

Universität Bayreuth

Fakultät für Sprach- und Literaturwissenschaften

Englische Sprachwissenschaft

PD Dr., Akad. Rat Eric Anchimbe

Dr. Jude Ssempuuma

Masterarbeit

Wintersemester 2022/23

Thema:

**Languages in Contact:
Language Use in Restaurants in the German City of
Grafenwoehr**

Patricia Maier

Abgabetermin: **28.04.2023**

Abstract

Im Rahmen der vorliegenden Masterarbeit wird das linguistische Phänomen des Sprachkontakts zwischen der deutschen und englischen Sprache, der sich in der Sprachverwendung widerspiegelt, genauer untersucht. Der Fokus der Arbeit liegt insbesondere auf dem schriftlichen Sprachgebrauch, der in den Speisekarten und den Facebook Beiträgen der einzelnen Restaurants in der deutschen Kleinstadt Grafenwöhr vorzufinden ist. Das Fallbeispiel Grafenwöhr sticht durch seine geographische Nähe zum Truppenübungsplatz heraus, der rund 12.000 amerikanische Soldaten und in etwa 18.000 amerikanische Familienangehörige und Zivilangestellte beheimatet. Da sich die Grenze zum Truppenübungsplatz inmitten von Grafenwöhr befindet, verbringt eine Vielzahl Amerikaner ihre Freizeit in der deutschen Kleinstadt, was sich deutlich in den Besucherzahlen der Restaurants niederschlägt. Daraus resultiert nicht nur reger kultureller Kontakt, sondern auch Sprachkontakt zwischen der deutschen und der amerikanisch englischen Sprache. Der Ansatz kombiniert quantitative und qualitative Methoden und bedient sich eines Fragebogens und einer linguistischen Analyse des gesammelten Sprachmaterials. Ziel der Arbeit ist es, unterschiedliche Aspekte der Sprachverwendung unter Sprachkontakt zu beleuchten. Einerseits wird untersucht, welche Sprachmuster sich sowohl im sprachlichen als auch im schriftlichen Sprachgebrauch identifizieren lassen. Weiterhin werden die schriftlichen Daten bezüglich des Auftretens von Sprachmischung, zum Beispiel in Form von Sprachwechsel oder der Entlehnung von lexikalischen Einheiten, untersucht. Danach liegt der Fokus auf den zwei- und mehrsprachigen Speisekarten und Facebook Beiträgen. Innerhalb dieser wird die Koexistenz der beteiligten Sprachen überprüft, ob sich in etwa Hierarchien zwischen den Sprachen herauskristallisieren, und ob sich die verfassenden Personen visueller Mittel zur optischen Unterscheidung der Sprachen bedienen. Der letzte Teil der Analyse evaluiert, welche Faktoren sich auf die Sprachwahl im mündlichen und schriftlichen Sprachgebrauch der Restaurants auswirken. Die Ergebnisse der Analyse der Sprachmuster in der Sprachverwendung und der niedrige Anteil an Sprachmischung deuten an, dass der Sprachkontakt zwischen der englischen und deutschen Sprache in Grafenwöhr noch relativ am Anfang steht. Dies wird auch dadurch begründet, dass Sprachmischung vor allem in stabilen zweisprachigen Sprachgemeinschaften auftritt, die sich erst nach weitreichenderem Sprachkontakt entwickeln. In knapp zwei Dritteln der zweisprachigen Speisekarten und Facebook Beiträgen ist Deutsch die Hauptsprache und wohingegen die Speisekarten konsequent optische Unterschiede zwischen den Sprachen herstellen, bedienen sich die Facebook Beiträge weniger einem konsequenten Muster. Als die Sprachwahl am meisten beeinflussende Faktoren wurden die Sprachenrepertoires der Restaurantinhaber und der Kunden identifiziert.

Table of Contents

List of Illustrations

1. Introduction	1
2. Previous Research	4
2.1 Language Contact	4
2.1.1 Definition and Importance	4
2.1.2 Approaches to Language Contact	5
2.1.3 Defining Factors	6
2.1.4 Linguistic Outcomes	7
2.2 Language Choice	11
2.2.1 Definition and Importance	11
2.2.2 Influential Factors	12
2.3 Menu	15
2.3.1 Definition and Structure	15
2.3.2 Multilingualism in Menus	16
2.4 Facebook	18
2.4.1 Digital Platform and Usage in Germany	18
2.4.2 Languages and Translation Service	19
2.4.3 Scientific Potential	20
2.5 Grafenwoehr	21
2.5.1 Facts and Numbers	21
2.5.2 Military Training Area	23
2.5.3 Cohabitation of Germans and Americans	24
3. Description of the Research Questions	25
4. Data and Methodology	26

5. Languages in Contact: Language Use in Restaurants in the German City of Grafenwoehr	31
5.1 General Results	31
5.2 Languages Characterizing the Spoken and Written Language Use of the Restaurants	34
5.2.1 Spoken Language Use	34
5.2.2 Written Language Use	38
5.3 Outcomes of Language Contact in the Written Language Use of the Restaurants	43
5.3.1 Code-Switching	44
5.3.1.1 Code-Switching in the Menus	44
5.3.1.2 Code-Switching in the Facebook Posts	47
5.3.2 Lexical Borrowing	53
5.3.2.1 Borrowings from the English Lexicon	53
5.3.2.2 Borrowings from the German Lexicon	59
5.4 Coexistence of Languages in Bi- and Multilingual Language Use	61
5.5 Factors Influencing Language Choice	67
6. Conclusion	77
7. References	79
8. Appendix	83
9. Declaration of Authorship	89

List of Illustrations

Figures

Figure 1: Map Bavaria (adapted from <i>BayernAtlas</i> , highlighting added)	22
Figure 2: Map Northwest Upper Palatine (adapted from <i>BayernAtlas</i> , highlighting added)	22
Figure 3: Map Grafenwoehr (adapted from <i>BayernAtlas</i> , highlighting added)	22
Figure 4: Web Map Grafenwoehr (adapted from <i>BayernAtlas</i>)	26
Figure 5: Restaurant Locations Grafenwoehr	32
Figure 6: Spoken Language Use Owner-Staff	34
Figure 7: Spoken Language Use Staff	35
Figure 8: Spoken Language Use Staff-Customers	36
Figure 9: Compulsory Languages Spoken by the Staff	37
Figure 10: Written Language Use Menus (According to the Questionnaire)	38
Figure 11: Written Language Use Facebook Posts (According to the Questionnaire)	39
Figure 12: Percentage of American Customers	68
Figure 13: Nationality of the Restaurant Owners	72
Figure 14: First Language(s) Spoken by the Owners	72
Figure 15: Second Language(s) Spoken by the Owners	73
Figure 16: Ethnic Cuisines of the Restaurants	75
Figure 17: Lifestyle of the Restaurants	75

Images

Image 1: Bilingual Language Use Example 1 (from Fusion Garden GmbH)	61
Image 2: Bilingual Language Use Example 2 (from Restaurant Anastasia)	62
Image 3: Bilingual Language Use Example 3 (from Zoigl zum Adler)	62
Image 4: Bilingual Language Use Example 4 (from Cheers Delivery)	62

Image 5: Multilingual Language Use Example 1 (from Pho Viet Grafenwöhr)	63
Image 6: Multilingual Language Use Example 2 (from Pho Viet Grafenwöhr)	63

Tables

Table 1: List of Restaurants	31
Table 2: Facebook Posts per Restaurant	33
Table 3: Written Language Use Menus (According to the Analysis)	39
Table 4: Written Language Use Facebook Posts (According to the Analysis)	40
Table 5: Compatibility of Results Menus	41
Table 6: Compatibility of Results Facebook Posts	41
Table 7: Comparison Spoken Language Use and Written Language Use	42
Table 8: English Code-Switching in the Menus	45
Table 9: German Code-Switching in the Menus	46
Table 10: English Code-Switching in the Facebook Posts	48
Table 11: German Code-Switching in the Facebook Posts	52
Table 12: English Lexical Borrowing in the Menus	53
Table 13: English Lexical Borrowing in the Facebook Posts	54
Table 14: English Lexical Borrowing in the Menus and Facebook Posts	56
Table 15: German Lexical Borrowing in the Menus	59
Table 16: German Lexical Borrowing in the Facebook Posts	60
Table 17: Separation Methods of Languages in the Menus	64
Table 18: Correlation Topic and Language Choice in Facebook Posts	70

1. Introduction

Stopping off at a restaurant in a German small town would probably include the assumption of being welcomed in German when entering the restaurant. However, this could be different in the Bavarian small town of Grafenwoehr. In the majority of restaurants, the waiter or waitress first makes use of the English language when inviting unknown customers to the restaurant. This occurs due to the fact that more than 80% of Grafenwoehr's population are of American origin (von Lieben and Watzke). Since 1945, an increasing number of American soldiers has been deployed in the Grafenwoehr Military Training Area. Today, around 12,000 American soldiers and their approximately 18,000 relatives find a home in and around Grafenwoehr (Stumberger). The tremendous amount of Americans living in Grafenwoehr led to increased contact between Germans and Americans on different levels. One of its direct outcomes is language contact.

Language contact developed as an individual linguistic area during the late nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century (Darquennes et al. 2019b: 1). Although, "the interest in the topic among students of language dates back much earlier than this" (Winford 2006: 6). In 1666, G. Lucio came across mixed dialects of Croatian and Romance origin during his investigation of 300-year-old Dalmatian language material (Winford 2006: 6). With the peak of historical linguistics, language contact came into the fore of interest due to its close relation to language change (Winford 2006: 6). Since the late nineteenth century, the area of language contact was indispensable for linguistic scholarship and was addressed by "great linguists as Müller (1875), Paul (1886), Johannes Schmidt (1872), and Schuchardt (1884), among others" (Winford 2006: 6). Language contact was also regarded as a decisive topic in the early structuralist movement in linguistics and emphasized by structuralists like Sapir (1921) and Bloomfield (1933), whereas language contact lost its significance during structuralism itself (Winford 2006: 6).

In the middle of the twentieth century, Weinreich (1953) and Haugen (1953) breathed new life into the area of contact linguistics (Matras 2009: 1). By "attempt[ing] to integrate linguistic analysis with social and psychological explanations to account for language contact and its consequences" (Winford 2006: 9), Weinreich (1953) and Haugen (1953) substantially contributed to formulating a framework for language contact in society. This milestone was accompanied by a great deal of publications of "introductory textbooks [...] covering topics such as the acquisition of two languages from birth, bilingual language processing, diglossia and societal bilingualism, and language policy in multilingual communities" (Matras 2009: 1). In 1988, Thomason and Kaufman achieved a further major contribution to the area of language contact from a historical linguistics' perspective. Thomason and Kaufman (1988) investigated a wide range of contact phenomena and published a monograph on the foundations and on a

theoretical framework of different language contact outcomes (Winford 2006: 9). The spectrum of language contact was further expanded by studies on pidgins, creoles, and code-switching during the 1990s (Matras 2009: 1).

Since the turn of the millennium, linguistic scholarship has more and more satisfied the call for greater interdisciplinarity within the field of language contact. Winford (2003) is said to be one of the first scholars to intertwine code-switching with a historical perspective on language contact (Matras 2009: 2). Myers-Scotton (2002 and 2005) also made significant contributions to the expansion of language contact by working on her Matrix Language Frame Model of code-switching “and appl[ying] it to further phenomena such as language attrition, lexical borrowing, and the emergence of contact languages” (Matras 2009: 2). Besides others, Myers-Scotton (2005) published works on “[f]urther aspects of bilingualism, such as second-language acquisition and child bilingualism, societal multilingualism and language policy, and language processing and intercultural communication” (Matras 2009: 2). Matras’ monograph from 2009 aims at introducing language contact by applying an integrated approach covering individual and societal bilingualism and the analysis of several language contact phenomena and the effects and consequences of language contact (Matras 2009: i). Not only Muysken’s (1995) publications on contact languages and code-switching from the 1990s but also his more recent works on various aspects of language contact and its outcomes substantially have contributed to the area of language contact to this day. Another monograph worth mentioning was written by Lim and Ansaldo (2016). The work examines language contact in the course of “popular culture, the globalised new economy and computer-mediated communication” (Lim and Ansaldo 2016: i). Therefore, besides numerous other linguistic scholars, Lim and Ansaldo (2016) contributed to opening the spectrum of language contact to the world of increased networking and its emerging challenges for not only the study of language contact.

Multiple studies on language contact and language use in bilingual speech communities focus on specific cities in detail. This approach is also applied to the thesis and therefore, it examines the example of the German small town Grafenwoehr, whose unique linguistic situation is still underestimated. In no linguistic paper published until today, Grafenwoehr is the main issue of investigation. Grafenwoehr is not only a home to its about 6,500 mostly German inhabitants (Stadt Grafenwöhr 2023) but also to around 30,000 American inhabitants (von Lieben and Watzke) who live in and around the Grafenwoehr Military Training Area. That indicates that the local population makes up approximately one-sixth of the whole population in Grafenwoehr, whereas more than four-fifths of the population are Americans. This ratio is also present in the cityscape of Grafenwoehr. According to von Lieben and Watzke, Grafenwoehr completely adapted to its American population since the takeover of the Grafenwoehr Military Training Area by the American troops in 1945 (Stumberger). Von Lieben and Watzke support

this view by the the large amount and the considerable diversity of jeeps driving through the streets, the resident US car dealers, tattoo studios, nail salons and restaurants in the German small town Grafenwoehr. The living together between German and American inhabitants is also represented in the high number of festivities and holidays that are celebrated as a community (Knobloch). This implies that mutual exchange between the two groups, not only regarding the languages and cultures, takes place in Grafenwoehr. Because of that, Grafenwoehr provides an enormous potential for not only linguistic fieldwork. Consequently, the thesis employs the linguistic situation in Grafenwoehr as one example of language contact and contributes to exploring the language use there. The aim of the paper is to examine the current language contact situation in Grafenwoehr based on the language use in the restaurants located in this German small town.

Therefore, the following chapter (Chapter 2) presents and compares different items of previous research published on the scientific foundations relevant to the thesis. This section includes a separate chapter on language contact itself (Chapter 2.1). It gives a detailed description of its definition and importance, different approaches to language contact, the defining factors in language contact and possible outcomes of language contact. As increased bilingualism arising under language contact can induce decisions around language choice, the next chapter (Chapter 2.2) defines and explains the concept of language choice and elaborates on different factors influencing language choice. The following two chapters deal with menus (Chapter 2.3) and Facebook (Chapter 2.4), providing details on their individual geneses and functionalities. In the further, language use within and the scientific potential of each unit is emphasised. The focus of the last chapter in the previous research section (Chapter 2.5) is on Grafenwoehr itself. After providing relevant information and numbers on the small town and its Military Training Area, the cohabitation of Germans and Americans in Grafenwoehr is outlined. The next part of the thesis focuses on the research project. It aims at analysing the current language contact situation in the German city of Grafenwoehr and investigating its outcomes reflected in the language use in the menus and Facebook posts of the restaurants located in Grafenwoehr. After presenting and explaining the research questions (Chapter 3), the section on the data and methodology used in the research project follows (Chapter 4). The next chapter (Chapter 5) presents the results of the research project, and the conclusion (Chapter 6) rounds down the thesis by again highlighting the most significant findings provided by the research project.

2. Previous Research

2.1 Language Contact

2.1.1 Definition and Importance

Language contact occurs when “contact between speakers of different languages or varieties” (Zimmer and Simon 2021: 1) takes place. Language contact can arise on account of direct contact “between members from different speech communities” (Sayahi 2014: 77) “in contexts of migration or colonization [...] [including] geographical movement [or] military conquest” (Baquedano-López and Kattan 2007: 79). But language contact does not only rely on direct social contact since the contact of languages is also possible in cases where speakers of one language are confronted with another language within the scope of language learning (Winford 2006: 2) or the “dissemination of mass media” (Baquedano-López and Kattan 2007: 79). In these circumstances, the speakers adapt elements from another variety and start to integrate them into their individual language use and therefore also share them in interactions with other speakers (Winford 2006: 2). Moreover, language contact can refer to the “contact between (speakers of) both typologically different and structurally similar (and mutually intelligible) varieties” (Wilson 2019: 112). Based on this distinction, some scholars distinguish between language contact and dialect contact (Wilson 2019: 112).

Within the frame of the thesis, the term language contact is used to describe all kinds of contact between different languages, varieties and dialects since the aim of this chapter is to provide an overview of language contact and its outcomes in general.

The significance of language contact lies in the fact that “most, if not all languages have been influenced at one time or another by contact with others” (Winford 2006: 2). And although this might imply that language contact occurs in a regular pattern, “every language-contact situation is unique” (Edwards 2013: 8). Each situation of language contact can, for example, differ due to the emergence of hierarchies between the different languages in contact, the individual combination of the predominant elements of the languages involved and also numerous other different factors (Edwards 2013: 8), which are discussed in more detail in chapter 2.1.3. Implications of language contact can be observed in “a great variety of domains, including language acquisition, language processing and production, conversation and discourse, social functions of language and language policy, typology, and language change, and more” (Matras 2009: 1). Therefore, language contact can be addressed from different linguistic perspectives, and as language contact does not only include the contact of languages but also the contact of different cultures, ideologies and identities (Baquedano-López and Kattan 2007: 79/80), the study of language contact offers a wide field for interdisciplinary research.

2.1.2 Approaches to Language Contact

Linguistic approaches to language contact “are now more varied and sophisticated than ever, and are applied across the whole gamut of available data, whether spoken, written, or signed, in both experimental and real-life settings” (Darquennes 2019b: 8). Consequently, this chapter focuses only on approaches which influenced the research project of the thesis.

Whereas in the beginnings of linguistic research, qualitative and quantitative methods were entirely separated from one another, their interweave today allows for the possibility of creating new “combined-methods approaches” (Darquennes 2019b: 8) and therefore deeper and more complex insights into the topic. So, linguistic studies on language contact can approach the subject matter by selecting and combining different methods from the broad spectrum of qualitative and quantitative approaches. Advances in technology also enhanced this development. New technological opportunities facilitate the process of collecting and analysing huge amounts of data (Darquennes 2019b: 8). This ensures an increasing reliability and validity of outcomes for both qualitative and quantitative approaches.

According to Lim and Ansaldo (2016), “the most powerful approach to language contact is a sociolinguistic one” (3). Sociolinguistic approaches aim at “integrat[ing] the social and linguistic in a unified framework” (Winford 2006: 6). Language contact outcomes are greatly dependent on different factors, as the following chapter elaborates in more detail. This also accounts for sociocultural variables, like social, political, and ideological factors (Lim and Ansaldo 2016: 3). Since outcomes of language contact “can be as varied and creative as the sociocultural context allows [them] to be” (Lim and Ansaldo 2016: 3), it is indispensable to consider various social influences. With this considerable depth, sociolinguistic approaches to language contact can exceed structuralist approaches to language contact in reasoning deviations of language constraints (Lim and Ansaldo 2016: 3).

Another possible approach within the field of language contact is the functional approach. A functional approach regards “language as social activity and [] communication as goal-driven” (Matras 2009: 3). In this perspective, speakers actively select “the structures, categories, and forms of language” (Matras 2009: 3) dependent on the goal they aim to accomplish within the conversation. Since language use influences not only achieving a certain goal but consequently also the hearer, the role of the interlocutor is central in functional approaches (Matras 2009: 3). Therefore, the functional approach to language contact provides an enriching set of methods for the investigation of communication arising within the frame of language contact.

Muysken (2013) mentions the scenario approach, describing “a socially contextualized interpretation of a certain outcome of language contact” (Muysken 2013: 710). So, the scenario approach focuses on various circumstances of one possible outcome of language contact in

detail. This makes the scenario approach a wide-ranging approach, including methods from multiple other perspectives on language contact.

2.1.3 Defining Factors

The possible linguistic outcomes of language contact are dependent on “two broad categories of factors – internal (linguistic) and external (social and psychological)” (Winford 2006: 2). Since this chapter aims at providing an overview of possible factors influencing language contact outcomes, only the most influential factors are discussed here.

The internal factors refer to the structural constraints of the varieties involved in language contact. The most defining linguistic factor regards the resemblance of the two varieties in contact. This can either be described as the degree of distance or the degree of similarity between the two languages (Muysken 2013: 711, Winford 2006: 2) and includes a comparison of the two languages in contact regarding their resemblance in “lexicon, morpho-syntax, semantics/pragmatics, and phonology” (Muysken 2013: 711). The degree of distance/similarity between both varieties significantly influences the range of possible outcomes of the two languages in contact. As Wilson (2019) mentions, the majority of studies within the field of language contact focus on the contact situation of typologically different languages, whereas in comparison, dialect contact involving “structurally similar and mutually intelligible varieties” (Wilson 2019: 112) requires more extensive investigation. According to Winford (2006), the internal factor of resemblance is the most pertinent linguistic constraint affecting the outcomes of language contact, besides “others of a more general, perhaps universal nature” (Winford 2006: 2).

Whereas in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century linguistic factors were regarded as the major influence on the outcomes of language contact by scholars like Müller (1985) and Jakobson (1938), Weinreich (1953) stressed the importance of extra-linguistic factors in order to gain insights into the whole spectrum of language contact situations (Winford 2006: 24-25).

The majority of external factors is considered to be social constraints influencing the outcomes of language contact. Since some authors try to further subcategorise social factors, but no consensus regarding this subdivision seems to exist, the thesis addresses all these socially associated influences under the category of social factors. The social factors “determine the outcome of contact on a macro-level, leading to different sociolinguistic scenarios or settings in which language contact takes place” (Muysken 2013: 711). The most influential social factors are: extent and degree of bilingualism; history, degree and length of contact; group size and power relationships between them; geographical and demographic distribution; religion, gender, race and age; settings/social functions of the two languages; prestige and hierarchy

between languages; attitudes towards the languages; motivations for language use and ideologies on language use (Winford 2006: 3, Winford 2006: 25, Lim and Ansaldo 2016: 3).

According to Winford (2006), it is the external factors that have a greater impact on possible outcomes of language contact (25). This observation indicates that social factors are the driving force “why all potential forms of contact-induced change [may or] may not actually materialize in a given situation” (Winford 2006: 25). Consequently, this does not denote that internal linguistic factors can be neglected, it implies that the combination of external and internal factors is essential in contributing to the outcomes of language contact.

2.1.4 Linguistic Outcomes

Depending on the constellation of different internal and external factors and the linguistic input provided by the two languages in contact, language “contact can have a wide variety of linguistic outcomes” (Winford 2006: 2). As a general rule, the linguistic outcomes of contact cannot be predicted by a given set of presuppositions since language contact outcomes are not limited to a prescribed frame and can gradually change (Winford 2006: 2, 5). Therefore, it may sometimes be rather difficult to clearly classify the outcomes of language contact, as each contact situation and, consequently, also its outcomes can be individual. The following provides a brief overview of the most common potential linguistic outcomes of language contact.

One possible outcome of language contact is **language maintenance**. Language maintenance describes the preservation of a native language by a speech community that comes into contact with another variety (Winford 2006: 11). Baker and Jones (1998) extend that view by additionally emphasizing the language’s “relative stability in its number and distribution of speakers, its proficient usage in children and adults, and to retaining the use of the language in specific domains” (Baker and Jones 1998: 185). So, language maintenance signifies that contact with another variety does not cause any externally induced changes in the native language of the speech community. In contrast to that, internal changes within the prevailing language system can happen at any time (Winford 2006: 11-12).

Moreover, language contact can lead to “**increased multilingualism**” (Lim and Ansaldo 2016: 27). A multilingual speaker is “someone who can read, write, and speak fluently in more than one language” (Altarriba and Heredia 2008b: 3). This interpretation neatly summarizes the most important skills a speaker needs to acquire in order to achieve a successful multilingual language ability, as it involves both language comprehension skills, and language production skills. Although some authors and also the definition presented above, include bilingualism in the theory of multilingualism, the thesis regards both concepts as deeply related, but distinct

notions. Therefore, bilingualism is understood as the use and comprehension of two different varieties, whereas multilingualism refers to language skills in more than two languages. Depending on the duration and the circumstances of language contact, an initially monolingual speech community can transform into an increasingly bilingual speech community, where decisions around language choice come into play. This is further discussed in Chapter 2.2. Altogether, increased bilingualism can lead to the expansion of the language repertoires of the people living in the speech communities affected by language contact.

“Language maintenance situations [] includ[ing] more or less stable bilingual speech communities” (Winford 2006: 14) can evoke the phenomenon of **code-switching**. Code-switching “denotes alternation between two language varieties” (Wilson 2019: 116). The combined usage of two varieties or dialects can occur within the same conversation or within single sentences. Therefore, scholars distinguish between different types of code-switching: intra-sentential, extra-sentential, and inter-sentential. Intra-sentential code-switching occurs when “words or phrases from [the contact] language are inserted into the first language within one sentence or utterance” (Upa’ 2014: 49). Some authors also describe this type of code-switching as code-mixing (Lim and Ansaldo 2016: 41). Extra-sentential code-switching can also be identified within single sentences, but only appears at the beginning or the ending of the utterance and therefore refers to the insertion of tags from the source language (Simpson 2019: 121). Inter-sentential code-switching describes switches between varieties across sentence boundaries, “where each clause or sentence is [] in a different language” (Upa’ 2014: 49). In general, code-switching can occur unintentionally or intentionally. The reasons for code-switching are varied and include, for example, insufficient language proficiency in the language in contact, changes in tone/emphasis, the symbolic value of one variety and the relationship between the interlocutors (DuBois 2009: 2, Simpson 2019: 133-134, Zamili 2018: 60). Since these reasons are decisive when it comes to language choice in general, they are elaborated in more detail in chapter 2.3. Linguists are in disagreement about the difference between single-word switches and lexical borrowing. The thesis distinguishes both phenomena based on their frequencies of occurrence (Winford 2006: 108). In comparison to lexical borrowing, particular single-word switches arise more spontaneously and less frequently but can function as a preliminary stage for ensuing borrowing and the incorporation into a language’s lexicon.

Scholars speak of **contact-induced language change** when one language influences the other variety it is in contact with. These changes can refer to a language’s morphological, syntactic, lexical, phonological and phonetic level and frequently include borrowings (Muysken 2013: 719-722, Adler 1977: 99). Borrowing is defined as “the incorporation of foreign features into a group’s native language by speakers of that language: the native language is maintained but

is changed by the addition of the incorporated features” (Thomason and Kaufman 1988: 37). Basically, borrowing describes a transfer of elements from one language into the other. The language adapting new features is also denoted as recipient language, whereas the language providing these features is also referred to as source language (Winford 2006: 12). According to Wilson (2019), borrowings do not only occur in one direction but are the result of a mutual relationship between the two languages in contact (113). Moreover, “there is usually asymmetry that stems from the prestige of the two varieties” (Wilson 2019: 113). This indicates that normally, there is a hierarchy between the two languages, with one language being the majority and the other being the minority language within the speech community. In the frame of transfer, scholars distinguish between **lexical borrowing**, influencing the lexicon of the recipient language and **structural borrowing**, affecting the recipient language’s “phonology, morphology, syntax, and semantics” (Winford 2006: 12). Lexical borrowing occurs due to two reasons. First, the absence of a corresponding equivalent in the native language (Baker and Jones 1998: 164, Wilson 2019: 114). This commonly includes cultural loans referring to “new cultural associations (e.g. food items like *pretzel* and *bruschetta*)” (Wilson 2019: 114). Second, the incorporation of lexical items with “different shades of meaning” (Baker and Jones 1998: 164) as an addition to the already existing corresponding equivalent. An example of this is the “French *au contraire* [which] is more ironic (when used by native speakers of English) than English *on the contrary*” (Wilson 2019: 114). Lexical borrowing does not require the occurrence of intensive direct contact (Wilson 2019: 114) and so, the origins of lexical borrowing are easier to reconstruct. In comparison to lexical borrowing, structural borrowing is less frequent and the origin of a transfer of structural items is more difficult to identify (Winford 2006: 12,114). Therefore, scholars are divided over individual examples of structural borrowings but there is general consensus on the long-term impact of lexical borrowing on phonology and morphology (Winford 2006: 54). As Winford (2006) stresses, structural borrowing results from intensive lexical borrowing (54) and therefore arises from a gradual process. One example of structural borrowing resulting from lexical borrowing is the incorporation of “singular and plural pairs like *focus/foci* and *formula/formulae* from Latin into English” (Winford 2006: 56). This borrowing influences English morphology, since instead of applying the English plural marker *-s*, the Latin plural suffixes have been transferred into English language use.

