Linguistic Tug-of-War
French and German in Alsace, 1945

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1.0 Introduction

This thesis investigates the linguistic effects of language contact between French and German in Alsace due to the German annexation of this region during World War II.[1] Along linguistic borders throughout the world, languages are colliding and influencing each other. The story of language contact is nothing new. However, the story of this particular linguistic border is unique because of the region's complicated history of cultural conflict, military occupation and political domination. Over the past sixteen centuries, Alsace has experienced a back-and-forth pull from the two superpowers to the west and east, France and Germany (see maps, Appendix A). The turbulent, tug-of-war history of Alsace has constantly challenged the Alsatian people to secure a stable cultural and national identity. This study focuses on understanding the development of the linguistic aspect of this Alsatian identity.

Five key turning points in the region's history have determined the Alsatian linguistic identity. These moments of increased language contact and abrupt change in language policy reveal the true character of a linguistic community and how it reacts to a given situation. The most recent turning point, on which this study focuses, was the Liberation of Alsace at the end of World War II in 1945. At this time, Alsace basically consisted of a German-literate community and a French-literate community. The primary spoken language in Alsace was the Germanic Alsatian dialect, which I will refer to as, simply, "the dialect". However, for the purposes of this study, I am focusing on the two written languages in Alsace: French and German.

[1] Thanks to my advisor, Kari Swingle, my second reader, Eric Raimy, my student reader, Eileen Thorsos, and all the other patient folks who helped me along the way.

During World War II, the Nazis imposed a harsh language policy on the Alsatians, outlawing French and enforcing German. This German imposition could have had three possible effects on the outcome of the linguistic tug-of-war game between French and German in Alsace. The three possible resulting situations for the Alsatian speakers were an increased German influence, mutually equal French and German influences, or a greater French influence. First, German influence might have increased. French-speaking Alsatians may continue to borrow from German as if they had ingrained and accepted the wartime imposition. German-speaking Alsatians may continue to avoid the use of French in their speech despite the retraction of the Nazi law banning French. The popularity of German borrowings among French speakers in the region would be greater than the popularity of French borrowings among German speakers. Second, the war could have changed nothing. In this case, German influence would be no greater or lesser than French influence. That is, German borrowings in French and French borrowings in German would be comparable. Third, the harshness of the language policy during the war could have invoked amongst the Alsatians an anti-German sentiment, thus decreasing German influence. There would be fewer German borrowings in French and more French borrowings in German.

Considering Alsatian history and attitudes towards language, the third possibility of linguistic effect as a result of contact seems most likely to have occurred. My hypothesis is that there was a greater French influence on Alsatian speech after World War II due to the anti-German sentiment provoked by the harsh Nazi policies during the war. To test this hypothesis, this study analyzes and compares the type and regularity of

lexical borrowings from French into German and from German into French in Alsatian newspapers in 1945.

This thesis is organized as follows: in section 2, I will provide a background of the history and linguistic situation of Alsace leading up to World War II. I have divided this history into four important phases, each discussed in its own sub-section. In section 3, I will present a brief overview of the Alsatian experience during World War II. I will explain the Germans' political, military, cultural, and linguistic takeover of Alsace during the war and the Alsatian response after the Liberation. In section 4, I will expand upon the goals and process of my experiment and I will explain the terms I will be using to classify my data. In section 5, I will present my data and results. I will use examples to explain various classifications. Also in this section, I have compiled my findings into a table, comparing French and German influence. In section 6, I will provide a summary of my findings and my general argument. I will attempt to answer the central question of this study: What was the linguistic effect of language contact between French and German in Alsace as a result of World War II and what implications do these linguistic effects have for Alsatian identity?

2.0 History and Language in Alsace prior to World War II

This section outlines the important events in Alsatian history from the 5th century leading up to World War II. In providing this background, I focus primarily on those events that affect language in Alsace.

2.1 Origins

In the 5th century, two Germanic tribes, each with its own dialect, Francique and Alemannic, invaded Gaul in an area that would later become known as Alsace, where Gallo-Roman, a popular form of Latin, was spoken. These tribes established themselves in Alsace and, by the end of that century, their German dialects[2] had replaced Gallo-Roman as the common language in the region (Philipps 1986). A physical barrier to the west, the Vosges mountain range, helped secure Alsace's position on the German side of the Germanic-Romance language border. Over the next millenium, interaction with the French language in Alsace was minimal and, for the vast majority of Alsatians, the dialect was their sole form of communication.

In the 15th and 16th centuries, two important events led to the standardization of German, at least in written form. With Gutenberg's invention of the printer in 1440, printing companies could produce thousands of copies of a book and distribute them throughout Europe. Therefore, it was in the companies' best interests to choose a form of German most widely understood. As a result, other Germanic dialects became more rare in written form. Then, in 1522 Martin Luther translated the Bible into a more "prestigious" form of German (Philipps 1986: 26), which became the "standard" German. This standardization led to an increasing alienation of other dialects and a greater distinction between written and spoken language in Alsace. Alsatians adopted the "standard" German written form, but continued to speak in the dialect. [3]

[2] To simplify this discussion, henceforth, I will refer to all Germanic dialects spoken in Alsace as "the dialect". This arguably does not do justice to the diversity of dialects in the region, for the purpose of this study, we need only know that Alsatians were exposed to some Germanic dialect, the dialect, which competed with French and German in the region.

[3] Until I discuss the introduction of a new standard of German in 1870, "German" will refer to "standard" German as it was accepted in the 16th century.

To complicate matters even further, French began to enjoy more of a presence in Alsace at this time, as French Calvinists sought refuge, particularly in Strasbourg, from religious persecution in France. On the eve of the first of five major turning points in the history of Alsace, the linguistic situation was thus: while Alsatians began to be exposed to French and written German, the vast majority of them continued to use the dialect as their primary form of oral communication.

2.2 1648-1870

After the Thirty Years War, which was particularly devastating for the region, Alsatians welcomed peace, even though it meant domination by a different empire, France. In 1648 the Treaty of Westphalia transferred most of north Alsace and several parts of south Alsace to the control of the French king, though Strasbourg remained a free city. French was soon after introduced as the official language of Alsace. While French did make some progress amongst the bourgeoisie and intellectuals, the common people had no use for it and continued to use the dialect and German for their oral and written communication. The king allowed this linguistic freedom in Alsace. School classes continued to be taught in German. For the most part, French was ignored.

However, the French Revolution, beginning in 1789, was an important event in pulling Alsace towards France and away from Germanic culture. After experiencing with the rest of France such a momentous period, Alsatians felt more a part of the national cause and were thus more open to learning its language and culture (Philipps 1986). Not only were Alsatians becoming more willing to accept French, but also France was becoming more aggressive in pressuring them to learn it. Under such slogans as “une langue, une nation” (“*one language, one nation*”), there was a greater effort to Frenchify

Alsace.[4] The authorities created more French schools and even tried, unsuccessfully, to convince the clergy to use more French in their sermons and religious instruction. Yet, this pressure was minimal compared to language policies during later time periods.[5] Indeed, the popular masses continued to use the dialect and ignore French, though some began to recognize the utility of having a good French education for finding better jobs. While this increased exposure to French did not affect the popularity of the dialect, which remained the primary spoken language, the Alsatian people's knowledge of German did begin to suffer (Philipps 1986), an example of Alsace drifting away from Germanic culture.

2.3 1870-1918

Just when France appeared to be luring Alsace in for good, German troops invaded eastern France in 1870 and, after the treaty of Francfort-sur-le-Main, reclaimed Alsace. "High German" became the official language of the region. While it vaguely resembled the spoken dialect, this official German was still very different from the mother tongue. In addition, though Alsatians had been using "standard" written German, their "standard" was now obsolete, since they had been separated from the Germanic world for over two centuries. With difficulty, Alsatians adjusted to the oral and written form of the new standard, High German.[6]

Throughout this time period, German gained ground back from French in this linguistic tug-of-war. German was the language of instruction in schools, which resulted

[4] Unless otherwise noted, all translations are my own.

[5] Even Napoleon respected the Alsatians' linguistic freedom and is often quoted as saying: "Laissez-les parler leur jargon, pourvu qu'ils sabrent à la française" (Philipps 1986: 83) ("*Let them speak their jargon, as long as they fight for the French"*).

[6] Other than to emphasize a point, henceforth, I will only use "German" to refer to "High German".

in the younger generation, by 1918, not knowing French (Philipps 1986: 164). However, German certainly did not take over as the primary Alsatian language. In fact, towards the end of the 19th century, many Alsatians purposely did not use German, as a way of claiming their own Alsatian identity. The dialect became a symbol for this independent Alsatian identity that they were ready to defend from political or linguistic domination (Philipps 1986).

During World War I, for security reasons, the German authorities in Alsace assumed a more oppressive language policy. All signs and place names were Germanized; even people's names were changed, a tactic that would also be used in World War II. While their linguistic measures were relatively liberal throughout much of this time period, the memory of linguistic oppression by the German authorities during the war would leave its ugly mark on Alsatian memory. From 1870 to 1918, German succeeded in reestablishing itself in Alsace, but as the war came to an end, Alsatian attitudes towards German became less favorable.

2.4 1918-1940

After World War I Alsace was transferred back to France and French became the official language again in the administration and in schools. German was taught in schools as a foreign language. The French authorities' language policy towards German became stricter. In one city, they even went so far as to ban German. French replaced German in place names. Leading up to World War II, French had once again made progress in Alsace at the expense of German. French had become the dominant written language. In spoken communication, the majority of Alsatians continued to use primarily the dialect,

though many, especially among the younger generation, were competent in French as well.

On the eve of World War II, Alsace, for the most part, consisted of French-literate or German-literate (or illiterate) dialect speakers. After 15 centuries of linguistic inconsistency, while the dialect remained the most popular spoken language, it was still unclear which written form of communication Alsatians preferred. Though French had become popular during France's recent domination of the region since World War I, there still existed a large German-reading community, which had little interest in a French takeover. Later, we will see how the German readers' attitude towards French would change due to the events of the war.

3.0 World War II

The dark period of World War II, summarized in this section, was extremely important in shaping Alsatian identity, including linguistic identity. The war years had a significant effect on Alsatians' linguistic decisions after the war and continue to affect the development of language in Alsace today.

3.1 Political and Military Takeover

In September 1939, with Germany's invasion of Poland, World War II began. Despite the existence of the infamous Maginot line, a massive wall of defense constructed between the wars on the border in northeastern France, many Alsatians felt that the threat of another German takeover was too close for comfort. By June 1940, 40% of Alsatians had evacuated the region, leaving most of their belongings behind (Rigoulot 1997: 11). The majority of them moved southwest and settled in cities such as Clermont-Ferrand.

