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BEYOND MONOLINGUAL VIEWS: THE LANGUAGE IDEOLOGIES OF MULTILINGUALS ON ANGLICISMS IN FRENCH AND GERMAN

This article investigates the perceptions of anglicisms—English borrowings in other languages—among L1' French speakers with German as an L2', challenging the prevailing monolingual lens in language ideological research. The analysis of interview data shows three dominant language ideologies. First, an *ideology of neutralization* is present in German, with anglicisms being more accepted and unmarked in German (L2') compared to French (L1'), reflecting a greater openness in the second language and a protective attitude toward linguistic purity in the first language. Second, the *ideology of linguistic elitism* sees the use of English words in French as a form of social distinction or an attempt to appear fashionable. Third, the *ideology of linguistic ambivalence* reflects the tension between resistance and globalization in multilingual contexts, as opposing anglicisms is viewed as contradictory with a multilingual identity and foreign influences. Finally, the study highlights that the *ideology of naturalness* leads to language ideological phenomena being viewed as unmarked in the L2', whereas changes are more often resisted in the L1'. This disparity emphasizes the need for further contrastive sociolinguistic research on how multilingual contexts and migration shape evolving language ideologies.

Keywords: language ideologies ◆ anglicisms ◆ globalization ◆ interviews ◆ French ◆ German

Introduction

In a global and mobile world, languages are fluid resources whose boundaries are not fixed—at least in the communication practices of people (Blommaert, 2010). Yet discourses and ideologies inspired by the nation-state construct of "one language, one nation" challenge the flow that characterizes human interactions (Wright, 2004). When it comes to English, a global lingua franca

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and the most widely spoken L2 in the world (Buschfeld et al., 2023; Cappuzzo, 2024; Jenkins, 2009), a growing awareness of the diversity of World Englishes (Rubdy et al., 2021) goes hand in hand with threats of dominance (Pennycook, 2007). Discourses around the use of English in communities where English is nondominant still revolve around the ideas of "pollution" (Walsh, 2014), or "invasion" (Deneire & Forlot, 2024, p. 233; Kettemann, 2002; Léopold, 2021). Most research on anglicisms—simply said, English borrowings in languages or varieties other than (standard) English—indeed shows that people are critical of the perceived used of "foreign words" sounding or looking English in many communities (see Courbon & Paquet-Gauthier, 2015; Deboffe, 2016 for France and Francophone Switzerland; Dodd, 2015; Elchacar, 2019 for French-speaking Canada; Palliwoda & Sauer, 2022, p. 71 for an overview of the discourse around German in Europe; Pfalzgraf, 2005, 2019; Truslove, 2020 regarding the Germany-based discourse).

Quite paradoxically however, the research on a prime phenomenon of language contact and language transfer remains investigated through a monolingual lens (Truan, 2024). This article precisely aims at challenging this view by offering a new perspective on how anglicisms are perceived by L1'[1] speakers of French who have migrated to Germany in adulthood and acquired German along the way. The analysis informs our understanding not only of how anglicisms may hold different values in different communities, but also of the possible shift in language ideologies that the multilingual experience may bring. Beyond the case study on anglicisms, the article underscores the importance of studying the differing language ideologies multilinguals may have in their many languages and varieties. Specifically, I examine whether different language ideologies emerge in their L1' and L2' and if these ideologies transfer between languages.

The next section provides a theoretical background on anglicisms as part of ideological resistance in French- and German-speaking contexts. I then outline the methodology and present the data consisting of 25 interviews with French-speaking women in Berlin. The analysis highlights three ideologies: neutralization of anglicisms in German, linguistic elitism regarding anglicisms in French, and linguistic ambivalence in multilingual contexts, reflecting a tension between resistance and globalization. Ultimately, I suggest that the *ideology of naturalness* leads to language ideological phenomena being viewed as unmarked in the L2', whereas changes are more often resisted in the L1'. This disparity emphasizes the need for further contrastive sociolinguistic research on how multilingual contexts and migration shape evolving language ideologies.

[1] I adopt the notation *L1'* to represent the various understandings of what "counts" as an L1 for the interviewees while engaging with the ideological construct of L1.

Language contact and ideological resistance: Anglicisms in French-speaking and German-speaking contexts

Anglicisms from lexical considerations to ideologies

Despite various efforts, there is no clear definition of *anglicism*[2] (Burmasova, 2010, p. 32). A broad definition describes anglicisms as "any phenomenon in the native language, here German, based on transfer from English" (Busse, 2001, p. 134, my translation). Examples include words like *cool*, or phrases like *es macht Sinn* (German) and *ça fait sens* (French) from *it makes sense*. Anglicisms range from fully integrated or conventionalized loanwords that have integrated into the target language and are no longer perceived as "foreign" (thus, may be seen as anglicisms only from a diachronic perspective), to borrowings in the process of conventionalization, and finally anglicisms used as quotation word in specific cases or in relation to English-speaking countries (Yang, 2010, p. 9).

Studies have traditionally focused on the frequency and types of anglicisms, their integration into target languages, and the reactions of so-called "native speakers". Most research examines anglicisms at the lexical level, often in printed media (Burmasova, 2010; Yang, 2010), which offers a convenient platform on current language use partly perceived as authoritative (see Schaefer, 2024 for German radio). Corpus-based studies on French suggest that the notion of French being "contaminated" by English is unfounded (Bogaards, 2008; Saugera, 2017), and research on German reaches the same conclusions, even if for instance more anglicisms (tokens) were in use in the newspaper *Die Welt* in 2004 than in 1994 (Burmasova, 2010, p. 212). Anglicisms often occur in specialized contexts: business (Buysschaert, 2009), advertizing (Rech, 2015), sports (Bernard-Béziade & Attali, 2012), or youth language (Drange, 2009; Klapuchová, 2020; Schuring & Zenner, 2022), where they carry prestige (Fischer, 2008, p. 2).