In contrast to the act of borrowing, lexical and structural changes can also occur due to the imposition of features. This is referred to as imposition or **structural convergence** and requires geographically close contact (Winford 2006: 13, Wilson 2019: 115). Oftentimes it is a great challenge to distinguish between borrowing and imposition since both can result from an identical contact situation (Wilson 2019: 115). A major difference can be identified in the relationship between the two languages in contact. Within structural convergence, “the agents

of change are the speakers of the ‘source’ variety, who impose their features on the recipient variety” (Wilson 2019: 115). This indicates a hierarchy between the two speech communities in contact. In the majority of instances, the recipient speech community is a minority group governed by the speakers of the source language, the dominant group (Winford 2006: 13). Dependent on the extent and duration of contact, imposition can lead to close convergence of the languages and causes that the boundaries between the two varieties become less clear-cut (Winford 2006: 13). Moreover, structural convergence has a greater impact on phonology and syntax of the recipient language than on its lexicon (Wilson 2019: 115). In some cases of structural convergence, the language’s lexicon remains the main criterion of distinction between the converged languages (Winford 2006: 13).

Another possible result of language contact is **language shift**. Language shift is “the partial or total abandonment of a group’s native language in favour of another” (Winford 2006: 15). So, language shift arises from a high rate of bilingualism within a community influenced by close language contact (Baker and Jones 1998: 151). The acquisition of the target language (TL) can happen to varying degrees, depending on the amount of influence from a speaker’s first language (L1) (Winford 2006: 15). Little or no L1 influence can result in native-like proficiency, whereas increased impact of the L1 can have two possible outcomes. First, the partial or complete shift to a target language by a minority group, e.g. after immigration, where speakers “carry over features of their L1 into their version of the TL” (Winford 2006: 15). Second, the adoption of a target language by an invaded or colonized speech community provoking so-called indigenized varieties, which are “[s]econd language versions of target languages [...] [and] result from untutored learning in ‘natural’ community settings” (Winford 2006: 15). Therefore, the process of language shift is based on sociocultural changes within a speech community (Barquedano-López and Kattan 2007: 80). One example of language shift is the Austrian town Oberwart. Gal (1979) investigated the town’s transformation from “a peasant agricultural village, in which the majority of inhabitants were Hungarian speakers who were also bilingual in German, to a more ethnically diverse town where educated upper-class monolingual Germans had become the majority” (Lim and Ansaldo 2016: 132). This case demonstrates the emergence of language shift from sociocultural changes and the inclusion of subsequent generations in order to achieve a complete language shift. Since language shift can include a speech community’s total abandonment of their native language, the phenomenon of **language death** can occur as a consequence of complete language shift. So, language death is “the slow attrition and decay of the language previously used by the shifting group” (Winford 2006: 16). Considering that the process of language shift is neither a linear one nor always results in a complete abandonment of the native language, the stage of stable bilingualism can also be regarded as one probable result of language shift.

The last category of possible outcomes of language contact includes the formation of **contact languages**. Contact languages are “new varieties [that] arise out of contact between two or more competing varieties and subsequent koineization” (Wilson 2019: 116). This definition implies that contact languages originate from widespread mixing of languages in close contact situations. As these mixtures can vary significantly in their nature and extent, it is challenging to define different types of contact languages to which all contact languages can be assigned. Since contact languages play a minor role in the ensuing research project, they will not be further elaborated here.

2.2 Language Choice

2.2.1 Definition and Importance

Language choice can be defined as “having a choice between or among languages” (De Houwer 2019: 326). According to De Houwer (2019), bilingual speakers can decide between four options of language use. First, monolingual utterances in language A. Second, monolingual utterances in language B. Third, “mixed utterances with morphemes from [A] and [B]” (De Houwer 2019: 329), including code-switching or borrowing. Fourth, the speakers can apply a mixture of the previously mentioned options to one conversation. Whereas the expression choice might imply that the speakers always consciously decide on their language use, numerous instances of language choice also occur based on unconscious decisions (Hoffmann 1991: 175). For example, code-switching is said to happen more unconsciously (Williamson 1991: 3). So, language choice can occur in various forms and combinations of the different languages involved and is based on (un-)conscious decisions made within individual bilingual language use.

As already indicated within the outcomes of language contact, decisions around language choice can arise as a consequence of increased multilingualism within a speech community. Bilingual language use communities can be categorized into two types. First, there are bilingual interlocutors who are part of a larger monolingual speech community, a setting that can originate from language contact due to “migration, marriage, or being the offspring of couples who use different languages in speaking to them, but who are not themselves members of a bilingual community” (Hoffmann 1991: 175). In such situations, bilingual speakers get to apply their complete bilingual language repertoire irregularly and therefore need to decide only in these few instances on their choice of language (Baker and Jones 1998: 51). Second, there is the multilingual speech community, “where two or more languages are used throughout the [setting]” (Hoffmann 1991: 175). Within this circumstance, the bilingual speakers get the chance to use the two or more languages spoken within their community on a

“daily or frequent basis” (Baker and Jones 1998: 51). Consequently, the people living in multilingual speech communities are more often affected by the decision on which language to use in which conversation. Moreover, individual choices on language, arising within the context of bilingual speech communities, can “have an effect on the long-term situation of the languages concerned” (Romaine 2013: 455).

2.2.2 Influential Factors

Each instance of language choice is influenced by different internal and external factors (Williamson 1991: 23), for example, “social, psychological and linguistic factors” (Hoffmann 1991: 176). Since the determinants are oftentimes overlapping and can be as individual as the language contact situation the choice of language arises within, it is impossible to list all the factors affecting language choice (Appel and Muysken 1987: 23). Therefore, the following provides an overview on the most common influences on language choice. It is important to mention, that in some instances, the factors cannot be clearly allocated to their either social, psychological, or linguistic origin, as numerous of the possible factors, impacting the decision on which language to use in a bilingual setting, intersect. The thesis aims at roughly classifying the determinants but does not negotiate overlapping between the categories and the individual factors mentioned within.

Language choice is dependent on the domain the language(s) are used in. The concept of domains describing “particular kinds of occasions” (Hoffmann 1991: 177) and influencing bilingual language use, was framed by Joshua Fishman in 1965 (Appel and Muysken 1987: 23). Fishman identified five domains occurring within speech communities: family, friendship, religion, education, and employment (Holmes and Wilson 2022: 26). Subsequently, this list of possible domains was further expanded by other authors who enclosed domains like administration, shopping, literature, the press, the military, neighbourhood, and transactions, to only name a few (Holmes and Wilson 2022: 26, Appel and Muysken 1987: 23, Hoffmann 1991: 178). The framework does not limit the amount and kinds of domains that can occur, as it includes all forms of institutional context language use arises within. As the terms used to name the individual domains already indicate, domains and therefore language choice can be closely linked to location and formality of the setting (Hoffmann 1991: 179). In some domains, language use is prescribed by “local official rulings” (De Houwer 2019: 331). De Houwer (2019) mentions an example of clinics located within a bilingual speech community that expect their patients and employees to make use of a certain variety, regardless of the people’s individual language repertoires (331). So, in certain instances, the choice of language is taken from the speakers involved in conversations occurring within this particular domain, as rules of language use have been explicitly imposed

on the domain. There are also domains, where language choice is influenced by implicit language policies. Such implicit rules of language use can, for example, be determined by sociocultural norms and expectations, as language choice always creates social meaning (Lim and Ansaldo 2016: 39, Appel and Muysken 1987: 28). Both explicit and implicit language policies limit language choice to a certain or full extent. The concept of a classic domain does not prescribe anything but the institutional setting or context of language choice. In addition, it includes a complex set of subordinate factors that influence the decision on which language to use, as “each domain has its own constellation of expected factors” (Lim and Ansaldo 2016: 39). Since a domain is always individually perceived by the different speakers, the expected set of factors can change in accordance with the evaluation of the situation by the interlocutors (Lim and Ansaldo: 39).

Moreover, also the person someone interacts with in a particular domain strongly influences language choice on different levels. The first one is the linguistic repertoire of the interlocutor and of the speaker themselves (Holmes and Wilson 2022: 24-25). It is a “very general norm” (De Houwer 2019: 329) that bilingual speakers try to address their interlocutors in a language they think their person opposite might be able to comprehend or prefers over the other variety (De Houwer 2019: 329, Appel and Muysken 1987: 28). Therefore, the linguistic repertoire and the individual preferences of languages of both interlocutors greatly influence language choice.

Deciding upon a language, the interlocutor understands or favours does not only have a communicative but also the social and psychological functions of emphasizing the relationship between the speakers and group membership. This is the subject matter of the so-called Communication Accommodation Theory, short CAT (De Houwer 2019: 329). The main point of “CAT is that speaking the same way as one’s interlocutor reduces the perceived psychological distance between [them]” (De Houwer 2019: 329). So, speakers in a bilingual speech community prefer one variety over the other in order to express the social distance between themselves and their interlocutors. Additionally, this is called convergence, and instead of a complete switch to the preferred variety, it may also include changes in speaking rate or stressing of words in order to adapt to the linguistic needs of the person opposite (Hoffmann 1991: 181). Convergence does not only express closeness or intimacy between the interlocutors but also group membership. The in-group relationship is based on the assumption that both speakers “see themselves as members of the same group [or that] they would like to be considered as members of the other’s group” (Hoffmann 1991: 181). Although linguistic accommodation is widespread among subordinate groups, Hoffmann (1991) points out that especially “linguistic minorities in Europe are gaining more self-confidence” (Hoffmann 1991: 182) and therefore increasingly refuse to adapt to the preferred language use of the main speech

community. This divergence is also observed in situations where “conflict exists between the groups [or when] the two groups are equally aware of a conflict” (Hoffmann 1991: 181). In these instances, the speakers aim at “creat[ing] a distance between” (Appel and Muysken 1987: 28) themselves and their interlocutors. This is implemented by choosing diverging or maximum differentiating language use in order to stress that the person opposite is a member of the out-group (Appel and Muysken 1987: 28). So, language choice is also greatly dependent on language preference in bilingual settings, which is closely linked to emphasizing the relationship/distance between the interlocutors and their in- or out-group membership. In addition, the choice of language also expresses which group the speakers assign themselves to. Enclosed in these decisions around language choice is also the factor of politeness (De Houwer 2019: 332).

Furthermore, the choice of language is influenced by the topic of the interaction (Lim and Ansaldo 2016: 40). Usually, bilingual speakers favour one variety over the other when addressing “a certain subject” (Hoffmann 1991: 178). The reasons therefore are manifold. According to Hoffmann (1991), this decision on language use can be dependent on the increased “competen[ce] in handling a topic in a particular language, [...] [the] feel[ing] that the other language does not possess the required terms, or [...] [the] consider[ation] [of] one language to be better than another for speaking about a particular subject” (Hoffmann 1991: 178f.). These motivations show a clear link between the topic of the interaction and the linguistic competences and language preferences of the individual speakers. From a psychological perspective, it is therefore not the subject matter itself that influences language choice but the combination of “personal experience and perception [...] of a particular topic” (Hoffmann 1991: 179).

Another factor defining language choice is the “function or goal of the interaction” (Holmes and Wilson 2022: 31) a bilingual speaker is involved in. Appel and Muysken (1987) elaborate on six different conversational functions. First, the referential function occurs when “by referring to extralinguistic reality information is transferred” (Appel and Muysken 1987: 29). Second, there is the directive and integrative function that includes various ways of starting an interaction, e.g. with greetings, forms of address, or questions (Appel and Muysken 1987: 29-30). The expressive function aims at communicating the speaker’s feelings (Appel and Muysken 1987: 30). Fourth, there is the phatic function, which wants to create a fluent conversation, for example by “signal[ing] turn taking” (Appel and Muysken 1987: 30). The metalinguistic function expresses “the speaker’s attitude towards and [their] awareness of language use and linguistic norms” (Appel and Muysken 1987: 30). The last function is the phatic one, regarding language use as “source of joy” (Appel and Muysken 1987: 30) by inserting jokes, puns, or word plays. Depending on the goal of the utterance, a speaker might

prefer one variety over the other, as certain languages are better to express the desired functions the speakers aim to achieve within the interactions (Appel and Muysken 1987: 30). Oftentimes, different functions are combined within a bilingual conversation, which can lead to language switches caused by functional changes.

Besides all these external, partially domain-influenced factors presented above, there are also numerous internal linguistic and social factors that impact the language choice of a bilingual speaker. As already mentioned, a speaker's personal linguistic repertoire greatly affects language choice. Determining social factors are, for example, "age, sex, social status and [a speaker's] socio-economic background" (Hoffmann 1991: 178). Other authors also mention ethnicity and identity as significant influences (Holmes and Wilson 2022: 31, Appel and Muysken 1987: 23). In sociolinguistics, identity is perceived "as existing at the interface between the social world and the personal world" (Holmes and Wilson 2022: 329). Therefore, identity includes the speaker's self, which is characterized by one or more group memberships, and is expressed by a particular language use. In bilingual settings, a speaker might favour one variety over another in order to define themselves.

All in all, there is a great dependency of the above-mentioned factors on each other, as the choice of language is always based on a whole set of factors determined by the individual interlocutors involved in a specific setting of a conversation. As already mentioned within the definition of language choice, many of these factors are oftentimes not realized as independent influences, as they unconsciously impact a speaker's language behaviour.

2.3 Menus

2.3.1 Definition and Structure

The origin of the menu dates back to the fifth century before Christ (Riley-Köhn 1999: 75). For banquets, the ancient Greeks made use of menus to inform the guests about the offered courses (Riley-Köhn 1999: 75). Athenaeus, a Greek rhetorician and grammarian, is considered to be the first scholar who had recorded the ingredients of dishes and their sequence of serving 200 years before Christ (Riley-Köhn 1999: 75). The medieval nobility preferred to announce the menu sequence before serving meals. This procedure is regarded as the predecessor of menus as they are known nowadays.

Today, its basic definition describes a menu as a list or card containing different meals a specific restaurant offers (Riley-Köhn 1999: 85, Ozdemir and Caliskan 2014: 4). More precisely, a menu "communicates not only food and beverage offerings" (Ozdemir and Caliskan 2014: 4) but also mirrors the restaurant and functions as a form of communication

between the restaurant owner and the customer (Prager 1993: 16). Therefore, a menu should exceed its primary function of “informing on selection and prices” (Hild 1993: 20) and also consider various additional external factors. Besides others, these can include the customers themselves, the customers’ expectations and the menu’s design (Ozdemir and Caliskan 2014: 4, Hild 1993: 20). Since the majority of guests decide on their order based on the menu, the menu should aim at “attracting and satisfying customers” (Ozdemir and Caliskan 2014: 4), for example, by conveying authenticity (Prager 1993: 17).

According to a study by Riley-Köhn (1999), the main structure of menus is oriented towards the linear sequence of courses and menus from everywhere around the globe appear to be similar in this structure (227). At its beginning, a menu should always have a headline in order to indicate the type of menu, e.g. *standard menu* or *menu of the day* (Riley-Köhn 1999: 85). After that follows the division into the three categories of “starter, main course, [and] dessert” (Riley-Köhn 1999: 227). The hypernym classes are either directly filled in with dishes or allow room for further subdivisions, e.g. “*Italian Specialities*” (Riley-Köhn 1999: 227). Although, the arrangement of beverages can differ from restaurant to restaurant. Whereas some restaurants categorize beverages as a fourth category in line with starters, main courses and desserts, other restaurants offer separate lists of drinks (Riley-Köhn 1999: 228, 231).

2.3.2 Multilingualism in Menus

Multilingual menus aim at improving comprehension and therefore facilitating the selection of dishes and beverages for foreign-language guests (Riley-Köhn 1999: 245, Lavric and Messner 2021: 84). Multilingualism in menus can be observed in many different ways. According to Lavric and Messner (2021), multilingual menus usually employ one language as their standard language which is then translated into further languages and/or mixed with words and expressions from other languages, including regional varieties (84). In their study, Lavric and Messner (2021) assign multilingual menus to two separate categories: code-switching and translation. In comparison to other text types, a considerable amount of monolingual menus include switches to other languages (Lavric and Messner 2021: 85). These switches contain lexical borrowings from different languages and of different stages. The following example from German menus, adapted from Lavric and Messner (2021), will illustrate this.

Chips mit *Käse* überbacken / *‘pico de gallo’* / *Guacamole* / *Sauerrahm*; mit *Pulled Pork* / *BBQ* / *Jalapeños* (Lavric and Messner 2021: 86)

All the underlined words and expressions are not of German origin and therefore lexical borrowings from different languages. *Chips* is a commonly used term in German and can be

regarded as comprehensible by the majority of German speakers (Lavric and Messner 2021: 86). In contrast to that, *'pico de gallo'*, *Guacamole*, *Pulled Pork*, *BBQ* and *Jalapeños* are fewer known and so, restaurant owners should not automatically presuppose their comprehensibility in a German menu. Depending on their individual knowledge, some customers might and others might not be able to comprehend these terms since *Guacamole* et cetera can be categorized as borrowings somewhere between familiar and foreign (Lavric and Messner 2021: 87). This example demonstrates that menus can appear monolingual at first sight but can also include elements from other languages that are not common for every guest. Some restaurant owners actively employ words and expressions from other languages in order to bring exoticism into their menus, although the comprehension might lack (Lavric and Messner 2021: 87). For translations occurring in multilingual menus, Lavric and Messner (2021) distinguish between 'real' translations, translations involving changes and special cases. 'Real' translations are identical translations from one language into another (Lavric and Messner 2021: 92). The occurrence of two or more languages within one menu entails the challenge of how to arrange the different languages (Lavric and Messner 2021: 95). Restaurant owners have to decide which language is used first and in which order the other languages follow. To also visually differentiate between the individual languages, some restaurant owners make use of different fonts or effects like italics or bold style of writing (Lavric and Messner 2021: 94). One benefit of 'real' translations is that the dishes and beverages do not require any additional explanations since the distinct language versions do not differ in content (Lavric and Messner 2021: 96).

The translations involving changes describe target texts that are not identical to the source text in terms of content. This type of translation occurs due to the omission or addition of elements to the translated version of the menu (Lavric and Messner 2021: 96).

*Wienerschnitzel vom Kalb mit Röstkartoffeln und Preiselbeeren [...] –
Wienerschnitzel (breaded veal cutlet) with roasted potatoes [...]* (Lavric and Messner 2021: 98)

The example above shows the occurrence of addition and omission of elements within one dish on a German and English bilingual menu. The English version of the menu differs in two aspects from the German source text. Whereas the German source text includes the ingredient *Preiselbeeren*, its English equivalent (= *cranberries*) is missing in the target text. In the majority of instances, certain elements are omitted for the reason of simplification (Lavric and Messner 2021: 104). In the example above, the omission of *Preiselbeeren* could also have happened unintentionally since a simplification of the dish description would not be necessary in this case. The dish *Wienerschnitzel vom Kalb* is translated into the English menu with *Wienerschnitzel (breaded veal cutlet)*. The first conspicuousness includes the retention of the

proper noun *Wienerschnitzel*. The issue of keeping traditional dish names is regarded as an exception from translation and is therefore discussed in the special case section. In the German version of the menu, the expression *Wienerschnitzel vom Kalb* is not further elaborated, whereas in the English version, the addition of the element in round brackets is striking. The brackets include an explanation for *Wienerschnitzel*, which is a *breaded cutlet*. The term *vom Kalb* is translated into *veal* and so, *Wienerschnitzel vom Kalb* can be realized as *breaded veal cutlet* in English.

The last category of phenomena related to translations in multilingual menus presented by Lavric and Messner (2021) are the special cases. The special cases refer to traditional, regional proper names for dishes which are taken over into the target text without being translated (Lavric and Messner 2021: 106). Therefore, these special cases can also be regarded as one type of code-switching. The retention of a traditional dish name applies to the example above, where the term *Wienerschnitzel* is used both in the German version and the English menu translation. In order not to lack authenticity, restaurant owners try to maintain the usage of traditional dish names. But this approach creates the difficulty of transparency (Lavric and Messner 2021: 108-109). When traditional proper names of dishes in the translated versions are not further explained, customers without the required background knowledge on the dishes could not be able to access the transmitted information (Lavric and Messner 2020: 107-108). Therefore, restaurant owners could add ingredients and/or the method of preparation to the traditional dish names to avoid comprehension problems for non-local customers (Lavric and Messner 2021: 108). Since this subchapter on multilingualism in menus combines previous research and insights into the scientific potential of menus relevant to the extent of the research project, a separate chapter on the scientific potential of menus is renounced in this place.

2.4 Facebook

2.4.1 Digital Platform and Usage in Germany

Besides Meta Horizon, Messenger, Instagram and WhatsApp, Facebook is one of the digital platforms provided by the American company Meta Platforms (Meta 2023a, “Facebook”). Facebook was founded as a social networking platform for pupils and students by Mark Zuckerberg in 2004 (“Facebook”). After opening the online social media and networking service to everyone aged thirteen and over in 2006, Facebook recorded a considerable increase in popularity. From 2010 to 2012, the number of active Facebook users doubled from 500 million to one billion active users (“Facebook”). Back then, Facebook was the second most accessed website in the US (“Facebook”). According to Meta’s website, Facebook “helps you connect with friends, family and communities of people who share your interests. Connecting

with your friends and family as well as discovering new ones is easy with features like Groups, Watch and Marketplace” (Meta 2023a).

In order to become a member of the networking platform, every user needs to create their own profile on Facebook with information and pictures of themselves. The initial functions of Facebook included the possibility to add friends, post text messages or pictures into the timeline, like other users’ postings, play games or take part in groups of highly diverse interests (“Facebook”). Over the years, numerous additional functions were enclosed in the social media platform. For example, Facebook developed its own messaging platform called Facebook Messenger. Facebook Messenger enables members to send and receive different types of messages among themselves (“Facebook”). Moreover, Facebook offers the option of posting stories. Stories are short posts which are automatically deleted after 24 hours (“Facebook”). Facebook Watch and Facebook Marketplace are the most recent additions to the platform. On Facebook Watch, members can watch videos posted by other users, for example, content creators (Meta 2023a). Facebook Marketplace is a sales platform where members can offer and shop for all manners of second-hand objects (Meta 2023a, “Facebook”).

According to a survey published in 2023, Facebook had “around 2.9 billion monthly active users” (Dixon “Leading”) worldwide in 2021. Within the same year, Germany listed 40 million active Facebook users (Dixon “Number”). Although Germany only amounts to a small percentage of all active Facebook users, Facebook is the second most used social network site (70%) in Germany after the video platform YouTube (72%) (“Social media”).

2.4.2 Languages and Translation Service

The social networking platform Facebook offers various languages for its “buttons, titles and other text[s] from Facebook” (Meta 2023b). Until 2008, Facebook’s exclusive language was English (Lenihan 2014: 208). Following its international expansion, Facebook started to provide its service also in Spanish, French, German and 21 additional languages via a crowdsourcing model (Lenihan 2014: 208, Jiménez-Crespo 2011: 135). Facebook’s aim was to expand its offer of languages with the help of its participants and not only with professional translators (Jiménez-Crespo 2011: 135). Today, Facebook is available in 114 languages (Meta 2023b), “among which are different regional and national languages, including minority languages and styles” (Hendus 2015: 398). The choice of language is open to each user and can be determined in Facebook’s language and region settings.

For “[p]osts from friends and [p]ages” (Meta 2023b), Facebook provides the option of an automatic translation from the posts’ source language into a user’s preferred target language

(Cahyaningrum 2021: 153). Facebook's inline translation service was first established in 2011 (Almahasees et al. 2021: 1242). This development enclosed a translate button in posts and comments published on the social networking platform in order to allow for "instant inline language translations [] with a single click" (White quoted in Almahasees et al. 2021: 1242). Today, the translations provided by Facebook are available in 91 different languages (Meta 2023b). The inline translation service enables users to flexibly choose a desired language and consequently, Facebook opens up to a linguistically wider group of users since insufficient language skills in foreign languages do not necessarily reduce the members' usage experience anymore.

According to Meta (2023b), the translations are carried out by Facebook itself or with the help of an external tool like Bing. Facebook members are free to choose the language used for their individual translations. In addition, users can also stipulate that particular languages are not translated at all (Meta 2023b). This especially applies to bi- or multilingual Facebook users. Moreover, Facebook allows for bi- or multilingual users by offering "[a] feature that lets you post multiple language versions of a status" (Meta 2023b). So, Meta's substantial contribution to establishing multilingualism in social networks can be regarded as fundamental to lowering "the need for a lingua franca" (Hendus 2015: 400) and opening towards a multilingual world.

2.4.3 Scientific Potential

With its versatility, Facebook serves as a fertile source for interdisciplinary research. In order to not exceed the limits of the thesis, this chapter focuses only one example of Facebook's scientific potential for linguistic studies within the frame of language contact. The described approaches could, with minor modifications, be applied to the data collected for the research project of the thesis. One linguistic area implementing research on language material provided by Facebook is the study of language choice. As Facebook is a multilingual social networking platform used "to maintain existing relationships and to develop new ones [...] we might expect the language choices and use in Facebook status updates to reflect offline behaviours" (Daud and McLellan 2016: 572). Studies on language choice often focus on the correlation between different factors and actual language use. So does the research project carried out by Daud and McLellan (2016). The two scholars investigated the relationship between gender and code choice in Bruneian Facebook status updates. Daud and McLellan (2016) deduced that around 30% of the analysed status updates stand out due to instances of code-mixing (576) and that women tend to mix codes more often than men (Daud and McLellan 2016: 577). Another study on language choice exploring Facebook profiles of Hungarian bilingual students was initiated by Biró (2018). Biró (2018) investigated the language use and code choice in different functions of Facebook and identified three types of language users: a

language-mixing group, a multilingual group, and a mainly monolingual group (186, 189-190). Such research projects enable scholars to gain deeper insights into language choice in various bi- or multilingual contexts and allow for comparisons of characterised patterns between different languages.

2.5 Grafenwoehr

2.5.1 Facts and Numbers

Grafenwoehr is a small town in the north of Bavaria (see Figure 1). Grafenwoehr lies within the northwestern region of Upper Palatine (see Figure 2) in proximity to the border with Upper Franconia, which is depicted by the purple line in Figure 2. More precisely, Grafenwoehr is located in the northeast of the Military Training Area Grafenwoehr (MTA), which is emphasized with pink colour in Figure 3. Since the MTA is regarded as a part of Grafenwoehr, the total area of Grafenwoehr is 21,619 hectares, from which 19,072 hectares account for the Military Training Area (Stadt Grafenwöhr 2023). This makes Grafenwoehr the fourth-largest municipality by area in Bavaria (Morgenstern 2011: 9).