This relatively uneventful period from September 1939 to June 1940 is often labeled the "drôle de guerre" or the phony war: nothing much happened. However, the war became real very quickly for the Alsatians when, in May and June 1940, the German troops stormed through Belgium and invaded northeastern France, easily by-passing the Maginot line. The French army was stunned and could only retreat towards the South. President Maréchal Pétain called for an armistice on June 17, 1940 and Germany assumed control of a large part of northern France. In addition to occupying much of the North, the Germans annexed the regions of Alsace and Lorraine. Hitler justified this annexation as he had other similar takeovers elsewhere in Europe: he was merely reuniting these Germanic speakers (remember, the dialect is Germanic) with their fellow ethnic Germans: *Volksdeutsche*. The German government incorporated these new acquisitions into their political organization, redividing the province into districts and naming a Nazi leader.

After the military situation was brought under control in France, most Alsatians returned home in the summer and fall of 1940. Upon their return, Alsatians began to adjust, for the fourth time in their history, to a new culture and political system. However, German authorities did not allow for adjusting time; theirs was the strictest rule Alsace had ever experienced. First of all, those deemed unfit for or unworthy of Germanization, such as Jews, Gypsies, and immigrants, were expelled from the region. In all, 45,000 people were expelled from Alsace.

Second, like all German citizens, Alsatians between the ages of 17 and 25 were forced to serve one year in the *Reichsarbeitsdienst*, which included a variety of activities,

from military education to farm labor. German authorities saw this as "un moyen de brasser les jeunes [Alsaciens] avec le reste de la jeunesse allemande" (Rigoulot 1997: 54) (*"a way of mixing young Alsatians with the rest of the German youth"*).

Third, starting in 1943, young Alsatians were ordered to serve in the German armed forces. The introduction of this order was met with much resentment and resistance. Many hid or fled, or invented an excuse to avoid the obligatory military service; this resistance marked the "rupture définitive avec le pouvoir nazi" (Rigoulot 1997: 59) (*"definitive break from the Nazi power."*)

This strict rule provoked an intense hatred of the Germans, which, as we will see, never really disappeared. In addition to the harshness of the German rule, the brutality of the war also encouraged a growing resentment towards the Germans. The war was especially hard on the Alsatians, as they suffered many losses: 30,000 died, 10,000 disappeared, and 32,000 were wounded. Overall, the population of Alsace dropped by 6% between 1936 and 1946 (Rigoulot 1997: 117).

By the end of 1942, after key victories in the East and in Africa, the Allies were beginning to push the Germans back towards their original borders. Over the next two years the Germans retreated from all fronts, though they never stopped fighting until the very end, leaving behind trails of bloody battles. On March 21, 1945 Alsace was finally rid of the Germans and, in an immediate sense, the war period was over. For the third time in its history, Alsace became a French region, which it remains today. The Germans surrendered several weeks later, on May 8, which became known as V.E. day, marking the end of World War II in Europe.

3.2 Cultural and Linguistic Takeover

After gaining control of Alsace, the Nazis immediately incorporated the region into Germany's political organization and immersed it in German culture and language. The Nazi effort to take over Alsace culturally and linguistically consisted not only of this intense Germanization, but also of a strict policy of de-Frenchification and de-Alsatianization.

3.2.1 De-Frenchification

The Nazis' main focus was to de-Frenchify Alsace by severing all ties to France. This was a total makeover: "un ratissage systématique et immédiat de tout ce qui était ou paraissait français" (Philipps 1986: 225) ("*a systematic and immediate liquidation of everything that was or appeared French*"). Nazi *Gaulieter* Josef Burckel, the regional Nazi party authority, described it as a need to scrub out the stain left from years of French domination: "90 ans (sic) de domination française ont laissé un vernis français qui disparaîtra complètement au cours du nettoyage auquel nous procéderons" (Rigoulot 1997: 32) ("*90 years of French domination has left a French varnish that will disappear completely in the course of the clean-up that we will carry out*").

Recognizing the power of language in cultural control, the German authorities started their campaign of wiping Alsace clean of the French stain by passing acts throughout the rest of 1940 and early 1941 outlawing the use of French. They prohibited French in the administrative sector starting August 16, 1940 and in the judicial sector September 10, 1940. Also in September they forbid Alsatians to pray in French. They outlawed the use of French in schools starting February 14, 1941. They pressured adults,

too, to learn German, offering free language courses. By April 1941, French was outlawed in all spheres, even in the streets. Alsatians caught speaking French were fined or worse. Four high school students in Strasbourg spent 2 weeks in prison for speaking French in the street (Philipps 1986: 230). Some violators were even sent, along with others deemed unfit for society, to the "camp de rééducation de Schirmeck" ("*re-education camp in Schirmeck [near Strasbourg]"*).

Along with outlawing the oral use of French in Alsace, German authorities banned all written French. Starting October 1, 1940, all signs had to be changed to German. Storefront signs were painted over and translated into German; road signs were replaced with German names. French newspapers were Germanized, in effect, becoming tools of Nazi propaganda, such as the *Strassburger Neueste Nachrichten*.[7] The Nazis would dictate every night what was to be printed (Wirtz-Habermeyer 1987: 185). The authorities removed French books from libraries and some towns held book-burnings (Schmitt 1977: 40).

The Germans even went so far as to attack the most personal expression of one's language: names. In November 1940 they ordered Alsatians to change their French-sounding first and last names to German names. Thus, Pierre became Peter, Jacques became Jakob, Grosjean became Grosshans. A failure to change one's name was punishable by arrest and even transfer to central Germany (Schmitt 1977: 35). Names of towns and landmarks were also changed, usually to their German name from before 1918: Châtenois became Kestenholz, Mulhouse became Mülhausen.

Linguistic measures were just part of the general policy of cultural makeover enacted in Alsace by the German authorities. As soon as they had seized control of the

region, the Germans eliminated any possible reference in Alsace to French culture. They even forbid the use of blue, white, or red, the French national colors, on store signs, preferring instead their yellow and black. They destroyed monuments and statues that made reference to France's glorious history or replaced them with German equivalents. In fact, the German government created an 'office pour l'épuration des monuments commémoratifs' (*"agency for the purging of commemorative monuments"*), whose sole purpose was to Germanize Alsatian monuments. 600 monuments and 300 plaques in Alsace were destroyed or replaced (Rigoulot 1997: 35). Roads and town squares were named after German heroes and leaders: Avenue Serpenoise became Adolf-Hitler-Strasse, Place Kleber became Karl-Roos-Platz. Schools became centers of Nazi propaganda. Theaters put on famous German plays. German national holidays were celebrated, such as one commemorating victorious battles in 1870.

3.2.2 De-Alsatianization

The German cultural and linguistic takeover was an attack not only on French, but also on the dialect. Unlike the earlier German occupation, 1870-1918, when the Germans encouraged use of the dialect (Gardner-Chloros 1991: 9), during WWII, the Nazis imposed one uniform language, High German, and sought to eliminate all other languages. Their motivations were clear: "[Les Nazis] cherchait non seulement à regrouper tous les hommes de langue allemande dans une même nation, mais aussi à sceller la cohésion de cette nation par l'unité linguistique. Pour atteindre ce but, les dialectes devaient disparaître au bénéfice du haut-allemand" (Philipps 1986: 233) (*"The Nazis attempted not only to group all Germanic speakers together in one nation, but also to reinforce the cohesion of this nation through linguistic unity. In order to achieve this*

[7] There were, however, a couple underground French newspapers during the war.

goal, the dialects had to disappear in favor of High German"). In such a totalitarian regime as was the Nazi government during the war, cultural and linguistic uniformity was crucial, especially in the annexed territories where the potential for resistance was greatest.

The Nazis' takeover of Alsace, consisting of de-Frenchification, de-Alsatianization, and Germanization, was immediately effective in creating a uniform, controlled environment, conducive to Nazi domination. Linguistically, they had purified German of any possible French influence. However, as we will see, in the long run, this was counter-productive to German interests in Alsace: it merely encouraged Alsatians to welcome French influence once the German domination had been removed.

3.3 Alsatian Attitudes after Liberation

After the Liberation of Alsace by the Allies in the spring of 1945, Alsatians found themselves at yet another crossroads in the development of their personality as a region. After nearly five years of German control, Alsatians had the opportunity to evaluate and redefine themselves and their history. Their mood after the Liberation was largely influenced by the events of the war and their treatment by the German authorities. Five years of brutal domination on the part of the Nazis motivated the denial of 10 centuries of direct Germanic cultural influence in Alsatian memory. If they weren't already leaning that way, World War II pushed many Alsatians to make a clean break from the Germanic world and jump on the French bandwagon. Generally speaking, in 1945 Alsatians wanted nothing to do with Germany. Never in their history did they associate themselves more with France (Hoffet 1951: 16). The German takeover had backfired: "Hitler a sans doute fait plus pour la cause française en Alsace que tous les patriotes réunis" (Hoffet

1951: 45) (*"Without a doubt, Hitler did more for the French cause in Alsace than all the patriots combined"*). The expulsions, the arrests, the strict laws led Alsatians to perceive all German influence as brutally imposed and unwanted. Their memory was full of too many awful associations with Germany, which made it difficult to remember the positive aspects of the Germanic cultural influence on the region. Instead, Alsace chose to forget German influence altogether.

This desire to dissociate themselves from Germany was consistent amongst all French people. France ignored its collaborative role and celebrated its heroes of the Resistance, making scapegoats of the Germans for the darkest five years in their nation's history (Jackson 2001). Any German influence was seen as a contaminant, a threat to be eliminated or a fault to mock (Burrin 1996). Amidst this pressure from their fellow countrymen to the West, Alsatians exaggerated their already pro-French sentiment. They, especially, were embarrassed to be associated with Germany (Gardner-Chloros 1991). They wanted to prove to the rest of France, which was already skeptical of their patriotism, that they were just as anti-German (Wardhaugh 1987: 112).

Not only did they not want to be German, but Alsatians wanted to be French. As a result, they arguably compromised their own unique, Alsatian character. Alsatian autonomists, who "flourished" (Gardner Chloros 1991: 17) before the war, kept a very low profile immediately after the war for fear of being labeled German. This denial of Alsatian culture is evident in the rapid decline after the war in the use of the *Germanic*, Alsatian dialect. Though most parents were more comfortable in the dialect, they felt this anti-Germanic pressure, and therefore spoke French to their children: " 'C'était un parti

pris après la Libération de parler français aux enfants'" (Gardner-Chloros, 1991: 31) (" *'It was a decision of principle after the Liberation to speak French to the children'"*).

As a result, the dialect has been gradually fading out of use for over half a century. "Alsace [went] from being a predominantly dialect-speaking area in which French was used in certain clear-cut domains (administration, school-teaching) to being now a French-speaking area in which some sections of the population use the dialect in some areas of their life" (Gardner-Chloros 1991: 26). Today, in the 21st century, for many children, the dialect is as linguistically foreign as Spanish. These children can no longer be called bilingual. They are French speakers.