When used analytically, the term *anglicism* presents an objectivizing perspective on language (Courbon & Paquet-Gauthier, 2015, p. 144). However, as an ideological tool, it often reflects a declinist, alarmist view, particularly in French (see section "Attitudes toward anglicisms in French and dominantly French-speaking communities"). Following a "socio-pragmatic turn" (Zenner et al., 2019, p. 1), anglicisms are seen as "socially meaningful acts" driven by stylistic choices that signal social differences (Coupland, 2007, p. 1). This article views anglicisms as an ideological construct through which language ideologies, defined as "sets of beliefs about

[2] Anglicisms can sometimes be distinguished from Americanisms. However, I use *anglicism* as an umbrella term for all language phenomena related to any variety of English (Busse, 2001, p. 134), as distinguishing between American and British English origins of loanwords in European languages is generally inconsistent (Görlach, 2004, p. 3).

language articulated by users as a rationalization or justification of perceived language structure and use" (Silverstein, 1979, p. 193) are formed.

While language ideologies and attitudes are often distinguished (Kircher & Zipp, 2022, p. 7), many studies use both terms together (Morek, 2018; Young, 2014). Both language attitudes and language ideologies explore how lay representations of language are articulated and embedded in social life, often beyond individual awareness. Language attitudes are psychological constructs related to responses to languages or speech styles (Garrett, 2010; Vandermeeren, 2006). In contrast, language ideologies are broader, involving power, politics, and social action, and reflect partial visions of the world (Gal & Irvine, 2019). This distinction, however, is not clear-cut, as attitudes are also analyzed at the social level (Garrett, 2006), and ideologies penetrate everyday practices (Gal & Irvine, 2019). Rather than treating these as separate units, we suggest viewing them as interwoven levels of analysis (Truan & Jahns, 2024, pp. 5–6), shaped by scholarly traditions (Stegu, 2024), and intersecting scales of power and practice (Blommaert, 2007), underlying how this micro/macro distinction may be an ideological construct itself (Spitzmüller, 2022; Truan & Jahns, 2024). In this article, I use *language ideologies* instead of *attitudes* because it emphasizes how power systems are organized (Cavanaugh, 2020, p. 55). This perspective acknowledges that individual views on language are embedded in structures of power and oppression that shape what is considered relevant or natural.

Attitudes toward anglicisms in French and dominantly French-speaking communities

According to the "World Language System" (De Swaan, 2010), languages are hierarchically organized, with English as a "hypercentral language", dominating others like a "black hole", while French, German, and languages like Arabic, Chinese, and Spanish are "supercentral". Though English's role as a global lingua franca seems uncontested today, it is a relatively recent phenomenon (Mair, 2019, p. 13). Despite their similar status to English, French and German communities perceive English's role differently.

French-speaking communities largely resist anglicisms, viewing them as threats to the integrity of the French language. Most research on anglicisms focuses on France, Switzerland, Belgium, and Québec, emphasizing nation-based ideologies that tie languages to the areas in which they are official or dominant (see section "A critical gap in the research on anglicisms"), with a notable lack of research on French speakers in overseas departments and African countries. Since most interviewees were educated in France before moving to Germany (see section "Participants' selection and description"), the literature review centers on France.

One reason for the reluctance toward anglicisms in France is the country's "moderate" English proficiency, ranking 43rd out of 113 in the 2023 Education First English Proficiency Index. French adults consistently show lower English skills compared to other Europeans, earning France the label of the "black sheep" in Europe (Deneire & Forlot, 2024, p. 231). Historically prestigious as the language of diplomacy, French has lost some of its influence, leading to a "crisis of French" (Adamson, 2007, pp. xi–xx; cited in Walsh, 2015, p. 28). English, seen as holding the prestige French once had, is viewed as a competitor, with French perceived as "threatened and menaced by change" (Walsh, 2015, pp. 28–29).

Another explanation is that French speakers in France would be particularly purist—with the Académie française being the epitome of it. For this reason, France "has long been seen as an exception" (Humbley, 2008, p. 85). While this view is commonly held, the reality is more nuanced, first because the Académie française "does not play the central role in dictating how people should think and behave in relation to French as suggested by popular Anglophone discourse" (Estival & Pennycook, 2011, p. 330)[3]; second because quantitative findings based on questionnaires show that, contrary to expectations, French respondents are less purist than their Québécois counterparts when it comes to anglicisms (Walsh, 2014).

Language ideological phenomena often work as a proxy for political views, with e.g. English borrowings and gender-inclusive language perceived as external influences—possibly from the USA—that disrupt the perceived harmony, coherence, and traditional meanings of the "native" language. This view aligns with a conservative or purist ideology that resists changes seen as foreign impositions, with globalization being blamed for unwanted and arguably unnecessary language contact and change (Ben-Rafael, 2008, p. 44).

Recent studies, however, suggest that French interventionist language policies do not fully capture the nuanced attitudes toward English borrowings. Sociolinguistic factors such as region and age significantly influence these perceptions. For example, research on high school students in Amiens (France) and Lausanne (Switzerland) found that young people generally have a positive attitude toward *franglais* ('Frenglish') with no significant differences between French and Swiss teenagers (Deboffe, 2016, p. 103).

To sum up, French-speaking institutions have continuously resisted the use of anglicisms, but the effects of top-down policies are relatively limited, and language ideologies toward anglicisms need to be nuanced, with younger generations showing more acceptance.

[3] Ben-Rafael (2008, p. 50) also speaks of a "substantial gap" between the prescriptive stance of the Académie française and people's attitudes toward anglicisms.

Attitudes toward anglicisms in German and dominantly German-speaking communities

Research on language contact, particularly concerning anglicisms in German, reveals a similar bias when it comes to the most widely studied community, namely Germans/Germany, with rarer studies on Switzerland or Austria (Moraldo, 2008). A commonly held view is that German would be more welcoming of anglicisms than French: "Most sources point to a higher influence of anglicisms in German than in French" (Humbley, 2008, p. 102). A comparison of anglicisms in advertisements in French and German shows that in the early 2000s, language preservation efforts in Germany focused primarily on the general development of the German language and not, like in France, mainly on combating English influence (Kupper, 2003, p. 68). Kupper's analysis (2003, p. 119) of advertisements in the German weekly magazine *Der Spiegel* (1976 and 2001) vs. the French counterpart *Nouvel Observateur* (1976, 1977, and 2001) showed that there are generally more anglicisms in German than in French, both in 1976 and 2001.

