers when it comes to lexical motivations and repetition of codeswitching.

The answer to the third sub-question is as follows: though some domains of codeswitching were comparable between the speaker groups, Germans codeswitched less frequently, used less items that are more difficult to insert and did not adapt English elements as frequently. They also used more English elements with lexical motivations than Dutch speakers. As English has the same prestigious status in both countries and the data contained a wide variety of speaker types, these differences are likely due to differences in the societal position of English. The differences can be explained by the fact that the use of English is generally less prevalent in German society: German speakers receive less exposure to English than Dutch speakers (e.g. in television programmes) and do not regularly use English in daily life (Stefanowitsch, 2002). So, exposure to English does not seem to be a factor in which types of speakers switch, but it seems to be a relevant factor in the frequency and form of codeswitching. In conclusion, the perceived norms regarding the act of codeswitching are more positive for speakers of Dutch than for speakers of German, presumably as a result of the difference in exposure to English on a societal level.

6.1.5 Functional use of codeswitching

In the section above, it was noted that there are differences between German and Dutch speakers in frequency and form of codeswitching. Nevertheless, the two speaker groups did not behave differently in terms of functional purposes of codeswitching. The fourth sub-question aimed to investigate a functional purpose of switching: it explored whether speakers would moderate their codeswitching according to their partner's switching in order to manage social distance. In measuring accommodation with a global approach, i.e. the accommodation measure, the contribution to the total number of codeswitches per pair was more balanced for pairs that did want a second date than for pairs who did not want a second date. This means that the participants' codeswitching behaviour can be linked to greater or lesser social distance between the conversational partners. Interestingly, Beňuš et al. (2012) did not find any effects of accommodation in court hearings when globally comparing speakers' pause length. Possibly, the difference in variables might have caused this disparity (filled pause length as opposed to codeswitching frequency). However, a case can be made for a stronger presence of accommodation in the context of a blind date, in which speakers can use accommodation as a strategy for dealing with the uncertainty of not knowing how they are being judged by the unfamiliar partner (MacIntyre, 2019).

So, the data showed an effect between accommodation in codeswitching and social distance. However, this study did not find results of speech accommodation based on listed switches only or non-listed switches only. Therefore, it can be concluded that speakers do not adapt their codeswitching relative to whether the word is accepted in the recipient language. Rather, they simply level their switching according to the general use of English. However, in testing listed and non-listed items separately, it must be noted that only a few items per pair were available for testing. So, analyses that consider more listed and non-listed items per pair might yield different results.

In examining accommodation with a turn-based approach, evidence was found for local convergence and local divergence. In terms of convergence, the data contained instances of partners mirroring a codeswitch by their partner with another codeswitch on their behalf. This finding resembles the results on local accommodation in codeswitching by Lønsmann (2009) and Zenner and Van De Mieroop (2017). Participants were found adopting the English phrase that their date had used to minimize distance. For example, participants shadowed their partner's exclamation ***cheers*** in order to create a bonding moment with their date. On the other hand, speakers sometimes used English to diverge from their partner when marking a contrast between themselves and their date, for example when they differed in opinion. The fact that speakers converged or diverged locally bears resemblance to the significant interaction between local accommodation in filled pause behaviour and social distance found by Beňuš et al. (2012). However, it must be taken into account that evidence for local convergence may also be partly due to a priming effect: a speaker's use of English stimulates their partner to use English as well, since preceding English utterances, loans or cognates can trigger codeswitches as a result of a strong connection in the mental lexicon (see for instance Broersma, 2009).

No differences could be identified in accommodation behaviour between German and Dutch speakers, either globally or locally. Though the accommodation in codeswitching does not link up consistently

with every instance of switching, the results strongly indicate that German and Dutch speakers converged or diverged in codeswitching to manage social distance between them and their partner. The results of the global and local approach are in line with the hypothesis regarding the fourth sub-question; speakers indeed make use of accommodation in codeswitching during a blind date.

In addition to the findings on accommodation, the data contained evidence that speakers draw on other languages for other social functions as well. For instance, some German speakers used English elements to "soften the blow" when rejecting their partner for a second date. Presumably, they used their second language to detach emotionally from the situation (compare with Pavlenko, 2004, p. 179). Another instance of functional switching arose when speakers used other languages to invoke a specific identity feature, e.g. a speaker used Thai to display their affiliation with the culture. These instances of switches to other languages than English found in the corpora suggest that speakers draw on all languages they know to communicate a concept or identity. Interestingly, their partner does not need to be proficient in those languages for this purpose. The cases described above imply that speakers make functional and meaningful use of codeswitching, which is similar to the use of codeswitching between members of CoPs (Nguyen, 2013).