Along with the decline of German and the dialect, the war helped the popularity of the French language soar. "The dictatorial imposition of German [during the war]...made French into a symbol of defiance amongst the generally rebellious population" (Gardner-Chloros 1991: 9-11). Thus, after the Liberation, the French people associated French with freedom and the victorious Resistance and took great pride in their language. Posters in schools, offices, buses, and cafés advertised the famous slogan: " 'C'est chic de parler français!'" (Salmon 1985: 63) (*"It is stylish to speak French"*).

In addition to these patriotic motivations, there were also practical reasons for the increased emphasis on learning French in Alsace. There had been no French education in five years, which put young Alsatian children at a disadvantage in a country where the national language was French and Germanic languages were not socially accepted. For the generation who were just starting school at the beginning of the war, there was a lot of lost ground to make up. Therefore, French was a high priority in education, much

more important than learning the "language of the enemy"(Schaeffer: 1976: 154). In fact, German was completely banned in schools until 1952.

There was also pressure on the adults to learn and use French. The French authorities passed laws restricting German and promoting French in movies, radio, literature, and especially newspapers in Alsace. A law was passed on September 1, 1945 forbidding all-German newspapers. Only all-French and bilingual newspapers were allowed. On September 13, another law was passed, outlining specific restrictions for the bilingual papers. The maximum amount of German that could appear in a bilingual paper was 75%. The title of the paper had to be French, as did advertisements, sports columns and articles targeted at children. Failure to comply with these restrictions was punishable by up to two years in prison and a 10,000 franc fine (Schaeffer 1976: 165).

As anti-French as the German authorities were during the war, the French authorities were arguably just as anti-German after the Liberation. The difference to note is how the Alsatian people reacted to these two intensely nationalist governments. After the war the Alsatians had a grudge towards their recent oppressors, and therefore accepted the anti-German language policy, believed in the necessity of such a policy, and thus allowed their own speech to change. This pro-French attitude after the war allowed the French government to pass laws that were just as nationalistic as the unpopular war-time laws of the Nazis. "[These] equally authoritarian [measures were] psychologically much more acceptable to the population because of their desire to be fully French once again" (Gardner-Chloros 1991: 15). Five years of brutal German domination had dealt the "coup fatal" (Salmon 1985: 63) (*"final blow"*) to Germanic influence and made Frenchmen out of the Alsatians.

By providing an historical background in the last two sections, I hope to clarify the significant impact history has on linguistic development. With its especially complicated history of influences, Alsace is a fascinating case study of language contact. Understanding this historical background, we can hypothesize on specific linguistic effects we expect to find. My study, which I present in the next section, analyzes the linguistic effects on Alsatian speech due to World War II, specifically how the war tipped the balance in the competition between French and German influence.

4.0 Set-up and Execution of Study

Alsace's tumultuous history, especially its experience during World War II, has shaped the region's linguistic identity. By analyzing actual Alsatian speech, this study attempts to identify the linguistic effects of this changing identity. How, exactly, are the languages adapting? In what way is each specific adaptation a reflection of a changing attitude towards foreign influence? How has history driven these changes? In this section, I will restate my hypothesis and elaborate upon the goals of the study, discuss the process, and present my system of data categorization.

4.1 Expectations and Goals

My hypothesis is that there is a greater French influence in Alsace after World War II due to the anti-German sentiment provoked by the harsh Nazi policies during the war. To test this, I am studying German and French speech in newspapers written by and for Alsatians. I will compare the regularity and the types of borrowings in the two different languages. I am expecting to find more French borrowings in German writing than German borrowings in French writing. I am expecting this to show a greater hesitance to

allow German borrowings, a greater effort to encourage the use of French, and an overall preference for French influence amongst Alsatians in 1945. I collected data also for the rate of English borrowing, which I will use as a control in comparing French and German.

4.2 Documents

In searching for data samples for my study, I would have preferred to find a recording of spoken language in Alsace, which would have been more indicative of natural Alsatian speech. However, being half a century and thousands of miles removed from 1945 Alsace, this was not possible. Therefore, I studied written language in Alsace. In fact, this made the study simpler; since the dialect is not used in a written form, I was only comparing two languages, French and German and their influences on each other.

This study analyzes a sampling of French and bilingual versions of *Les Dernières Nouvelles d'Alsace* (DNA) from 1945. DNA was the most popular newspaper in Alsace at the time. It was printed daily in Strasbourg and distributed throughout Alsace. Originally, when it first appeared in 1887, it was known as the *Strassburger Neueste Nachrichten*. Starting December 21, 1944, it became known as *Les Dernières Nouvelles d'Alsace*. Before World War II, both French and German versions were printed. During the war, Nazis seized the printing facilities and used them to print a German newspaper full of Nazi propaganda. Starting in early 1945, a French version and a bilingual (French and German) version were printed. Combining these two versions, its circulation was 50,000 in May 1945, 100,000 in December 1945, and 150,000 by the end of 1948 (Schaeffer 1976: 169). In recent times, it has remained one of the most successful

regional newspapers in France. According to statistics, in 1991 the paper was read by 70% of the Alsatian population over the age of 15 (Lorentz 1997: 383).

After the Liberation, DNA was an advocate for bilingualism (Schaeffer 1976: 166); the company started replacing its solely German editions with bilingual ones several months before the law was passed in September 1945 ordering just that. DNA could also be considered a popular paper in that it followed the general trends of the majority of its readers. It subscribed to the theory of: "attirer et conserver les lecteurs en informant beaucoup et en exprimant des opinions acceptables par le plus grand nombre" (Schaeffer 1976: 170) ("*attracting and keeping readers by being very informative and expressing the most popular and accepted opinions.*"). The popularity of this newspaper was an important factor in choosing to use it as a document. The study attempts to analyze Alsatian speech and what linguistic changes became acceptable for the Alsatian people. Therefore, so as not to bias the data, I chose a document that most closely resembled how Alsatians spoke or, at least, what they could understand.

The specific editions studied, chosen at random, were those printed on March 31, May 9, May 27, July 13, and August 5, 1945. For each of these dates, I studied both the French and the bilingual versions of the same paper. Most, but not all, of the stories reported in one version, also appeared in the other. I collected data from just the first page of the March 31 and July 13 papers and from the first and second pages of the others. With the exception of the May 9 paper, I did not collect data from the announcements and classifieds section on the second page.

4.3 Methodology

In gathering my data, I scrutinized the documents, word-by-word, searching for German influence in the French version and French influence in the German articles of the bilingual version. Specifically, I was looking for lexical influence. I noted the German words or phrases appearing in French sentences and the French words or phrases appearing in German sentences. Once I had located an instance of borrowing, I translated it and its immediate environment, interpreted the speaker's intent in using it, and thus classified it in one of the categories discussed below. In the end, I calculated the total results, with a breakdown of each category.

4.4 Data Categorization

In deciding how to classify a particular borrowing, I tried to answer these questions: how conscious was the writer or reader that this was a foreign phrase that could have been translated into the native language? Did they consciously pass up the opportunity to translate, and if so, what was their reasoning for this? Did the use of the original language add any extra meaning to the specific content of the phrase, for example, through tone or cultural reference? Did the borrowing show more of a linguistic or cultural effect or both? Based on the answers to questions such as these, I classified the data into four distinct categories of borrowings: untranslatables, loans, quotes, and translatables.[8]

4.4.1 Untranslatables

Untranslatable borrowings are foreign phrases[9] that are distinctly associated with their original language.[10] In other words, a French untranslatable is a phrase that is distinctly

[8] With the exception of "loans", I invented these terms.
[9] I am using the term "phrase" to include also single words.
[10] In this study, I ignore the ultimate untranslatable, proper names. I do not consider these to be borrowings.

French; the meaning of the phrase is wrapped up in the language used to convey the meaning. Furthermore, the language of the phrase adds meaning. Because of the importance of the original language in the informativeness of the phrase, the phrase remains in the original language and is inserted, as is, into sentences in other languages. One can judge the degree of distinctiveness, or untranslatability, of a phrase by observing its tendency to remain untranslated while being borrowed into several different languages. It is also important to note that within the category of untranslatables, there are varying degrees of translatability: though their meaning is still compromised, some phrases can be translated with greater ease than others.

An example of an untranslatable borrowing is the phrase *Veni, Vidi, Vici*: in its original Latin, it is well recognized in most languages and therefore, rarely translated. By remaining in its original language, the phrase better invokes the context in which the phrase was first uttered and therefore becomes more meaningful. Another example is *Czar*. This is a distinctively Russian phrase: the position of *Czar* is unique to Russia and it invokes many references to Russian history.

Untranslatables show more of a cultural influence than a linguistic one. The speakers are expanding their knowledge of foreign cultures, and, as a by-product of this, they are expanding their foreign lexicon. However, unlike with translatables, they are not showing any preference for the use of foreign words in place of their native equivalents because there are no native equivalents of untranslatables. Therefore, the borrowing of untranslatables does not prove any linguistic effect.

4.4.2 Loans

Loans are similar to untranslatables in that they are borrowed because of their distinctiveness, but they have been more assimilated into the adopting language: sometimes the speakers are not even aware that certain loans have foreign origins. Also, loans are often single words. They are first borrowed into a language because they convey a particular sense or tone, otherwise unable to be communicated in the borrowing language. In time, if the speakers continue to borrow a loan, it is assimilated into the borrowing language and becomes part of the lexicon. Example of loans in English include the French *café* and the Yiddish *shmuck*.

It is difficult to pinpoint the exact date of entry of a loan into the borrowers' lexicon. It is also difficult to know whether speakers are consciously aware of the "foreignness" of the loan as they are using them. If they are aware of this foreignness and continue to use them, one can make conclusions about the speakers' attitudes towards foreign influence. In this case, loans have a significant linguistic effect since they are consciously being added on to the native lexicon. However, if the speakers are not aware of this foreignness, while the fact that the loans exist at all proves that there was a linguistic effect from foreign influence at some point, one cannot argue that at the moment in question, there is a linguistic effect. Therefore, as far as my study is concerned, this category of borrowings is inconclusive of linguistic effect.

4.4.3 Quotes

Like untranslatables, quotes are distinctive of their original language; however, like translatables, they are not oft-used well-recognized phrases. They are distinctive because quotes, by definition, are exact and are attributable to a speaker. By translating a quote

into a foreign language, one loses this exactness and betrays the speaker's ownership of the phrase. As a result, some meaning is lost.

While both untranslatables and quotes are distinct to their original language, there is an important difference in the ways in which this distinctiveness is achieved. With untranslatables, the fame of the content of the phrase, which is then associated with its language, makes the phrase distinct to that language. With quotes whose content is not well-known, the importance of speaker attribution and language makes the phrase distinct to that language. Because the distinctiveness of quotes is not due to any uniqueness of its words, quotes are more translatable. The words within a quote are usually not complicated to translate. The same phrase without quotation marks could be categorized as a translatable borrowing. However, the quotation marks indicate the importance of maintaining speaker loyalty.