Despite anglicisms being proportionally more frequent in German, most German speakers who participated in public discourse between 1990 and 2001 were critical of anglicisms and perceive borrowings as a negative trend in language change (Spitzmüller, 2005, p. 363). More recently, the term *anglicism* has been seen as restrictive, as shown by Androutsopoulos (2013, p. 215) suggesting "English on top" as a versatile discourse strategy and Hunt (2022, p. 12) demonstrating that unadapted English borrowings in German media in Australia can reflect local color and cater to multilingual audiences.

Research on the perception of English borrowings in German reveals mixed views. On the basis of 215 questionnaires, Altleitner (2007) found predominantly positive or neutral attitudes. A more comprehensive survey by the Gesellschaft für deutsche Sprache (Hoberg et al., 2008, pp. 37–38) based on 1,820 people aged 16 and over selected representatively showed that opinions were split (39% are bothered by anglicisms, 40% are not), with younger respondents and people with a higher English proficiency more accepting of anglicisms. Schmidlin (2008) and Gärtig et al. (2010) further identified regional differences, with East Germans generally more critical toward English. A notable finding from Gärtig et al. (p. 263) is that while most respondents (61.8%) viewed the idea of English becoming the sole workplace language negatively, this sentiment was less strong among those expecting economic improvement or feeling less nationalistic.

Typical sociolinguistic personae associated with the use of anglicisms in German are young people exhibiting high social status, while typical domains are pleasure and luxury (Altleitner, 2007). Rocco (2014, p. 144; cited in Cohrs, 2017, p. 10) found that students generally associated anglicisms in German with positive attributes, such as being "youthful", "easy-going", and "competent", though some also perceived them negatively, describing them as "snobbish" and

"incompetent". Garley (2019) explores the perceptions of anglicisms in contexts associated with non-standard language varieties such as hip hop and youth language. Anglicisms in these varieties are often linked to lower social classes, German speakers with migrant backgrounds, or youth culture, positioning them as opposites to the "hypermobile elite" (Heyd & Schneider, 2019, p. 149) and the ideal of the orderly, upper-middle class (Garley, 2019, p. 124). There is a pervasive ideology that the use of anglicisms, especially by these groups, poses a threat to the German language, potentially leading to its decline or even extinction. Despite this concern, hip hop fans and artists recognize the communicative and social benefits of anglicisms (Garley, 2019, p. 125). However, frequent use by certain demographics is viewed negatively, perceived as a sign of lack of education or as inauthentic attempts by the media to appeal to specific audiences. Edwards and Fuchs' study (2018) comparing Dutch and German attitudes toward English also revealed that socioeconomic characteristics were more reliable predictors of attitudes than nationality. In both the Netherlands and Germany, younger, urban, and more highly educated individuals were more likely to have positive views of English.

A critical gap in the research on anglicisms

Previous research on anglicisms still implicitly relies on a nation-based and monolingual bias, for instance by focusing on "monolingual French speakers, [that are] of French nationality and [that are] resident in France" in the data collection (Walsh, 2015, p. 36). The idea here is not to pinpoint a particular methodology, as the issue is pervasive across linguistics and leads to the systematic exclusion of multilinguals and mobile people (Truan, 2024), but to highlight pitfalls in this restrictive approach.

First, self-reported data, especially when it comes to multilingualism, systematically leads to the erasure (Irvine & Gal, 2000) and exclusion of multilinguals who may not see themselves as such because their "other" language(s) are not as prestigious as French, or because they rely on the assumption that multilinguals use their different languages perfectly and to the same extent (Grosjean, 2020, p. 13).

Second, such exclusion criteria replicate a nation-based ideology that correlates linguistic proficiency and nationality. It has not been shown to this date why people who have French as a first language, live in France, but may not hold the French nationality, for instance, should exhibit different language ideologies on the basis of their nationality only. (This is not to say that the educational system as well as the public discourse have no impact on how people think. Rather, the question is why holding the French citizenship would be more determining than *living* in the country.) And what about monolingual French speakers, who are also French citizens, but may be temporarily living abroad at the time of the survey? Have they stopped thinking about French,

or do linguists implicitly assume that the migration experience, no matter how short or long, is so impactful that it calls for a different analysis of the data? Conversely, the possible influence of other languages on the perception of anglicisms by French speakers remains systematically underinvestigated for the very same reasons.

This article aims to expand the understanding of anglicisms to multilinguals. Foreign-language learners often strive to approximate native-speaker norms, frequently doing so below the level of conscious awareness (Davydova et al., 2017, p. 809). This observation raises questions about the transfer of language ideologies between languages, particularly whether negative attitudes toward certain linguistic phenomena in the L1' are carried over to the L2'. Previous research on gender-inclusive language suggests that such transfers occur from the L2' to the L1', thus emphasizing the decisive role of multilingual practices (Truan, 2025b). For instance, several interviewees reported first encountering and adopting gender-inclusive language in German (their L2') before integrating these practices into their French (L1'). This indicates that language ideologies may migrate across linguistic boundaries. Do anglicisms exhibit similar patterns, or do they remain rooted in the context of the original language? This is precisely the question this article addresses, drawing on interview data.

Data and methods: Interviews with French-speaking women living in Berlin

Exploring language ideologies in interaction

Language ideologies are often expressed not only through explicit statements but also through the way people use language in interactions (Liebscher & Dailey-O'Cain, 2009). Interviews are a valuable tool for investigating language ideologies, offering participants a chance to share detailed personal experiences. The semi-structured interviews followed a narrative approach, starting with an open question on the role of languages and multilingualism. Subsequent questions were tailored to the biographical milestones mentioned by the interviewees, covering their experiences with learning German, proficiency, confidence, and language practices. Discussions also included current language debates, such as those on anglicisms or gender-inclusive language (Truan, 2025a), prompted either by the participants or through open-ended questions about their interest in language issues. The transcription of the data was completed by myself and two student assistants, Jun An Chen and Mathilde Mondo. We inductively categorized extracts based on recurring themes such as L1'/L2'/L3', school, France, Germany, French, German, English, gender-inclusive language, anglicisms, accents, and multilingualism. Following their pseudonymization if wanted by the participants, the interview transcripts are available in open access (Truan, 2025c).