As explained in the introduction, the local population of Grafenwoehr's municipal area stands at almost 6,500 (Stadt Grafenwöhr 2023). In addition to that, approximately 30,000 Americans inhabit Grafenwoehr's US housing areas (Stumberger). About 12,000 American soldiers are deployed in the Grafenwoehr Military Training Area. The majority of the other 18,000 Americans are the soldiers' close family members (von Lieben and Watzke). The remaining part includes civil servants (von Lieben and Watzke). The Grafenwoehr housing areas are located either off-post, which means outside the MTA, or on-post, which means within the MTA (USAG Bavaria). The most well-known housing area is Netzaberg Village, where more than one-third of the Americans reside. Netzaberg Village was built from 2006 to 2008 and at the time of its opening it was "the largest U.S. housing area construction project in Germany" (Morgenstern 2011: 93). Since the Military Training Area is situated in close proximity to the city of Grafenwoehr, a significant number of Americans spend their free time in Grafenwoehr. This results in an income of 650 million euros per year for Grafenwoehr's businesses (von Lieben and Watzke). This considerable sum only includes the Americans' expenses. Therefore, the cityscape of Grafenwoehr economically adapted to the Americans' manner of private consumption (von Lieben and Watzke). The small town of Grafenwoehr provides a home for more than a dozen of US car dealers, four tattoo studios, some nail salons and more than thirty gastronomy businesses (von Lieben and Watzke). All these numbers show that the German town of Grafenwoehr is, economically seen, greatly dependent on the Americans (von Lieben and Watzke).

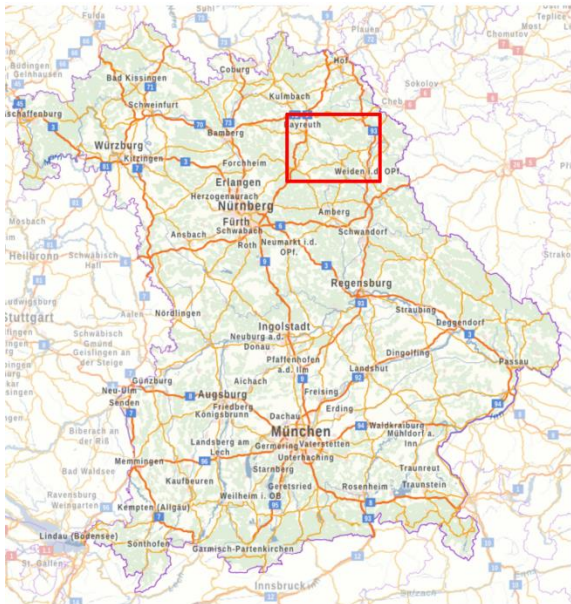


Figure 1: Map Bavaria

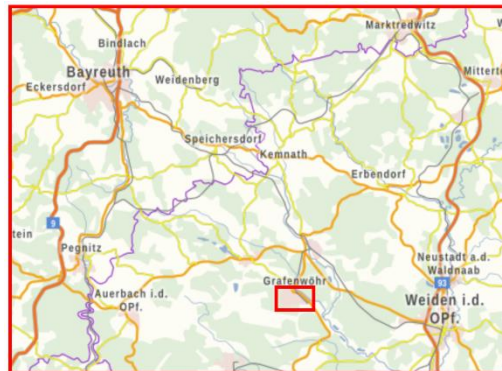
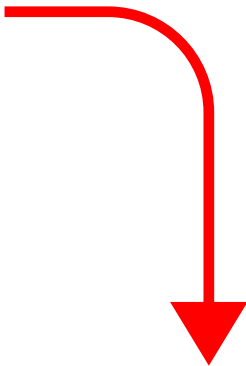


Figure 1: Map Northwest Upper Palatine

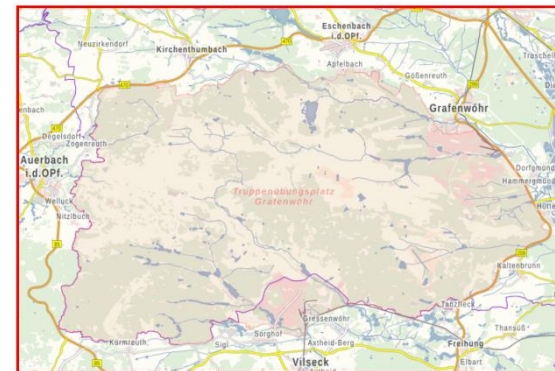
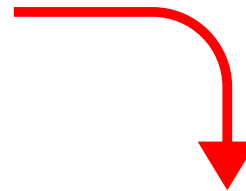


Figure 3: Map Grafenwoehr

2.5.2 Military Training Area

The construction of the Training Area Grafenwoehr was initiated in 1910, “following the activation of the III Bavarian Army Corps” (USAG Bavaria). The creation of the training area in and around Grafenwoehr involved the arrival of nearly 1,000 new inhabitants. As a result, the population of Grafenwoehr doubled within one year, from 961 (in 1909) to 1,841 (in 1910) citizens (Meiler 2011: 374). After Germany’s unconditional surrender in 1945, the US troops took possession of the Training Area Grafenwoehr (Stumberger). This again implicated a considerable rise in the number of inhabitants (see Meiler 2011: 372). The “U.S. Army Europe expanded the role and importance of the training area to meet the increased training needs, and increased the facilities to support the troops during training” (USAG Bavaria).

From 2001 to 2012, the former East Camp was extended and renovated in order to accommodate and supply additional brigade combat teams (USAG Bavaria). With its rejuvenation, the camp received a new name: Tower Barracks (USAG Bavaria). Tower Barracks “now houses two 173rd Airborne Brigade Combat Team Battalions and supports Regionally Aligned Forces in support of the European Deterrence Initiative” (USAG Bavaria). Tower Barracks “is also a home to 7th Army Training Command, U.S. Army Medical Command Bavaria, 18th Combat Support Sustainment Battalion and the 41st Fires Brigade” (USAG Bavaria).

In 2013, the Military Training Area Grafenwoehr was, on an administrative basis, combined with the three other Bavarian garrisons Vilseck, Hohenfels and Garmisch in order to form the USAG Bavaria (USAG Bavaria). Four years later, the so-called 5th Community was approved due to the rising number of “rotational force and training troop presence” (USAG Bavaria).

Today, the Military Training Area in Grafenwoehr is the largest military training camp in Europe and is governed by the US Army (von Lieben and Watzke). The training area is also used by NATO and German Armed Forces for training purposes (Stadt Grafenwöhr 2023). This also makes the MTA the major employer for locals in the region of Grafenwoehr. More than 3,500 Germans are permanently employed by the USAG (von Lieben and Watzke). In addition, the Military Training Area is on the cutting edge of technology and therefore applies the newest simulators at present (von Lieben and Watzke). Moreover, in July 2022, the USAG announced a further investment of 900 million euros in the Military Training Area (von Lieben and Watzke).

2.5.3 Cohabitation of Germans and Americans

Although the majority of the local population considered the Americans to be foreigners and an occupying force after they arrived in Grafenwoehr in 1945, the situation has completely changed to this day (von Lieben and Watzke). Since the border between the Military Training Area and the small town of Grafenwoehr is in the midst of the city, numerous Americans decide to spend their free time also in the German part of Grafenwoehr (Knobloch). Because of that, the contact and the exchange on different levels between Germans and Americans have constantly increased. This has resulted in a close friendship between the locals and the Americans which exists up until today (von Lieben and Watzke). The close connection is especially apparent on a cultural basis, as most of the events of each culture are celebrated together as a unity. The calendar year begins with the New Year's reception, where "the commanding general of JMTC and the garrison commander invite military personnel and [German] civilian guests representing the church, politics, the works council, the economy and public life" (Morgenstern 2011: 170) into the Military Training Area. According to Grafenwoehr's mayor Edgar Knobloch, all important holidays of both cultures are celebrated together. This includes, for example, carnival, the German tradition of setting up a maypole, Independence Day, Halloween, Thanksgiving and Christmas, among numerous others (Knobloch, Morgenstern 2011: 171).

The most well-known event, where Germans and Americans join in together, is probably the German-American Volksfest. With more than 150,000 international guests each year, the German-American Volksfest is not only familiar to the local population in Grafenwoehr (Deutsch-Amerikanische Volksfeste). The fair is normally celebrated at the first weekend of August and offers "[m]any rides and booths, a large variety of international, culinary delicacies, bands, music groups and performances [to] entertain the guests. The main attraction is the large weapons display with German and American tanks and military vehicles" (Morgenstern 2011: 222). After three years of the Covid pandemic, the 62nd German-American Volksfest will take place from 4th-6th August 2023 at its usual location Camp Kasserine within the Military Training Area (Deutsch-Amerikanische Volksfeste). The aim of not only the German-American Volksfest but of all cultural events celebrated as a unity, is to "bring Germans and Americans together, foster their friendship, and [the celebrations] are intended to increase mutual understanding" (Morgenstern 2011: 170).

Another conspicuousness resulting from the close contact between Germans and Americans in Grafenwoehr concerns language use. Although no linguistic study on language use in Grafenwoehr has been published yet, some authors at least mention linguistic peculiarities. So does the social scientist Rudolf Stumberger. In his article, Stumberger emphasises that the majority of shops and restaurants located in Grafenwoehr offer advertisements or menus both

in German and English to adapt to the significant share of American customers (Stumberger). Therefore, the thesis is based on conspicuousities like this in order to analyse them from a linguistic viewpoint.

3. Description of the Research Questions

As the title of the thesis already indicates, the aim of the thesis is to investigate language use in restaurants in the German city of Grafenwoehr within the frame of language contact. In order to achieve appropriate results, the thesis is based on the following four research questions.

Research Question 1: *Which languages characterize the spoken and written language use of the restaurants?* The first research question intends to identify the individual languages used in spoken and written occurrences within the restaurant. In order to provide room for comparisons, the data are categorized according to the languages used within. Since the main focus of the thesis is on language contact observable in written language, spoken language is only briefly addressed in this research question to allow for an extended view on the overall language use in the restaurants in Grafenwoehr.

Research Question 2: *Which outcomes of language contact can be identified in the written language use of the restaurants?* The focus of the second research question is on identifying and categorizing observable outcomes of language contact in the overall written language data retrieved from the restaurants' menus and Facebook posts.

Research Question 3: *How do multiple languages used by the restaurants coexist in cases of bi-/multilingualism, and how are the different languages separated from one another?* The third research question aims at examining the roles of the languages involved in instances of bi- and multilingualism, e.g. identifying possible hierarchies between the different languages. Moreover, the research question also investigates the visual separation of the different languages occurring within bi- or multilingual language use.

Research Question 4: *Which factors influence the choice of language in the restaurants and therefore the restaurants' spoken and written language use?* The aim of the last research question is to relate the findings on language use to different factors influencing language use and to possibly identify further relevant motives for language choice. Besides others, the factors considered are domain and location, the interlocutors involved, their language proficiencies, the topic of the Facebook posts, and social factors.

4. Data and Methodology

4.1 Restaurant Locations

Since the thesis aims at analysing language use within the restaurants in the German city of Grafenwoehr, the first step of the research project included identifying all the restaurants located in the corresponding area. Therefore, a list published on the website of the city of Grafenwoehr (Stadt Grafenwöhr 2022) served as a basis. This list outlines the overall 37 restaurants, cafés, bars, and food stalls within the municipality of Grafenwoehr and provides individual information on name, owner, address, phone number, email address, and website (if existing) for each location (as from 2022). The restaurants relevant to the thesis were selected on the following criteria: First, the restaurant needs to be located in the city of Grafenwoehr, not in its municipality area. This is due to the fact, that the border to the Military Training Area is directly within the city and that the majority of language contact occurs in Grafenwoehr itself. Second, the company's main business has to be offering and selling warm meals. This criterion aims at excluding cafés and bars which do not classify as typical restaurants. Third, the restaurant needs to be owner-managed since widespread chain restaurants often set joint rules in advance which could also include general guidelines on language use. So, out of the 37 locations listed, 29 restaurants and food stalls fulfil the criteria for the research project. For the reason of simplification, the thesis summarizes restaurants and food stalls under the term restaurant.

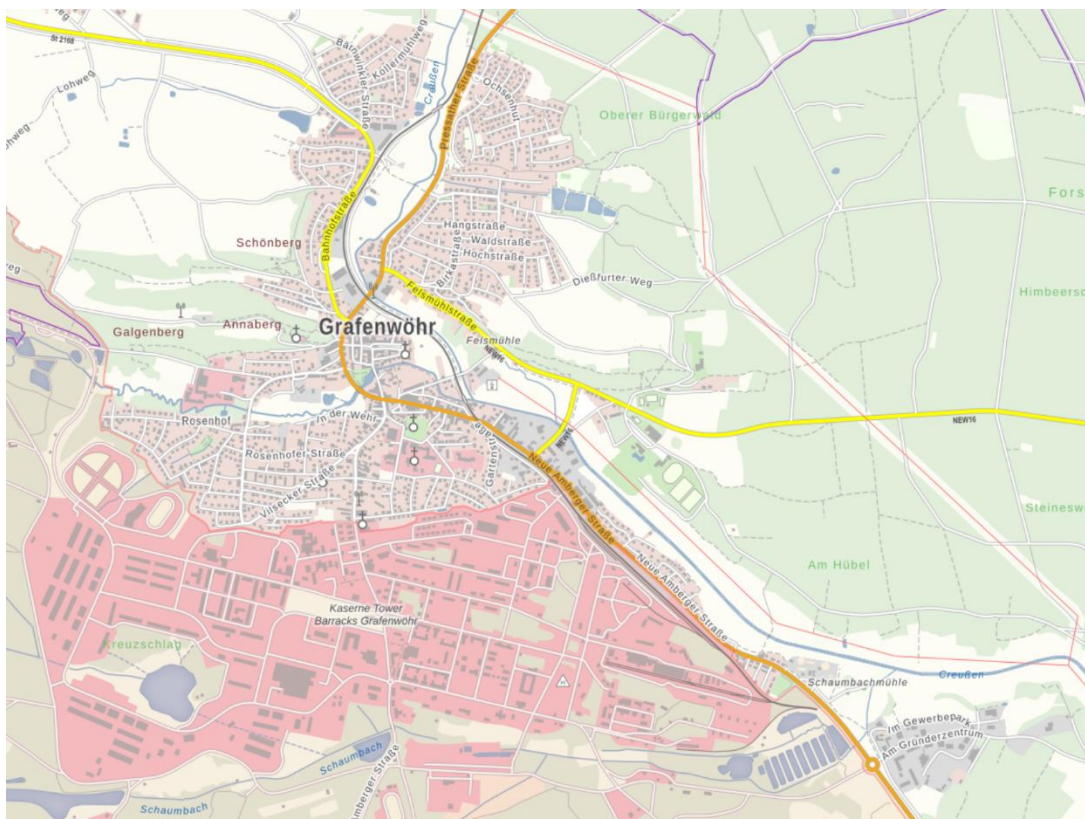


Figure 4: Web Map Grafenwoehr

After compiling the list of the 29 relevant restaurants, the names and addresses of each location were checked in situ for validity as the website did not indicate that the list was updated recently. As one of the investigated factors influencing language use is location, the addresses of the restaurants were transferred into a map. Considering that there is no blank draft of Grafenwoehr available, I created a map based on the Web Map (see Figure 4) provided by *BayernAtlas*. Therefore, the arterial roads and the area of the MTA were traced by hand to receive a first sketch of the map. Then, the hand-drawn map was digitized and the locations of the restaurants, and the gates leading into the Military Training Area were noted on the map since close local proximity of the restaurants to the gates could possibly influence language use.

4.2 Questionnaire

In order to gain deeper insights into the languages used and to reveal additional factors influencing language use in the restaurants, a questionnaire for the restaurant owners was designed (see Appendix). The questionnaire includes overall 23 individual questions, classified into four categories. First, a few general information on the owner of the restaurant is investigated. This is examined in the sociolinguistic factors of age, sex, nationality, and the first and second language(s) spoken by the owner. These sociolinguistic foundations and especially the individual language repertoires can influence language use to a large extent. The second category comprises questions regarding the restaurant in Grafenwoehr. On the one hand, this part ascertains the ethnic cuisine of the restaurant and the national identity the restaurant wants to convey. Especially the question on national identity plays a major role as language choice is closely related to the notion of identity. On the other hand, the percentage of American customers is enquired. Here, the aim is to identify if the origin and the first language of the interlocutor influences the language use within the restaurants. The first two categories of the questionnaire strongly emphasize the thesis' sociolinguistic perspective on the topic of language choice. Questions regarding the spoken language use in the restaurant are part of the third category. This section examines the language(s) spoken by the owner with the staff, among the staff themselves, and by the staff with the customers. Additionally, it includes a question about the compulsory language(s) required to be understood and spoken by the employees. The questions of this part aim at providing insights into the spoken language use within the restaurant. Moreover, the results allow for comparisons to the written language use identified in the further course of the questionnaire and the data analysis. The last category comprises questions regarding the written language use in the restaurant and focuses on the language use in the restaurants' menus and Facebook posts. Other sources of written language, e.g. Instagram posts and websites, are not considered within the thesis. One reason is that only

a small number of restaurants have a regularly updated Instagram page. Therefore, these pages would not provide a comparable amount of data. Furthermore, the majority of websites offered by the restaurants are created by external providers, so in many cases, it remains unclear if the restaurants themselves are responsible for the languages used on their websites. Concentrating on the menus and Facebook posts published by the restaurants, the survey asks for the language(s) used in each of the two areas. This aims at comparing the answers to the questions with the actual written language use in the menus and Facebook posts examined hereinafter. Then, the following question enquires if the language use is based on a conscious decision since language choice can occur unconsciously but also due to conscious thoughts on language use. Finally, the questionnaire wants to identify further influences and factors determining the written language use of the restaurants in their menus and Facebook posts. The reason therefore is, that the factors influencing language use can be as individual as the interlocutors involved.

Within these four major categories, the questionnaire applies different styles of questions. First, the survey makes use of closed questions, including dichotomous questions, e.g. yes-no and single-choice-questions. This kind of question is employed for the more fundamental findings, for instance, the question on the sex of the owner or the question regarding the percentage of American customers. Closed questions have the advantage that this type simplifies comparing the results, as all possible answers are predetermined. In addition, the questionnaire applies half-open questions. This type is, for example, used in the questions asking the interviewees to give the different languages used in their restaurants. Besides the options of German and English, a space for adding other languages is provided. The aim of half-open questions is to assist the person questioned but to allow for additional answers since, for these questions, not all possible results are foreseeable. The remaining style of question is the open question leaving room for a wide scale of possible answers since the interviewee is not guided in a specific direction. Therefore, this type of question is, for example, applied to the question about the factors influencing the decisions involved in language use, in order to discover as various influences as possible. Since the questionnaire enquires quantitative and qualitative information, it ensures a broad spectrum of insights into the topic of language contact.

As I expected that not all restaurant owners are able to speak German, the questionnaire is available in both German and English. The questionnaires were conducted in person from 24th to 25th November 2022 during the restaurants' official opening hours. After introducing the project and the privacy policy, the restaurant owners were handed over paper copies of the survey in their preferred language and silently filled in the questions. Meanwhile, I was always available for upcoming enquiries. If a question did not apply to a restaurant (e.g. when the

restaurant does not have a Facebook page) or the owner did not want to answer a specific question, they were allowed to skip these questions. Moreover, the owners were pointed out to leave notes or comments on questions whenever they feel to do so. If a restaurant was closed due to unforeseeable circumstances on both days, the restaurants were contacted via email, including all the relevant information and the questionnaire attached.

4.3 Written Language Data

As already indicated before, the data for the investigation of the restaurants' written language use are retrieved from the restaurants' menus and Facebook posts.

Depending on their individual availability, the restaurants' menus were collected in three ways during November and December 2022. First, in advance of the survey via the restaurants' websites or Facebook pages. Second, on the day of the questionnaire when the menu was not accessible online. Or third, via email, when the menu was neither available online, nor in situ. All the menus are stored as plain text files (.txt) to simplify the process of the analysis since the data is easier to access and filter.

For the investigation of the individual posts published on the restaurants' Facebook pages, a corpus was created. Therefore, the language material from simple text posts and picture posts including text only was collected. Not evaluated in the analysis are reposts, as these are posts that have either been published before or even by other authors whose language use has its own patterns and reasons. Also posts including only videos or gifs are neglected, as they are standardly often only available in English and comprise little language material. The relevant posts published between the individual Facebook start dates of the restaurants until the 31st of August 2022 were gathered between September and November 2022 and stored individually for each restaurant as XML files. Besides the posts, each file includes an XML head containing the restaurant's Facebook name, its Facebook HTML, and the date of the collection so that it is easier to trace back the origin of the data. The following shows a blank example of the XML head.

```
<Facebook name =""/>
```

```
<html = ""/>
```

```
<date collected =""/>
```

Each of the posts was copied and pasted into separate XML post elements. In order to allow for various approaches, also outside the frame of this thesis, the author (the restaurant) and the

date of the publication of each post are enclosed. This is also illustrated in the following plain XML post element.

```
<post author ="" date = "">  
  
</post>
```

Every data value retrieved for the collection of the overall written data was investigated according to the following procedure. First, the data were analysed regarding their individual language use. These results were assigned to different language use categories, e.g. monolingual, bilingual, and multilingual language use. In instances of language use apart from English and German, online translation tools were used throughout the whole thesis to enable the identification and comprehension of additional languages. Second, the data were further scrutinized for outcomes of language contact, e.g. occurrences of borrowing and code-switching. Third, in cases of bi- and multilingual language use, it was identified which of the languages used takes the role of the main and the subordinate language(s). The main language is regarded to be the language used first, whereas the subordinate language(s) follow afterwards. Moreover, it was examined if and how the different languages are visually separated from one another. These three steps employ a mixed-methods approach by presenting the quantitative findings in the form of statistics and the qualitative results by listing all the relevant examples. In order to extend the spectrum of possible factors influencing language use, also the topic of each Facebook post was recorded. Hence, the individual Facebook posts were categorized according to their subject and language use to allow for insights into the dependence of language use on the topic of the posts.

After all these steps, all the results from the on-site inspection, the questionnaire, and the written language data analysis were compared with and related to each other to facilitate a remarkable insight into the language use in the restaurants in the German city of Grafenwoehr.

5. Languages in Contact: Language Use in Restaurants in the German City of Grafenwoehr

5.1 General Results

The names of the 29 restaurants and food stalls fulfilling the criteria for the research project of the thesis are compiled in alphabetical order in the following table (Table 1).

Restaurants
Anadolu Kebab Haus 2
Anastasia
Asia Gourmet Grafenwöhr
Bistro Kon Tiki
Berger's Lounge & Restaurant
Caribbean Grill
Cheers
China Restaurant Garden Gourmet
Fusion Garden
Ganesha – Indisches Restaurant
Hotel – Gasthof “Zum Stichn”
Hotel “Erstes Kulmbacher”
Hotel “Zur Post”
Hotel Rattunde
Hotel – Restaurant Böhm
Imbiss zum Wolpertinger
Irish Pub
Korean Restaurant
Marmaris Grill
Pho Viet
Pizza Adlin
Pizzeria Luigi
Pizzeria Da Peppino
Pizzeria Santa Lucia II
Schnitzelstand
Scala
The Chinese
Tortuga – TexMex Bar & Grill
Zoiglstube “Zum Adler”

Table 1: List of Restaurants

The addresses of the 29 restaurants were transferred into a map showing the restaurant locations in Grafenwoehr (Figure 5). As already indicated in the legend on the map, the German national territory is depicted in white, whereas the territory of the Military Training Area is emphasized in grey. The black lines represent the main roads in Grafenwoehr. The

blue double arrows symbolize the gates between the German national territory and the Military Training Area and are the access points where the Americans can enter Grafenwoehr. The restaurant locations are depicted by 27 red circles since two restaurants share the same address with one other restaurant each. The map is a greatly simplified representation of Grafenwoehr but perfectly serves the purpose of presenting the restaurants' locations and the proximities to the gates. A possible influence of the location on the restaurants' language use is discussed in the corresponding chapter (Chapter 5.5).

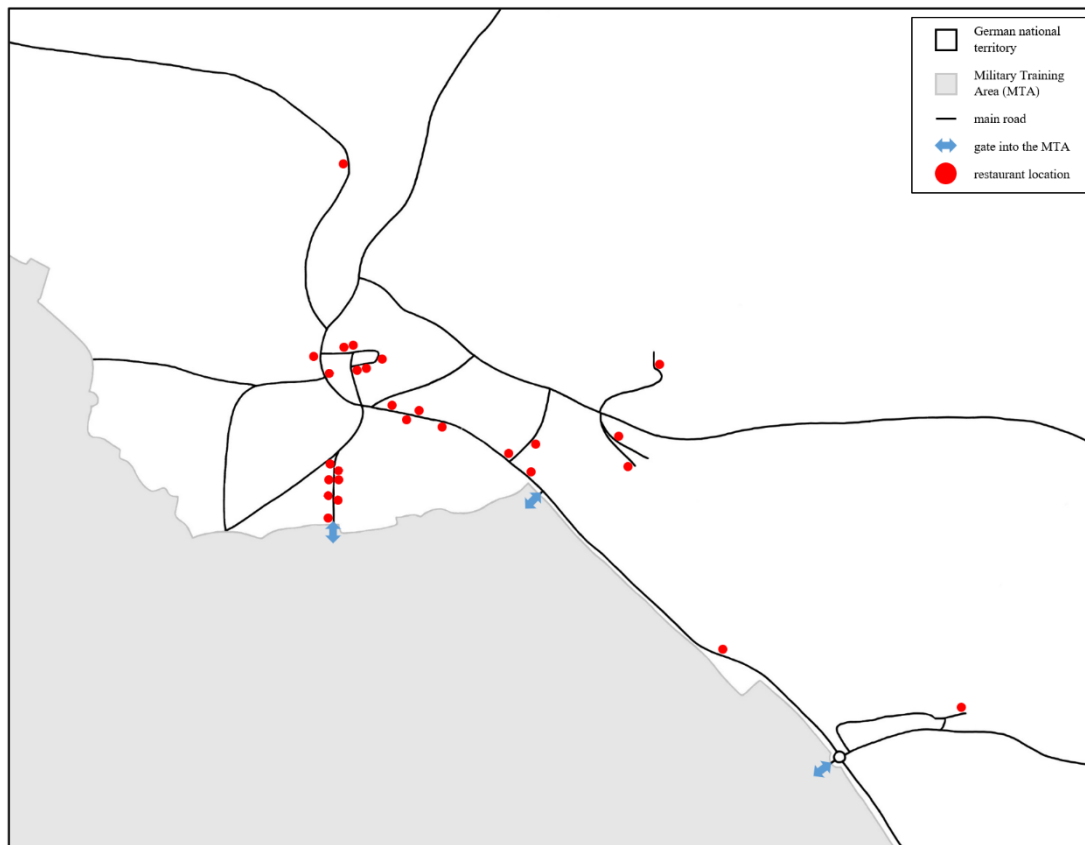


Figure 5: Restaurant Locations Grafenwoehr

Out of the 29 restaurants, 19 restaurant owners filled in the questionnaire. 18 questionnaires were completed in person, and one was received via email as the restaurant owner did not have time to take part in the survey at the day of the visit. Four of the remaining restaurants refused to participate in the study, and six did not reply to my inquiry initiated via email. 17 restaurant owners preferred the German version of the questionnaire and two picked the English version. During the conduction of the questionnaires, I recorded two conspicuous findings. Four of the overall contacted restaurant owners were not proficient in German or only to a limited extent reduced to their “working vocabulary”. Moreover, one owner was neither able to speak German nor English, only Chinese. In this particular case, one of the staff members acted as an interpreter between the owner and me. These peculiarities can be regarded as conspicuous

for a small German town as normally one would expect all restaurant owners to master the local language.