So, quotes are both distinct to their original language and are translatable, two contradictory characteristics. In mostly monolingual communities, translatability usually wins. It is more important that the reader understand the content of the quote, so it is translated. However, in communities that already are or are being encouraged to become bilingual, quotes are not translated. As far as this study is concerned, that is the important point: untranslated quotes assume, or at least encourage, bilingualism and code-switching ability amongst the readers. Quotes do not have a linguistic effect; they are not changing the lexicon by replacing native equivalents. But they are evidence of bilingualism and a generally accepting attitude toward foreign influence. So, while quotes are not the direct cause of any linguistic effect, they promote the possibility of linguistic effect by encouraging foreign influence.

4.4.4 Translatables

Translatable borrowings are phrases that are not well-known nor distinct to their original language, yet remain untranslated. They do not imply any important cultural references. They do not consist of words that do not have equivalents in the borrowing lexicon. Their words do not convey any unique tone. They are not quotes. Untranslated quotes are somewhat understandable because, by nature, quotes have more pressure to preserve the originality of their speaker; however untranslated translatables are much more surprising. They are simply missed opportunities to translate. Translatable borrowings show a linguistic effect: these foreign phrases are replacing already existent equivalents in the lexicon of the borrowing language.

A community which borrows a significant number of translatables is accepting of foreign linguistic influence. To relate this to my study, a bilingual community that borrows more translatables from one language into the other and not the other way around is more accepting of foreign linguistic influence in that direction.

In my study, I expect to find a greater number of borrowings from French into German than from German into French. If this is the case, I will conclude that there is a stronger French influence on Alsace after the war.

5.0 Data Analysis and Results

In this section I will provide a representative sampling from the data of examples of borrowings in their specific contexts.[11] I will suggest possible motivations of the borrowings, while classifying them into the categories described in the previous section.

[11] See Appendix C for complete list of data and contexts. For some examples, I did not write down the context.

I will present my results and the statistical breakdown in a table that will enable us to compare French and German influence.

5.1 German Borrowings in French Writing

Amongst the five editions of the French newspapers, I analyzed approximately 14,020 words. Of these, I found 11 German borrowings. I have divided them into three categories: untranslatables, loans, and translatables

5.1.1 Untranslatables

There are 8 total instances of German untranslatable borrowing, including famous phrases, company names, and government and military titles. These phrases remain untranslated because they are well-known, distinctly German phrases, and some of their meaning would be lost in a French translation. Here are three examples:

(1) Sieg-Heil

"L'Allemagne est occupée dans sa totalité...on n'entend plus le chant de 'Horst Wessel', et les **'Sieg-Heil'**..." (May 27, p. 1)

"Germany is occupied in its totality…we no longer hear the Horst Wessel *song and the* ***Sieg-Heil****'s…"*

Literally meaning "Hail Victory", this is a Nazi slogan and salute, similar to "Heil Hitler" (Michael and Doerr 2002). The closest French equivalent might be "la victoire est à nous" ("*Victory is ours*"). However, when translated, the phrase lacks the powerful connotations of Nazi language.

(2) Führer

"…parler au **Führer**." (March 31, p. 1)

"…to speak to the **Führer**."

Literally meaning “leader”, this became Hitler’s official title during the Nazi reign. As a result of Hitler’s infamy, the word “führer” has never been able to rid itself of this association with Hitler. This German word was accepted into several languages and was often used interchangeably with the name, Hitler. The closest translation into French might be “conducteur”, but “Conducteur Hitler” does not invoke nearly the same emotion.

(3) Wehrmacht

“La Ruhr…a pratiquement cessé d’exister comme centre d’approvisionnement en matériel de guerre de la **Wehrmacht**.” (March 31, p. 1)

“The Ruhr…practically ceased to exist as the supply center of war material for the ***Wehrmacht****.”*

Literally meaning “defense power”, this refers to the Third Reich’s armed forces (Michael and Doerr 2002). The closest possible equivalent in French is “armée Nazi” (*“Nazi army”*). This German term was well known by the French and conveyed a special sense of German-ness when untranslated.

5.1.2 Loans

There is only one instance of German loan borrowing, in which a German word has already assimilated into the French lexicon:

(1) leitmotiv

“Ces phrases, avec la régularité et même l’obsession d’un **leitmotiv**...” (July 13, p. 1)

“These sentences, with the regularity and even the obsession of a ***leitmotiv****…”*

This loan, which might be translated into English as “theme” and into French as “fil conducteur”, had already entered the French language half a century prior to World War

II (Bloch and Wartburg 1960). It apparently filled some gap in the French lexicon or it was used to convey a certain tone. It is unclear whether speakers in 1945 were conscious of its German origin.

5.1.3 Translatables

There are two instances of German translatable borrowing. By replacing native equivalents, these phrases, which are not well known as distinctly German and therefore could have been translated, are changing the French lexicon.

(1) Strassenbahn

"Les '**Strassenbahn**diplomingenieure' venus de Karlsruhe…" (March 31, p. 1)

*"The 'certified **Tram** engineers' from Karlsruhe…"*

"Strassenbahn" could have been translated into French as "tramway", which, coincidentally, is an American loan word, but has been assimilated into the French lexicon. The fact that it was used in a compound word whose other half was French shows a conscious effort to borrow instead of using a native equivalent. One can only hypothesize about why this was borrowed untranslated. It could be that German is used to invoke a sense of respect for these engineers who have been certified in Germany, particulary in Karlsruhe, which is well known for its metal industry. Or, it could be that German is used in an ironic or mocking manner. The writer could be poking fun at the specificity of these Germans' jobs. It is impossible to know what sense of the borrowing the writer intended. Regardless, what is important is that the borrowing occurred and that it is having a linguistic effect on French by expanding its lexicon.

(2) Wiese

"À son arrivée à la 'Kinziger **Wiese**' le général..." (August 5, p. 1)

*"Upon his arrival at 'Kinziger **Meadow**' the general…"*

"Wiese" could have been translated into the French "prairie". The German word is replacing the French equivalent in the lexicon. One could argue that "Wiese" was not translated because it was part of the place name "Kinziger Wiese". By this logic, for example, when translating "Delaware Valley", "valley" would remain in its original English since it is part of a place name. I could interpret it either way, but in order to be consistent throughout my analysis, I decided to consider descriptive words of an adjacent proper name or place name as separate from the name and therefore translatable. So, words like "Wiese" in "Kinziger Wiese", "Valley" in "Delaware Valley", and, as we will see later, "Général" in "Général de Gaulle" are all translatable.

5.2 French Borrowings in German Writing

Amongst the German sections of the five bilingual papers, I analyzed approximately 11,820 words. Of these, I found 46 total French borrowings. I have divided them into four categories: untranslatables, loans, quotes, and translatables.

5.2.1 Untranslatables

There are 8 total instances of French untranslatable borrowing, including famous phrases, historical references, company names, and slogans. German speakers recognize these phrases as distinctly French. Here are three examples:

(1) Vive la France

There are three instances of this borrowing in the data. I have also included an instance in which this borrowing could have occurred but did not.

(a) "...und die heute mit uns zusammen triumphieren. **Vive la France**!" (May 9, p. 1)

*"…and today we will triumph together. **Vive la France**!"*

(b) "...und sein Schlusswort 'Ah, **vive la France**' hallte weithin über den Platz." (May 9, p. 2)

*"…and his closing words 'Ah, **vive la France**' resonated throughout the Square."*[12]

(c) "ein beherztes '**Vive la France**' unter Familienangehörigen oder Freunden." (July 13, p. 1)

*"a courageous '**Vive la France**' under family or friends."*

(d) "...Es lebe General De Gaulle! **Es lebe Frankreich**!" (May 9, p. 1)

*"Long live General De Gaulle! **Long live France**!"*

This was the translation of the French version: "...Vive le général de Gaulle, **vive la France**." (*"Long live General De Gaulle! **Vive la France**"*).

This famous French phrase, whose closest equivalent in English might be "long live France", is often borrowed untranslated into several languages, including English. In (a), (b), and (c), it is clear that German speakers recognized this phrase as distinctly French and prefered to keep it as such.

Example (d) proves that not all untranslatables are invincible. As I said before, amongst untranslatables, there is a varying degree of translatability. This is largely dependent on the motivations of the speaker. This phrase is obviously very pro-French. The fact that it remains in the French when borrowed only adds to the pro-French message of the utterance. A German speaker who wishes to downplay this pro-French aspect, can at least translate the phrase into German. Again, one cannot be sure that this was the motivation for translation in this case. It could also have been that the writer did

[12] This example is also a quote, which reinforces the phrase's untranslatabilty. However, its untranslatability is mostly due to the well-known phrase within the quotation marks. Therefore, given the distinction I explained earlier between an untranslatable and a quote, this example more resembles an untranslatable.

not think that his readers would be able to understand the phrase in the French. Nevertheless, the three instances in which this phrase remained untranslated prove that this is an untranslatable borrowing, well-known and accepted as distinctly French.

(2) 14 Juillet

"...**14 Juillet**..." (July 13, p. 1)

*"...**July 14th**..."*

This is the date of the national French holiday celebrating the storming of the Bastille during the Revolution in 1789 and the birth of modern France. This phrase is technically not difficult to translate; in German, it would be "14 Juli". However, the implications of this phrase are so distinctly French that translating it would betray its full meaning. Thus, it is untranslatable and proves an awareness of French cultural influence. A similar example in English is our use of the Spanish phrase "Cinco de Mayo" ("*May 5th*"). If we translated it into English, it would just be another date and we would miss its reference to the Mexican holiday.

(3) Banque de France

"…durch Vorschüsse der **Banque de France**…" (March 31, p. 1)

*"…through advances from the **Banque de France**…"*

This is the name of a French bank, which was founded in 1800 and nationalized in 1945. I am considering company names untranslatables. A company created in France and recognized in other countries, is distinctly French, which therefore makes its name distinctly French. If it was translated to the German "Französische Bank", readers, who had come to recognize the French name, would question whether that really was the same company. An example of the untranslatability of company names in English is our use of

the Hebrew name of the Israeli Airline "El Al". If we translated this name, we would not recognize it as referring to the company.

5.2.2 Loans

There are 5 instances of French loan borrowing, in which a French word has already assimilated into the German lexicon.[13] There are no German equivalents for these words, which is why they were originally borrowed. Here are three examples:

(1) Ensemble

"Pierre Germain mit seinem **Ensemble**…" (May 9, p. 2)

*"Pierre Germain with his **Ensemble**…"*

"Ensemble" is a well-known French loan that is widely accepted in a variety of languages. In this case it refers to a group of accompanying musicians. The sense of this word cannot be conveyed in German as concisely, which is why it is a loan.