Participants' selection and description

The findings are based on 25 interviews with French-speaking women recruited via a Facebook private group targeted at the Francophone community in Berlin. 23 out of 25 participants had grown up in France; two in the French-speaking part of Switzerland. Despite offering the option to conduct interviews in French, English, or German, all took place in French. This was likely because French is the first language of all participants, including myself, and the initial Facebook post was in French. At the time of the interviews, my background as a French-Swiss national who learned German in school and moved to Berlin in my twenties mirrored that of many interviewees. As a white, educated woman with a university degree, I belong to the core group of French nationals in Berlin. This shared background positively impacted the interviews, as participants often saw me as familiar with their experiences and assumed my understanding of the French way of living without needing to explain it.

All interviewees know French and German. They learned French by age 12, often at home, and consider it their "native language" or "mother tongue". They acquired German in Germany, though most had some prior exposure or schooling in it. Seven of the 25 interviewees learned French alongside other home languages, while two acquired it after moving to France due to war at ages 8-9 and 12. Though not strictly their L1', my focus is on lived experiences (see footnote 1). The group was largely homogenous, reflecting the profile of the French population and their high socio-economic status (Duchêne-Lacroix & Koukoutsaki-Monnier, 2016): 23 were white, 1 Black, and 1 Brown (South Slav).

The interviewees, aged 18 to over 75, have lived in Berlin for six months to 40 years. Their German proficiency ranges from intermediate (B2) to very proficient (C2), except for one beginner (A2). This reflects surveys showing that the French in Berlin generally possess high cultural capital and strong German skills (Duchêne-Lacroix & Koukoutsaki-Monnier, 2016, p. 140). Most interviewees work in office jobs and have pursued university studies, often in culture and education, aligning with previous findings that French individuals frequently complete higher education, mostly in France (*ibid*).

All interviewees are women, likely due to the makeup of the Facebook group from which they were recruited. Though the group's membership has evolved, it has mainly been used by women. As of June 2022, the first rule states it is "open to men only if they offer a service to the community" and notes most members are "feminist". However, I will avoid centering gender in the analysis unless it is constructed as interactionally salient by the interviewees themselves.

The ideology of neutralization

The integration of borrowings may be met by an *ideology of naturalness*, which "emphasize[s] that borrowing is natural, present in all languages, and can enrich the language" (Portugal & Nonnenmacher, 2024, pp. 345–346). This acceptance of or indifference toward anglicisms does not, however, apply to all the languages used by the interviewees. Contrary to other studies highighting e.g. the "naturalness and unconsciousness of mixing languages" among multilinguals (Wang & Xu, 2024, p. 5), French speakers with L2' German view anglicisms as neutralized, i.e. unmarked, and more naturally integrated in German, where they are more frequent and better accepted than in French (Humbley, 2008, p. 102; Kupper, 2003, p. 119). This difference of treatment regarding the integration of foreign words in the L1' or L2' can be described as an *ideology of neutralization*, through which the use of anglicisms in the L2' is perceived as "neutral":

(1) Cécile, ~ 40 years old, in Berlin since 2019 (French/English/German)

1	CECILE	usually expressions like chillen ['chill' in German]
2		no for me it's even ((sighs)) it's not even adding [something in English]
3		I was speaking in English **if it's in the language of the Germans** I was using [it]

1	*CECILE*	*d'habitude des expressions comme chillen ['se détendre' en allemand, de l'anglais chill]*
2		*non pour moi c'est même ((soupirs)) c'est même pas ajout*
3		*je parlais en anglais **si c'est dans le langage des Allemands** j'utilisais*

Cécile reflects on the loan verb *chillen,* a German borrowing from English *chill* with no semantic shift in German. Her sigh may suggest that she does not see anglicisms as special (line 2), although the Duden dictionary[4] reports it as familiar (*umgangssprachlich*) and typical for youth language (*Jugendsprache*) in its meaning "to calm down". The verb has been attested as a German verbal anglicism in a social media corpus only recently (Coats, 2018). Interestingly, this form was notably part of a discussion on anglicisms that received a great deal of media attention in 2010, when then-transportation minister Ramsauer, leading an anti-anglicism campaign, referenced it in a critique of English borrowings, while also acknowledging that *chillen* specifically belongs to "normal youth language" (*normale Jugendsprache*)[5]. Instead, the interviewee implies that using such anglicisms feels almost automatic or expected in German.

The expression "the language of the Germans" (line 3), which sounds unidiomatic or convoluted in French, is intriguing because it subtly distances her from the German language, framing it as something that belongs to others rather than something she fully identifies with. It implies that when she uses anglicisms, she is not just adopting a term but also conforming to a linguistic

[4] https://www.duden.de/rechtschreibung/chillen, accessed on 04.09.2024.

[5] From https://www.stern.de/politik/deutschland/verkehrsminister-ramsauer--natuerlich-chillen-meine-toechter--3898442.html, accessed on 17.12.2024. Thank you to an insightful reviewer for allowing me to expand on the social meanings of *chillen* and sharing this link with me.

practice she sees as distinctly German. This phrasing may suggest that the apparent ease in using anglicisms in German does not only relate to a more frequent use in the target language, but also to emotional detachment in the L2', in which anglicisms do not carry personal connotations.

The neutralization of anglicisms of German is reinforced by their use in teaching, where figures of authority also switch to English. The interviewees construe this frequent use as evidence of the widespread acceptance and naturalness of anglicisms in Germany:

(2) Marguerite, ~ 40 years old, in Berlin since 2019 (French/English/Spanish/German)

1 MARGUERITE maybe even my [German] teachers sometimes switch to English
2 because they want to explain something to us that we absolutely have to understand and that's it
3 but or translate something for us well it's in English
4 but other times, no, my teacher would do her whole sentence in German
5 **it's just that she uses anglicisms**
6 **I have the impression that it's more natural for Germans**

1 MARGUERITE peut-être même mes profs [d'allemand] des fois ils vont switcher en anglais
2 parce que ils veulent nous expliquer un truc qu'il faut absolument qu'on comprenne et voilà
3 mais ou nous traduire un truc ben c'est sûr l'anglais
4 mais d'autres fois non ma proffe elle faisait sa phrase tout en allemand
5 ***c'est juste que non elle utilise des anglicismes***
6 ***j'ai l'impression que c'est plus naturel chez les Allemands***