6.2 Limitations and further research

The main aim of this project was to investigate speakers in a specific setting, namely on a blind date. This setting invites us to look at conversations that are sociologically interesting: because the conversations are between complete strangers, the speakers have to make predictions about their date. Yet, it is important to keep in mind that it is not a daily situation; the possible nerves related to going on a date that is broadcast on national TV might have affected the participants' behaviour. In addition, it is not known how the participants behave when communicating to speakers that are familiar to them. For example, they could codeswitch very often, but hold back during a date. Thus, it is difficult to conclude anything about whether or not participants change their regular linguistic output in communicating with a stranger. More importantly, there is no information on the speakers' language proficiency in either German, Dutch or English. So, it could be the case that it is not the social environment, but the variance in proficiency that leads to individual differences. This makes it somewhat problematic to link specific codeswitching patterns – such as patterns in adaptation to the native language grammar – to particular groups of speakers unambiguously. Moreover, the statistical analyses were not corrected for family wise error, so marginally significant values could also have been interpreted as unsignificant ones. Certainly, this study examined a socially diverse sample of speakers, but did not take proficiency into account. Hence, I suggest a study that takes the speakers' proficiency into account while investigating codeswitching by speakers in different contexts. For instance, it could consider variation in speakers' behaviour between communicating with strangers and communicating with familiar speakers (e.g. friends). Such a study would shed more light on speakers adapting codeswitching behaviour to various audiences.

Furthermore, the dataset consisted of TV episodes, rather than full transcripts of the blind date. The format of the data made it difficult to measure the relative frequency of codeswitches in any other way than using speaking time. Certainly, speaking time was not associated with the frequency of codeswitching. However, more precise findings on relative frequency might arise under a different

quantification of codeswitches, e.g. considering what percentage of sentences contain codeswitches out of all sentences. The fact that the data consisted of TV episodes also means that only certain parts of the participants' conversations were considered. So, as mentioned before, fragments containing larger strings of English could simply have been excluded from the episodes. After editing, the episodes shift intermittently between scenes, and the order of the scenes might not be the actual order of the events. Therefore, my findings were based on broadcasted material with an unconfirmed chronology, which prohibited examining how speakers might alter codeswitching as the conversation progresses. Speakers might "test the water" and probe codeswitches to find out their partner's attitudes towards switching (Zenner et al., 2019). Therefore, further studies on codeswitching towards a stranger would greatly benefit from including probing and development throughout a conversation.

In reflection on the accommodation measure, another limitation emerged with respect to social distance between the speakers. The factor that was used as a proxy of social distance was quite arbitrary, namely whether the speakers wanted a second date or not. It is possible that speakers clicked at a non-romantic level and showed convergence but did not want a second date. Moreover, the accommodation score was calculated per pair without taking into account individual differences. However, speakers can vary in accommodation behaviour individually (e.g. between female and male speakers; MacIntyre, 2019), so it may be the case that individual effects were overlooked. Furthermore, the accommodation measure only investigated accommodation in codeswitching frequency, rather than to any other dimension of codeswitching such as adaptation or word/phrase category. In line with this, it was considered beyond the scope of this project to include phonological realisations of English elements for every item. Yet, accommodation is also found in phonological domains (Coupland, 2010), so it could well have been the case that speakers mirrored or deviated from their partner's pronunciation in codeswitching. In addition to this, the validity of the accommodation measure would have benefited greatly from a comparison with another variable measuring accommodation behaviour; if accommodation in codeswitching could be combined with accommodation in another dimension (e.g. pause behaviour), this would have aided more sound conclusions on speakers managing social distance. Unfortunately, because of the format of the data, it was not possible to include a variable such as pause behaviour. Further research could combine measures on accommodation of codeswitching with convergence and divergence in other linguistic cues (like pause behaviour, phonological realisations, etc.).

It can be debated whether the findings on the use of English are blurred by the fact that this study included listed items. This is because these items are roughly accepted into the recipient language, rather than stemming directly from English code. However, it is interesting that the division between listed and non-listed items was very comparable between German and Dutch speakers. This is also the case for several semantic categories of listed items. Besides the fact that considering listed items provided the insights mentioned above, there were ambiguities in the dataset with regard to accepted use of words. For instance, a wide variety of German speakers used *cheers* and *sorry* very frequently and these words seem to be accepted in German speech. However, these words are not listed in the German dictionary; this shows that the dictionary does not provide a clear distinction between loans and codeswitches. In addition to this, the accommodation measure was not associated with the use

listed or non-listed items separately, whereas the combination of the two sets did find an effect for social distance. I would recommend other studies in codeswitching to also consider listed items as relevant in researching the use of material from another language.