(2) Exposé

"Der Minister beendigt seine Rede mit einem **Exposé** über die zukünftigen Budgets." (March 31, p. 1)

*"The Minister concludes his speech with an **exposé** on the future budgets."*

"Exposé" is another popular French loan, which has also been borrowed into English to refer to a sort of public revelation.

(3) Chansons

"…Festspiel der **Chansons** und des Rythmus…" (May 9, p. 2)

*"…festival of **Chansons** and of rhythms…"*

[13] I attempted unsuccessfully to pinpoint the date of entry of these loans into the borrowing language by looking them up in dictionaries from a variety of different dates before and after WWII. However, I only found one entry of "ensemble" in a dictionary from 1947. It was not listed in earlier dictionaries and neither were the other loans listed in any of the dictionaries.

A “chanson” is a particularly French genre of music. This borrowing could also be considered an untranslatable since its meaning is closely tied to French culture. However, since it is a single word, it is more easily assimilated to the borrowing lexicon. As it assimilates, speakers might forget that it is of French origin. This differentiates it from untranslatables, which remain obviously foreign. Therefore, I consider it a loan.

5.2.3 Quotes

There are 8 instances of French quote borrowing, including song lyrics, play titles, and quoted speech. Quotes are distinctly tied to the language of the speaker, but are not well-known phrases so they are usually translated. The quotes in my data remain untranslated and therefore, their use assumes the readers’ ability to code-switch from German to French. Here are a few examples:

(1) “Vous n’aurez pas l’Alsace et de Lorraine.”

“Die Kapelle der Légion spielte das ‘**Vous n’aurez pas l’Alsace et de Lorraine**’…” (May 9, p. 2)

“The music group of the Legion *played the ‘**You will not have Alsace and Lorraine**’…”*

This is the title of a French song, composed in 1871 about resistance to Germanization in Alsace and Lorraine (Klein 2002). The title could have been translated into German as “Sie haben nicht Elsass und Lothringen” Because of the importance of speaker loyalty in quotes and mostly because of the rise in bilingualism at the time, this quote remains untranslated.

(2) V’là le printemps

“ ‘**V’là le printemps**’ im Union-Theater.” (May 9, p. 2)

*“ ‘**Spring is here**’ in Union-Theater.”*

This is the title of a French play, which could be translated in German as "Es ist der Frühling". Again, the quote remains untranslated to preserve the author's authenticity, which assumes the readers' code-switching ability.

(3) "Au revoir, M. le Maréchal"

"Laval grüsst den Angeklagten mit einem '**Au revoir, M. le Maréchal**' und geht." (August 5, p. 1)

*"Laval greets the defendant with a '**Goodbye, Mr. Marshal**' and leaves."*

Unlike the other quotes, which were written titles or song lyrics, this example is presumably a direct quote from an unscripted spoken utterance. However, it is similarly translatable and assumes code-switching. It could be translated in German as "Auf Wiedersehen, Herr Marschall".

5.2.4 Translatables

There are 25 total instances of French translatable borrowing, including governmental and military titles, committee names, and little-known phrases. These untranslated translatable borrowings reveal a changing lexicon and a favorable attitude towards foreign influence. Here are some examples:

(1) Général

"**Général** de Lattre de Tassigny…" (August 5, p. 1)

*"**General** de Lattre de Tassigny [name]…"*

This word can be easily translated into German as "General" (without the accents). Unlike "Führer", the term "General" is not distinct to any one language. Therefore, we would expect the German translation, just like in English we would expect the English translation of "Presidente" when talking about the Spanish president. Since it is not

distinct and is translatable and still it is untranslated, it is clear the foreign phrase is affecting the borrowing lexicon

Interestingly, this was the only untranslated occurrence of this word. "General" appears several times in the data, always in German, except for this one time. Even within this same article and referring to this same person, de Lattre de Tassigny, the German "General" is used. The phrase is obviously translatable and usually is, indeed, translated, however, in this one instance the speaker shows a preference for the French version.

(2) directeur du cabinet du Commissaire de la République

"Wolf, **directeur du cabinet du Commissaire de la République**..." (August 5, p. 1)

"Wolf [name], ***director of the cabinet of the Commissioner of the Republic****…"*

This phrase can be translated into German as "Kabinetsdirektor vom Republikskommissar".[14] No meaning would be lost in the translation since it is not well known as a distinctly French phrase. Yet, the speakers choose the untranslated French over their native equivalent. Due to the length of this phrase, it also assumes the readers' code-switching ability.

(3) Campagne du Retour

"…zugunsten der Heimkehrer durch Schaffung einer '**Campagne du Retour**'." (May 27, p. 1)

*"…in support of the homecoming through the creation of a '****Repatriation Campaign****'."*

This is a little-known phrase, which is not distinctly French. It could have been translated into German as "Heimkerskampagne".

[14] Haverford French Professor Koffi Anyinefa, who is fluent in both French and German, provided most of these hypothetical German translations.

(4) Société Artistique et Littéraire

"Die **Société Artistique et Littéraire** '*La Fontaine*' bringt dem Strassburger Publikum…" (May 9, p. 2)

*"The **Artistic and Literary Society*** 'La Fontaine*' brings the Strasbourg audience…"*

This is the name of a little-known society in France. Though somewhat similar to a company name, this phrase is translatable because a similarly-titled equivalent non-French society could exist. Therefore, the name is not distinctly French and is easily translatable. It could have been translated into German as "Kulturverein".

(5) Comité *des* Cercle d'Escrimes

"Das provisorische **Comité** des **Cercle d'Escrimes** behandelte..." (May 9, p. 2)

*"The provisional **Committee** of the **Group of Fencers** handled…"*

This phrase could have been translated into German as "Komitee des Fechtverein". This and the following example are probably the most significant data because they show real linguistic effect at work. Whereas earlier examples of translatables, such as example (2), are evidence of bilingualism in Alsace, these examples show French lexical borrowings that are actually being assimilated into German speech. Instead of keeping the full French phrase intact, "Comité de la Cercle d'Escrimes", the writer translates the French "de la" ("of the") into the German "des". By breaking up this phrase, the French components, "Comité" and "Cercle d'Escrimes" become more similar to loans. So, instead of keeping the languages distinct in phrases, as one does in code-switching, the speaker is assimilating the borrowed words into his language. Of all the data, this most clearly shows the acceptance of foreign linguistic influence. German speakers are allowing French translatable borrowings to fully enter their lexicon.

(6) Centre *des* Repatriement

"…der **Centre** des **Repatriement**…" (May 27, p. 2)

*"…the **Center** of **Repatriation [Repatriation Center]**…"*

As in the previous example, parts of this phrase are translated, which better assimilates the untranslated parts into the borrowing language. The full French phrase would be "Centre de Repatriement", but the "de" is Germanized into "des". Again, this shows German speakers' willingness to incorporate French borrowings into their lexicon, despite the prior existence of German equivalents.

5.3 Results and Statistical Comparisons

I have organized my results in the following table, which enables us to make comparisons between German and French acceptance of foreign influence:

	Instances	% of Total Words		Instances	% of Total Words	T-test P-value	Statistically Significant?
Total Words in French Writing	14,020	100	**Total Words in German Writing**	11,820	100		
German Untranslatables	8	0.0571	**French Untranslatables**	8	0.0677	0.4378	no
German Loans	1	0.0071	**French Loans**	5	0.0423	0.4113	no
German Quotes	0	0	**French Quotes**	8	0.0677	0.0649	no
German Translatables	2	0.0143	**French Translatables**	25	0.2115	0.0002	yes
Total German Borrowings	11	0.0785	**Total French Borrowings**	46	0.3892	0.0184	yes
Total English Borrowings	3	0.0214	**Total English Borrowings**	10	0.0846	0.1370	no

French untranslatable borrowings are slightly more common than German untranslatables. The p-value[15] for this comparison is much greater than 0.05, the significance cutoff point, so this data is not significant in showing a preference among Alsatians for French untranslatable borrowings.

While there are more French loans than German loans, the p-value of this comparison is also very high. The data is not significant evidence of any preference for French loan borrowings.

There are a lot more French quotes than German ones; in fact, there are no German quotes. The p-value of this comparison is 0.065, so, by a slight margin, this data is not significant. Since there are absolutely no German quotes, it is possible that, with a greater sampling, this could be a significant comparison.

The borrowing of French translatables is nearly 15 times as common as that of German translatables. The p-value of 0.0002 proves that there is a very significant preference for French translatables.

In general, Alsatians are about five times more likely to borrow from French into German than from German into French. The p-value of 0.02 proves that there is a significant overall preference for French borrowings. German is more accepting of French borrowings than French is of German borrowings. Despite three of its categories being insignificant, the strength of the data of the fourth category, translatables, makes the total borrowings comparison also significant.

English borrowings are also more common in German. However, the p-value of this comparison is 0.137, which shows that there is not a significantly greater acceptance of English borrowings in German than of English borrowings in French. This acts as a

[15] See Appendix B for full T-test charts of each category.

sort of control for the study. It proves that it is not the case that German is always more accepting of borrowed phrases than French is. Therefore, the fact that German is more accepting in this case makes it unique and implies that there is a more complicated explanation.

6.0 Conclusion

The results of my study confirm my hypothesis: Alsatians in 1945 were more accepting of French than of German linguistic influence.

The growing preference for French in Alsace after the war was motivated both from the top down and the bottom up. This study acknowledges that the top-down influence of official language policy at the time was already biasing the Alsatians towards French. Of course the French government planned on Frenchifying Alsace. The use of French quotes in the German articles and the absence of German quotes in the French articles shows that only the German readers were being pressured to become bilingual. In situations of language contact, bilingualism is the first step of a gradual linguistic takeover. Since bilingualism was only being encouraged in the German paper, it is clear that it was to be a French linguistic takeover. Indeed, this is what happened. French authorities required German papers to become bilingual. Yet, even in the sections of the paper that were allowed to be fully German, French crept in, which was evidence of further French influence, but motivated from the bottom up, by the people.

In addition to the well-accepted point that language policy was biasing Alsatians towards French, I am arguing that the pro-French attitude of the people sped along this process of Frenchification, making it even faster than the policy-makers were hoping for.

Alsatians were even more accepting of French influence than they were required to be. They borrowed more French phrases than was expected. Unlike during World War II, when the authorities were enforcing a linguistic change and the people were resisting, after the Liberation, the people were very much on the French authorities' bandwagon. Perhaps they were even in the driver's seat. They allowed more and more French borrowings. They even accepted these borrowings in place of German equivalents, which shows linguistic effect through lexical change, a sure sign of acceptance of foreign influence.