Marguerite, with her beginner's level of German (A2), observes that her German teachers sometimes switch to English to clarify key points, suggesting that English may be perceived as an effective medium for explanations. This aligns with the use of English as a lingua franca in mediating the learning of a third language in the foreign language classroom (Ife, 2007), yet Marguerite's observation may imply an expectation that French teachers would avoid English in similar contexts. This contrast highlights the ease with which German teachers incorporate English, while in French schools, using English in language classes, particularly for German, has long been resisted due to the perception of English as a threat to other languages (Forlot, 2009). Beyond an apparent "French protectionism", the non-mixing of English in e.g. classes of German as a foreign language in French schools is a reaction to English being perceived as a threat—not toward French, but toward German (Lefebvre, 2001; Schneider-Mizony, 2010, p. 189). Given the constant and significant dropping of students of German in French schools since the early 2000s, Marguerite's discourse reflects the general opposition, and even competition, between English and German as school subjects, and, later, the pride German speakers may feel for being able to use German in a French context in which German is depreciated (Truan, 2025a).

The ideology of neutralization of anglicisms suggests that English borrowings are perceived as seamlessly integrated into the German language, to the point where they no longer feel special or marked. The ideology contrasts with purist views that treat foreign borrowings as threats to

linguistic integrity, instead framing anglicisms as neutral or unproblematic linguistic tools. Diverging proficiencies in English in the French and German population are often cited as reasons why anglicisms feel less natural in French. If most French speakers struggle with English, why use English borrowings? The next section explores this argument, showing how interviewees' observations on English skills shift to a critique of the perceived snobbishness of anglicisms in French.

The ideology of linguistic elitism

The ideology of viewing anglicisms in French as snobbish could be referred to as *linguistic elitism*. Linguistic elitism is a social-relational process shaped through discourses and practices that construct hierarchies, reinforce perceived superiority, and define inclusion and exclusion within self-identified elite groups (Barakos, 2024, p. 46). An important marker for how language practices intersect with eliteness is the idea that language is treated and marketed as "an objective skill, acquired and possessed, that affords status, recognition, legitimacy, and ultimately material remuneration, to those who possess it" (Block, 2017, p. 6; cited in Barakos, 2024, p. 47). Elite multilingualism, as a subtype of this phenomenon, refers to how the use of multiple languages in certain contexts is seen as holding value, which, in turn, imbues the sociolinguistic persona of those who can navigate language boundaries (apparently effortlessly) with prestige and privilege. Applied to anglicisms, this perspective implies that the use of English words in French is seen as a form of social distinction or an attempt to appear sophisticated, fashionable, or aligned with global trends, as English words can easily be replaced by French equivalents:

(3) Pauline, ~ 25 years old, in Berlin since 2019 (French/German/English/Spanish)

1	PAULINE	well in French (2.0) I have the feeling
2		that ENGlish words can be replaced by FRENch words
3		that **the ENGlish words are actually useless and that it's a bit of a fad**
4		but I have the impression that there are more English words in everyday German

1	*PAULINE*	*ben en français (2.0) j'ai l'impression*
2		*qu'les mots ANglais peuvent être remplacés par des mots FRANçais*
3		*du coup qu'les* ***mots ANglais servent à rien en fait et que c'est un peu un effet de mode***
4		*mais j'ai l'impression qu'il y a plus de mots anglais dans la langue courante allemande*

The idea that anglicisms would be superfluous is a way to construct French speakers who use English borrowings as wanting to be noticed, and, per extension, pretentious:

(4) Coralie, ~ 35 years old, in Berlin since 2014 (French/German/English/Spanish)

1	CORALIE	I find **the systematic use of anglicisms a little annoying**
2		for me this sounds this feels like **this is SNOBBISH**
3		((high pitch)) uh how do you say onboarding ((in English))
4	NAOMI	it's a bit snobbish in French? Or in German too?
5	CORALIE	**in FRENCH mostly** because there is this side
6		well French people and English it's not huh it's not ((laughs))
7		things are grim ((laughs)) for many people anyway and in German a little less [...] nah [...]
8		it's not something I LIKE to do consciously (2.0)
9	NAOMI	why?
10	CORALIE	well I'm telling you because it's a bit uh you know for me **it's connotated** it changes the (1.0)
11		it's also a sign if I think about it a bit it's a bit
12		it's a bit of a sign of (4.0) shows that **there are words missing**, you know
13		**in your language, well in the language you speak** ((Naomi: mmh mmh))
14		if you have to go through English because you hear it in the media when in fact well
15		**you have a way of expressing it uh in YOUR language** or in the FRENch language uh
16		it's a bit conservative yeah conservative as a vision eh but uh
17		but I think it's a bit intellectually lazy to say
18		come on, I use the word English because I use it every day

1	*CORALIE*	*je trouve ça **un peu un peu énervant de l'usage systématique d'anglicismes***
2		*ça fait un peu pour moi ça fait un peu **c'est un peu SNOB***
3		*((high pitch)) heu comment on dit onboarding ((prononcé en anglais))*
4	*NAOMI*	*c'est un peu snob en français du coup ? ou en allemand aussi ?*
5	*CORALIE*	***en FRANçais surtout** parce que y a le côté*
6		*les Français et l'anglais c'est pas non plus heu c'est pas c'est pas ((rires))*
7		*c'est pas la grande la grande joie ((rires)) pas pour tout le monde en tout cas et en*
8		*allemand un peu moins nan [...] c'est pas quelque chose que J'AIME faire consciemment quoi (2.0)*
9	*NAOMI*	*pourquoi ?*
10	*CORALIE*	*ben j'te dis parce que c'est un peu heu t'sais pour moi **c'est connoté** c'est connoté ça change un peu le (1.0)*
11		*c'est aussi un signe si j'y réfléchis un peu c'est un peu*
12		*c'est un peu un signe de (4.0) **montre qu'il manque des mots quoi***
13		***dans ta langue enfin dans la langue que tu parles** ((autrice : mmh mmh))*
14		*si t'es obligé de passer par l'anglais parce que tu l'entends dans les médias alors qu'en fait bon ben*
15		***t'as une manière de l'exprimer heu dans TA langue** ou dans la langue dans la langue FRANçaise heu*
16		*c'est un peu conservateur ouais conservateur comme vision hein mais heu*
17		*mais j'trouve que c'est un peu de la paresse intellectuelle de dire*
18		*allez j'emploie le mot anglais parce que j'les utilise au quotidien*

Coralie argues that using anglicisms signals a lack of appropriate vocabulary in one's language, which she views as a sign of linguistic deficiency, particularly in her L1'—"YOUR language" (line 15)—and possibly extending to "the FRENch language" to apply the rule more broadly (see (5) and (6) below).