On a last note, in 6.1.3, it was argued that the use of German-English and Dutch-English codeswitching might have spread from subcommunities to larger groups of speakers (in line with suggestions by Elsen, 2003 and Lønsmann, 2009). This thesis takes a snapshot of the current codeswitching behaviour by various speakers when communicating on a first date. Yet, a longitudinal study on codeswitching might provide more detailed information on how this trend spreads in society, e.g. from youth speakers to older speakers and from higher-educated speakers to middle and lower class speakers.

6.3 Conclusion

In analysing speech by speakers on a blind date, this research project found that German and Dutch speakers oftentimes use English elements when communicating with strangers. This suggests that the use of German-English and Dutch-English codeswitching is not only a phenomenon found in specific CoPs. Rather, it seems that, besides the fact that it is common to see English phrases in German and Dutch public texts, it is also common to hear English phrases in German and Dutch speech. This indicates that societal norms towards the use of English in German and Dutch speech are perceived as positive. Presumably, English is so prevalent at this point in time that codeswitching between English and other languages has become common across various contexts, including communication between strangers. Moreover, analyses of what types of speakers use English in their native language pointed out that codeswitching is not limited to single groups of speakers. It seems that codeswitching has expanded from a characteristic of some CoPs to a broader use by various types of speakers.

Overall, Dutch speakers generally engaged in codeswitching more frequently and used insertions that are less easy to insert more frequently than German speakers. Moreover, Dutch speakers used more intentional English phrases (i.e. which have an equivalent in Dutch) and adapted English more often. These findings are likely due to the difference in perceived norms on codeswitching as a result of the variation in the societal position of English. Though differences arose in structural and semantic domains, both speaker groups supplemented their native speech with the use of English and navigated between social connotations of the languages they use. Similarly, both German and Dutch speakers made functional use of codeswitching: they were found to manage social distance between themselves and their date in accommodating codeswitching, and German speakers weakened rejection in English code. Furthermore, this thesis argued that speakers of Dutch might have an established way of switching, as they repair their own or their partner's switch. Dutch speakers also exhibit innovative uses of English, as they morphologically and sometimes semantically adapt the insertions. Similar evidence is lacking for German speakers for the time being.

To conclude, when speakers go on a date with a complete stranger, they tend to use all possible (linguistic) resources to win them over; for most German and Dutch speakers, this includes the widely-accepted and functional use of English embedded in German or Dutch code.

Es ist, wie man sagt, <u>all over the place</u>

"It is, as they say, all over the place"

- German speaker in a mustard competition

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Appendices

Table A: Overview of the *First Dates* episodes and their airing dates

The Netherlands		**Germany**	
Number	**Date**	**Number**	**Date**
101	31/08/2020	301	30/09/2020
102	01/09	302	29/09
103	02/09	303	28/09
104	03/09	304	25/09
105	04/09	305	24/09
106	07/09	306	23/09
107	08/09	307	22/09
108	09/09	308	21/09
109	10/09	309	18/09
110	11/09	310	17/09

Figure B: Distribution of age groups, divided per age group (marked by colours) and country. Here, "0" is Germany and "1" is the Netherlands.