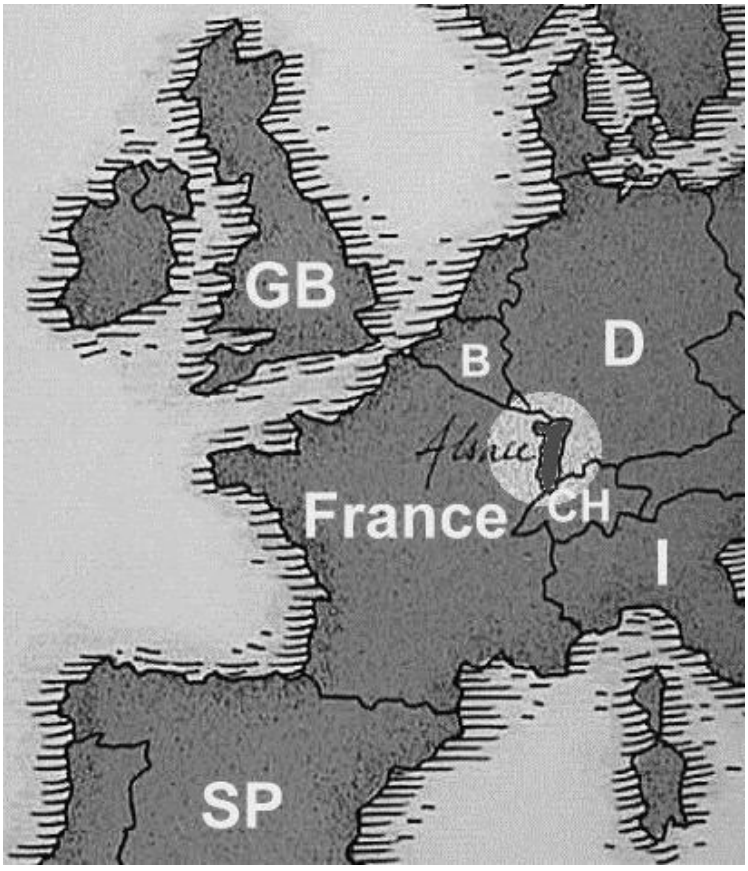
During the war the Nazis had gone to great lengths not to allow any hint of French into the people's speech. They would never have allowed a phrase such as "Gouverneur militaire de Strasbourg" to remain untranslated. Once liberated, the people attempted to dissociate themselves from their harsh former-occupiers by beginning to embrace the French language. They borrowed untranslatable French phrases, which is quite normal in situations of linguistic and cultural contact. However, the Alsatians, because of their intensely anti-German attitude, took it the extra step by borrowing translatable French phrases, which modified their own lexicon by replacing German equivalents.

In the process, the Alsatians compromised their own pre-war identity. The German-reading community began to disappear with the passage of generations. In spoken language, they used less and less of the dialect. While certainly not the only factor, the post-war, anti-Germanic sentiment was one of the major causes of the steady decline of the dialect throughout the second half of the 20th century. Before the war, the dialect was the primary spoken language of the majority of Alsatians and therefore, fundamental to their identity. Today, most of the younger generation cannot speak the

dialect at all. This unique, pre-World War II Alsatian culture has largely disappeared because of the Alsatians desire to Frenchify themselves after five awful years of German domination.

Alsace as a case study of language contact is interesting because of its complicated history of influences, which force Alsatians to constantly reroute its quest towards self-discovery. World War II has been the most recent turning point on this quest. The events of World War II, specifically the harsh Nazi rule, provoked a radical shift in Alsatian identity and have largely made that identity what it is today. The anti-German sentiment after the Liberation led Alsatians to prefer to be associated with France. They became more accepting of French cultural influence than they were of German cultural influence. This celebration of French cultural influences led to the rising dominance of the French language in Alsace. German-reading Alsatians became increasingly receptive of French linguistic influence. Not only did they become bilingual, but they also incorporated French phrases into their own lexicon, by replacing German equivalents. My data proves this point: the number of translatable French phrases was significantly greater than the number of German translatables and the total number of French borrowings was significantly greater than the total number of German borrowings. The Nazi plan of a German takeover had backfired due to its inconsistencies with popular sentiment and its harsh methods for carrying out its policies. Quite the opposite effect resulted: French took over.

Appendix A: Alsace Map



http://www.afg-2000.org/images/manuel_genealogiste/cartes/alsace.gif

http://www.ifrance.com/hconline/alsace/alsace.htm

Appendix B: T-tests (1-tail, equal variance)

Untranslatables		
	German Untranslatables in French Writing	*French Untranslatables in German Writing*
Mean	0.08936	0.09938
Variance	0.008204593	0.011008297
Observations	5	5
Pooled Variance	0.009606445	
Hypothesized Mean Difference	0	
df	8	
t Stat	-0.161642804	
P(T<=t) one-tail	0.437797471	
t Critical one-tail	1.85954832	
P(T<=t) two-tail	0.875594942	
t Critical two-tail	2.306005626	

Loans		
	German Loans in French Writing	*French Loans in German Writing*
Mean	0.02778	0.0362
Variance	0.003858642	0.002740295
Observations	5	5
Pooled Variance	0.003299469	
Hypothesized Mean Difference	0	
df	8	
t Stat	-0.231771538	
P(T<=t) one-tail	0.411266998	
t Critical one-tail	1.85954832	
P(T<=t) two-tail	0.822533996	
t Critical two-tail	2.306005626	

Quotes		
	German Quotes in French Writing	*French Quotes in German Writing*
Mean	0	0.0906
Variance	0	0.014398685
Observations	5	5
Pooled Variance	0.007199343	
Hypothesized Mean Difference	0	
df	8	
t Stat	-1.688308412	
P(T<=t) one-tail	0.064914306	
t Critical one-tail	1.85954832	
P(T<=t) two-tail	0.129828613	
t Critical two-tail	2.306005626	

Translatables		
	German Translatables in French Writing	*French Translatables in German Writing*
Mean	0.01684	0.19082
Variance	0.000622848	0.003876412
Observations	5	5
Pooled Variance	0.00224963	
Hypothesized Mean Difference	0	
df	8	
t Stat	-5.799810226	
P(T<=t) one-tail	0.000202625	
t Critical one-tail	1.85954832	
P(T<=t) two-tail	0.000405251	
t Critical two-tail	2.306005626	

Total Borrowings		
	Total German in French Writing	*Total French in German Writing*
Mean	0.13398	0.41694
Variance	0.018188732	0.045707103
Observations	5	5
Pooled Variance	0.031947918	
Hypothesized Mean Difference	0	
df	8	
t Stat	-2.503074489	
P(T<=t) one-tail	0.018382745	
t Critical one-tail	1.85954832	
P(T<=t) two-tail	0.036765491	
t Critical two-tail	2.306005626	

English Total Borrowings		
	English Borrowings in French Writing	*English Borrowings in German Writing*
Mean	0.01588	0.06094
Variance	0.000216972	0.007144608
Observations	5	5
Pooled Variance	0.00368079	
Hypothesized Mean Difference	0	
df	8	
t Stat	-1.174331395	
P(T<=t) one-tail	0.137016183	
t Critical one-tail	1.85954832	
P(T<=t) two-tail	0.274032365	
t Critical two-tail	2.306005626	

Appendix C: Complete List of Classified Data in Contexts

A. German Borrowings in French Writing

Amongst the five editions of the French newspapers, I analyzed approximately 14,020 words. Of these, I found 11 German borrowings. I have divided them into three categories: untranslatables, loans, and translatables

1. Untranslatables

There are 8 total instances of German untranslatable borrowing, including famous phrases, company names, and government and military titles. These phrases remain untranslated because they are well-known, distinctly German phrases, and some of their meaning would be lost in a French translation. Here are three examples:

(1) Sieg-Heil

"L'Allemagne est occupée dans sa totalité...on n'entend plus le chant de 'Horst Wessel', et les **'Sieg-Heil'**..." (27 mai, p. 1)

*"Germany is occupied in its totality…we no longer hear the Horst Wessel song and the **Sieg-Heil**'s…"*

Literally meaning "Hail Victory", this is a Nazi slogan and salute, similar to "Heil Hitler" (Michael and Doerr 2002). The closest French equivalent might be "la victoire est à nous" ("*Victory is ours"*). However, when translated, the phrase lacks the powerful connotations of Nazi language

(2) Führer "…parler au **Führer**." (31 mars, p. 1)

"…to speak to the **Führer**."

Literally meaning "leader", this became Hitler's official title during the Nazi reign. As a result of Hitler's infamy, the word "führer" has never been able to rid itself of this association with Hitler. This German word was accepted into several languages and was often used interchangeably with the name, Hitler. The closest translation into French might be "conducteur", but "Conducteur Hitler" does not invoke nearly the same emotion.

(3) Wehrmacht

"La Ruhr…a pratiquement cessé d'exister comme centre d'approvisionnement en matériel de guerre de la **Wehrmacht**." (31 mars, p. 1)

*"The Ruhr…practically ceased to exist as the supply center of war material for the **Wehrmacht**."*

Literally meaning "defense power", this refers to the Third Reich's armed forces (Michael and Doerr 2002). The closest possible equivalent in French is "armée Nazi" ("*Nazi army"*). This German term was well known by the French and conveyed a special sense of German-ness when untranslated.

(4) Kaiser

"…des générations entières de patriotes strasbourgeois...se moquaient du **Kaiser** et de ses valets..." (13 juillet, p. 1)

"…entire generations of Strasbourg patriots…made fun of the Kaiser and some of his henchmen…"

This could be translated into the French "empereur", but like "Führer", the German word invokes German nationalism and military history. Therefore, it remains untranslated.

(5) Volkssturm

"…la 3e armée américaine a capturé une brigade du **Volkssturm**." (31 mars, p. 1)

*"…the 3rd American army captured a brigade of the **Volkssturm**."*

Literally meaning "people storm", this is the name of the German people's militia instituted at very end of war (Michael and Doerr 2002). It is not quite as well-recognized as the "Wehrmacht", but is still distinctly German and difficult to translate.

(6) Völkischer Beobachter

"… écrit le '**Völkischer Beobachter**'…" (31 mars, p. 1)

*"…writes the '**Völkischer Beobachter**'…"*

Literally meaning the "People Observer", this was the Nazi Party newspaper. It is like a company name, therefore distinct to German and untranslatable.

(7) Nazi (5 août, p. 1)

This is the well known abbreviation for Hitler's Party, Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei (*National-Socialist German Workers' Party*). It could be translated into French as the "parti National Socialiste", but this phrase is so distinctly German, you cannot translate it.

(8) Werwolf

"…oeuvre de l'organisation du '**Werwolf**'..." (5 août, p. 1)

*"…work of the **Werwolf** organization…"*

This defense formation and unit of the Hitler Youth could be translated into French as "l'armée des loups" (*"wolf army"*), but loses its implied references to the Nazi organization.