She also acknowledges that her perspective may be conservative (line 16), highlighting a paradox in French speakers' attitudes toward anglicisms. While rejecting anglicisms can be seen as upholding traditional linguistic norms, it conflicts with the speakers' generally progressive self-image, for instance when it comes to gender-inclusive language and language change in both French and German. This tension reveals that the resistance to anglicisms, driven by traditional

loyalty to the L1', clashes with their progressive stance. Interestingly enough, the interviewees seem not to be aware of the anti-cosmopolitan perception of "English usage by German speakers is pretentious, out of place and even provincial" (Heyd, 2022, p. 281), as exemplified in the mockery metadiscourse around *Lisa from Australia,* depicted as the symbol of mobile elites assumingly using English in an unreflected way after a stay abroad in an English-speaking country.

The ideology of viewing anglicisms in French as "snobbish" represents a form of linguistic elitism or prestige borrowing, where the integration of English terms is perceived as an effort to project higher social status or modernity. This phenomenon is often linked to cosmopolitan speakers, "successful middle-class Germans" (Piller, 2001, p. 155), or members of the upper classes who want to appear connected to global culture (Heyd & Schneider, 2019). Especially in contexts like advertizing (Piller, 2001), fashion, business, and technology, where English dominates—what Rollason (2005, p. 50) calls "The Language of Management"—, "bilingualism in English and German is set up as the 'natural' option" (Piller, 2001, p. 155). By incorporating anglicisms, these speakers are seen as signaling a certain worldliness and sophistication, distinguishing themselves from those who adhere strictly to French vocabulary, possibly because of a lack of English proficiency. This practice, however, can also create a linguistic divide, where anglicisms are viewed negatively by those who see such borrowings as unnecessary affectations without fully espousing the ideology of linguistic purity. The result is a tension between a desire to embrace globalization and the need to maintain a distinct French linguistic identity in migration contexts, where anglicisms are criticized for undermining the integrity of the language while simultaneously serving as markers of prestige.

The fact that this view holds years after the migration to Germany shows, on the one hand, that multilinguals exhibit nuanced linguistic awareness of what language ideological phenomena index depending on the language, showing that the use of anglicisms in French continues to carry different connotations than in German. The interviews also corroborate quantitative findings that have shown that surprisingly, "higher degrees of multilingualism [are] not automatically linked to more positive attitudes towards [code-switching]" (Dewaele & Wei, 2014, p. 249). On the other hand, the desire to protect the L1' from other linguistic influences may signal a stronger emotional attachment to the L1' compared to languages acquired later in life, although large statistical studies have shown that this claim is unfounded (Dewaele, 2016). This apparent contradiction is at the heart of a very powerful ideology for multilinguals: the ideology of linguistic ambivalence.

The ideology of linguistic ambivalence

Finally, the relationship toward anglicisms reveals an ideology of *linguistic ambivalence*, oscillating between linguistic purism in French (L1'), which emphasizes resistance to foreign influences to safeguard cultural and linguistic identity, and linguistic openness in German (L2'), which often reflects a pragmatic acceptance of linguistic innovation and global interconnectedness. This tension underscores the complexities of multilingual contexts, where speakers must reconcile competing pressures: the desire to maintain the integrity and distinctiveness of their linguistic heritage and the need to engage with global influences that facilitate communication—a tension that has been described as "global-local ambivalence" in contemporary Taiwan, for instance (Su, 2011). An important aspect of the partly critical view on anglicisms in the corpus is indeed the fact that the interviewees never express complete disagreement with the use of anglicisms in either French or German, as this would contradict their multilingual identity:

(5) Katia, 38 years old, in Berlin since 2019 (Kinyarwanda/French/English/German)

1	KATIA	so I don't like ((laughs))
2		no, but because when you're international you're inevitably immersed in it
3		I find that **some people make a fashion out of it**, and it's not that it annoys me
4		but **I think it's a bit ridiculous**
5		yeah, **I don't really like it when languages get mixed up**
6		especially when you come to live in Germany, I think
7		well, I like the idea that if you choose to live in a country
8		**you have to learn the language** and that's not necessarily the case for everyone
9		but **it's something that sometimes gets on my nerves a bit**
10		with people who insist on speaking English everywhere all the time
11		**as if people were obliged to speak English**
12		in France we're not obliged to speak English in Germany either
13		so they're nice when they speak to you in English, but there you go ((laughs))
14		and so there are a lot of people who take it
15		as if people were obliged to know all the anglicisms or the
16		and I find that no, **if you want to speak a language, speak it 100 percent**
17		**and you shouldn't always want to mix English words in there**
18		and it's true that yes, **anglicisms are a trendy thing**
19		because people think it sounds more international when you talk like that
20		maybe **it's more in**—well, I use anglicisms too ((laughs))
21		I use them but it's true that I think you shouldn't
22		you should really speak the language and accept that the word is actually
23		you say it like that in that language and that's how you have to say it
24		if you speak French you have to say it like that
25		after that, I wouldn't go as far as the Québécois, who push anti-anglicismism too far