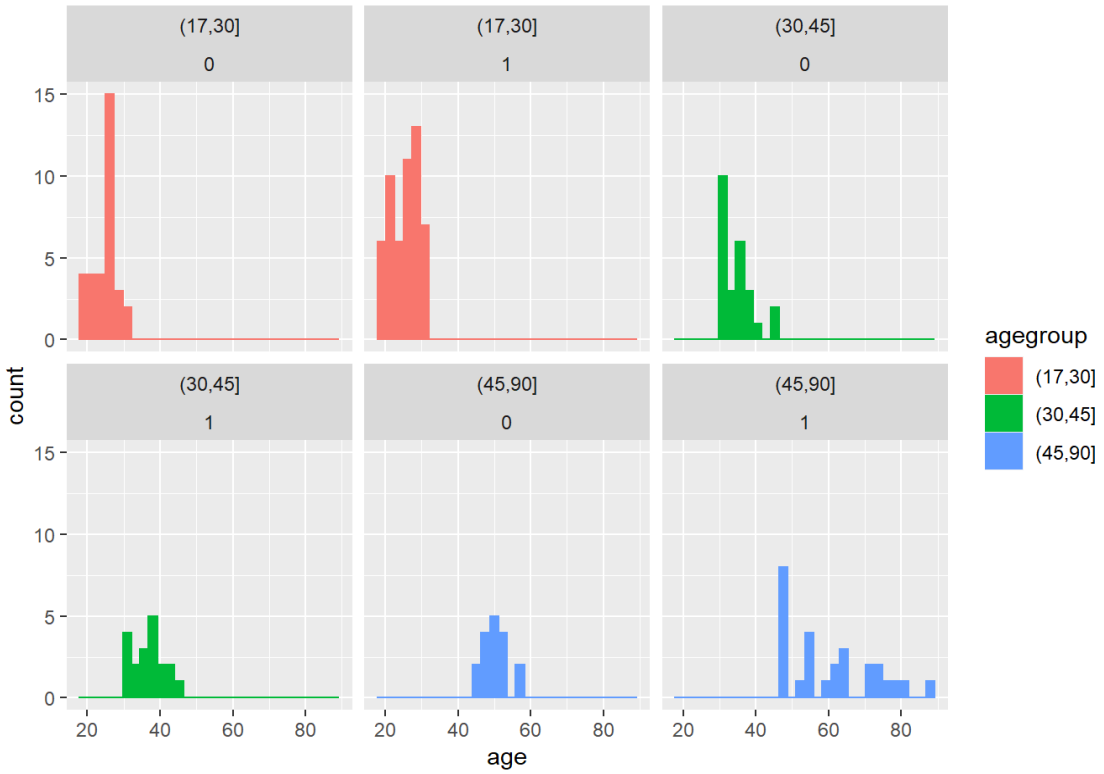

Table C: Coding of the categories:

Topic	Coding category	Type of category	Coding				
Episode	**Number**		DE: 300	NL: 100			
Speaker	**Name**	open	[name]				
	Sexuality	category	hetero = date with other sex	gay = date with same sex			
	Gender	category	female	male	other		
	Age	number	[age]				
	Social class	(1-3)	1 = manual / unskilled	2 = middle class	3 = university education		
	Urbanity	(1-3)	1 = urban, >100.000	2 = middle, >50.000, <100.000	3 = small, <50.000		
	Speaking time	(sec)	[number]				
	Second date?	yes/no	yes = second date	no = no further date			
Codeswitch	**Previous sentence**	open	[utterance]	\ = N/A	[] = any other information on conversation		
	CS sentence	open	[utterance]	^ = see above			
	CS element	open	[english element]				
	Next sentence	open	[utterance]	\ = N/A	[] = any other information on conversation		
Categorization	**Number of words**	number	[number]				
	Word category	category	n = noun	v = verb	np = noun phrase	a = adjective	ap = adjective phrase
	Adaptation	yes/no	yes = added morphology	no = 'bare' english form			
	Recipient language alternative	yes/no	yes = equivalent	no = no equivalent			
Status	**Dictionary status**	category	yes = listed	no = unlisted	deviating = deviates fr b.j. = youth language DE	j.t. = youth language NL	
	Frequency in SUBTLEX	number	[number]	#N/B = not in corpus			
Context	**Repetition**	category	self = speaker self	allo = partner in conversation			
		category	local = within next utterance	later = later in conversation	shadow = only the word		
Comment		open	[any other info]				

Table D: Examples of coding

Topic	Coding category	Example DE	Example NL
Episode	**#**	301	107
Speaker	**Name**	micha	scott
	Sexuality	hetero	gay
	Gender	f	m
	Age	23	24
	Social class	3	3
	Urbanity	3	1
	Speaking time (sec)	462	420
	Second date	yes	no
Codeswitch	**Previous sentence**	nachdem er auch müncher ist	en mannelijk natuurlijk
	CS sentence	ich bin wirklich happy darüber	ja dat is de hoe noem je dat de holy grail van de homos
	CS element	happy	holy grail
	Next sentence	weil ich sag dass alles was münchen ist (…)	ja daar zijn we allemaal naar op zoek
Categorization	**# of words**	1	2
	Word category	adjective	noun phrase
	Adapted	no	no
	Recipient language alternative?	yes	yes
Status	**Dictionary**	yes	no
	Frequency in SUBTLEX	596	#N/B
Context	**Repetition**	no	no
Comment			