2. Loans

There is only one instance of German loan borrowing, in which a German word has already assimilated into the French lexicon:

(1) leitmotiv

"Ces phrases, avec la régularité et même l'obsession d'un **leitmotiv**..." (13 juillet, p. 1)

*"These sentences, with the regularity and even the obsession of a **leitmotiv**…"*

This loan, which might be translated into English as "theme" and into French as "fil conducteur", had already entered the French language prior to World War II. It apparently filled some gap in the French lexicon or it was used to convey a certain tone. It is unclear whether speakers in 1945 were conscious of its German origin.

3. Translatables

There are two instances of German translatable borrowing. By replacing native equivalents, these phrases, which are not well known as distinctly German and therefore could have been translated, are changing the French lexicon.

(1) Strassenbahn

"Les '**Strassenbahn**diplomingenieure' venus de Karlsruhe…" (31 mars, p. 1)

*"The 'certified **Tram** engineers' from Karlsruhe…"*

"Strassenbahn" could have been translated into French as "tramway", which, coincidentally, is an American loan word, but has been assimilated into the French lexicon. The fact that it was used in a compound word whose other half was French shows a conscious effort to borrow instead of use a native equivalent. One can only hypothesize about why this was borrowed untranslated. It could be that German is used to invoke a sense of respect for these engineers who have been certified in Germany, particulary in Karlsruhe, which is well known for its metal industry. Or, it could be that German is used in an ironic or mocking manner. The writer could be poking fun at the specificity of these Germans' jobs. It is impossible

to know what sense of the borrowing the writer intended. Regardless, what is important is that the borrowing occurred and that it is having a linguistic effect on French.

(2) Wiese

"À son arrivée à la 'Kinziger **Wiese**' le général..." (5 août, p. 1)

*"Upon his arrival at 'Kinziger **Meadow**' the general…"*

"Wiese" could have been translated into the French "prairie". The German word is replacing the French equivalent in the lexicon. One could argue that "Wiese" wasn't translated because it was part of the place name "Kinziger Wiese". By this logic, for example, when translating "Delaware Valley", "valley" would remain in its original English since it is part of a place name. I could interpret it either way, but in order to be consistent throughout my analysis, I decided to consider descriptive words of an adjacent proper name or place name as separate from the name and therefore translatable. So, words like "Wiese" in "Kinziger Wiese", "Valley" in "Delaware Valley", and, as we will see later, "Général" in "Général de Gaulle" are all translatable.

B. French Words in German Articles

Amongst the German sections of the five bilingual papers, I analyzed approximately 11,820 words. Of these, I found 46 total French borrowings. I have divided them into four categories: untranslatables, loans, quotes, and translatables.

1. Untranslatables

There are 8 total instances of French untranslatable borrowing, including famous phrases, historical references, company names, and slogans. German speakers recognize these phrases as distinctly French. Here are three examples:

(3) Vive la France

There are three instances of this borrowing in the data. I've also included an instance in which this borrowing could have occurred but didn't.

(a) "...und die heute mit uns zusammen triumphieren. **Vive la France**!" (9 mai, p. 1)

"…and today we will triumph together. ***Vive la France****!"*

(b) "...und sein Schlusswort 'Ah, **vive la France**' hallte weithin über den Platz." (9 mai, p. 2)

"…and his closing words 'Ah, ***vive la France****' resonated throughout the Square."*[16]

(c) "ein beherztes '**Vive la France**' unter Familienangehörigen oder Freunden." (13 juillet, p. 1)

*"a courageous '****Vive la France****' under family or friends."*

(d) "...Es lebe General De Gaulle! **Es lebe Frankreich**!" (9 mai, p. 1)

"Long live General De Gaulle! ***Long live France****!"*

This was the translation of: "...Vive le général de Gaulle, **vive la France**." ("*Long live General De Gaulle!* ***Vive la France****"*).

This famous French phrase, whose closest equivalent in English might be "long live France", is often borrowed untranslated into several languages, including English. In (a), (b), and (c), it is clear that German speakers recognized this phrase as distinctly French and prefer to keep it as such.

Example (d) proves that not all untranslatables are invincible. As I said before, amongst untranslatables, there is a varying degree of translatability. This is largely dependent on the motivations of the speaker. This phrase is obviously very pro-French. The fact that it remains in the French when borrowed only adds to the pro-French message of the utterance. A German speaker who wishes to downplay this pro-French aspect, can at least translate the phrase into German. Again, one cannot be sure that this was the motivation for translation in this case. It could also have been that the writer did not think that his readers would be able to understand the phrase in the French. Nevertheless, the three instances in which this phrase remained untranslated prove that this is an untranslatable borrowing, well-known and accepted as distinctly French.

(4) 14 Juillet

"...**14 Juillet**..." (13 juillet, p. 1)

*"...****July 14****th****..."*

This is the date of the national French holiday celebrating the storming of the Bastille during the Revolution in 1789 and the birth of modern France. This phrase is technically not difficult to translate; in

[16] This example is also a quote, which reinforces the phrase's untranslatabilty. However, its untranslatability is mostly due to the well-known phrase within the quotation marks. Therefore, given the

German, it would be "14 Juli". However, the implications of this phrase are so distinctly French that translating it would betray its full meaning. Thus, it is untranslatable and proves an awareness of French cultural influence. A similar example in English is our use of the Spanish phrase "cinco de mayo" ("*May 5th*"). If we translated it into English, it would just be another date and we would miss its reference to the Mexican holiday.

(3) Banque de France

"…durch Vorschüsse der **Banque de France**…" (31 mars, p. 1)

*"…through advances from the **Banque de France**…"*

This is the name of a French bank, which was founded in 1800 and nationalized in 1945. I am considering company names untranslatables. A company created in France and recognized in other countries, is distinctly French, which therefore makes its name distinctly French. If it was translated to the German "Französische Bank", readers, who had come to recognize the French name, would question whether that really was the same company. An example of the untranslatability of company names in English is our use of the Hebrew name of the Israeli Airline "El Al". If we translated this name, we would not recognize it as referring to the company.

(4) Gnome et Rhône

"…beschloss die Regierung die Verstaatlichung der '**Gnome et Rhône**'-Werke." (9 mai, p. 1)

*"…the government decided on the nationalization of the '**Gnome et Rhône**' factory."*

Presumably the name of a factory by these two rivers, as a company name, it is untranslatable.

(5) Dieu et Patrie

"Lob unserer Scouts-'**Dieu et Patrie**'" (27 mai, p. 2)

*"…praise of our scouts-'**Dieu et Patrie**'"*

"Getreu ihrem Wahlspruch '**Dieu et Patrie**'…" (27 mai, p. 2)

*"their loyal campaign slogan '**Dieu et Patrie**'"*

This French slogan, meaning *"God and Countryland"*, invokes a sense of pride in France, which could not easily be invoked if the phrase was tranlsated into German.

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distinction I explained earlier between an untranslatable and a quote, this example more resembles an

2. Loans

There are 5 instances of French loan borrowing, in which a French word has already assimilated into the German lexicon. There are no German equivalents for these words, which is why they were originally borrowed. Here are three examples:

(1) Ensemble

"Pierre Germain mit seinem **Ensemble**…" (9 mai, p. 2)

*"Pierre Germain with his **Ensemble**…"*

"Ensemble" is a well-known French loan that is widely accepted in a variety of languages. In this case it refers to a group of accompanying musicians. The sense of this word cannot be conveyed in German as concisely, which is why it is a loan.

(2) Exposé

"Der Minister beendigt seine Rede mit einem **Exposé** über die zukünftigen Budgets." (31 mars, p. 1)

*"The Minister concludes his speech with an **exposé** on the future budgets."*

"Exposé" is another popular French loan, which has also been borrowed into English to refer to a sort of public revelation.

(3) Chansons

"…Festspiel der **Chansons** und des Rythmus…" (9 mai, p. 2)

*"…festival of **Chansons** and of rhythms…"*

A "chanson" is a particularly French genre of music. This borrowing could also be considered an untranslatable since its meaning is closely tied to French culture. However, since it is a single word, it is more easily assimilated to the borrowing lexicon. As it assimilates, speakers might forget that it is of French origin. This differentiates it from untranslatables, which remain obviously foreign. Therefore, I consider it a loan.

(4) Patisserie

"Verteilung von 100 Gramm **Patisserie**…" (9 mai, p. 2)

*"Allocation of 100 grams **Patisserie**…"*

In this case, "patisserie" refers to pastries, for which an equivalent does not exist in German.

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untranslatable.

(5) Coiffeur (9 mai, p. 2)

A “Coiffeur” is simply a hairdresser, but conveys a sense of “chic-ness” in French.

3. Quotes

There are 8 instances of French quote borrowing, including song lyrics, play titles, and quoted speech. Quotes are distinctly tied to the language of the speaker, but are not well-known phrases so they are usually translated. The quotes in my data remain untranslated and therefore, their use assumes the readers’ ability to code-switch from German to French. Here are a few examples:

(1) “Vous n’aurez pas l’Alsace et de Lorraine.”

“Die Kapelle der Légion spielte das ‘**Vous n’aurez pas l’Alsace et de Lorraine**’…” (9 mai, p. 2)

“The music group of the Legion *played the ‘**You will not have Alsace and Lorraine**’…”*

This is the title of a French song, composed in 1871 about resistance to Germanization in Alsace and Lorraine, which was presumably well-known in the region (Klein 2002). The title could have been translated into German as “Sie haben nicht Elsass und Lothringen” Because of the importance of speaker loyalty in quotes and mostly because of the rise in bilingualism at the time, this quote remains untranslated.

(2) V’là le printemps

“ ‘**V’là le printemps**’ im Union-Theater.” (9 mai, p. 2)

*“ ‘**Spring is here**’ in Union-Theater.”*

This is the title of a French play, which could be translated in German as “Es ist der Frühling”. Again, the quote remains untranslated to preserve the author’s authenticity, which assumes the readers’ code-switching ability.

(3) “Au revoir, M. le Maréchal”

“Laval grüsst den Angeklagten mit einem ‘**Au revoir, M. le Maréchal**’ und geht.” (5 août, p. 1)

*“Laval greets the defendant with a ‘**Goodbye, Mr. Marshal**’ and leaves.”*

Unlike the other quotes, which were written titles or song lyrics, this example is presumably a direct quote from an unscripted spoken utterance. However, it is similarly translatable and assumes code-switching. It could be translated in German as “Auf Wiedersehen, Herr Marschall”.

(4) “Liberté, liberté chérie”

(5) “de la tyrannie l’étendard sanglant”

“Seine Gegenüberstellung ‘**de la tyrannie l’étendard sanglant**’ der ersten Strophe mit dem Beginn der anderen Strophe ‘**Liberté, liberté chérie**’…” (13 juillet, p. 1)

*“His opposition ‘**from the tyranny the bloody flag**’ of the first verse with the beginning of the other verse ‘**liberty, dear liberty**’…”*

These are lyrics from the French national anthem, untranslated to preserve speaker authenticity.