1	*KATIA*	*alors j'aime pas ((rires))*
2		*non mais parce que forcément quand t'es à l'international tu baignes là-dedans*
3		*je trouve que y a des gens qui en font **une mode** et ça c'est pas que ça m'énerve*
4		*mais je trouve que c'est un peu ridicule quoi*
5		*ouais en fait **j'aime pas tellement quand on mélange les langues***
6		*surtout quand tu viens vivre en Allemagne je trouve*

enfin moi j'aime bien l'idée que si tu choisis de vivre dans un pays
tu te dois d'apprendre la langue *et ça c'est pas forcément le cas de tout le monde*
mais moi c'est un truc que des fois que je m'énerve un peu
avec les gens qui s'obstinent à vouloir parler anglais tout le temps partout
comme si les gens étaient obligés de parler anglais
en France on n'est pas obligés de parler anglais en Allemagne non plus
donc ils sont gentils quand ils te parlent en anglais mais voilà ((rires))
et donc y en a beaucoup qui prennent ça
comme si les gens étaient obligés de tous connaître les anglicismes ou les
et je trouve que non si ***tu veux parler une langue parle-la à 100 pour cent***
et il faut pas tout le temps vouloir mélanger des mots anglais là-dedans
et c'est vrai que ouais les anglicismes ***c'est un truc qui est à la mode***
parce que les gens se disent que ça fait plus international quand tu parles comme ça
ça fait peut-être plus in *[en anglais] voilà moi aussi je mets des anglicismes ((rires))*
je les utilise mais c'est vrai que je trouve ***qu'il faudrait pas***
faudrait vraiment parler la langue *et puis accepter que voilà le mot en fait*
on le dit comme ça dans cette langue et c'est comme ça que tu dois le dire
si tu parles français tu dois le dire comme ça
après j'irai pas jusqu'au niveau des Québécois qui poussent loin encore l'anti-anglicisme

Katia expresses a strong ambivalence toward the use of English and anglicisms, particularly in international contexts, and even if she, herself, is a proficient English speaker. The idea "I don't really like it when languages get mixed up" (line 5) or that "if you want to speak a language, speak it 100 percent" (line 16) is a strong and direct expression of linguistic purism, even if she notes that she is a bit of a hypocrite in this regard: Her laughter (line 1) after admitting she does not "like it" (when people use anglicisms) may serve as a way to soften her critique and signal self-awareness. Laughing may indicate that she recognizes the contradiction in her own behavior—she criticizes the overuse of anglicisms yet admits to using them herself (lines 20-21). Similar to Coralie in (4), it could also reflect a distancing mechanism, as she navigates between expressing a strong opinion and avoiding coming across as too rigid or judgmental. Laughter in this context helps her manage face, allowing her to voice her critique while maintaining a more casual or lighthearted tone. Being uncomfortable and critical about her own language use ("I use [anglicisms] but it's true that I think you shouldn't", line 21) is, in this sense, a hallmark of linguistic insecurity: Katia's low self-esteem when engaging with such linguistic practices is a reflection of the social stigma around anglicisms in French/France, and the desire to fulfill expectations in this regard.

Katia acknowledges the global influence of English but finds the trend of mixing languages, especially when living in Germany, somewhat "ridiculous" (line 4), echoing the argument of English being fashionable (*fashion* line 3, *trendy* line 18, *in* line 20) already encountered in examples (3) and (4). She emphasizes the importance of fully committing to a language when living in a foreign country, believing that people should learn and speak the local language rather than relying on English, which echoes the findings of Fuller (2019, p. 170) based on interviews with people from diverse nationalities and backgrounds in Berlin: "knowledge of English may

also contribute to not learning German". Katia phrases it as a strong moral commitment toward yourself (*tu te dois*, "you have to learn the language", line 8) from the moment on that the migration experience is a conscious choice (line 7), possibly resisting the idea that being able to favor English in a dominantly German-speaking context is a form of priviledge of "those who do not need to attend school, qualify for citizenship, or work in German language environments" (Fuller, 2019, p. 170). Here, Katia uses her knowledge of the French situation, where exclusive English speakers may not be met with enthusiasm (line 12) to assert her sentiment that linguistic norms could be similar in German—or at least, people should not expect others to be able to use English.

Katia also critiques the idea that doing so makes people appear more "international" (line 19), partly resisting an ideology of globalization asserting the English dominance. This stance toward linguistic purism may also be interpreted as a way to "opt for German" (Truan, 2025a): In France, mastering German despite initial mockery is seen as a personal achievement, while in Berlin, speaking German well serves as a marker of local integration against English as a lingua franca. However, she distances herself from extreme anti-anglicism views, such as those of Québécois, who she perceives as taking resistance further than necessary.

Katia is the only interviewee for which the statement "if you want to speak a language, speak it 100 percent" (line 16) and that "you should really speak the language" (line 22) applies to both French and German, possibly because she is proud of having learnt German so well. The idea that switching is allowed (line 15, example 6) only in German, however, is very common for the multilinguals I talked to:

(6) Gabrielle, ~ 30 years old, in Berlin since 2010 (French/English/German)

1	GABRIELLE	but often it's stuff that's a bit complicated in German from a grammar point of view
2		but which is much easier to say in English, you know […]
3		**it's not that I don't know how to say the construction in German**
4		**I know how to say it** but sometimes it actually seems more natural to say it this way […]
5		on the other hand **what bothers me** is when I switch to English or French
6		when I feel I'm stumbling over things [words]
7		in fact **I'm speaking in French** and then suddenly ho
8		I don't know how to speak English either and I'm forced to switch to German
9		or English or French **and then I feel bad, but not when I do it in German**
10		in German it's basically as if I find it normal that yes, well, it's not 100 percent perfect
11		and so **I'm allowed to switch**
12		**whereas in French I shouldn't be allowed to switch because it's my mother tongue**

1	*GABRIELLE*	*mais souvent c'est des trucs un peu souvent enfin des fois c'est des tournures de phrases qui sont un peu compliquées en allemand d'un point de vue de grammaire*
2		*et qui sont beaucoup plus faciles à dire finalement en anglais tu sais*
3		***c'est pas que je sais pas dire la construction en allemand***
4		*je sais la dire mais des fois en fait ça semble plus naturel de la dire de cette manière […]*
5		*non non **par contre ce qui me gêne** c'est de passer en anglais ou en français*

6 *de sentir que je bute sur des trucs*
7 *en fait **je parle en français** et là d'un coup ho*
8 *je sais plus en anglais aussi et **je suis obligée de passer vers l'allemand***
9 *ou vers l'anglais ou vers le français **et là par contre je me sens mal mais pas quand je le fais en allemand***
10 *en allemand en gros c'est comme si je trouvais ça normal que oui ben c'est pas 100 pour cent parfait*
11 *et du coup **j'ai le droit de switcher***
12 ***alors qu'en français je devrais pas avoir le droit de switcher parce que c'est ma langue maternelle***

Gabrielle contrasts the ease of expression in English with the complex grammar of German (lines 1-2) and feels comfortable switching languages in German but expects perfection in French, her "mother tongue" (line 12). The extract reflects the ideology of "normative monolingualism" which dictates that languages should be kept separate, though English is often seen as an exception where some mixing with German is acceptable (Fuller, 2019, p. 171). The idea that switching is allowed in German but not in French suggests this double standard is linked to the status of French as an L1'. Despite knowing how to say things in German as well (line 3), Gabrielle feels entitled to code-switch in German as a learner, a right she perceives as not applicable to her L1', even though she no longer uses French daily and is combating perceived language attrition.