For the compilation of the written data, the menus from 23 restaurants could be conducted. 15 menus were taken from the restaurants' websites, one from the restaurant's Facebook page, and seven were collected in situ on the day of the questionnaire. The corresponding 23 restaurants offer overall 27 individual menus as four restaurants offer each a separate German and English menu. Therefore, these menus are handled as independent menus. Since not all menus offer information on beverages, allergens, additives, opening hours, contact details, etc., the menus are not comparable in structure. So, the research project only further examines the parts of the menu showing the different dishes offered.

Restaurant	Posts
Anadolu Kebab Haus 2	8
Anastasia	333
Asia Gourmet Grafenwöhr	58
Bistro Kon Tiki	69
Berger's Lounge & Restaurant	27
Caribbean Grill	103
Cheers	204
China Restaurant Garden Gourmet	1
Fusion Garden	13
Ganesha – Indisches Restaurant	43
Hotel – Gasthof “Zum Stichn”	45
Hotel “Erstes Kulmbacher”	8
Hotel “Zur Post”	79
Hotel Rattunde	10
Hotel – Restaurant Böhm	61
Irish Pub	76
Korean Restaurant	12
Pho Viet	48
Pizza Adlin	9
Pizzeria Luigi	0
Pizzeria Santa Lucia II	0
Schnitzelstand	50
Scala	1
Tortuga – TexMex Bar & Grill	90
Zoiglstube “Zum Adler”	148
overall	1,496

Table 2: Facebook Posts per Restaurant

Furthermore, 25 of the 29 investigated restaurants have their own Facebook page. The restaurants in Grafenwoehr use their Facebook pages at different frequencies and for various

purposes. This is reflected in the table above (Table 2), presenting the individual number of Facebook posts per restaurant relevant to the research project. Two restaurants on the list have a Facebook page but have never posted anything. Overall, 1,496 separate posts were conducted from the 23 Facebook pages.

5.2 Languages Characterizing the Spoken and Written Language Use of the Restaurants

5.2.1 Spoken Language Use

The results for the spoken language use are entirely based on the questionnaire. As language use is greatly dependent on the interlocutors involved in a conversation, the survey distinguishes between three theoretical situations.

The first case involves spoken conversations between the owner of the restaurant and their staff (see Figure 6). Five owners stated that they use only the German language to communicate with their employees. Whereas no owner merely talks to their staff in English, three owners filled in that they monolingually speak to their employees in other languages, namely Chinese (2) and Hungarian (1).

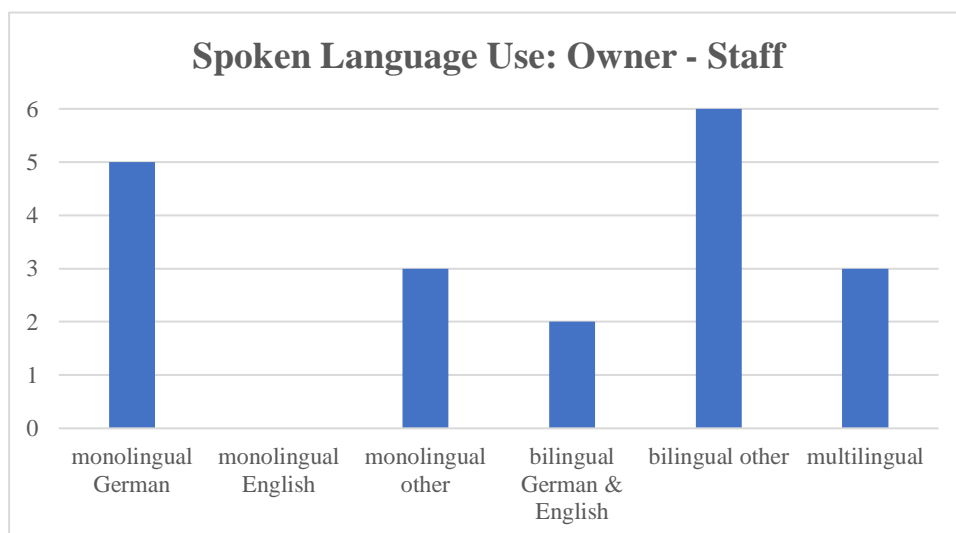


Figure 6: Spoken Language Use Owner-Staff

Eight restaurant owners indicated using two languages when communicating with their staff. Two of them are characterized by bilingual German-English language use, and the remaining six owners combine either German or English with another variety. This includes bilingual German-Arabic (2), German-Hindi (1), German-Chinese (1), English-Kurdish (1), and English-Hungarian (1). Three owners of restaurants in Grafenwoehr pointed out that they make use of three different languages, summarized as multilingual language use in Figure 6. The multilingual combinations named by the owners are German-English-Vietnamese (1), German-English-Arabic (1), and German-Arabic-Turkish (1). Recapitulating the numbers

presented in the figure (Figure 6), it is conspicuous that in 8 out of the 19 restaurants that took part in the survey, the owners combine German and/or English with other varieties to talk to their staff. In three additional restaurants, neither German, nor English is spoken by the owner with their employees. These findings show a considerable diversity in the languages spoken in the majority of restaurants in Grafenwoehr.

The second situation of spoken language use refers to the language(s) spoken by the staff among themselves (see Figure 7). In five of the restaurants in Grafenwoehr, the employees make only use of the German language when talking to each other. The same number of restaurant owners stated that their staff merely speaks in other varieties among themselves, namely Chinese (2), Hungarian (1), Arabic (1), and Greek (1).

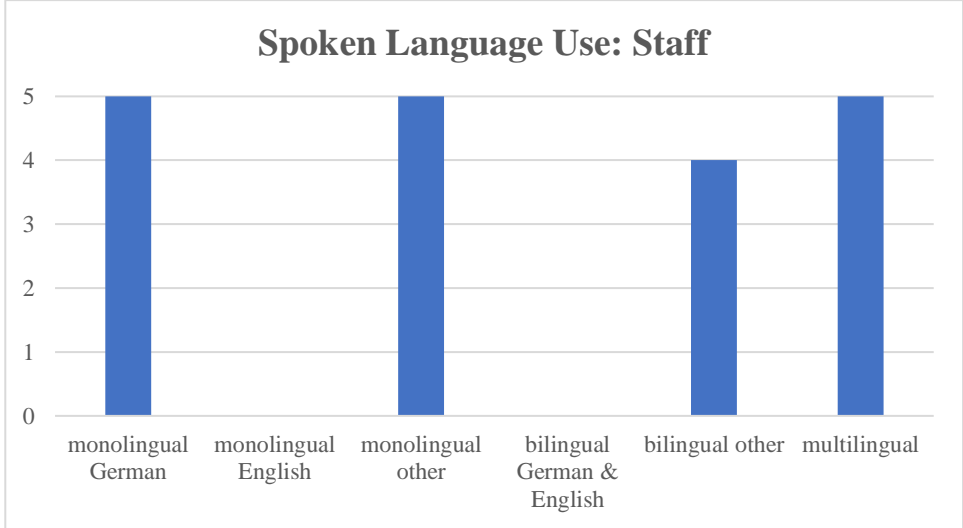


Figure 7: Spoken Language Use Staff

Colleagues working in four additional restaurants talk to each other using two languages. These include the combinations of German-Arabic (1), German-Czech (1), German-Chinese (1), and English-Hungarian (1). In the remaining five restaurants, the employees use multiple languages when communicating with one another. This multilingual language use is characterized by the following languages used in parallel: German-English-Vietnamese (1), German-English-Hindi (1), German-English-Polish (1), German-Arabic-Turkish (1), and German-English-Bulgarian-Turkish-Czech (1). No staff is said to be speaking monolingual English or bilingual German-English at their workplace. The findings shown in Figure 7 are striking since in 19 restaurants, the staff either combines a high number of different varieties to German and/or English or only applies monolingual language use other than German or English. It is also conspicuous that the spoken language use in the restaurants markedly differs in its distribution when comparing the languages used in communications between owners and staff and among the employees. Whereas the shares of monolingual German and monolingual English language use remain the same, monolingual other and multilingual language use increase in two restaurants each, and bilingual German-English and bilingual other language

use decrease in two restaurants respectively. These numbers show a rise in the amount of other varieties besides German and English spoken by the staff with one another. This deduces that more different varieties are spoken among the employees in comparison to the languages present in conversations between the owners and their staff. This finding is also supported by comments added to the questionnaires by two restaurant owners. Since it is difficult to find German personnel, the owners have to employ workers from other countries which in turn influences the number of distinct languages spoken by the staff. As the restaurant owner and other staff members might not be proficient in the native languages of their workers, German and/or English can function as lingua francas between owner and employees.

The third question investigating the spoken language use in the restaurants involves the languages used in communications between the staff and the customers (see Figure 8).

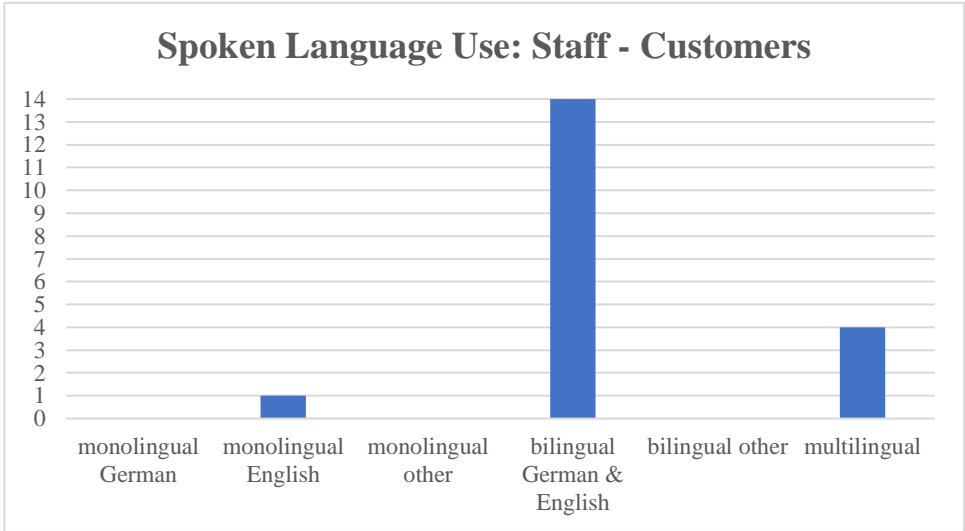


Figure 8: Spoken Language Use Staff-Customers

Whereas one restaurant’s employees address their customers only in English, in the clear majority of restaurants, the waiter or waitress talks in German or English to the customers. In four restaurants in Grafenwoehr, the staff speaks more than two different varieties when communicating with customers. The languages used alongside each other are German-English-Vietnamese (1), German-English-Chinese (1), German-English-Hindi (1), and German-English-Arabic-French (1). In contrast to that, in no of the questioned restaurants, the staff applies monolingual German, monolingual other, and bilingual other language use when talking to customers in the restaurant. These results greatly differ from the numbers presented in the two preceding figures (Figure 6 and Figure 7). These considerable changes could arise based on the languages preferably spoken by the customers since a restaurant normally tries to linguistically adapt to its customers by addressing them in their favoured language. This motive was emphasized by one of the restaurant owners during the questionnaire. Further factors influencing language use in the restaurants are investigated in Chapter 5.5.

The last aspect regarding spoken language use in the restaurants refers to the compulsory languages spoken by people aiming to work in the restaurants (see Figure 9). Six restaurant owners require only German language skills from their employees, and one owner expects their staff to be only proficient in English. Additionally, seven restaurant owners request their employees to be able to speak both English and German. Two further restaurant owners expect different bilingual language skills from their staff, namely German-Chinese (1) and English-Vietnamese (1). Three restaurant owners refused to answer this question.

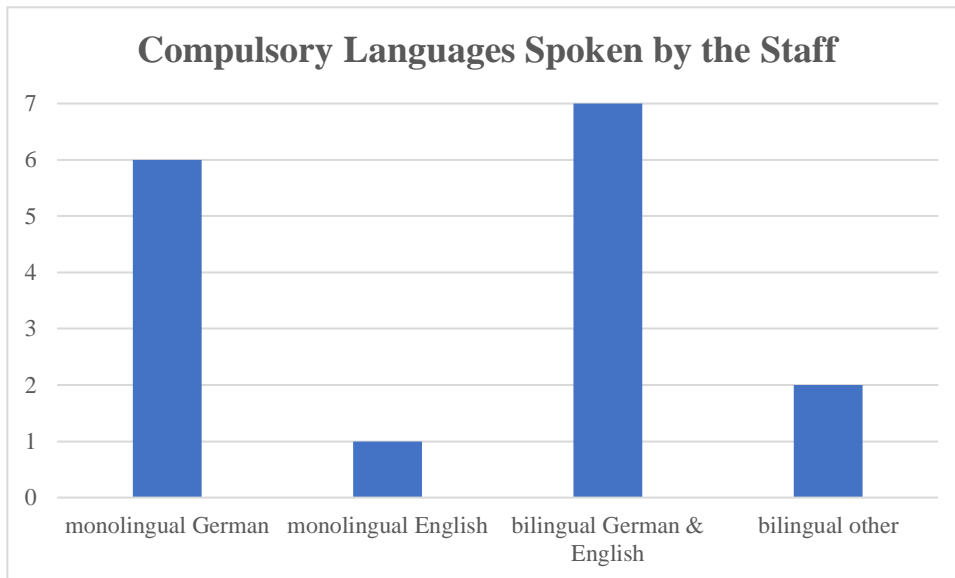


Figure 9: Compulsory Languages Spoken by the Staff

When comparing these findings to the distribution of languages spoken by the employees to the customers, the numbers clearly contradict each other. Whereas the staff of 14 restaurants address their customers in German and English, only half as many restaurant owners require the corresponding language skills from their personnel. It is also conspicuous that two restaurant owners expect their employees to speak an additional language besides German or English. One reason therefore was mentioned by two of the restaurant owners during the questionnaire, as restaurants oftentimes distinguish between “kitchen language” and “service language”. In the two relevant Asian restaurants, the language spoken in the kitchen is Chinese or rather Vietnamese. In order to be able to communicate with the kitchen personnel and to allow for smooth service to the customers, also the waiters and waitresses are required to speak the “kitchen language”.

To summarize, the spoken language use of the restaurants in Grafenwoehr is characterized by more linguistic diversity than expected beforehand the thesis. Besides German and/or English, eleven additional languages, namely Arabic, Bulgarian, Chinese, Czech, Greek, Hindu, Hungarian, Kurdish, Polish, Turkish, and Vietnamese, are spoken by individual staff members of the overall 19 restaurants that participated in the survey. Therefore, the increased bi- and

multilingualism occurring within the spoken language use can be regarded as a consequence of close geographical contact between the various varieties.

5.2.2 Written Language Use

The results for the written language use in the restaurants in Grafenwoehr derive from the restaurants' menus and Facebook posts that were individually analysed according to their language use and also investigated in parts of the questionnaire.

In the survey, the restaurant owners were asked to give the language(s) used in their menus and in the majority of their Facebook posts. For the language use in the menus, the outcomes are as follows (see Figure 10). 17 of the 19 questioned restaurant owners stated that their menu employs both the German language, as well as the English language to a comparable amount. One menu is described as multilingual, including German, English, and Vietnamese. One menu is described as multilingual, including German, English, and Vietnamese.

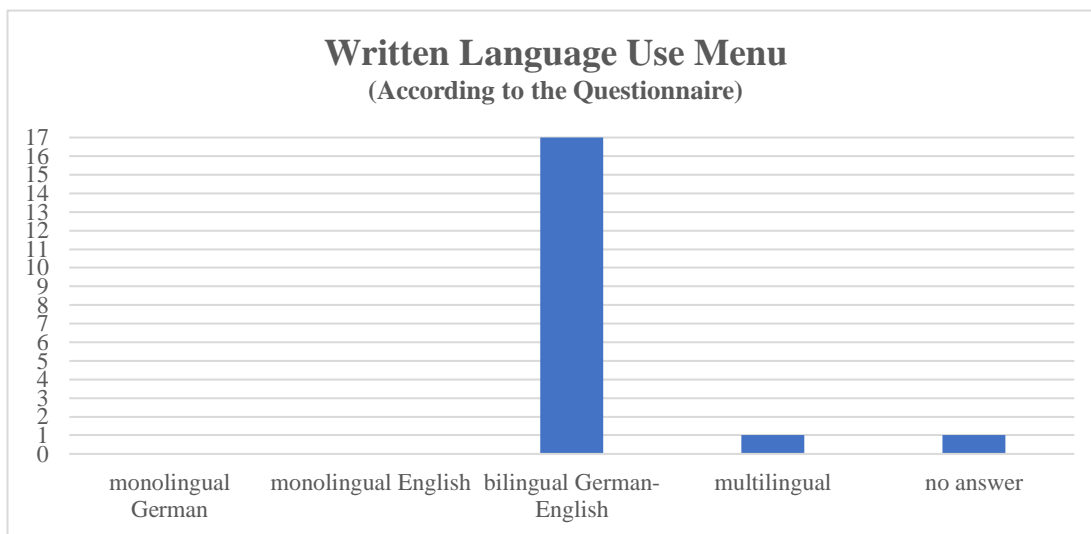


Figure 10: Written Language Use Menus (According to the Questionnaire)

None of the restaurant owners indicated to offer a merely German or English menu, and one of the restaurant owners refused to answer the question. According to these numbers, the vast majority of the restaurants in Grafenwoehr provide at least a bilingual German-English menu to their customers.

The following figure (Figure 11) shows the distribution of written language use in the restaurants' Facebook posts based on the questionnaire. It is important to mention that out of the 19 questioned restaurants, 14 have a Facebook page that is in use. Seven restaurant owners claimed that they only or mainly publish monolingual German posts on their Facebook page, and one restaurant owner uploads only monolingual English posts. Four of the consulted restaurants primarily post bilingually in German and English. It is conspicuous that two restaurant owners did not know which languages are used on their restaurant's Facebook page

since a family member or an employee is responsible for the posts published on their restaurant's Facebook page.

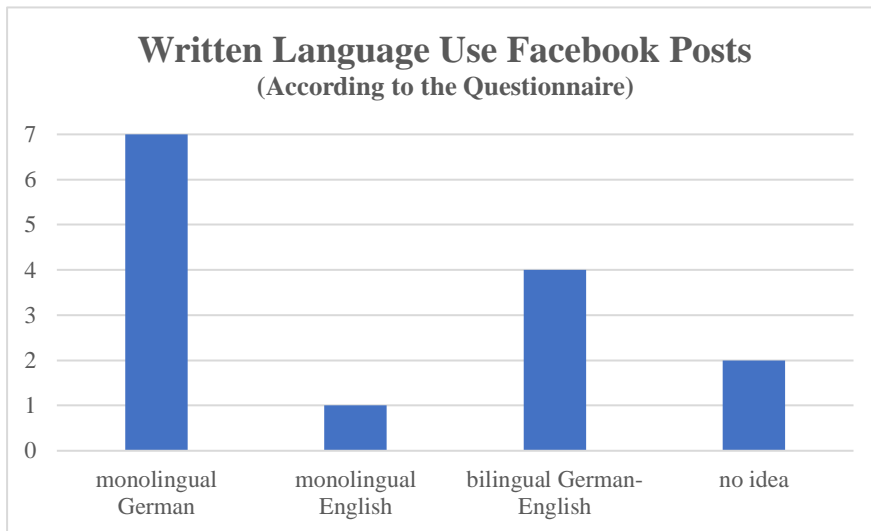


Figure 11: Written Language Use Facebook Posts (According to the Questionnaire)

Compared to the findings on the written language use in the restaurants' menus, the distribution of the separate language use categories is different when it comes to the written language use in the Facebook posts. Whereas most restaurants offer a bilingual German-English menu, less than a third of the restaurants publish bilingual German-English posts on their Facebook pages. In turn, this provokes an increase in monolingual language use in the restaurants' Facebook posts. Different factors possibly determining this outcome are discussed in Chapter 5.5.

The linguistic analysis of the written language use in the menus and Facebook posts provided by the restaurants in Grafenwoehr appeared to be more complicated than first expected. While certain menus were easy to categorize, there was increased inconsistency in the language use in some menus aiming to communicate their content bilingually. Therefore, menus with a nearly equal proportion of languages were classified as bilingual German-English.

	Quantity	Percentage
monolingual German	6	22%
monolingual English	7	26%
monolingual other	0	0%
bilingual German-English	13	48%
multilingual	1	4%
overall	27	100%

Table 3: Written Language Use Menus (According to the Analysis)

Table 3 shows the written language use in the overall 27 menus of the restaurants located in Grafenwoehr. Besides the actual numbers, the table also shows the share of each language use category in order to enable comparisons to the written language use in the restaurants'

Facebook posts. Six menus are monolingual German (22%), and seven menus are monolingual English (26%). Just as many restaurants offer a bilingual German-English menu (48%), and one restaurant provides a multilingual German-English-Vietnamese menu to their customers (4%).

The following table (Table 4) presents the numbers and shares of the written language use in the restaurants' Facebook posts. Out of the overall 1,496 individual posts, 850 are categorized as monolingual German (56.8%). 443 posts are published in English (29.6%), and three posts are written in other monolingual varieties (0.2%). These varieties are Arabic, Greek, and Bavarian German dialect. Further 197 posts include two languages, German and English (13.2%). The three remaining posts are of multilingual nature (0.2%). Since one instance assigned to multilingual language use is comparatively short in length, it is attached here for illustrative purposes. *Enjoy your meal! Buon appetito! An Guadn!* This post employs three different languages to convey the message *Enjoy your meal!* Besides English, the same content is also added in Italian and Bavarian German dialect within one post. The other two examples of multilingual language use combine utterances in German, English, and Spanish in one post.

	Quantity	Percentage
monolingual German	850	56.8%
monolingual English	443	29.6%
monolingual other	3	0.2%
bilingual German-English	197	13.2%
multilingual	3	0.2%
overall	1,496	100%

Table 4: Written Language Use Facebook Posts (According to the Analysis)

Comparing the percentages of the written language use in the menus and the Facebook posts, it is conspicuous that the narrow majority of menus (52%) employ bi- or multilingual language use, whereas only about an eighth of the Facebook posts can be categorized as bi- or multilingual. In addition, more than 85% of the overall Facebook posts are monolingual, either German, English or of other origins. The same applies to 48% of the menus, which is nearly half of the amount accounting for the Facebook posts. These numbers show that there is a reversal in language use when comparing the menus and the Facebook posts. The mainly monolingual online language use seems to be sufficient for the restaurants' purposes, while it appears to be beneficial to offer bi- or multilingual menus. Different influential factors and reasons for these findings are discussed in the corresponding chapter (Chapter 5.5).

Since both the questionnaire and the analysis focus on written language use, the following presents the findings on the compatibility of the answers given by the restaurant owners within the survey and the reality reflected in the actual menus and Facebook posts.

Table 5 draws up the results on the language use in the restaurants' menus, divided into the individual numbers gained in the questionnaire and the analysis of the menus. Since one restaurant owner refused to answer the question on language use in their menu, the remaining 18 restaurant owners' statements are compared to the findings from the investigation of their corresponding menus. 17 of the 18 restaurant owners pointed out to offer a bilingual German-English menu, and one restaurant provides a multilingual German-English-Vietnamese menu to their customers. Whereas the accuracy of the multilingual menu was proven within the analysis of the menus, only 14 menus were identified to be bilingual German-English. The three remaining menus are either monolingual German (2) or monolingual English (2) in reality. All these three restaurants do neither on their website, nor on-site in their restaurant offer an additional menu to their identified and analysed monolingual menus. The reasons why the relevant restaurant owners chose to come up with false answers remain unsolved.

	Questionnaire	Analysis
monolingual German	0	2
monolingual English	0	1
bilingual German-English	17	14
multilingual	1	1
overall	18	18

Table 5: Compatibility of Results Menus

As only twelve of the 25 restaurants maintaining a Facebook page took part in the survey, the results for the compatibility of the answers given in the questionnaire and the numbers collected within the analysis are limited to these 12 restaurants and are shown in the following table (Table 6).

	Questionnaire	Analysis
monolingual German	7	8
monolingual English	1	3
bilingual German-English	4	1
overall	12	12

Table 6: Compatibility of Results Facebook Posts

Seven restaurant owners declared to primarily post monolingual German messages, and one restaurant owner stated to mostly publish monolingual English posts. According to the questionnaire, four restaurants mainly write bilingual German-English posts on their Facebook page. Six instances of monolingual German language use and the one restaurant claiming monolingual English language use could be confirmed in the analysis of the Facebook posts. The one remaining restaurant described as publishing predominantly monolingual German posts is characterized as bilingual German-English after investigating its Facebook posts. The four restaurants originally ascribed to employing bilingual German-English language use, are

in equal parts, classified as restaurants posting monolingual German and monolingual English language use messages in the aftermath of the analysis of the corresponding Facebook posts.

Although some restaurant owners differently categorized the language use on their Facebook pages, the answers of the restaurant owners are quite traceable. Especially in the instances, where the opinion of the restaurant owner contradicts the result of the research project, it was challenging to assign language use groups to the individual Facebook pages. The reason therefore is that hardly any restaurant maintains a linear language usage throughout their posts. The language use of the posts seems to follow a yet unidentified scheme. However, some Facebook pages show a clear connection between language use and the topics of the individual Facebook posts. But if the topic of the post influences the overall written language use of the restaurants located in Grafenwoehr, is, besides other factors, examined in Chapter 5.5.

Projecting the overall outcomes of the investigation of the spoken and written language use in the restaurants in Grafenwoehr, the following proportions arise (see Table 7).

	Spoken Language Use	Written Language Use
monolingual German	17.4%	39.4%
monolingual English	1.7%	27.8%
monolingual other	14.1%	0.1%
bilingual German-English	28.0%	30.6%
bilingual other	17.7%	0%
multilingual	21.1%	2.1%
overall	100%	100%

Table 7: Comparison Spoken Language Use and Written Language Use

Whereas the narrow majority of written language use employs merely German (39.4%), most spoken language use is uttered bilingually, in German and English (28.0%). The bilingual German-English language use in written instances reaches a comparable value of 30.6%. On the third rank of written language use is monolingual English at 27.8%. Here, it is conspicuous that monolingual English language use makes up the clear minority of spoken language use (1.7%). Moreover, in spoken language use, monolingual German (17.4%) and bilingual other language use (17.7%) share a similar value. In contrast to that, bilingual other language use does not occur within written language use. Monolingual other language use reaches a value of 14.1% in spoken language use and 0.1% in written language use. Multilingual language use occurs ten times more within spoken language use (21.1%) in comparison to written language use (2.1%).

While monolingual language use seems to play a minor role in spoken language use, the vast majority of written language use is uttered in only one language. In comparison to written language, more than twice as many instances of bi- or multilingual language use occur within

spoken language use. The only value, in which spoken and written language use are similar, is the bilingual German-English language use.

The distribution among written language use could indicate that the language contact between the German and the English language in Grafenwoehr is at an initial stage. This is due to the fact that there seem to be high rates of language maintenance within the written language use, combined with a nearly equal share of German-English bilingualism in written and spoken language use. Moreover, spoken language more easily reacts to contact with other varieties, whereas it involves a longer procedure for contact-induced change to lastingly affect written language. Therefore, after characterizing the spoken and written language use of the restaurants in Grafenwoehr, I conclude that the language contact between German and English observable in Grafenwoehr's restaurants is at an early stage of contact. Depending on the domain of data collection, the results could be different for other sectors in Grafenwoehr. In order to verify this deduction, a more extended research project is required.