(6) (3 French film titles whose names I didn’t write down) (9 mai, p. 2).

Untranslated for the same reason as the play title.

4. Translatables

There are 25 total instances of French translatable borrowing, including governmental and military titles, committee names, and little-known phrases. These untranslated translatable borrowings reveal a changing lexicon and a favorable attitude towards foreign influence. Here are some examples:

(1) Général

“**Général** de Lattre de Tassigny…” (5 août, p. 1)

*“**General** de Lattre de Tassigny [name]…”*

This word can be easily translated into German as “General” (without the accents). Unlike “Führer”, the term “General” is not distinct to any one language. Therefore, we would expect the German translation, just like in English we would expect the English translation of “Presidente” when talking about the Spanish president. Since it is not distinct and is translatable and still it is untranslated, it is clear the foreign phrase is affecting the borrowing lexicon

Interestingly, this was the only untranslated occurrence of this word. “General” appears several times in the data, always in German, except for this one time. Even within this same article and referring to this same person, de Lattre de Tassigny, the German “General” is used. The phrase is obviously translatable and usually is, indeed, translated, however, in this one instance the speaker shows a preference for the French version.

(2) directeur du cabinet du Commissaire de la République

“Wolf, **directeur du cabinet du Commissaire de la République**...” (5 août, p. 1)

*"Wolf [name], **director of the cabinet of the Commissioner of the Republic**…"*

This phrase can be translated into German as "Kabinetsdirektor vom Republikskommissar".[17] No meaning would be lost in the translation since it is not well known as a distinctly French phrase. Yet, the speakers choose the untranslated French over their native equivalent. Due to the length of this phrase, it also assumes the readers' code-switching ability.

(3) Gouverneur militaire de Strasbourg

"…General du Vigier, **Gouverneur militaire de Strasbourg**, begrüsste." (5 août, p. 1)

*"…General du Vigier [name], **Military governor of Strasbourg**, (was) welcomed."*

German translation would be "Strazburgs Militärgouverneur".

(4) Légion

"Die Kapelle der **Légion**…" (9 mai, p. 2)

*"The music group of the **Legion**…"*

"…vor dem Musikkorps der **Légion**." (9 mai, p. 1)

*"…in front of the music group of the **Legion**."*

German translation would be "Legion".

(5) Commissaire regional

"…mit **Commissaire regional** Blondel…" (9 mai, p. 2)

"…with Regional commissioner Blondel [name]…"

German translation would be "Regional Kommissar".

(6) Capitaine

"…sprache **Capitaine** Jacques d'Alsace…" (9 mai, p. 2)

*"…**Captain** Jacques d'Alsace [name] spoke…"*

German translation would be "Kapitän".

(7) Maire

"…der Strassburger **Maire**…" (13 juillet, p. 1)

"…the Strasbourg mayor…"

German translation would be "Bürgermeister".

(8) Inspecteur Général de l'Armée

"…***General Inspector of the Army***…" (5 août, p. 1)

German translation would be "Armee Generalinspektor".

(9) Prefet du Bas-Rhin

"…***Prefecture of the Bas-Rhin***…" (5 août, p. 1)

German translation would be "Prefekt der Bas-Rhin".

(10) Campagne du Retour

"…zugunsten der Heimkehrer durch Schaffung einer '**Campagne du Retour**'." (27 mai, p. 1)

*"…in support of the homecoming through the creation of a '**Repatriation Campaign**'."*

This is a little-known phrase, which is not distinctly French. It could have been translated into German as "Heimkerskampagne".

(11) Société Artistique et Littéraire

"Die **Société Artistique et Littéraire** '*La Fontaine*' bringt dem Strassburger Publikum…" (9 mai, p. 2)

*"The **Artistic and Literary Society** '*La Fontaine*' brings the Strasbourg audience…"*

This is the name of a little-known society in France. Though somewhat similar to a company name, this phrase is translatable because a similarly-titled equivalent non-French society could exist. Therefore, the name is not distinctly French and is easily translatable. It could have been translated into German as "Kulturverein".

(12) Comité *des* Cercle d'Escrimes

"Das provisorische **Comité** des **Cercle d'Escrimes** behandelte..." (9 mai, p. 2)

*"The provisional **Committee** of the **Group of Fencers** handled…"*

This phrase could have been translated into German as "Komitee des Fechtverein". This and the following example are probably the most significant data because they show real linguistic effect at work. Whereas earlier examples of translatables, such as example (2), are evidence of bilingualism in Alsace, these examples show French lexical borrowings that are actually being assimilated into German speech. Instead of keeping the full French phrase intact, "Comité de la Cercle d'Escrimes", the writer translates the French "de la" ("of the") into the German "des". By breaking up this phrase, the French components, "Comité"

[17] French Professor Koffi Anyinefa, who is fluent in both French and German, provided most of these

and “Cercle d’Escrimes” become more similar to loans. So, instead of keeping the languages distinct in phrases, as one does in code-switching, the speaker is assimilating the borrowed words into his language. Of all the data, this most clearly shows the acceptance of foreign linguistic influence. German speakers are allowing French translatable borrowings to fully enter their lexicon.

(13) Equipe de France

“Grosser Fussballerfolg der ‘**Equipe de France**’” (27 mai, p. 1)

*“Big soccer following of the ‘**French team**’”*

German translation would be “Französische Mannschaft”.

(14) Entr’Aide Française

“…der **Entr’Aide Française** an die Landbevölkerung.” (27 mai, p. 2)

*“…the **French aid** to the countrypeople.”*

German translation would be “Französische Hilfe”.

(15) Comité de Confiscation

“… ‘**Comité de Confiscation**’ üben jetzt auf dem…” (31 mars, p. 1)

*“… ‘**Confiscation Committee**’ to practice now on the…”*

German translation would be “Komitee Konfiskation”.

(16) 1ère Armée Française

“…defilierte die **1ère Armée Française** zum letzten Male…” (5 août, p. 1)

*“…the **French First Army** marched past for the last time…”*

Not as well-known as German military references, so still translatable. German translation would be “Erste Französische Armee”.

(17) Délégation du Ministère de la Reconstruction et de l’Urbanisme

“...Freigabe von Materialien die **Délégation du Ministère de la Reconstruction et de l’Urbanisme**.” (5 août, p. 2)

*“…release of material from the **Delegation of the Minister of Urban Reconstruction**.”*

German translation would be “Delegation vom Rekonstruktion und Urbanismus Ministerium”.

(18) Centre *des* Repatriement

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hypothetical German translations.

"…der **Centre** des **Repatriement**…" (27 mai, p. 2)

*"…the **Center** of **Repatriation [Repatriation Center]**…"*

As in the previous example, parts of this phrase are translated, which better assimilates the untranslated parts into the borrowing language. The full French phrase would be "Centre de Repatriement", but the "de" is Germanized into "des". Again, this shows German speakers' willingness to incorporate French borrowings into their lexicon, despite the prior existence of German equivalents.

(19) Prix de la Libération

"Der Leiter der Sektion, R. Hausknecht, bereitet ein grosses Rennen, gennant **Prix de la Libération**, vor." (9 mai, p. 2)

*"The leader of the section, R. Hausknecht, is preparing a big race, named **Prize of the Liberation**."*

German translation would be "Preis der Befreiung".

(20) Feuille Semestrielle de Coupons

"…der **Feuille Semestrielle de Coupons**…" (5 août, p. 2)

*"…der **quarterly handout of coupons**…"*

German translation would be "halbjährliches Couponblatt".

(21) Campagne Nationale du Retour

"Anlässlich der '**Campagne Nationale du Retour**' hielt H. Frenay eine Radio-ansprache." (27 mai, p. 1)

*"On the occasion of the '**National Repatriation Campaign**' H. Frenay held a radio address."*

German translation would be "Heimkerskampagne Nazionale".

(22) Premier Pas Dunlop

"…vertritt das Elsass beim '**Premier Pas Dunlop**'…" (9 mai, p. 2)

*"…represent the Alsatians by '**First Step Dunlop**'…"*

German translation would be "Erster Dunlop-Schritt".

(23) Bons de la Libération

"… '**Bons de la Libération**…jederzeit einlösbar." (31 mars, p. 1)

*"… '**Liberation vouchers**'…redeemable anytime."*

German translation would be "Bons des Befreiung".

(24) Cinémas

"Strassburger **Cinémas**…" (9 mai, p. 2)

*"Strasbourg **Cinémas**…"*

German translation would be "Kinos".

C. English in French articles

(1) War Room

"…le général Eisenhower a prononcé dans le **War Room**…" (9 mai, p. 1)

*"…General Eisenhower spoke in the **War Room**…"*

(2) music-hall

"…ce spectacle de **music-hall**…" (27 mai, p. 2)

*"…this **music-hall** show…"*

(3) trusts

"…défendre les droits du peuple contre les puissants, contre les '**trusts**', comme l'on dit aujourd'hui." (5 août, p. 1)

*"…defend the people's rights against the powers, against the '**trusts**', as they are called these days."*

D. English in German articles

(1) God save the King

" 'Vorwärts, Engländer, es lebe die Sache der Freiheit, **God save the King**.'" (9 mai, p. 1)

*" 'Forwards, Englishmen, freedom lives, **God save the King**.'"*

"…von den Musikkapellen gespielt, die Nationalhymnen der Alliierten, das **God save the King**, die amerikanische und die russische Hymne." (9 mai, p. 2)

*"…from the music chapel played the national anthems of the Allies, the **God save the King**, the American and the Russian anthem."*

English national anthem.

(2) War Room

"…General Eisenhower im **War Room** des alliierten…" (9 mai, p. 1)

*"…General Eisenhower in the **War Room** of the Allies…"*

(3) *Tag* 'V'

"Strassburg feiert den tag '**V**'." (9 mai, p. 1)

*"Strasbourg celebrates '**V**' day."*

"…ein ewig denkwürdiger Tag, der Tag V…" (9 mai, p. 1)

*"…an eternal thoughtworthy day, the **V** day…"*

The 'V' refers to the English "victory". This is a reference to May 8, 1945, what is called V.E. Day in English and stands for "victory in Europe". The Germans borrowed the 'V' to also stand for the English word "victory". The German word for "victory" is "Sieg", so this is clearly a borrowing.

(4) Labour-Party

"Wichtiger Kongress der **Labour-Party**" (27 mai, p. 1)

*"Important Congress of the **Labour-Party**"*

(5) Labour

"…die **Labour** Partei…" (27 mai, p. 1)

*"…the **Labour** Party…"*

British political party.

(6) Premier

(7) Lord

"…Churchill, der '**Premier**' bleibt, ist auch weiterhin Erster **Lord** des..." (27 mai, p. 1)

*"…Churchill, remains the **Premier**, and furthermore is the first **Lord** of the…"*

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