5.3 Outcomes of Language Contact in the Written Language Use of the Restaurants

As the main focus of the thesis is on the language contact between German and English in the case study of Grafenwoehr's restaurants, and in order not to exceed the scope of the thesis, the outcomes of German-English language contact are at the centre of attention. Other conspicuous forms of language contact are mentioned, but not discussed in detail. The subsequently displayed examples of code-switching and lexical borrowing derive from the corresponding parts from the entire range of menus and Facebook posts. In some instances, it was challenging to assign certain elements deriving from the language under contact to either the category of code-switching or borrowing. Therefore, the thesis follows the traditional differentiation between single-word code-switching and borrowing and defines borrowings as comparatively more widespread and arising due to the absence of an exact equivalent in the source language. The results for code-switching in the menus and Facebook posts investigated are presented separately, as menus and posts are not comparable in sentence structure and code-switching not only depends on the words used, but also on the sentence structure it occurs within.

5.3.1 Code-Switching

5.3.1.1 Code-Switching in the Menus

Within three monolingual German menus, overall 21 instances of English code-switching can be identified (see Table 8). All the examples are listed embedded in their German utterances, and the occurring English switches are underlined. The numbers in brackets give the individual occurrences of each example and a corresponding English translation is provided on the right. As Table 8 shows, the majority of instances of English code-switching include common nouns used for foods or ingredients like *Garlic*, *Bacon*, *Patty*, *Chicken*, *Flatbread*, and *Broccoli*. Moreover, the describing adjectives *Mexican*, *Veggie*, *crunchy*, and the compound noun *Meat Lover* are established in the English switches. Since the menus do not contain complete sentences but phrases or rather strings of words, the individual occurrences were difficult to assign to the different types of code-switching presented in the previous research section. The examples *Knoblauch oder Mexican an Salatblume*, *verschiedene Dips zur Auswahl: Garlic Parmesan*, and *mit Sahnesauce, Lachsfilet und Broccoli* are phrases, and the incorporated switches can therefore be categorized as intra-sentential code-switching, as this type of code-switching occurs within sentences or phrases. The remaining switches take place within strings of words and could also be seen as intra-sentential switches, when the enumeration in combination with the dish title is regarded as an individual entity. And except for the examples of *Crunchy Chickenpatty* and *Meat Lover*, all instances of English code-switching are single-word switches, an insertion of one English word into a German utterance.

Each of the overall three occurrences of *Meat Lover* and *Veggie* is used in a dish name. As the dishes are further explained by an attached German list of ingredients, the dishes can, in theory, be comprehended, although a German equivalent for the switches is missing. The remaining examples occur within the lists of ingredients attached to the dish names, and all lack a German explanation or translation. As *Broccoli* and *Mexican* are similar to their German equivalents *Brokkoli* and *Mexikanisch* in spelling, and as the usage of the words *Chicken* and *Bacon* is increasingly widespread in German, these terms might possibly be understood by monolingual Germans. For the words *Garlic*, *Patty*, *crunchy*, and *Flatbread*, a monolingual German speaker would need appropriate English language skills to fully retrace the dish. The English code-switchings in the dish names and the lists of ingredients could arise due to various reasons. One could be the symbolic value of the English equivalents in order to sound more international and modern. The overall four instances of *Broccoli* could also be regarded as accidental spelling mistakes, as the German equivalent is *Brokkoli*. Further reasons could be identified in a subsequent research project.

Restaurant	Examples	English Translations
Berger's Lounge & Restaurant	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • [...] <u>Knoblauch</u> oder <u>Mexican an Salatblume</u> (3) • <u>Chilischoten</u>, <u>Cheddarkäse</u> & <u>Mexican Soße</u> (1) • <u>verschiedene Dips zur Auswahl: Garlic Parmesan</u> [...] (1) • <u>Rindfleisch</u>, <u>Salat</u>, <u>Tomaten</u>, <u>Chilischoten</u>, <u>Bacon</u>, <u>Cheddarkäse</u> [...] (1) • [...] <u>Salat</u>, <u>Essiggurken</u>, <u>Tomaten</u>, <u>Käse</u>, <u>Bacon</u>, <u>Burger Soße</u> [...] (1) • <u>Rindfleisch</u>, <u>Salat</u>, <u>Rote Zwiebeln</u>, <u>Tomaten</u>, <u>Bacon</u>, <u>Spiegelei</u> [...] (1) • <u>Rindfleisch</u>, <u>Salat</u>, <u>Essiggurken</u>, <u>Zwiebeln</u>, <u>Tomaten</u>, <u>Bacon</u> [...] (1) • <u>Rindfleisch</u>, <u>Salat</u>, <u>Ananas</u>, <u>Bacon</u>, <u>Cheddarkäse</u> [...] (1) • <u>Veggie Burger – Gemüsepatty</u>, <u>Salat</u>, [...] (1) • <u>Fischpatty</u>, <u>Salat</u> & <u>Remoulade</u> (1) • <u>Gemüsepatty</u>, <u>Salat</u>, <u>Essiggurken</u>, <u>Zwiebeln</u>, <u>Tomaten</u> [...] (1) • <u>Crunchy Chickenpatty</u>, <u>Salat</u>, <u>Tomaten</u> & <u>Burger Soße</u> (1) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 'garlic or Mexican with salad' • 'chili, Cheddar cheese & Mexican sauce' • 'choose from different dips: garlic Parmesan' • 'beef, lettuce, tomatoes, chili, bacon, Cheddar cheese' • 'lettuce, pickles, tomatoes, cheese, bacon, burger sauce' • 'beef, lettuce, red onions, tomatoes, bacon, fried egg' • 'beef, lettuce, pickles, onions, tomatoes, bacon' • 'beef, lettuce, pineapple, bacon, Cheddar cheese' • 'veggie burger – veggie patty, lettuce' • 'fish patty, lettuce, tartar sauce' • 'veggie patty, lettuce, pickles, onions, tomatoes' • 'crunchy chicken patty, lettuce, tomatoes, burger sauce'
Pizza Adlin	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>Meat Lover – Tomatensauce</u>, <u>Käse</u>, <u>Schinken</u> [...] (1) • <u>mit Sahnesauce</u>, <u>Lachsfilet</u> und <u>Broccoli</u> (1) • <u>Tomatensauce</u>, <u>Käse</u>, <u>Hähnchenfilet</u>, <u>Oliven</u>, <u>Broccoli</u>, <u>Zwiebeln</u> (1) • <u>Falafel</u>, <u>Salat</u>, <u>Humus</u>, <u>Flatbread</u> (1) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 'Meat Lover – tomato sauce, cheese, ham' • 'with cream sauce, salmon fillet and broccoli' • 'tomato sauce, cheese, chicken fillet, olives, broccoli, onions' • 'falafel, lettuce, humus, flatbread'
Pizzeria Da Peppino	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>Meat Lover – Käse</u>, <u>Tomatensauce</u>, <u>Salami</u>, <u>Schinken</u> [...] (1) • [...] <u>Hähnchenfilet</u>, <u>Oliven</u>, <u>Broccoli</u>, <u>Knoblauch</u> (1) • [...] <u>Thunfisch</u>, <u>Zwiebeln</u>, <u>Broccoli</u>, <u>Knoblauch</u> (1) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 'Meat Lover – cheese, tomato sauce, salami, ham' • 'chicken fillet, olives, broccoli, garlic' • 'tuna, onions, broccoli, garlic'
3 menus	21 occurrences	

Table 8: English Code-Switching in the Menus

In addition, one monolingual English menu comprises six examples of German code-switching (see Table 9). The individual instances of code-switching are underlined according to their later on assigned type of code-switching.

Restaurant	Examples	English Translations
Hotel Rattunde	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Rattunde's appetizer plate – <u>Wurstsalat</u>, <u>Obatzda</u>, <u>Bratwurst</u>, <u>Aufschnitt</u>, pickles</i> (1) • <i>Swiss sausage salad – <u>Aufschnitt</u>, cheese, tomato, onion, pickles, farmers bread</i> (1) • <i><u>Dreierlei zum Bier</u> – <u>Obatzda</u>, <u>Mettwurst</u>, <u>Leberwurst</u>, Farmers bread</i> (1) • <i><u>Nuernberger Bratwürstel</u> – sauerkraut, farmers bread, mustard</i> (1) 	<p>'sausage salad'</p> <p>'assorted sliced cold meats'</p> <p>'assorted sliced cold meats'</p> <p>'Three to a beer'</p> <p>'smoked minced pork sausage', 'liver sausage'</p> <p>'bratwurst Nuremberg type'</p>
1 menu	6 occurrences	

Table 9: German Code-Switching in the Menus

Table 9 displays the six occurrences of German code-switching combined with their English translation and the number in brackets showing how often the example was identified within the corresponding menu. *Wurstsalat*, *Aufschnitt*, *Mettwurst*, and *Leberwurst* are nouns describing different kinds of sausage dishes, and since all of these have an unambiguous equivalent in English, they are ascribed to code-switching. *Dreierlei zum Bier* is a noun phrase. *Nuernberger Bratwürstel* is a special type of bratwurst, with *Bratwürstel* being a diminutive form of *Bratwurst*. Since *Bratwurst* and *Obatzda* do not have an unmistakable equivalent in English, they are treated as borrowings and are discussed in Chapter 5.3.2. As the German switches detected in the English menu again occur within lists of words and not within phrases or sentences, a clear categorization into types of code-switching was also difficult in this case. Since *Dreierlei zum Bier* is a completely switched phrase, it could be assigned as inter-sentential code-switching, marked by the dashed line. All the other examples are intra-sentential switches that occur within the entities forming individual dishes and are highlighted by the standard line. Moreover, the six instances of German code-switching in the monolingual English menu are employed either in the dish title, as *Dreierlei zum Bier* and *Nuernberger Bratwürstel*, or in the lists of ingredients following the dishes' names, and all lack English equivalents. As the German switches are deeply embedded into the dish descriptions, the use of the German language within the English version of the menu substantially reduces the understanding of a dish for a monolingual English speaker. Only corresponding knowledge of German cuisine and the German language would facilitate the comprehension of the dishes. The switching of *Wurstsalat* only occurs once in the menu. In all the other instances, *Wurstsalat* is always realised with the English equivalent *sausage salad*. Therefore, it seems that during the process of translating the German menu into English, this one occurrence was overlooked and therefore not translated. The remaining examples appear to be used as proper

nouns describing dishes, hence an English explanation of these nouns would be desirable in order to enhance the comprehensibility of the menu for monolingual English speakers.

A further conspicuousness concerning code-switching in the menus refers to both the monolingual German and the monolingual English menus offered by three Italian restaurants located in Grafenwoehr. The either monolingual German or monolingual English menus comprise a considerable amount of Italian code-switching. In overall 123 instances throughout the five corresponding menus, Italian switches can be identified in the dish titles of the menus. First, they include Italian names of cities and regions located in Italy, e.g. *Milano* - 'Milan', *Napoli* - 'Naples', *Roma* - 'Rome', *Venezia* - 'Venice', and *Calabria* - 'Calabria'. Second, Italian equivalents of different ingredients, e.g. *Aglio* - 'garlic', *Formaggi* - 'cheese', *Funghi* - 'mushroom', *Insalata* - 'salad', *Pomodori* - 'tomatoes', and *Tonno* - 'tuna', can be identified. Third, the switches also consist of Italian nouns and adjectives like *Antica* - 'old', *Arrabiata* - 'spicy', *Italiano* - 'Italian', *Mare* - 'sea', *Pescatore* - 'fisherman', *Quattro* - 'four', *Quattro Stagioni* - 'four seasons', and *Verde* - 'green'. These examples considered, there seems to be a clear connection between the ethnic cuisine and the language use of the restaurants since Italian code-switching only appears in menus of restaurants selling mainly Italian meals. During the questionnaire, one of the restaurant owners mentioned a possible reason for the high appearance of Italian code-switching. The owner stated to use many Italian terms within their menu to convey the feeling of being in Italy to their customers. And as all of the Italian code-switchings occur within the dish names and the dishes are further explained by a list of ingredients, the switches do not significantly affect the understanding of the dishes.

To sum up, four of the 27 menus contain overall 27 instances of German or English code-switching. One of these can be categorized as inter-sentential code-switching, and the remaining 26 are intra-sentential switches. Whereas 15.8% of the German menus comprise examples of English code-switching, only one English menu includes instances of German code-switching, which amounts to 5%. Comparing these rates, there seems to be a greater impact of the English language on the German language use in the menus than the other way around. The following chapters will show if these findings are significant for the whole language contact situation in Grafenwoehr.

5.3.1.2 Code-Switching in the Facebook Posts

In order to identify the occurrences of code-switching in the Facebook posts, the monolingual Facebook posts, as well as the bilingual posts were investigated.

Overall 54 different posts of German language use published by ten restaurants, include 67 instances of English code-switching. The examples are listed below (see Table 10). Attached

is the number of the individual occurrences of each in brackets, and an English translation is provided in the right column. Again, the examples of English code-switching are underlined according to the type of code-switching they are subsequently classified to.

Restaurant	Examples	English Translations
Anadolu Kebab Haus 2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>M[e]rry christmas</u>. Frohe Weihnachten an all unsere Kunden und Freunde (1) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ‘Merry Christmas. Merry Christmas to all our customers and friends’
Anastasia	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ab 15. Februar bieten wir euch jeden Samstag von 8 - 11 Uhr <u>American Breakfast</u> mit [...] (1) • <u>Making of "Scampi Saganaki"</u> [...] (1) • <u>Happy Birthday</u> an unsere kleine Anastasia (1) • Unsere kleine Chefin wird heute 2 Jahre alt. <u>happy Birthday</u> kleine Anastasia (1) • <u>Winter-Wonder</u>-Schützenheim (1) • wir freuen uns auf eine tolle „<u>Outdoor</u>-Saison“ mit euch. (1) • Lasst die Blumen den Bienen und führt eure <u>Mum</u> lieber zum Essen aus (1) • Ist der Koch <u>happy</u>, sind's die Gäste auch. (1) • Wenn ihr <u>happy</u> seid, dann sind wir es auch. (1) • Bei uns gibts jetzt auch <u>Ribs</u> auf Wunsch „pur“. (1) • Jetzt neu auf der Karte Pizza und <u>Ribs</u>. (1) • Die ersten Termine für Weihnachtsfeiern und <u>Christmas Partys</u> sind schon vergeben. (1) • <u>Yummy</u> - Unsere Nummer 82 (1) • *<u>yummy</u>* Mit Pommes oder Reis - wie ihr wollt (1) • Serviert wird er mit Folienkartoffel, Tzatziki und Salat. <u>yummy</u> (1) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ‘From 15th February we offer American breakfast with [...] every Saturday from 8 to 11 a.m.’ • ‘Making of “Scampi Saganaki”’ • ‘Happy Birthday to our little Anastasia’ • ‘Our little boss turns 2 years today. Happy birthday little Anastasia’ • ‘winter-wonder-shooting club clubhouse’ • ‘we’re looking forward to a wonderful outdoor season with you’ • ‘Leave the flowers to the bees and take your mum out for a meal’ • ‘If the chef is happy, the guests are too.’ • ‘When you’re happy, we’re too’ • ‘We also have ribs, sheer upon request now.’ • ‘New on the menu pizza and ribs’ • ‘The first appointments for Christmas parties and Christmas parties are already booked.’ • ‘Yummy – our number 82’ • ‘Yummy. With fries or rice – as you like’ • ‘Served with baked potato, tzatziki and lettuce. Yummy’

Asia Gourmet Grafenwöhr	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Geöffnet am Silvesterabend von 17 - 20 Uhr und ab 20:30 Uhr (<u>open end</u>) (1)</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ‘Open on New Year’s Eve from 5 to 8 p.m. and from 20:30 (open end)’
Berger’s Lounge & Restaurant	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Berger’s Lounge & Sportsbar - <u>Delivery Service</u> [...] (3)</i> • <i>[...] bietet ab 01.08.2022 einen <u>Delivery Service</u> für Grafenwöhr (2)</i> • <i>Wir liefern die ganze Karte, <u>Delivery Karten</u> gibt’s im Restaurant zum mitnehmen (1)</i> • <i><u>Delivery</u> Tel.: 09641-929100 (1)</i> • <i>Ein<u>fac</u>h anrufen und <u>Shuttle</u> bestellen (1)</i> • <i><u>Shuttle Service 4 Free</u>, wir holen Sie kostenlos [...] (2)</i> • <i>wir holen Sie kostenlos von <u>Gate 1</u> oder <u>Gate 6</u> ab (3)</i> • <i>[...] bringen Sie zur Berger’s Lounge & Sportsbar und wieder zurück zu <u>Gate 1</u> oder <u>Gate 6</u> (3)</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ‘Berger’s Lounge & Sports Bar – delivery service’ • ‘offer a delivery service for Grafenwoehr from 1st August 2022’ • ‘We deliver the whole menu, there are delivery cards for take away in the restaurant’ • ‘delivery phone: [...]’ • ‘Just call and order a shuttle’ • ‘Shuttle service for free, we pick you up for free’ • ‘we pick you up for free from gate 1 or gate 6’ • ‘bring you to Berger’s Lounge & Sports Bar and take you back to gate 1 or gate 6’
Cheers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Alle Jahr wieder <u>happy thanksgiving</u> (1)</i> • <i>Bitte nicht dein Herz ausschütten! <u>Only today f..en shot 2 €!</u> (1)</i> • <i>Dürfen wir vorstellen! Unser Redneck Burger mit <u>Onion Rings</u> (1)</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ‘As every year happy thanksgiving’ • ‘Please do not unburden your heart! Only today [...]’ • ‘May we present! Our redneck burger with onion rings’
Hotel – Restaurant Böhm	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i><u>Hotel Restaurant Böhm goes TV!</u> (1)</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ‘Hotel restaurant Böhm goes TV!’
Irish Pub	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i><u>FEIERT MIT UNS !! BYE BYE 2021 - HELLO. 2022 !! ÖFFNUNGSZEITEN</u> (1)</i> • <i><u>NUR NOCH EIN TAG. SAVE THE DATE - DONNERSTAG 1. JULY 2021</u> (3)</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ‘Celebrate with us!! Bye bye 2021 – Hello 2022!! Opening hours’ • ‘Only one day. Save the date – Thursday 1st July 2021’
Pho Viet	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Probearbeiten am Wochenende. <u>TIP/ Trinkgeld 100% Ihres. Einstellung ab Sofort</u> (1)</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ‘Probationary employment at the weekend. Tip/tip 100% yours. Employment as of now’
Tortuga – TexMex Bar & Grill	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>++Bitte Teilen++<u>Please share</u>++So einen Burrito mal kochen? (1)</i> • <i><u>Happy Thanksgiving</u>. Lockdown runde 3 und anscheinend werden es noch ein paar mehr (1)</i> • <i>Diese und nächste Woche Sonntags geöffnet. Mittwoch bis Sonntag 17:00-22:00. Innen</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ‘Please share++please share++ want to cook such a burrito?’ • ‘Happy Thanksgiving. Lockdown round three and apparently there will be more’ • ‘Open on Sunday this and next week. Wednesday to Sunday 5

	<p><i>Gastro (2G) <u>Take out.</u> (3) + <u>Want Some? Get Some!!</u> (2)</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i><u>Tips</u> werden mit unser Küche geteilt.(12)</i> 	<p>to 10 p.m. Dine in (2G). Take Out. + Want Some? Get Some!!'</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 'Tips are shared with our kitchen'
<p>Zoiglstube "Zum Adler"</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Guten Morgen! <u>Check this Out!</u> (1)</i> • <i>Heute ab 15.00 Uhr – <u>Sunday</u> (2)</i> • <i><u>Bock is back!</u> Ab heute 17.00 bei mir erhältlich! (1)</i> • <i>Unser Bier-Likör mit Sahne! Auch #super-<u>liqueur</u># (1)</i> • <i>Heute Abend gibt es was zu feiern! <u>Happy Birthday Dad!</u> (1)</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 'Good morning! Check this out!' • Today from 3 p.m. – Sunday • Bock is back! Available today 5 p.m.' • 'Our beer-liqueur with cream! Also super-liqueur' • 'We've got something to celebrate this evening! Happy Birthday Dad!'
	67 occurrences	

Table 10: English Code-Switching in the Facebook Posts

As Table 10 shows, the English switches include, for example, congratulation phrases like *Happy Birthday*, *Happy Thanksgiving*, or *Merry Christmas*. Besides that, a high number of instances comprises nouns, e.g. *breakfast*, *Christmas parties*, *delivery*, *end*, *gate*, *liqueur*, *mum*, *onion rings*, *ribs*, *shuttle*, *Sunday*, *take-out*, *tip*, and *wonder*. Moreover, the adjectives *4 free*, *American*, *happy*, *open*, *outdoor*, and *yummy* can be characterised as switches. Also, English phrases are inserted into the German language use, e.g. *Bye Bye 2021 – Hello 2022*, *Check this out*, *Please share*, *Save the date*, *Want some? Get some!*. In comparison to the menu, Facebook posts are more likely to contain complete phrases and sentences, and therefore, the classification of the examples into the different types of code-switching was straightforward. As the underlining of the individual instances already indicates, two different types of code-switching can be identified throughout the list of occurrences. On the one hand, 44 examples can be assigned to intra-sentential code-switching, marked by the standard line. The majority of the intra-sentential switches comprise English single-word or short phrase switches. On the other hand, there are 23 examples of inter-sentential code-switching highlighted by the dashed line. As the table (Table 10) illustrates, the inter-sentential code-switching does not only include alternated phrases but also single-word sentence switches. Relating the English switches to the overall language use in the restaurants' Facebook posts and considering the content of the switches, no clear pattern can be identified. However, a further research project could investigate the backgrounds of English code-switching in the restaurants located in Grafenwoehr.

In addition, the German Facebook posts also contain switches to other languages. First, these switches include four instances of Greek inter-sentential code-switching in the posts by one

restaurant. Both examples *Kali orexi* - ‘Enjoy your meal’ and *Yamas!* - ‘Cheers!’ are short phrases or words put at the end of German Facebook posts. Second, 25 German posts comprise overall 38 Bavarian German dialect code-switchings. While 28 occurrences provided by one restaurant can be categorized as inter-sentential code-switching, two other restaurants make use of intra-sentential code-switching within ten of their posts. Examples of Bavarian German dialect switching are *Schmankerln* - ‘delicacies’, *guade* ‘good’, and *gmiatlich’s beinand* - ‘cozy get-together’. Besides one restaurant that records a high frequency of Bavarian German dialect switches and therefore seems to intentionally make use of the switches, the number of the remaining switches to other languages is too low to allow for reasonable deductions.

The following table (Table 11) shows the 31 instances of German code-switching detected in eleven English Facebook posts published by four restaurants in Grafenwoehr. The middle column of the table lists the individual examples, the number of the individual occurrences is given in brackets behind each example, and an English translation for the switches is provided on the right. The separate instances of English code-switching are again underlined according to the type of code-switching they are later categorized into. The list consists of German code-switchings of nouns like *Biergarten*, *Bilder*, *Motiv*, *Musik*, *Öffnungszeiten*, *Samstag*, *Volksfest*, *Willkommen*, and *Uhr*. Moreover, the adjective *amerikanisches*, the definite article *die*, and the adverb *heute* are switched to German within the English posts. The outline also contains numerous other examples of English code-switching. But since the majority of switches refer to phrases and complete sentences, they will not individually be addressed here for the reason of length. The instances highlighted with a standard line are examples categorized as intra-sentential code-switching. Except for the switch of *Amerikanisches Volksfest*, the remaining eight occurrences are German single-word switches embedded into an English utterance. The other 22 instances of code-switching are inter-sentential switches, as they all occur between clause and sentence borders. The inter-sentential switches mainly include whole phrases and sentences, but also single-word switches, and are marked with a dashed line. The vast majority of switches occur within one utterance that wants to communicate its message both in English and German at the same time. Therefore, after each sentence or phrase, the language is alternated. But it is also conspicuous that not the complete information is delivered in the two languages, as some phrases remain untranslated, e.g. the sentence *PLEASE CHECK IF YOU WROTE THEM RIGHT* is missing a corresponding German switch to transmit the identical content. Whereas the switch *Samstag/Saturday* seems to be used intentionally, when recapitulating other Facebook posts published by the same restaurant, the remaining instances of intra-sentential code-switching appear to have happened unintentionally, as for the examples *Musik*, *Amerikanisches*, and *Biergarten*, the English equivalents are similar in spelling. The extra- and sociolinguistic factors discussed later might also provide further explanations for the occurrence of German code-switchings in English utterances.

Restaurant	Examples	English Translation
Anastasia	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>AMERICAN BREAKFAST <u>Samstag/Saturday</u> (1)</i> 	‘Saturday’
Cheers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>German/<u>Amerikanisches Volksfest</u> After Show party at cheers with cool drinks and hot bartenders (1)</i> • <i><u>Willkommen</u>. Welcome to Cheers Grafenwöhr (1)</i> • <i>Best of country <u>Musik</u> every Friday (1)</i> • <i>Sunday 18 <u>uhr</u> nice peole nice party !!!! (1)</i> • <i>we are very happy to announce we are reopening our <u>Biergarten</u> from Monday on! (1)</i> • <i>Come see us and have some cold beer in our newly renovated <u>Biergarten!</u> (1)</i> 	‘American Fair’ ‘Welcome’ ‘music’ ‘o’clock’ ‘beer garden’ ‘beer garden’
Pho Viet	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>/no delivery // <u>keine Lieferung</u> /card and cash payment is possible // <u>Karten- und Barzahlung sind möglich</u> /we take a 50% deposit in advance // <u>Wir behalten uns es vor eine 50% Anzahlung im Voraus zu nehmen</u> /your motive // <u>Motiv</u> /how many tiers? // <u>wieviele Stöcke</u> /text, numbers, names that belong on the cake// <u>Texte, Nummern, Namen die auf die Torte sollen</u> PLEASE CHECK IF YOU WROTE THEM RIGHT /pictures) <u>Bilder</u> /if you don’t have a specific wish just send us some pinterest inspirations and we will create something beautiful /<u>noch keine genaue Vorstellung? Senden Sie uns einfach ein paar Ideen, wir kreieren etwad Schönes!</u> / you can also just come by and our service personal will plan the perfect cake with you, we are full of ideas !// <u>Gerne können Sie auch einfach Vorbeikommen & unser Serviceteam wird mit Ihnen die perfekte Torte planen. Das Team sprudelt nur so mit wunderbaren Ideen!</u> We are looking forward for your order See you soon at <u>Phở Việt Grafenwöhr Alte Amberger Straße 52 92655 Grafenwöhr Wir freuen uns auf Ihre Bestellung Bis Bald im Phở Việt Grafenwöhr</u> (2)</i> • <i>SUNDAY, 14:00 <u>UHR</u> (1)</i> • <i>OPENING TIMES // <u>ÖFFNUNGSZEITEN</u> MONDAY- SATURDAY (1)</i> 	‘no delivery’ ‘card and cash payment possible’, ‘we take a 50% deposit in advance’ ‘motive’, ‘how many tiers?’ ‘texts, numbers, names that belong on the cake’ ‘pictures’ no precise idea? Just send us some ideas and we create something beautiful!’ ‘You can also just come by and our service team will plan the perfect cake with you. Our team is full of ideas!’ ‘We’re looking forward to your order. See you soon at [...]’ ‘o’clock’ ‘opening hours’
Schnitzelstand	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i><u>Heute</u> posted op <u>die U. S. Army Garrison Bavaria</u> facebook site</i> 	‘today’, ‘the’
	31 instances	

Table 11: German Code-Switching in the Facebook Posts

To sum up, overall 98 posts consist of either English or German code-switching. 67 German posts contain English code-switching, and 31 English posts comprise German switches. While

5.3% of the posts written in German include switches to the English language, 1.5% of the English posts contain instances of German code-switching. These rates show that the overall occurrence of code-switching between German and English in the investigated Facebook posts is fairly low. However, the results support the assumption that the English language appears to have a greater impact on German language use, formulated subsequent to the findings on the occurrences of code-switching in the menus.

5.3.2 Lexical Borrowing

5.3.2.1 Borrowings from the English Lexicon

Out of the 20 menus including German language use, seven menus contain overall 61 individual forms of lexical borrowing from the English language (see Table 12). All the examples are alphabetically listed below, and the number of occurrences is attached in brackets.

Restaurant	Examples
Berger's Lounge & Restaurant	<i>1.000 Island Dressing</i> (3), <i>BBQ</i> (2), <i>Beef Burger</i> (1), <i>Burger</i> (11), <i>Black Tiger Garnelen</i> (2), <i>Buffalo Wings</i> (1), <i>Carolina Reaper Soße</i> (1), <i>Cheeseburger</i> (2), <i>Chicken Burger</i> (1), <i>Chicken Nuggets</i> (1), <i>Cocktailsoße</i> (1), <i>Fingerfood</i> (1), <i>Grim Reaper Burger</i> (1), <i>Hamburger</i> (2), <i>Mozzarella Sticks</i> (1), <i>Mac & Cheese</i> (3), <i>Surf & Turf</i> (1), <i>Ranch Dressing</i> (1), <i>Wedges</i> (1)
Hotel "Zur Post"	<i>Cranberrys</i> (1), <i>Wedges</i> (1), <i>Sour-Creme</i> (1)
Hotel Rattunde	<i>Cheeseburger</i> (1), <i>Rumpsteak</i> (1), <i>Steak</i> (2), <i>Sandwich</i> (1), <i>Toast</i> (1)
Pho Viet	<i>BBQ</i> (1)
Pizza Adlin	<i>Chicken Nuggets</i> (1), <i>Chicken Wings</i> (1), <i>Sandwich</i> (1)
Pizzeria Da Peppino	<i>Chicken Nuggets</i> (1), <i>Chicken Wings</i> (1), <i>Toast</i> (1)
Pizzeria Santa Lucia II	<i>Barbecue</i> (1), <i>Chicken-Wings</i> (1), <i>Rumpsteak</i> (3), <i>Steak</i> (3)
7 menus	61 occurrences

Table 12: English Lexical Borrowing in the Menus

As Table 12 shows, the instances of English lexical borrowing all contain nouns describing methods of food preparation (*Barbeque/BBQ*), categories of food (*Fingerfood*), or the food itself, for example *Burger*, *Buffalo Wings*, *Chicken Nuggets*, *Chicken Wings*, *Cranberries*, *Mozzarella Sticks*, *Rumpsteak*, *Steak*, *Sandwich*, *Toast*, and *Wedges*. The list also includes proper nouns for different kinds of dressings or sauces, e.g. *1.000 Island Dressing*, *Carolina Reaper Soße*, *Cocktailsoße*, *Ranch Dressing* and *Sour-Creme*. In many of these examples it is conspicuous that an English borrowed word was combined with a previously existing German word, e.g. *Soße* - 'sauce' or *Creme* - 'cream', to form a new lexical item. Moreover, proper nouns used for dishes, e.g. *Mac & Cheese* and *Surf & Turf* can be identified throughout the German language use in menus.

Restaurant	Examples
Anadolu Kebab Haus 2	<i>Lockdown</i> (1)
Anastasia	<i>Cocktails</i> (2), <i>einchecken</i> (1), <i>Email</i> (1), <i>Emoji</i> (1), <i>Fans</i> (4), <i>Flyer</i> (1), <i>Hash Browns</i> (1), <i>Highlights</i> (1), <i>Lockdown</i> (2), <i>News</i> (1), <i>online</i> (3), <i>Pancakes</i> (1), <i>Service</i> (3), <i>Servicepersonal</i> (1), <i>Shirts</i> (1), <i>to go</i> (11), <i>Video</i> (1), <i>Website</i> (5)
Asia Gourmet Grafenwöhr	<i>Countdown</i> (4), <i>Live</i> (1), <i>Service</i> (1), <i>Team</i> (2), <i>to go</i> (3), <i>Update</i> (1), <i>Website</i> (3)
Bistro Kon Tiki	<i>Sandwich</i> (1), <i>to go</i> (25), <i>Update</i> (1)
Berger's Lounge & Restaurant	<i>Breaking News</i> (2), <i>Burger</i> (18), <i>Cheeseburger</i> (1), <i>Cocktails</i> (2), <i>Deluxe</i> (1), <i>Fingerfood</i> (9), <i>Hamburger</i> (1), <i>Happy Hour</i> (3), <i>Interview</i> (1), <i>Live</i> (2), <i>Shuttle</i> (2), <i>Softdrink</i> (2)
Cheers	<i>Chip</i> (1), <i>Lockdown</i> (1), <i>Team</i> (5), <i>Update</i> (1)
Fusion Garden	<i>Servicekraft</i> (8), <i>Team</i> (1), <i>teamfaehig</i> (4), <i>Website</i> (1)
Ganesha – Indisches Restaurant	<i>Covid-19</i> (1), <i>Drink</i> (1), <i>Email</i> (1), <i>Fitnessstudio</i> (1), <i>Lockdown</i> (1), <i>Team</i> (15)
Hotel – Gasthof “Zum Stichnetz”	<i>Dinner</i> (4), <i>E-Mail</i> (3), <i>Homepage</i> (2), <i>Service</i> (1), <i>Servicekraft</i> (1), <i>Servicemitarbeiter</i> (1), <i>Team</i> (32), <i>Voting</i> (2)
Hotel “Erstes Kulmbacher”	<i>Hotspot</i> (1)
Hotel “Zur Post”	<i>Covid-19</i> (1), <i>E-Mail</i> (4), <i>Feedback</i> (1), <i>Lockdown</i> (1), <i>online</i> (10), <i>Smartphone</i> (1), <i>Team</i> (39), <i>Website</i> (23)
Hotel Rattunde	<i>Fitness Studio</i> (1), <i>Küchencrew</i> (3), <i>Mail</i> (2), <i>Supplements</i> (1), <i>Team</i> (8)
Hotel – Restaurant Böhmi	<i>Check-Out</i> (1), <i>Design</i> (1), <i>E-Mail</i> (2), <i>Homepage</i> (1), <i>Hotline</i> (1), <i>Internet</i> (3), <i>Link</i> (2), <i>Match</i> (1), <i>online</i> (2), <i>Onlineshop</i> (1), <i>Service</i> (2), <i>Servicebereich</i> (1), <i>Servicekraft</i> (1), <i>Software</i> (1), <i>Team</i> (13), <i>Teammitglieder</i> (6), <i>Teampartner</i> (2), <i>Website</i> (5)
Irish Pub	<i>Community</i> (27), <i>Covid-19</i> (1), <i>Like</i> (2), <i>posten</i> (1), <i>Pub</i> (1), <i>Team</i> (24), <i>to go</i> (1)
Pho Viet	<i>Lockdown</i> (1), <i>Lockdown Light</i> (1)
Schnitzelstand	<i>Burger</i> (2), <i>Chicken Nuggets</i> (1), <i>Chicken Wings</i> (1), <i>Likes</i> (1), <i>Party</i> (1), <i>Sandwich</i> (4), <i>Team</i> (1)
Scala	<i>to go</i> (1)
Tortuga – TexMex Bar & Grill	<i>BBQ Pulled Pork</i> (10), <i>Chipotle Chicken Cream</i> (14), <i>Cowboys and Cowgirls</i> (1), <i>Email</i> (2), <i>Job</i> (2), <i>Lockdown</i> (2), <i>low and slow</i> (1), <i>Mail</i> (1), <i>stylisch</i> (1), <i>Teampartner</i> (2), <i>to go</i> (1)
Zoiglstube “Zum Adler”	<i>Cocktail</i> (3), <i>to go</i> (2)
	469 occurrences

Table 13: English Lexical Borrowing in the Facebook Posts

The table above (Table 13) presents the occurrences of borrowing of English lexicon identified in the German Facebook posts. The figure in brackets again indicates the number of occurrences of each example. 308 different Facebook posts include overall 469 individual instances of words borrowed from the lexicon of the English language.

The vast majority of loanwords listed above include borrowed nouns. Similar to the lexical borrowings detected in the menus, many food- and drink-related words were adopted from the English language, e.g. *Burger*, *Cocktail Dinner*, *Drink*, *Hash Browns*, *Pancakes*, and *Sandwich*. Additionally, numerous borrowings arising due to the spread of technological innovations can be identified. These are lexical items like *Chip*, *E-Mail*, *Emoji*, *Homepage*, *Hotline*, *Hotspot*, *Internet*, *Like*, *Link*, *online*, *Smartphone*, *Software*, *Update*, *Video*, and *Website*. Quite recent borrowings include vocabulary related to the Covid-19 pandemic, e.g. *Covid-19*, *Lockdown*, and *to go*. The remaining instances are more difficult to categorize according to their subject matter and comprise loanwords like *Breaking News*, *Community*, *Countdown*, *Crew*, *Design*, *Feedback*, *Flyer*, *Highlight*, *Interview*, *Job*, *News*, *Party*, *Service*, *Shirts*, *Shuttle*, *Team*, and *Voting*. Some of the examples also occur in combination with other German lexical items in order to form compound nouns, e.g. *Küchencrew* - ‘kitchen crew’, *Servicebereich* - ‘service section’ and *Teammitglieder* - ‘team members’. The list also contains examples that were not only borrowed, but also adapted to German grammar. These are the verbs *einchecken* - ‘to check in’ and *posten* - ‘to post’, and the adjective *stylish* - ‘stylish’.

The following overview shows all the instances of borrowings from the English lexicon into the German language use identified in the menus and Facebook posts (see Table 14). The borrowings are arranged according to the number of individual occurrences throughout the menus and the Facebook posts, starting with the highest frequency. The list contains 530 separate instances of English lexical borrowing. The vast majority of the occurrences are assigned to the borrowing of the English word *team*. In 154 instances, the loanword *team* is used individually as a noun, or in combination to form compound nouns (*Teampayer*, *Teammitglieder*) or compound adjectives (*teamfaehig*). Therefore, the borrowing of the lexical item *team* makes up 29% of all the detected borrowings. The high frequency comes about in the Facebook posts, as many restaurants close their posts with a salutation followed by the restaurant’s name, and often including the loanword *team*, for example:

Eure Familie Dostler und Team - ‘Yours, Dostler Family and Team’

Ihr Stich’n Team - ‘Yours, Stich’n Team’

Das Team vom Hotel und Restaurant Rattunde. - ‘The team of Hotel and
Restaurant Rattunde.’

The usage of the borrowing *to go* in the Facebook posts, which makes up 44 instances, arose with the onset of the Covid-19 pandemic, when restaurants had to close and instead started to sell takeaway food. As many restaurants in Grafenwoehr offer international or American cuisine, the loanword *Burger* can also be identified in 41 instances of the menus and Facebook posts, including forms like *Cheeseburger*, *Chickenburger*, and *Hamburger*. Further 37 occurrences of lexical borrowing comprise the loanword *Website*, and 27 the borrowed noun

Community. The remaining examples all reach a rate of less than 5% of all the recorded English borrowings. One-tenth of all instances are used three times or less, with 33 borrowed words occurring only once throughout the menus and Facebook posts.

Lexical Borrowing	Occurrences
<i>Team</i> <i>Team, teamfaehig, Teammitglieder, Teamplayer</i>	154
<i>to go</i>	44
<i>Burger</i> <i>Burger, Hamburger, Cheeseburger, Beef Burger, Grim Reaper Burger, Chicken Burger</i>	41
<i>Website</i>	37
<i>Community</i>	27
<i>Service</i> <i>Service, Servicebereich, Servicekraft, Servicemitarbeiter, Servicepersonal</i>	20
<i>(E-)Mail</i>	16
<i>Online</i> <i>online, Onlineshop</i>	16
<i>Chipotle Chicken Cream</i>	14
<i>BBQ Pulled Pork</i>	10
<i>Fingerfood</i>	10
<i>Lockdown</i> <i>Lockdown, Lockdown Light</i>	10
<i>Steak</i> <i>Steak, Rumpsteak</i>	9
<i>Chicken</i> <i>Chicken Nuggets, Chicken Wings</i>	8
<i>Sandwich</i> <i>Sandwich, Schnitzelsandwich</i>	7
<i>Cocktail</i> <i>Cocktail, Cocktails, Cocktailsoße</i>	6
<i>Barbeque/BBQ</i>	4
<i>Countdown</i>	4
<i>Dinner</i>	4
<i>Fans</i>	4
<i>Covid-19</i>	3
<i>Crew</i> <i>Küchencrew</i>	3
<i>Drink</i> <i>Drink, Softdrink</i>	3
<i>Happy Hour</i>	3
<i>Homepage</i>	3
<i>Internet</i>	3
<i>Like</i>	3
<i>Live</i>	3

<i>Mac & Cheese</i>	3
<i>Update</i>	3
<i>Black Tiger Garnelen</i>	2
<i>Breaking News</i>	2
<i>Check</i> <i>Check-Out, einchecken</i>	2
<i>Fitness Studio</i>	2
<i>Job</i>	2
<i>Link</i>	2
<i>Shuttle</i>	2
<i>Toast</i>	2
<i>Voting</i>	2
<i>Wedges</i>	2
<i>Buffalo Wings</i>	1
<i>Carolina Reaper Soße</i>	1
<i>Chip</i>	1
<i>Cowboys and Cowgirls</i>	1
<i>Cranberries</i>	1
<i>Deluxe</i>	1
<i>Design</i>	1
<i>Emoji</i>	1
<i>Feedback</i>	1
<i>Flyer</i>	1
<i>Hash Browns</i>	1
<i>Highlights</i>	1
<i>Hotline</i>	1
<i>Hotspot</i>	1
<i>Interview</i>	1
<i>Low and Slow</i>	1
<i>Match</i>	1
<i>Mozzarella Sticks</i>	1
<i>News</i>	1
<i>Pancakes</i>	1
<i>Party</i>	1
<i>posten</i>	1
<i>Pub</i>	1
<i>Ranch Dressing</i>	1
<i>Shirts</i>	1
<i>Smartphone</i>	1
<i>Software</i>	1
<i>Sour-Crème</i>	1
<i>stylisch</i>	1
<i>Supplements</i>	1
<i>Surf & Turf</i>	1

<i>Video</i>	1
<i>1.000 Island Dressing</i>	1
overall	530

Table 14: English Lexical Borrowing in the Menus and Facebook Posts

A further conspicuousness refers to the high occurrence of food-related borrowings, which make up 26% of all the identified borrowings. These include, for example, proper nouns for food, dishes, drinks, and preparation methods like *Burger*, *Barbeque*, *Cocktail*, and *Sandwich*. One reason for the high frequency of such instances is the context of the investigation, as the data derive from the menus and Facebook posts provided by restaurants. As already mentioned before, many restaurants in Grafenwoehr have American culinary specialities on their menu. Many of these dishes originate from an English-speaking environment. Naturally, the food items were denoted with English terms. Throughout the years, these food innovations have spread over the globe and also to Germany. Until today, not only the foreign dishes influenced the cuisines of other countries, but also many names of the dishes were taken over into other countries' language use. The reason therefore is, that in many instances, the affected languages do not have corresponding equivalents to address the newly introduced innovations. So, either the need of creating their own term used for the overtaken item arises, or the target language decides to apply the name used by its inventor and therefore borrows the vocabulary item into their hitherto language use. This procedure also applies to borrowings arising within the context of new technological innovations. 16.9% of the English loanwords in the list refer to technological novelties adopted into German language use. Therefore, the adoption of words from other languages in line with recent developments is one situation in which borrowings occur.

A similar process involves borrowings that arose within the Covid-19 pandemic. Overall 57 instances of covid-related loanwords were identified in the data. With the emergence of the coronavirus, new situations and measures had to be dealt with that have never occurred to such an extent before. This required coming up with names to standardly address the new circumstances, e.g. *Lockdown*. The investigated Facebook posts prove that the borrowings *lockdown*, *to go*, and *Covid-19*, were not used before the pandemic. Therefore, they can be regarded as fairly recent additions to the German lexicon. In contrast to that, the data also comprises somewhat older loanwords that have been borrowed earlier. Oftentimes, these additions to the lexicon are more difficult to identify as borrowings as they have been integrated into the German language use long ago and are used equally in frequency to other German words. Examples from the data are *Job*, *Shirt*, and *Team*.

All in all, the source of data has a great impact on the borrowings identified within. Whereas the menus contain only food-related borrowings from the English language, the range of

loanwords increases when it comes to the Facebook posts. Although some borrowings might have German equivalents, the notions the loanwords mediate and their frequency of usage are also significant when it comes to classifying the borrowings from the English lexicon.

5.3.2.2 Borrowings from the German Lexicon

Besides borrowings into the German lexicon, there were also identified borrowings from the German language into the English language use. The following table (Table 15) presents all ten examples of German borrowing identified in the menus with overall English language use. The number in brackets gives the individual occurrences, and an English explanation for the loanwords is provided in the right column.

Restaurant	Examples	English Explanations
Hotel "Zur Post"	<i>Sauerbraten</i> (1)	beef roast marinated in vinegar and herbs
Hotel Rattunde	<i>Bratwurst</i> (1)	fried sausage
	<i>Bauernseufzer</i> (1)	Upper Palatine pork sausage
	<i>Obatzda</i> (2)	Bavarian savoury cheese
	<i>Schnitzel</i> (1)	breaded veal cutlet
	<i>Jäger Schnitzel (not breaded)</i> (1)	escalope chasseur (with mushroom sauce)
	<i>Schnitzel (from pork)</i> (2)	breaded veal cutlet (from pork)
	<i>Zwiebelrostbraten (Rumpsteak)</i> (1)	fried beef and onions in gravy
2 menus	10 occurrences	

Table 15: German Lexical Borrowing in the Menus

In two English menus, ten instances were classified as German borrowings, as the English language does not have corresponding equivalents to address exactly the same things. These include German, or rather Bavarian, proper nouns for dishes, e.g. *Sauerbraten*, *Bratwurst*, *Bauernseufzer*, *Obatzda*, *Schnitzel*, and *Zwiebelrostbraten*. Whereas the first examples are used single-handedly, the latter instances of German lexical borrowing have a short explanation added to the dish name. Not all English speakers might be familiar with these German loanwords, as they arose within this particular circumstance of Grafenwoehr, where an increased number of Americans encounter German/Bavarian cuisine. Therefore, English explanations, e.g. listing certain ingredients or describing the dish, can be helpful to enhance the comprehension of the dishes for monolingual English speakers that are unacquainted with Bavarian cuisine. More closely investigating the provided additions to the German dish names, it is conspicuous that the information in brackets only refers to parts of the different meals, and the quintessence of each dish is still missing. This stands out when comparing the utterances from the menus to the more detailed English explanations in the right column. As

already stated, these lexical borrowings could occur due to the fact that the English language does not comprise short and precise equivalents to describe the dishes.

The results of the analysis of the English Facebook posts including borrowings from the German lexicon are displayed in the following table (Table 16). Throughout all the Facebook posts, only one instance of German borrowing into the English language could be identified. One restaurant adopted the German proper noun *Maibaum* into an overall English post. Although there seems to be the English equivalent of *maypole* to refer to the German tradition taking place on 1st May, *Maibaum* and *maypole* differ in a slight nuance. The distinction between both is oriented towards their appearance. *Maibaum* is used to describe the German version of a *maypole*. Therefore, the usage of *Maibaum* can be referred to as lexical borrowing since the English language does not have an identical equivalent to describe the tradition precisely.

Restaurant	Example	English Explanation
Zoiglstube “Zum Adler”	<i>Maibaum</i>	maypole (German tradition on 1 st May)
	1 occurrence	

Table 16: German Lexical Borrowing in the Facebook Posts

However, this classification can be questioned on the level of distribution, and its frequency of usage. But within the context of Grafenwoehr, and the uniqueness of the circumstances, this categorization can be accepted as the tradition of setting up a *Maibaum* is of high importance to the local community, and in different written documents it is also addressed as *Maibaum* within English language use.

To sum up, overall 11 instances of German borrowing into the English language were identified. In contrast to that, 530 individual occurrences of borrowings from the English lexicon into the German language use were recorded. These findings also support the assumption of the comparatively higher impact of the English language on German language use. But if this influence is due to the contact situation in Grafenwoehr, or occurs naturally as English is the world language, is evaluated in the following.

Recapitulating the outcomes of language contact examined in the menus and Facebook posts provided by the restaurants located in Grafenwoehr, it cannot be claimed that there is an increased impact of the English language on the written German language use caused by the close geographical contact between the two languages. This is supported by the low rates of code-switchings and lexical borrowings classified in the collected data. Therefore, it is to conclude that the identified code-switchings and lexical borrowings occur due to the English language’s status as the world language influencing not only the German language use. But regarding the impact of the German language on the English written language use, it is conspicuous that although the number of individual instances of code-switchings and lexical

borrowings is extremely low, they might have a considerable benefit on the mediation of the German/Bavarian language, culture, and cuisine to the Americans coming to Grafenwoehr. The transfer of German lexicon, either through code-switching or borrowing, into the English language use confronts the Americans with the language, culture, and cuisine typical for their new home and environment. Consequently, the menus and Facebook posts including outcomes of language contact can be seen as mediums passing on German/Bavarian culture and cuisine. Moreover, switches to and borrowings from the German language arising in contexts of English and German language contact could, in the long run, establish as lasting lexical items of the English language. This occurs, for example, when the Americans increasingly make use of and spread these vocabularies, not only within a German environment but also when they return back home after their service. This assumption could be tested in a further research project.

With regard to language contact in Grafenwoehr, the findings on code-switching and lexical borrowing observable in the data retrieved from the restaurants in Grafenwoehr support the deduction made at the end of Chapter 5.2. The assumption that Grafenwoehr is at an early stage of language contact between German and English is proven by the low numbers of switches and borrowings identified in the data, as code-switching and lexical borrowing mostly occur in speech communities with more stable bilingualism.

5.4 Coexistence of Languages in Bi- and Multilingual Language Use

In order to identify how multiple languages are used alongside each other, and how they are separated from one another, the relevant 14 menus and 200 Facebook posts were investigated. Within the 13 bilingual menus, there is a clear division between the main language and the subordinate language. A total of twelve menus apply German as their main language and English as their subordinate language. This is illustrated by the following examples, where the German language is always used before its English equivalents.

Suppen · soups		
1	Wan Tan Suppe mit Hühnerfleischfüllung und Gemüseeinlagen (4 Stück) <i>chicken wan tan soup with vegetables (4 pc.)</i>	3,80 €
2	Kokosnuss Suppe mit Garnelen und Gemüseeinlagen <i>coconut soup with shrimps and vegetables</i>	4,50 €
3	Eischneesuppe <i>eggdrop soup</i>	2,80 €
4	Sauer-scharf Suppe <i>hot'n sour soup</i>	3,50 €

Image 1: Bilingual Language Use Example 1

BEILAGEN / SIDE DISHES		
25	Tomatenreis <i>Tomato rice</i>	3,20 €
26	Butterreis <i>Butter rice</i>	3,70 €
27	Pommes Frites <i>French fries</i>	3,30 €
29	Gigantes Große weiße Bohnen in Tomatensoße <i>Large white beans in tomato sauce</i>	6,00 €
31	Bratkartoffeln <i>Fried potatoes</i>	4,20 €

Image 2: Bilingual Language Use Example 2



Image 3: Bilingual Language Use Example 3

In the one remaining menu, the language use is reversed, and therefore it is characterized by English as the main, and German as the subordinate language, as the Image 4 shows.

Cheers SANDWICHES		
Homemade sandwich <i>Hausgemachtes Sandwich</i>		
52	Schnitzel Sandwich (chicken or pork) (mayo, lettuce, tomatoes, onions, pickles) <i>(Mayonnaise, Salat, Tomaten, Zwiebeln, Gurken)</i>	7.50 €
53	Mexican Burrito ^{2,3} (ground beef, cheese, tomatoes, sour cream, salsa, taco seasoning, refried beans) <i>(Hackfleisch, Käse, Tomaten, Sour Cream, Salsa Soße, Salat, Kidney Bohnen)</i>	8.00 €
54	Long Island Sandwich (grilled chicken, bacon, ranch, lettuce, tomatoes, cheese) <i>(Hähnchen, Bacon, Ranch Soße, Salat Tomaten, Käse)</i>	8.00 €
56	Pulled Pork Deluxe Wrap (pulled pork, bacon, 3 blend cheese, red onions, bbq sauce, kraut) <i>(Pulled Pork, Bacon, 3 Käsesorten, rote Zwiebeln, BBQ Sauce, Kraut)</i>	8.00 €
57	Chicago Sandwich (Beef, cheese, lettuce, grilled onion, tomatoes, ranch) <i>(Fleisch, Wurst, Käse, Salat, gegrillte Zwiebeln, Tomaten, Ranch Soße)</i>	8.00 €
59	Grilled Chicken Ceasar Wrap (chicken, ranch, lettuce, tomatoes, cheese) (Hähnchenfleisch, Ranch Soße, Salat Tomaten, Käse)	7.50 €
60	Meat Lover's Wrap (chicken, beef-sausage, bacon, mozzarella cheese, ranch, green salad and tomatoes) <i>(Hähnchen, Fleisch, Wurst, Speck, Mozzarella Käse, Tomaten, Grüner Salat, Ranch Soße)</i>	8.00 €
61	Grilled Bacon Ranch Chicken Wrap (chicken, bacon, mozzarella cheese, ranch, green salad and tomatoes) <i>(Hähnchen, Mozzarella Käse, Tomaten, Grüner Salat, Ranch Soße)</i>	7.50 €

Image 4: Bilingual Language Use Example 4

The one multilingual menu including English, German, and Vietnamese, has a less linear order of languages, as the following images illustrate.

KHAI VỊ | VORSPEISEN | STARTERS 5,90
1.Gỏi cuốn | Sommerrollen | fresh summerrolls (2stk)

Image 5: Multilingual Language Use Example 1

BÁNH BAO | one vietnamese steamed bun |
ein vietnamesisches gedämpftes Brötchen | 5,90

Image 6: Multilingual Language Use Example 2

Whereas the sequence of languages in Image 5 is Vietnamese, German, and English, the order changes within the menu to Vietnamese, English, and German (see Image 6). Throughout the whole menu, there appears no indication of why the languages are alternated in sequence. Therefore, it is to conclude that the alternation of languages has happened unconsciously due to negligence. Altogether, the vast majority of bilingual menus use German as their main language, followed by English language. Only from the plain language use observable in the menus, no reasonable deduction can be made, but the factors influencing language use will surely allow for deeper insights into the reasons determining language use. For the one menu with English as the main language, there could be a link between identity and language use, which is further examined in the next chapter (Chapter 5.5).

As the exemplary parts of the menus additionally show, there are different methods to visually separate the simultaneously used languages. The menu in Image 1 combines two ways of dividing languages. First, a change in colour and second, a change in typeface is also detected. Whereas the German text is black and written in standard typeface, the English version of the dishes is written in italics and is grey. This is similar to the menus in Images 2-4, where the two languages are set apart either by the typefaces bold and italics, and standard and italics, but not by colour. Another method can be identified in Images 5 and 6. Here, the languages are visually separated by a vertical line |. Similarly to that, other menus make use of a forward slash / to optically differentiate between the languages involved. The various methods of visually separating languages from one another are summarized in Table 17. Besides the already mentioned practices, illustrated by the examples, there are two additional methods. One restaurant uses different font sizes for the two languages used on their menu, and another restaurant offers a menu, that vertically separates the German and the English language. This creates the impression that the menu includes two individual monolingual menus within one

page. Depending on the length of the dish name or the ingredients list, in some menus, the beginning of another language is indicated by starting a new line.

Separation Method	Menus
change in typeface	7
change in colour	4
put a or / in between	4
change in font size	1
vertical partitioning	1

Table 17: Separation Methods of Languages in the Menus

As Table 17 shows, the majority of menus divide the simultaneously used languages in their menu by a change in typeface, e.g. standard, bold, and italics. Sometimes, this is also combined with a change in colour. One menu only differentiates the used languages by colour, and another menu adjusts colour and font size according to the corresponding language. Menus that do not separate languages based on visual changes, but string the varieties together, put symbols like | or / in between the languages, so that the readers can easily detect a change in language use.

Of the 197 German-English bilingual Facebook posts, 12 restaurants apply German as the main language to their posts, and 72 posts by five restaurants have English as their main language. Nine of the relevant restaurants linearly make use of their chosen sequence of languages, as the following examples show.

```
<post author ="Hotel Gasthof Andreas Höbl Zum Stichn" date = "16. März 2020">
Liebe Gäste,
aufgrund der aktuellen Lage
schließen wir unser Restaurant
bis auf weiteres.
Wir bitten um Verständnis.
Euer Stich'n Team
Dear guests,
due to the situation of the Corona Virus, we will close our restaurant until further notice.
Your Stich'n Team
</post>
```

```
<post author ="Hotel Gasthof Andreas Höbl Zum Stichn" date = "17. Januar">
Liebe Gäste,
wir öffnen unser Restaurant wieder am
Donnerstag 20.01.2022 ab 11 Uhr.
Bitte beachtet unsere Öffnungszeiten.
Wir freuen uns auf euren Besuch.
Euer Stich'n Team
Dear guests,
we will open our restaurant on Thursday, January 20th, 2022
Please note our opening hours.
We look forward to your visit.
Your Stich'n team
</post>
```

The Hotel - Gasthof "Zum Stichn" consequently uses German as the main language and English as the subordinate language in its Facebook posts. Another example therefore is Zoiglstube "Zum Adler":

```
<post author ="Zoigl Zum Adler" date = "3. März 2022">
Wir haben uns was einfallen lassen!
Ab jetzt werden wir jedes Monat ein spezielles Bierangebot haben!
Also kommt vorbei zum testen und genießen!
Ab 17.00 der Schwarze Ritter aus Friedenfels!
.....
Hello...WE have now every month a Beer Special!
....This month ...
Schwarzer Ritter
aus der Brauerei
Friedenfels
</post>
```

```
<post author ="Zoigl Zum Adler" date = "20. November 2021">
ab jetzt
Winterbier ist hier!
.....
Ladys and Gentleman...
Winterbeer is arrived at zum Adler!
WE Love to Here what you think about the taste.
Come by! IT IS Limited!!!
</post>
```

In these two bilingual posts, it is also conspicuous that the German and the English version greatly differ in content. This occurs in a broad range of posts published by various restaurants. But this phenomenon is not further investigated within the thesis since a content analysis of the posts does not essentially contribute to the language contact study.

The only restaurant characterized by a linear order of languages with English as the main language and German as the subordinate language is Pho Viet:

```
<post author ="Phó Việt Grafenwöhr" date = "5. Dezember 2020">
Dear customers,
the german government extended the Lockdown till .....
Meaning we aren't allowed to open our doors for you to dine in until then.
Only To Go is allowed
0964 19259369 or Facebook/ Instagram DM
Plus you can now finally find and rate us on Google and Google Maps !
We would love to read some reviews on our Google Page about what you guys think about us
Stay healthy and support your locals
https://posts.gle/yMDJypqHUWFLQpLEA https://posts.gle/yMDJypqHUWFLQpLEA
Liebe Gäste,
wie Sie bereits wissen, wissen Sie genauso wenig wie wir wann wir wieder eröffnen dürfen.
Bis dahin dürfen wir leider immer nur noch Gerichte zum Mitnehmen anbieten.
0964 19259369 oder Facebook/ Instagram Nachricht
Nichtsdestotrotz können Sie uns jetzt endlich auch auf Google und Google Maps finden und uns bewerten !
Wir freuen uns, zu lesen was Sie über uns denken und hoffen auf jede mögliche Unterstützung in diesen, für uns alle schweren Zeiten
Bleiben Sie gesund und unterstützen Sie den Lokalen Einzelhandel und die Lokalen Gastwirte.
</post>
```

In contrast to the examples above, four restaurants alternate the languages used. Two restaurants seem to evenly change between the varieties used as the main language. The other two mainly use English as the main language and German as the subordinate language in their bilingual Facebook posts.

The three multilingual Facebook posts published by one restaurant differ in the individual languages used and the sequence of how the languages are arranged. In the first example, German is used as the main language, and English and Spanish serve as subordinate languages.

```
<post author = "Indisches Restaurant Ganesha Grafenwöhr" date = "3. Oktober 2018">
Vielen Dank für Ihren geschätzten Besuch in unserem Restaurant. Kommen Sie gut nach Hause. Gute Nacht.
Thank you very much for your estimated visit in our restaurant. Get home safe! Good night.
¡Muchas gracias por su estimada visita en nuestro restaurante! Ven a casa bien! Buenas noches.
♡ Ganesha ♡
</post>
```

The following multilingual post published by the same restaurant includes the same three varieties as applied in the extract above, but in another order. The main language here is English, succeeded by German and Spanish as subordinate languages.

```
<post author = "Indisches Restaurant Ganesha Grafenwöhr" date = "6. Oktober 2018">
Another weekend at Ganesha,
same fun and the best moments...
Thanks for visiting us!
Ein weiteres Wochenende im Ganesha,
gleicher Spaß und die besten Augenblicke...
Vielen Dank für Ihren Besuch!
Otro fin de semana en Ganesha,
Misma diversión y los mejores momentos ...
Gracias por su visita!
</post>
```

The last example of a multilingual Facebook post employs English, Italian, and Bavarian German dialect within one post. Within this post, English is the main language, and Italian and Bavarian German dialect are the two subordinate varieties.

```
<post author = "Indisches Restaurant Ganesha Grafenwöhr" date = "3. November 2018">
Enjoy your meal! Buon appetito! An Guadn!
</post>
```

Recapitulating these three multilingual posts, no major scheme can be identified. In comparison to the bilingual posts published by the same restaurant, it seems that the order of languages is based on an arbitrary and unconscious decision.

Exactly as with the extracts from the menus, the examples of the Facebook posts also illustrate how the different languages used are visually separated from each other. Within the bi- and multilingual posts provided by overall six restaurants, including Hotel - Gasthof "Zum Stichn", Pho Viet, and Ganesha – Indisches Restaurant, there is no optical differentiation between the languages, except that a new line is started with each language. This makes the languages difficult to distinguish at first sight as also within the monolingual language use, new lines are advanced. The corresponding six restaurants consistently make use of that practice. Two other restaurants, also linearly separating languages, insert a dotted or broken line between the different languages, which allows for a comparatively easier distinction between varieties (see examples above from Zoigl "Zum Adler"). The remaining five restaurants publishing bilingual posts do not consequently apply one method of separating languages in all their bilingual posts

but make use of a mixture of methods. This includes starting a new line with the subordinate language, leaving a line between the languages, and inserting a broken or continuous line between the different varieties used in one post.

To sum up, the vast majority of bilingual menus and Facebook posts (65.5%) apply German as their main language and English as their subordinate language. 34.5% of all bilingual menus and Facebook posts use English as their main language, succeeded by the German language. Since the multilingual posts and menus lack consistency in their sequences of varieties, they cannot be categorized according to their main language. Depending on the medium the language use arises in, the separation methods to distinguish multiple languages used in one entity, are different. Within the menus, the differentiation between the languages occurs more linearly, and oftentimes two separation methods are combined in order to more clearly visually distinguish between the languages involved. In contrast to that, 30% of the Facebook posts do only start a new line with the beginning of the additional language. In 60% of the investigated bilingual Facebook posts, a comparatively high inconsistency in the usage of different separation methods can be identified. Conversely, this indicates that only 10% of the bilingual posts contain a clear and primarily linear separation of the languages used within the posts.

5.5 Factors Influencing Language Choice

For this last chapter on the results of the research project, different factors influencing the language choice, and therefore the overall language use in the restaurants in Grafenwoehr, were investigated.

As the focus of the thesis is on language use in the restaurants located in Grafenwoehr, only decisions around language choice within the domain of restaurants are analysed. As restaurants are considered public places governed by private people, there is no prescribed language policy. But also in general, there is no language policy to be obeyed within the German small town Grafenwoehr. The domain restaurant could also define the formality of the speech situation. But as the level of formality is differently perceived by the customers and the employees, the thesis cannot further elaborate on this. Moreover, the factor of location is closely linked to the idea of domains. Therefore, the thesis investigated if the observable language use in the restaurants in Grafenwoehr shows a dependency on the location of the restaurant and especially on the proximity to the gates leading into the Military Training Area. The analysis of the written language data in concordance with the locations of the restaurants shown in Figure 5 led to the following results. There seems to be a correlation between the restaurants that almost exclusively or purely make use of monolingual English language within their menus and Facebook posts and their location. The five corresponding restaurants are all

located right next to or in very close proximity of a maximum of 300 metres to the gates into the MTA. The investigation of the remaining restaurants and their language use in dependency on their location did not reveal any patterns, as increased monolingual German or German-English bilingual language occur throughout the whole town. Consequently, there only appears to be a closer connection between monolingual English language use, whereas the choice of monolingual German and German-English bilingual language use is more dependent on other factors.

Regarding the influence of the interlocutors and their language repertoires, the research project identified the following factors. In order to find out more about the origins of the customers, the questionnaire enquired about the percentage of American customers visiting the restaurants in Grafenwoehr (see Figure 12). As the figure (Figure 12) illustrates, the vast majority of customers dining in the restaurants in Grafenwoehr are Americans. Whereas five restaurant owners emphasized that less than 50% of their customers are from America, with one owner pointing out that only between 1-10% of their customers are Americans, the 14 remaining restaurants indicated that more than half of their visitors are Americans. Two of the latter also categorized their clientele as 90-100% American.

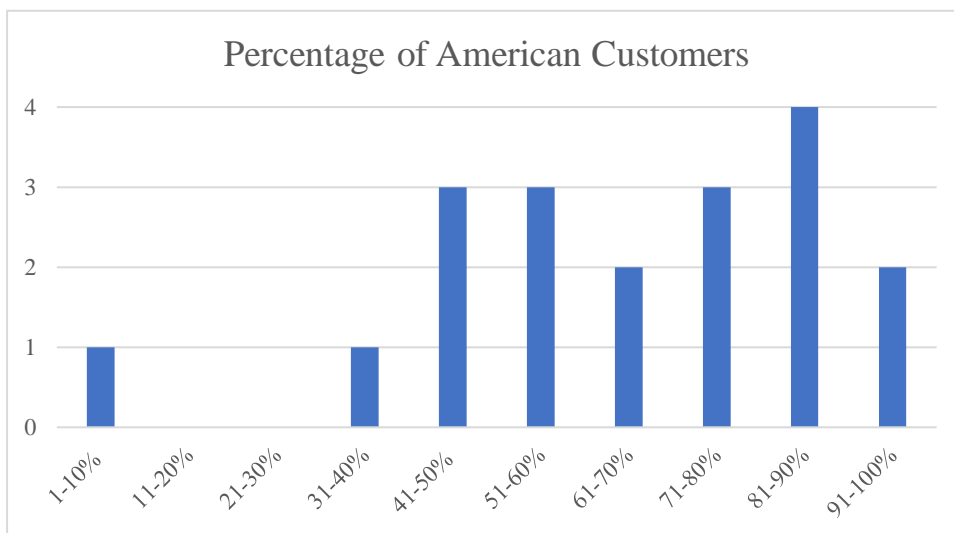


Figure 12: Percentage of American Customers

This distribution might at first sight not automatically require the employees of the restaurants to be able to speak English. But as six restaurant owners pointed out within the questionnaire, the greater portion of Americans coming to their restaurants are not able to speak German, which is why the significant share of American customers influences the spoken and written language use within the restaurants. Hence, many restaurant owners expect their personnel to be proficient in German and English. As many of the American soldiers stay in Germany only for approximately one year, most of the Americans do not see a need to learn the German language and so, a high number of Americans are not able to speak German. The reason therefore is that within the MTA, English is the main language, and within Grafenwoehr,

nearly everything is laid out to the linguistic needs of the Americans. For example, in the restaurants, where mostly bilingual menus are offered and the majority of the employees are able to speak both German and English. According to the restaurant owners, only a minor part of their American customers is proficient in German. These are oftentimes families who have been residents in Grafenwoehr for a longer time already. In addition, many tourists who are also not proficient in German, or only to a limited extent, come to the restaurants in Grafenwoehr. Another related factor influencing the language use on site of the restaurants is the expression of connectedness between the restaurant and the customers. In addressing the customers in their preferred language, the restaurants aim at creating a positive environment for their customers to impress them so that they visit again. As three restaurant owners regard this as a matter of politeness, they particularly welcome service personnel with a multilingual repertoire to be able to offer as many languages as possible to their clientele. So, the individual language repertoires of the customers dining in the restaurants in Grafenwoehr significantly influence language choice on the spoken language use and the written language use in the menus.

Focussing on the Facebook posts, the concept is different. As Facebook offers the function of translating posts published by other users, the vast majority of restaurant owners do not see a need in posting bi- or multilingual texts in order to address their whole clientele in their preferred language. On Facebook, users can choose between 91 different varieties posts can be translated into. Moreover, two restaurants owner assume that Facebook is primarily used by their German customers, wherefore they only publish monolingual German posts. One further restaurant owner only makes use of the English language when posting messages on their Facebook page, as she believes that most of her customers are able to comprehend English, and bi- or multilingual posts would be too time-consuming. So, the choice of language for the written Facebook posts seems to be more influenced by internal, personal factors than by the language repertoires of the customers, as Facebook provides a helpful tool for all of those who do not comprehend the language used in the posts.

A further factor impacting language choice mentioned within the previous research is topic. As the subject matter of the menu is always the same, only the Facebook posts were classified according to their language use in relation to the subject matter they address (see Table 18). It is important to mention that only the purely monolingual and bilingual posts were analysed, not the posts including outcomes of language contact.

Topic (alphabetical order)	monolingual English	monolingual German	bilingual E-G	bilingual G-E	overall
Covid-19 update	0.8%	0.8%	0.8%	1.4%	3.8%
events	7.4%	7.7%	0.2%	0.2%	15.5%
general information	2.1%	2.2%	0.3%	0.6%	5.2%
job advertisement	0.4%	1.1%	0.2%	0.6%	2.3%
link	0.3%	1.0%	0.1%	0.6%	2.0%
menu/food/drinks	5.2%	9.6%	1.9%	2.6%	19.3%
opening hours	9.9%	15.0%	1.2%	1.3%	27.4%
order/delivery/take-away	2.9%	1.9%	0.4%	0.5%	5.7%
other	3.0%	4.7%	0.0%	1.2%	8.9%
prices	0.0%	0.2%	0.0%	0.2%	0.4%
quotes/sayings	0.7%	0.3%	0.0%	0.0%	1.0%
thanks	1.4%	1.3%	0.1%	0.3%	3.1%
wishes/greetings	1.4%	2.4%	0.8%	0.8%	5.4%
overall	35.5%	48.2%	6.0%	10.3%	100%

Table 18: Correlation Topic and Language Choice in Facebook Posts

The table (Table 18) shows the topics the more than 1,100 posts were roughly categorized into and the individual percentages of monolingual English, monolingual German, bilingual German-English, and bilingual English-German for each topic. The overview illustrates that the majority of posts focus on subject matters like opening hours, information on the offered menu/food/drinks, and events that take place within the restaurants. Further reasons for writing posts are, e.g. providing information on order/delivery/take-away, publishing holiday greetings or nice wishes, or giving updates on the Covid-19 regulations. Moreover, the majority of posts are written in either monolingual English or monolingual German. The bilingual posts only make up approximately one-sixth of the corresponding posts.

Regarding the correlation between topic and language use, it is conspicuous that information on events celebrated within the restaurants is written mostly in either monolingual English or monolingual German to a similar amount. The same accounts for general information and posts expressing thanks to the customers. Most of the posts assigned to the categories job advertisement, link, menu/food/drinks, and other are published in monolingual German. Approximately half of the information on the opening hours and holiday wishes and greetings are posted in monolingual German, and about one-third in monolingual English. Only very small, and therefore negotiable, shares can be identified in all the above-mentioned subject matters within bilingual language use. Therefore, for these topics, monolingual language use seems to be favoured over bilingual language use. In contrast to that, only the posts including information on order/delivery/take-away are primarily written in monolingual English. This could be due to the fact, that especially American customers accept the offers of delivery and take-away services, which was also mentioned by one of the restaurant owners. Nearly half of

the Covid-19 updates are bilingual, with German as the main language and English as the subordinate language. This choice of language use could be justified by the circumstance that posts including information on the Covid-19 regulations, especially during the lockdown, were awaited by all the customers. So, the restaurants that would primarily only post in monolingual German, would add an English version of the information in order to also address their English-speaking clientele with that one post. Quotes and sayings observed within the posts are only published monolingually. In most instances, it is difficult to equivalently translate quotes and sayings into another language. This could be the reason why the identified quotes and sayings were only transmitted in their original language, which might be either English or German in this case. The topic of prices stands out based on the distribution of languages used to address this subject matter. Information on prices or price changes is either written in monolingual German or bilingual German-English. But as their overall share is comparatively low, this does not allow for further deductions.

All in all, there appears to be a clear connection between some subject matters and overall monolingual language use preferred over bilingual language use. Whereas most of the topics are addressed primarily in monolingual German, only one subject matter is mostly realized with English language use. Also, for the category of quotes and sayings, a reasonable deduction was formulated. For the remaining topics the individual amounts of language use are significantly low, wherefore it is a challenge to come up with well-justified conclusions.

The last category of factors impacting language choice considered within the thesis are the internal factors of age, sex, nationality, and the language repertoires of the restaurant owners, and the ethnic cuisine somehow reflecting the identity of the restaurants. Whereas the age and the sex of the owners do not seem to crucially determine the spoken and written language use within the restaurants, the various nationalities and the high share of different languages spoken by the owners have an enormous impact especially on the spoken language use in the restaurants.

The following figure (Figure 13) displays the nationalities of the owners according to the answers given within the questionnaire. Less than half of the questioned restaurant owners are German, and two restaurant owners have their origin in Hungary. Further two are of Turkish descent. The remaining seven restaurant owners come from different countries each, e.g. America, Greece, China, Egypt, Morocco, Pakistan, and Iran. The distribution of nationalities among the restaurant owners in Grafenwoehr shows great diversity in the different origins of the restaurant owners.

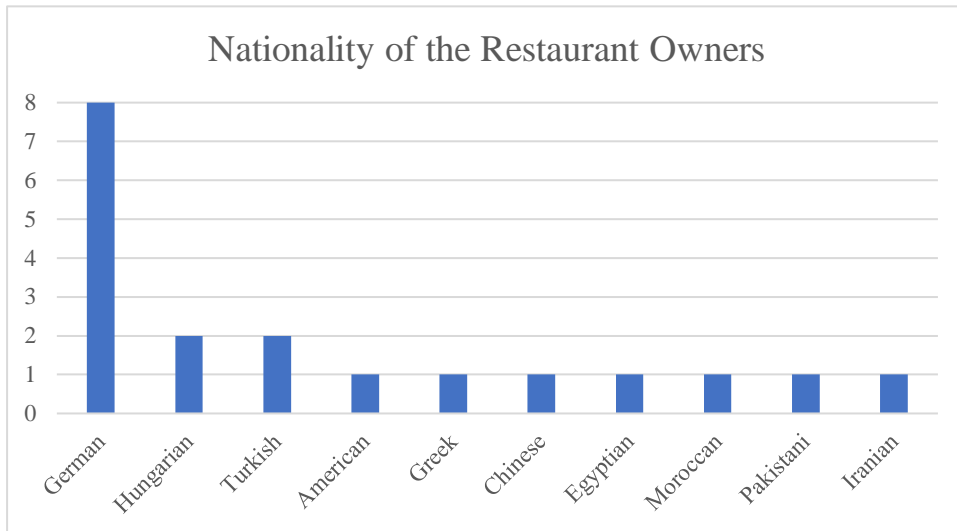


Figure 13: Nationality of the Restaurant Owners

Whereas a layperson might think that the nationality and the first language(s) (L1) acquired by a person always accompany each other, considerable variety can be detected when comparing the results of Figure 13 to the numbers illustrated in the following figure (Figure 14). Seven restaurant owners stated to have German as their mother tongue, and in each instance, three owners speak Chinese and Arabic as their first language. Two restaurant owners acquired Hungarian as L1, and the six further employers first learned English, Greek, Turkish, Urdu, Kurdish, or Vietnamese. According to the individual figures, it can be concluded that some restaurant owners acquired more than one first language. Comparing these numbers to Figure 13, clear connections between nationality and first language can be discovered in some instances. In contrast to that, some restaurant owners acquired first languages that are not official varieties in the above-mentioned countries, e.g. Vietnamese.

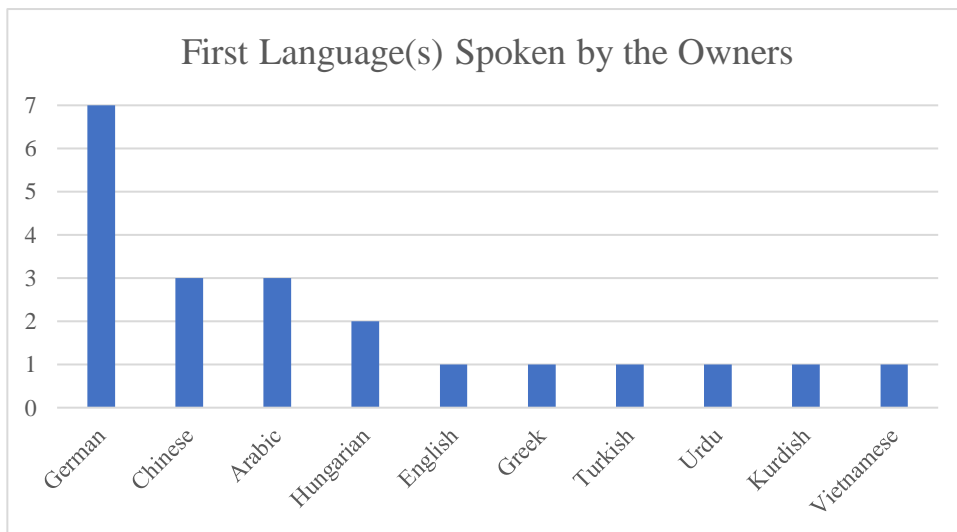


Figure 14: First Language(s) Spoken by the Owners

In order to fully retrace the linguistic repertoire of the restaurant owners, the questionnaire also enquired about the second languages of the restaurant owners (see Figure 15).

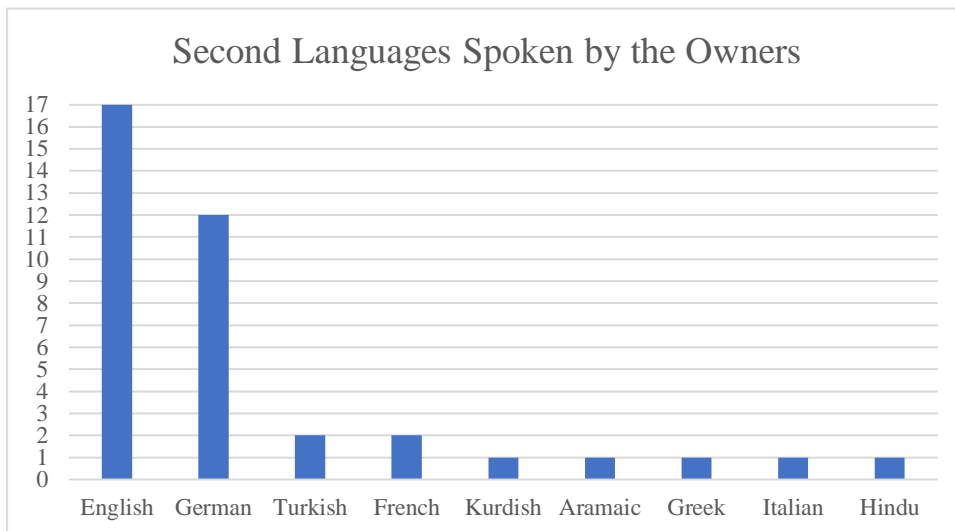


Figure 15: Second Language(s) Spoken by the Owners

The vast majority (17) of the restaurant owners declared to have acquired English as an L2 at a later stage in life, and twelve have learned German as a second language. Other L2s that are part of the overall language repertoire of the restaurant owners in Grafenwoehr are Turkish, French, Kurdish, Aramaic, Greek, Italian, and Hindu.

Recapitulating all the languages spoken by the restaurant owners in Grafenwoehr, either as L1 or L2, the questionnaire collected 14 different languages, the total quantity of restaurant owners is able to communicate in, with each owner being at least bilingual. 13 of the 19 owners have acquired three or more languages throughout their hitherto lifetime. It is also conspicuous that all of the restaurant owners that took part in the survey master the German language, and 18 are able to take part in English conversations. These numbers indicate that nearly all restaurant owners are at least German-English bilingual.

With regard to the spoken language use in the restaurants presented in Chapter 5.2.1, the broad linguistic repertoires of the restaurant owners greatly influence the possible range of varieties used in conversations between the owner and their employees. As Figure 6 shows, in the vast majority of restaurants, the owner speaks a monolingual variety other than German or English, bilingually other than German and English, or multilingually when talking to their personnel. So, there is increased diversity in the languages spoken between the restaurant owners and their staff. The choice of the restaurant owners on which language to use from their individual language repertoires is directly linked to their employees' language repertoires, as a successful conversation urgently requires that the staff, or at least one member, is also able to speak and comprehend one of the languages mastered by the manager. Therefore, some restaurant owners already presuppose certain language skills within their job advertisements in order to facilitate communication within the restaurant and consequently the workflow. As a great part of the

personnel is said to originate from countries other than Germany, also the employees' individual linguistic repertoires could influence the linguistic diversity within the restaurants. But since the research project did not focus on the individual languages spoken by the restaurants' employees, it is difficult to draw conclusions on that. So, in order to gain a complete view of the overall spoken language use within the restaurants in Grafenwoehr, a subsequent research project would be necessary. However, the influence of the restaurant owners' language repertoires on the choice of language can be proven, as none of the owners makes use of a language within spoken conversations they have not acquired before. And as the vast majority of restaurant owners only hire personnel, they are able to communicate with, the linguistic repertoires of the owners also influence the selection of employees.

The deduction that the linguistic repertoires of the restaurant owners have an impact on spoken language use is also verified by the insights into written language use. Although the number of Facebook posts including monolingual Arabic, monolingual Greek, or switches to the Greek language, is comparatively low, their authors both acquired the corresponding languages either as their L1 or L2. So, the choice of language for the written Facebook posts is dependent on the language repertoires of the restaurant owners. For the multilingual posts comprising Spanish language, it is conspicuous that none of the restaurant owners indicated within the questionnaire that they are able to speak and comprehend Spanish. The reasons why the corresponding restaurant owner might have chosen Spanish can be manifold, but its usage shows that there is no correlation between the owner's linguistic repertoire and written language use. A possible cause therefore is the easy accessibility of translation tools today. Within seconds, texts can be translated into many different languages. So, with the help of translation tools, written foreign language use is not dependent on corresponding language skills. The same accounts for the written language use in the menus where restaurant owners can employ translation tools to complete their bilingual or multilingual menu if their language skills are insufficient.

So, it can be concluded that the choice of language within written language use is mainly, but not always impacted by an author's linguistic repertoire. This is different for spoken language use and arises due to the fact that spoken utterances are normally more spontaneous and immediately required. In contrast to that, for written language use, an author can usually take their time to think deeply about the language use and can also consult the internet for help in case they are not sure about the correct language use or if they choose a language, they are not proficient in. But all in all, there is an increased dependency of a speaker's linguistic repertoire on language choice in spoken and written utterances.

The last factor investigated with regard to language choice observed in the restaurants in Grafenwoehr is ethnicity/identity. Therefore, the restaurant owners were, on the one hand, requested to categorize their restaurants according to their ethnic cuisine (see Figure 16).

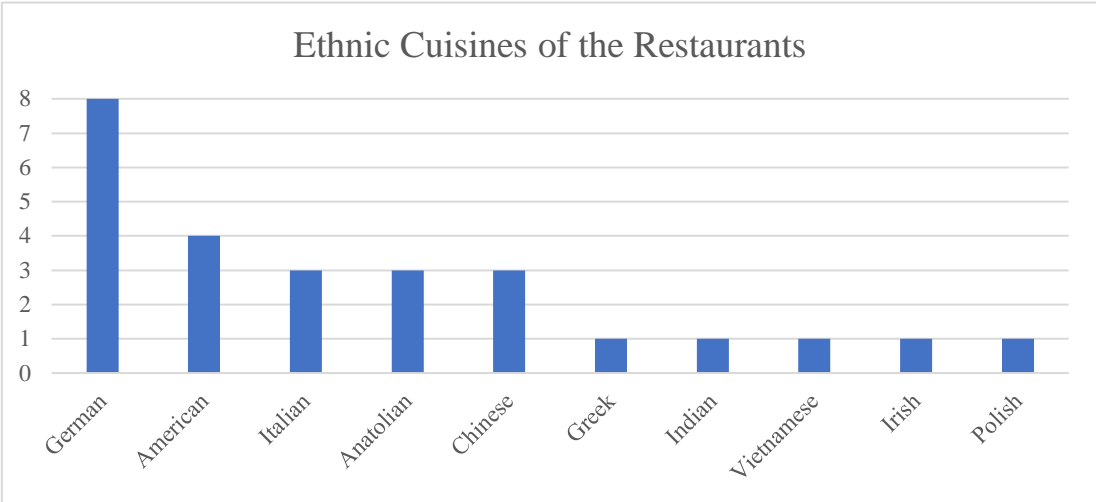


Figure 16: Ethnic Cuisines of the Restaurants

Figure 16 illustrates that eight of the questioned restaurants were classified as offering German cuisine, and four restaurants offer mainly American food. In each case, three restaurant owners filed their restaurant as Italian, Anatolian, or Chinese cuisine. The remaining five restaurants were categorized as either Greek, Indian, Vietnamese, Irish, or Polish. The numbers show that there is great diversity among the ethnic cuisines of the restaurants in Grafenwoehr.

On the other hand, the restaurant owners were asked, if they aim to convey a specific national identity, a “lifestyle” with their restaurants (see Figure 17). Eleven restaurant owners stated that they want to represent a certain lifestyle with the overall appearance and the food offered within their restaurant. The result of the corresponding question from the questionnaire are as follows.

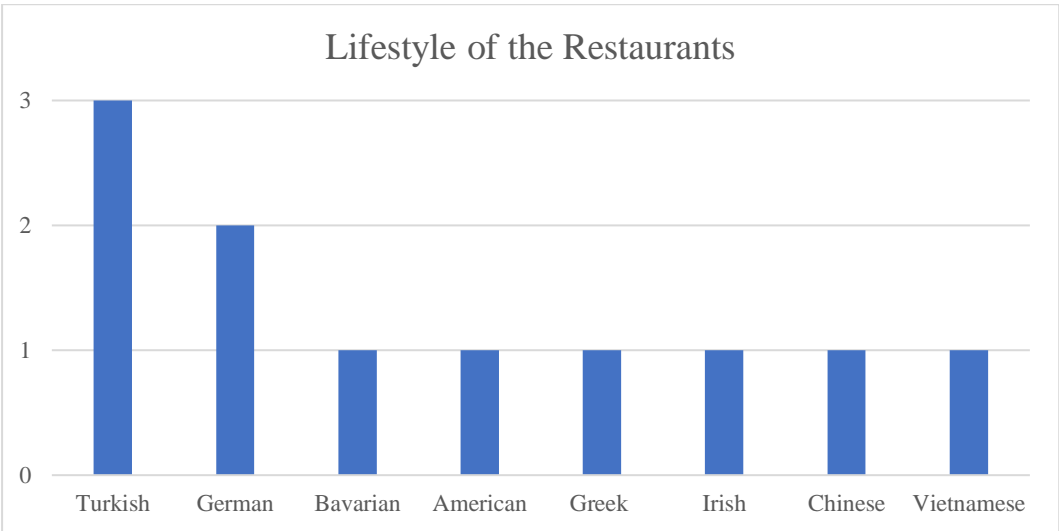


Figure 17: Lifestyle of the Restaurants

As the figure above (Figure 17) displays, three restaurant owners aim to convey a Turkish lifestyle, and further two want to represent a German lifestyle with their restaurant. The six remaining restaurant owners pointed out that they want their customers to perceive their restaurant's Bavarian, American, Greek, Irish, Chinese, or Vietnamese lifestyle. Overall, there is again considerable variety among the national identities the restaurants want to impersonate.

Comparing the results on the ethnic cuisines of the restaurants and their assigned national identities to the actual language use of the restaurants, it can be deduced that there seems to be no correlation between the identity of the restaurants and their choice of language, except one restaurant. Within the questionnaire, the owner categorized his restaurant as offering American cuisine and aiming at conveying an American lifestyle. Furthermore, he mentioned that this American attitude influenced the whole business model of his restaurant. Besides only offering American specialities, the interior design and the menu are adapted to how they would look like in America. Therefore, the restaurant owner chose to provide the dish titles on his restaurant's menu with American words or phrases and decided on a typically American appearance for the menu. Also, the majority of the restaurant's Facebook posts are published in monolingual English. Due to my personal experience of visiting the restaurant several times, I can add the observation that most of the service personnel in the corresponding restaurant are only able to comprehend and speak English. Maybe this is also influenced by the restaurant's lifestyle, in order to especially make their German customers feel like entering America when crossing the doorstep.

So, only within this one restaurant a dependency of identity/lifestyle on language choice can be worked out. This could be justified by the fact that the expression of identity through language choice plays a stronger role within human beings who are unambiguously more complex than restaurants. Moreover, the external factors might have a greater impact on the restaurants, as restaurants live on their outward appearance and their reception by the customers. Hence, it is more important for restaurants to base their language choice, and consequently their language use on the needs of their customers. Therefore, the linguistic repertoires of the customers and the restaurant owners can be classified as the most decisive factors identified within the language choice of the restaurants in Grafenwoehr.

6. Conclusion

To conclude, the investigation of the data collected from the 29 restaurants in Grafenwoehr that met the requirements for the research project produces the following results. Within the category of spoken language use in the restaurants, there is considerable diversity in the number of possible varieties used for conversations. The research project reveals that especially communications among the restaurants' employees or between the restaurant owners and their personnel contain high rates of bi- and multilingualism. On the contrary, most of the conversations between the staff and the customers of the restaurants take place bilingually, either in monolingual German or monolingual English. Regarding written language use, approximately half of the restaurants offer either bi- or multilingual menus. Thirteen menus were categorised as monolingual English or monolingual German. The Facebook posts are characterized by a high amount of monolingual German language use. About one-third of the posts are monolingually English, and roughly one-sixth are bilingual German-English. Overall, the examination of the spoken and written language use shows that monolingual German and monolingual English language use is mainly found within the Facebook posts and the menus. Other varieties besides English and German play a greater role in spoken language use. The shares of bilingual German-English language use are similar in both sources. Therefore, it can be deduced that primarily due to the high percentage of language maintenance within the written language use and the relatively increased percentage of German-English bilingualism for a German small town, the language contact situation between the German and the English language in Grafenwoehr is at an initial stage.

This conclusion is also supported by the findings on the outcomes of language contact within the written utterances. The rates of the identified instances including code-switching or borrowings are rather low. Throughout the written language use, 126 switches to either German or English and 541 occurrences of lexical borrowing were classified. The overall numbers of switches and borrowings results in the observation that the English language appears to have a greater impact on German language use than the other way around. But as the numbers of code-switchings and borrowings are comparatively poor, especially the switches and loan words from the English language are categorized as occurring due to the natural influence of English as the world language on other languages like German. Although the elements inserted or borrowed from the German language into written English language use could affect the comprehensibility of the text for a monolingual English speaker, they additionally function as mediators of German language, culture, and cuisine to the Americans coming to Grafenwoehr. The more detailed analysis of the bilingual menus indicates that except for one restaurant, all bilingual menus apply German as their main and English as their subordinate language. The majority of bilingual Facebook posts utilize the same distribution

of varieties. Within the bilingual Facebook posts, it is conspicuous that, in many cases, the two language versions greatly differ in content.

Within the last step, the results on the overall language use observed within the restaurants in Grafenwoehr were related to different factors influencing language choice in increasingly bilingual settings. All the analysed linguistic items were uttered within the domain of restaurants. Regarding the correlation of location and language choice, the research project reveals that the restaurants which mostly or exclusively make use of the English language, are located in close proximity to the gates between the German part of Grafenwoehr and the Military Training Area. Also, for the determinant topic, the results are moderate. Although the individual amounts are fairly low, there seems to be a connection between the topic and monolingual language use. It is conspicuous that only one subject matter was mainly addressed in monolingual English language use, as its content rather concerns the American customers of the restaurant. The investigation of the dependency of language choice on the identity/lifestyle of the individual restaurants shows that only one restaurant completely represents its adopted lifestyle throughout the different sections of the restaurant, also including language choice, and therefore language use. The most influential factor identified within the research project is the linguistic repertoire of the restaurant owners and the customers. The majority of the restaurant owners are on average, at least bilingual. Whereas written language use is due to the availability of translation tools, not completely dependent on a speaker's linguistic repertoire, spoken language use is more limited by an individual's language skills. Spoken language use is also greatly dependent on the linguistic repertoire of the interlocutor. The fact that most of the Americans in Grafenwoehr are not proficient in German considerably influences the need for the restaurants' employees to be at least German-English bilingual. Consequently, many restaurant owners precisely require those language skills from their personnel. The restaurant owners aim to create the opportunity of addressing the customers in their preferred language in order to generate a welcoming environment for their clientele. As restaurants considerably depend on their reputation, the consideration and especially the influence of the customers' linguistic repertoires should not be underestimated.

All in all, the thesis reveals significant insights into the language contact situation of the English and the German language observed in the German small town of Grafenwoehr. Further research projects could contribute to enlarging the knowledge of the linguistic profile of Grafenwoehr.

7. References

- Ahrenberg, Lars. 2017. "Comparing machine translation and human translation: a case study." *The First Workshop on Human-Informed Translation and Interpreting Technology*: 21-28.
- Almahasees, Zakaryia et al. 2021. "Evaluation of Facebook translation service (FTS) in translating Facebook posts from English into Arabic in terms of TAUS adequacy and fluency during Covid-19." *Advances in Science, Technology and Engineering Systems Journal* 6 (1): 1241-1248.
- Altarriba, Jeanette and Roberto R. Heredia, eds. 2008a. *An Introduction to Bilingualism: Principles and Processes*. New York: Taylor & Francis Group.
- 2008b. Introduction. In: Altarriba, Jeanette and Roberto R. Heredia, eds. *An Introduction to Bilingualism: Principles and Processes*. New York: Taylor & Francis Group. 3-11.
- Appel, René and Pieter Muysken. 1987. *Language Contact and Bilingualism*. London: Edward Arnold.
- Auer, Peter and Li Wei, eds. 2007. *Handbook of Multilingualism and Multilingual Communication*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Baker, Colin and Sylvia Prys Jones. 1998. *Encyclopedia of Bilingualism and Bilingual Education*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters Ltd.
- Baquedano-Lopez, Patricia and Shlomy Kattan. 2007. "Growing up in a multilingual community: Insights from language socialization." In: Auer, Peter and Li Wei, eds. *Handbook of Multilingualism and Multilingual Communication*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter. 69-99.
- BayernAtlas*. Bayerisches Staatsministerium der Finanzen und für Heimat, 2023, <https://geoportal.bayern.de/bayernatlas/?topic=ba&lang=de&catalogNodes=11&bgLayer=atkis>. Accessed 2nd March 2023.
- Bhatia, Tej K. and William C. Ritchie, eds. 2013. *The Handbook of Bilingualism and Multilingualism*. Chichester: Blackwell Publishing Ltd.
- Biró, Enikó. 2018. "More than a Facebook share: exploring virtual linguistic landscape." *Acta Universitatis Sapientiae, Philologica* 10 (2): 181-192.
- Cahyaningrum, Ika Oktaria. 2021. "Quality of automatic translation for post on Facebook." *E-Structural (English Studies on Translation, Culture, Literature, and Linguistics)* 4 (2): 152-161.
- Cheers Delivery. *Download Menu*, 2021, <https://cheersdelivers.com/wp-content/uploads/2021/12/speiskarte-n-2021.pdf>. Accessed 11th April 2023.
- Darquennes, Jeroen et al., eds. 2019a. *Language Contact: An International Handbook*. Berlin/Boston: Walter de Gruyter.
- 2019b. Introduction. In: Darquennes, Jeroen et al., eds. *Language Contact: An International Handbook*. Berlin/Boston: Walter de Gruyter. 1-12.
- Daud, Nurdiyana and James McLellan. 2016. "Gender and code choice in Bruneian Facebook status updates." *World Englishes* 35 (4): 571-586.
- Deutsch-Amerikanische Volksfeste. *Deutsch-Amerikanisches Volksfest Grafenwöhr*, 2023, <https://www.volksfest-grafenwoehr.de/>. Accessed 3rd March 2023.

- De Houwer, Annick. 2019. "Language choice in bilingual interaction." In: De Houwer, Annick and Lourdes Ortega, eds. *The Cambridge Handbook of Bilingualism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 324-348.
- De Houwer, Annick and Lourdes Ortega, eds. 2019. *The Cambridge Handbook of Bilingualism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Dixon, S. "Leading countries based on Facebook audience size as of January 2023." *Statista*, <https://www.statista.com/statistics/268136/top-15-countries-based-on-number-of-facebookusers/#:~:text=With%20around%202.9%20billion%20monthly,revenue%20is%20generated%20through%20advertising>. Accessed 3rd March 2023.
- Dixon, S. "Number of Facebook users in Germany from 2018 to 2027." *Statista*, <https://www.statista.com/statistics/568790/forecast-of-facebook-user-numbers-in-germany/>. Accessed 3rd March 2023.
- Du Bois, Inke. 2009. "Language attrition and code-switching among US Americans in Germany." *Stellenbosch Papers in Linguistics PLUS* 39: 1-16.
- Edwards, John. 2013. "Bilingualism and Multilingualism: Some central concepts." In: Bhatia, Tej K. and William C. Ritchie, eds. *The Handbook of Bilingualism and Multilingualism*. Chichester: Blackwell Publishing Ltd. 5-25.
- "Facebook: Geschichte des größten sozialen Netzwerks." *tz*, 23 January 2023, <https://www.tz.de/verbraucher/facebook-social-network-geschichte-funktionen-privatsphaere-datenschutz-kontroversen-90191373.html#id-Comments>.
- Fusion Garden GmbH. *Speisekarte*, 2019, https://www.fusiongarden.de/images/Fusion_Garden_Speisekarte_1022.pdf. Accessed 11th April 2023.
- Gregory et al. 2020. "Towards a functional model of website evaluation: a case study of casual dining restaurants." *Worldwide Hospitality and Tourism Themes* 2 (1): 68-85.
- Hendus, Ulrike. 2015. "'See Translation': explicit and implicit language policies on Facebook." *Language Policy* 14: 397-417.
- Hild, Ursula. 1999. "Culmination of conceptual statements." In: Wachholz, Marianne and Gretel Weiss, eds. *Speisekarten Design: Grafik, Marketing, Corporate Design*. Frankfurt am Main: Deutscher Fachverlag. 20-21.
- Hoffmann, Charlotte. 1991. *An Introduction to Bilingualism*. Essex/New York: Longman Group.
- Holmes, Janet and Nick Wilson. 2022 *An Introduction to Sociolinguistics*. New York: Routledge.
- Jiménez-Crespo, Miguel A. 2011. "From many one: Novel approaches to translation quality in a social network era." *Linguistica Antverpiensia, New Series – Themes in Translation Studies* 10: 131-52.
- Knobloch, Edgar. Personal Interview. 17th March 2021.
- Lacheny, Marc et al., eds. 2021. *'Its all Greek to me': Mehrsprachigkeit aus interdisziplinärer Sicht*. Stuttgart; ibidem.
- Lavric, Eva and Monika Messner. 2021. "Mehrsprachigkeit in Speisekarten mit und ohne Übersetzung." In: Lacheny, Marc et al., eds. *'Its all Greek to me': Mehrsprachigkeit aus interdisziplinärer Sicht*. Stuttgart; ibidem. 83-113.
- Lenihan, Aoife. 2014. "Investigating language policy in social media: translation practices on Facebook." In: Seargeant, Philip and Caroline Tagg, eds. *The Language of Social Media*. London: Palgrave Macmillan. 208-227.

- Lim, Lisa and Umberto Ansaldo. 2016. *Languages in Contact*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Matras, Yaron. 2009. *Language Contact*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Meiler, Olaf. 2011. *Chronik der Stadt Grafenwöhr*. Pressath: Verlag der Buchhandlung Eckhard Bodner.
- Meta. Facebook, 2023a, <https://about.meta.com/technologies/facebook-app/>. Accessed 3rd March 2023.
- Meta. *Language and Region Settings*, 2023b, <https://www.facebook.com/settings?tab=language>. Accessed 7th March 2023.
- Morgenstern, Gerald. 2011. *Truppenübungsplatz Grafenwöhr Gestern Heute/Grafenwoehr Training Area Yesterday & Today*. Grafenwoehr: Hutzler Print Shop.
- Muysken, Pieter. 2013. "Language contact outcomes as result of bilingual optimization strategies." *Bilingualism: Language and Cognition* 16 (4): 709-730.
- Ozdemir, Bahattin and Osman Caliskan. 2014. "A review of literature on restaurant menus: specifying the managerial issues." *International Journal of Gastronomy and Food Science* 2: 3-13.
- Potvin Kent, Monique et al. 2013. "Internet marketing directed at children on food and restaurant websites in two policy environments." *Pediatric Obesity* 21 (4): 800-807.
- Prager, Ueli. 1999. "Menu-cards are applied art." In: Wachholz, Marianne and Gretel Weiss, eds. *Speisekarten Design: Grafik, Marketing, Corporate Design*. Frankfurt am Main: Deutscher Fachverlag. 16-17.
- Pho Viet Grafenwöhr. *Menu*, 2022, <https://www.facebook.com/phovietgraf/menu/?id=100063746490992&sk=menu>. Accessed 6th November 2022.
- Restaurant Anastasia. *Menu as PDF-File (German/English)*, 2023, <https://anastasia-grafenwoehr.de/wp-content/uploads/2023/02/Anastasia-Speisekarte-DIN-A4-2023-web.pdf>. Accessed 11th April 2023.
- Riley-Köhn, Sibylle. 1999. *Englische Kochrezepte und Speisekarten in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.
- Romaine, Suzanne. 2013. "The bilingual and multilingual community." In: Bhatia, Tej K. and William C. Ritchie, eds. *The Handbook of Bilingualism and Multilingualism*. Chichester: Blackwell Publishing Ltd. 445-465.
- Sayahi, Lofti. 2014. *Diglossia and Language Contact: Language Variation and Change in North Africa*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Sergeant, Philip and Caroline Tagg, eds. 2014. *The Language of SocialMedia*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Shamne, Nikolay L. and Elena B. Pavlova. 2019. "Linguistic pragmatics of English language restaurant online discourse." *Science Journal of Volgograd State University, Linguistics* 18 (3): 181-194.
- Simpson, Andrew. 2019. *Language and Society: An Introduction*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- "Social media: Facebook users in Germany". *Statista*. December 2022, <https://www.statista.com/study/72693/social-media-facebook-in-germany-brand-report/>.

- Stadt Grafenwöhr. *Gaststätten/Lokale*, 2022, <https://grafenwoehr.de/freizeit-kultur/gastronomie/gaststaetten-lokale/>. Accessed 7th November 2022.
- Stadt Grafenwöhr. *Stadt Grafenwöhr in Zahlen*, 2023, <https://grafenwoehr.de/stadt-und-buerger/unsere-stadt/grafenwoehr-in-zahlen/>. Accessed 2nd March 2023.
- Stumberger, Rudolf. "Grafenwöhr bangt um seine Amerikaner." *Bayerische Staatszeitung*. September 18, 2020: 38.
- Thomason, Sarah G. and Terrence Kaufman. 1988. *Language Contact, Creolization, and Genetic Linguistics*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Upa' Rahmawati. 2014. "Code switching types used by the English teacher in English classroom at SMA I Malili." *Ethical Lingua* 1 (2): 44-58.
- USAG Bavaria. "USAG Bavaria Fact Sheet." U.S. Army Garrison Bavaria, https://home.army.mil/bavaria/application/files/6316/1219/0614/USAG_Bv_Fact_Sheet_v1Feb21.pdf. Accessed 2nd March 2023.
- von Lieben, Mathias and Michael Watzke. Was die US-Truppen in Bayern für die Region bedeuten. *Deutschlandfunk*, July 28, 2022. <https://www.deutschlandfunk.de/us-truppen-bayern-wirtschaft-ukraine-krieg-100.html>. Accessed 2nd March 2023.
- Wachholz, Marianne and Gretel Weiss, eds. 1999. *Speisekarten Design: Grafik, Marketing, Corporate Design*. Frankfurt am Main: Deutscher Fachverlag.
- Wilson, James. 2019. "Varieties in contact." In: Darquennes, Jeroen et al., eds. *Language Contact: An International Handbook*. Berlin/Boston: Walter de Gruyter. 1-12.
- Williamson, Robert C. 1991. *Minority Languages and Bilingualism: Case Studies in Maintenance and Shift*. Norwood: Ablex Publishing Corporation.
- Winford, Donald. 2006. *An Introduction to Contact Linguistics*. Malden: Blackwell Publishing.
- Zamili, Qoni'. 2018. "Beyond the code switching in Whatsapp chats of Javanese English teachers forum in Tulungagung." *Diksi* 26 (1): 56-63.
- Zimmer, Christian, ed. 2021. *German(ic) in Language Contact: Grammatical and Sociolinguistic Dynamics*. Berlin: Language Science Press.
- Zimmer, Christian and Horst J. Simon. 2021. "Contact settings involving Germanic languages." In: Zimmer, Christian, ed. *German(ic) in Language Contact: Grammatical and Sociolinguistic Dynamics*. Berlin: Language Science Press. 1-10.
- Zoigl zum Adler. *Speisen- und Getränkearte PDF*, 2022, <https://zoigl-zum-adler.de/wp-content/uploads/2021/03/Speisekarte.Entwurf.pdf>. Accessed 11th April 2023.

8. Appendix

Questionnaire (English version)

A. General Information on the Owner of the Restaurant

1. Age: _____
2. Sex: male female diverse
3. Nationality: _____
4. First Language(s): _____
5. Second Language(s): _____

B. Questions Regarding the Restaurant in Grafenwoehr

6. Which ethnic cuisine does your restaurant belong to?
 German American Italian Greek
 Indian Anatolian Chinese Korean
 Vietnamese Mexican other: _____
7. Do you want to represent a specific national identity within your restaurant?
 yes: _____ no
8. Do you have American customers? yes no
9. If yes, what is the percentage of American customers?
 1-10% 11-20% 21-30% 31-40%
 41-50% 51-60% 61-70% 71-80%
 81-90% 91-100%

C. Questions Regarding the Spoken Language Use in the Restaurant

10. Which languages are spoken in your restaurant

10.1 by the owner with the staff?

German English other: _____

10.2 by the staff among themselves?

German English other: _____

10.3 by the staff with the customers?

German English other: _____

11. Is it compulsory for your staff to be able to understand and speak

11.1 English? yes no

11.2 German? yes no

11.3 other languages? yes: _____ no

D. Questions Regarding the Written Language Use in the Restaurant

12. Which language(s) are used in your restaurant's menu?

German English other: _____

13. Did you think about language use for your restaurant's menu?

yes no

13.1 If yes, what was the final decision influenced by?

13.2 If no, why do you use the language(s) the way you do?

14. Which language(s) are used on your restaurant's Facebook page?

- German English other: _____

15. Did you think about language use for your restaurant's Facebook page?

- yes no

15.1 If yes, what was the final decision influenced by?

15.2 If no, why do you use the language(s) the way you do?

Questionnaire (German version)

A. Grundlegende Informationen zu Inhaber/in des Restaurants

1. Alter: _____
2. Geschlecht: männlich weiblich divers
3. Nationalität: _____
4. Muttersprache: _____
5. Fremdsprache(n): _____

B. Fragen zum Restaurant in Grafenwöhr

6. Welcher nationalen Küche ordnen Sie Ihr Restaurant zu?
 Deutsch Amerikanisch Italienisch Griechisch
 Indisch Anatolisch Chinesisch Koreanisch
 Vietnam. Mexikanisch andere: _____
7. Möchten Sie eine bestimmte nationale Identität mit Ihrem Restaurant repräsentieren?
 ja: _____ nein
8. Haben Sie amerikanische Kunden? ja nein
9. Wenn ja, wie würden Sie deren Anteil einschätzen?
 1-10% 11-20% 21-30% 31-40%
 41-50% 51-60% 61-70% 71-80%
 81-90% 91-100%

C. Fragen zur mündlichen Sprachverwendung im Restaurant

10. Welche Sprachen werden in Ihrem Restaurant gesprochen

10.1 vom Inhaber mit dem Personal?

Deutsch Englisch andere: _____

10.2 innerhalb des Personals?

Deutsch Englisch andere: _____

10.3 vom Personal mit den Kunden?

Deutsch Englisch andere: _____

11. Ist es für Ihr Personal verpflichtend, folgende Sprachen verstehen und sprechen zu können?

10.1 Englisch? ja nein

10.2 Deutsch? ja nein

10.3 andere Sprache(n)? ja: _____ nein

D. Fragen zur schriftlichen Sprachverwendung im Restaurant

12. Welche Sprache(n) werden in der Speisekarte Ihres Restaurants verwendet?

Deutsch Englisch andere: _____

13. Haben Sie schon einmal bewusst über die Sprachverwendung für die Speisekarte Ihres Restaurants nachgedacht?

ja nein

13.1 Wenn ja, welche Faktoren hatten Einfluss auf die Entscheidung?

13.2 Wenn nicht, warum verwenden Sie die Sprache(n) so?

14. Welche Sprache(n) werden auf der Facebook-Seite Ihres Restaurants verwendet?

Deutsch Englisch andere: _____

15. Haben Sie schon einmal bewusst über die Sprachverwendung für die Facebook-Seite Ihres Restaurants nachgedacht?

ja nein

15.1 Wenn ja, welche Faktoren hatten Einfluss auf die Entscheidung?

15.2 Wenn nicht, warum verwenden Sie die Sprache(n) so?