Gabrielle does not explicitly say whether her uneasiness in using anglicisms is a personal choice or may be driven by societal norms—which is the reason why language ideologies, even when expressed at the individual level, should always be regarded in a broader ideological nexus. Other interviews, however, suggest that participants might criticize anglicisms due to a perceived French norm against them. For instance, Lucile initially admits to "doing a horrible thing" by using "fragments" and "Frenglish" "all the time". Later, I ask her to elaborate:

(7) Lucile, ~ 30 years old, in Berlin since 2017 (Armenian/French/English/German)

1 LUCILE I don't find it horrible it's rather what I I
2 what I hear as you were saying **it's society that makes it horrible**
3 **there is this pretentious side** there's this side
4 especially in France where there's I don't want to make generalizations
5 because I don't like that but there are a lot of people
6 who find it difficult to speak English fluently
7 and so this directly pretentious side comes out when it's not
8 **it's just a way for me to juggle these languages**
9 **to mix different languages that we also master** […]
10 I've answered that but I don't find it horrible
11 but I know that it's true there are a lot of people who hate it
12 **and so it makes us feel guilty when it shouldn't I think** […]
13 well the only negative point I see in it is maybe
14 losing certain words in certain languages and creating words that don't exist
15 well maybe that's not negative it can create more maybe new languages
16 I don't know but I find **it makes languaging easier sometimes**
17 I don't know it's another [.] **I see it more as a tool**

1 LUCILE *moi je trouve pas ça horrible moi*
2 *ben c'est c'est ce que j'entends comme tu dis c'est la société qui fait que c'est horrible*
3 *d'y aller au côté prétentieux il y a le côté*
4 *surtout en France ou y a j'ai pas envie de faire de généralités*
5 *parce que je je n'aime pas ça mais il y a beaucoup de personnes*
6 *qui qui trouvent qui ont du mal à à parler anglais couramment*
7 *et qui du coup il y a ce côté directement prétentieux qui va ressortir alors que ça l'est pas*
8 ***c'est juste pour moi un moyen de jongler entre ces langues***
9 *de mélanger différentes langues qu'on maîtrise aussi […]*
10 *j'ai répondu là-dessus mais moi je trouve pas ça horrible*
11 *mais je sais que ça c'est vrai y a beaucoup de gens qui détestent ça*
12 ***et du coup ça nous fait culpabiliser alors que ça ne devrait pas*** *[…]*
13 *après le seul le seul point négatif que je vois là-dedans c'est peut-être de de*
14 *perdre certains mots dans certaines langues et de créer des mots qui n'existent pas*
15 *après c'est peut-être pas négatif ça peut plus créer peut-être de nouvelles langues je sais pas*
16 *mais mais moi je trouve que ça* ***ça facilite le langage des fois***
17 *je sais pas [.] c'est un autre* ***je le vois plus comme un outil***

Lucile defends code-switching as a natural and practical way to navigate multiple languages (line 16), emphasizing that it should not provoke guilt (line 12). Although she acknowledges potential issues, like losing or inventing words (lines 17-18), Lucile assumes that linguistic blending could lead to new languages and generally makes communication easier (lines 15-16). As they embrace their multilingual identities, code-switching may help the interviewees to fulfil their communication goals (line 17) (Heller, 1995, p. 161):

(8) Marguerite, ~ 40 years old, in Berlin since 2019 (French/English/Spanish/German)

1 MARGUERITE in general the fact of moving going [abroad] to face new things
2 whether it's the language, the country or anything else that's a foreign parameter
3 there are things you learn that make it less strange, if not not strange at all […]
4 and then it applies to lots of things
5 using anglicisms or germanisms or hispanisms, whatever
6 but on the contrary, **it's fun well, at the end of the day, it enriches a language**
7 and has a side… yeah, that's nice
8 so you'll even find yourself chatting with someone who'll come up with a word for you
9 I don't know, I'm talking garbage, in Russian [for instance], what do you mean by that?
10 if nothing else, you'll learn new words in addition to the ones you don't know, and that's nice
11 well, yes indeed, **it's part of being open-minded**
12 **and it's always a good thing to learn when you're on the move** ((Naomi nods in agreement))

1 MARGUERITE *en général le fait de bouger d'aller se confronter à enfin à l'étranger*
2 *que ce soit dans la langue dans le pays enfin tout ce qui est paramètre étranger*
3 *y a des choses que t'apprends et font que c'est moins 99tranger et voire même plus du tout […]*
4 *et après voilà c'est appliqué sur plein de choses*
5 *utiliser des anglicismes ou des germanismes ou des hispanismes que sais-je*
6 *mais au contraire* ***c'est rigolo enfin à la limite ça enrichit un langage***
7 *et ça donne un côté ouais c'est sympa*
8 *du coup tu vas même te retrouver à discuter avec quelqu'un qui va te sortir un mot*
9 *je sais pas moi je dis des conneries en russe tu veux dire quoi par là*
10 *au pire voilà t'apprends des mots en plus des mots que tu connais pas et c'est chouette*
11 *enfin mais oui effectivement j'ai* ***ça fait partie de l'ouverture d'esprit***
12 ***et c'est toujours le bon truc à acquérir quand tu bouges*** *((autrice opine))*

Prior to this extract, Marguerite acknowledges a French tendency to criticize, resistance to anglicisms may stem from a cultural inclination to be critical. She believes the main goal of communication is understanding, and if anglicisms aid clarity, they should be accepted. Marguerite also finds some English words better express her emotions or thoughts than their French equivalents, indicating that multilingualism has expanded her linguistic repertoire and emotional expression.

We observe a shift in language ideology due to migration and exposure to multiple languages. This shift includes greater acceptance of anglicisms and borrowings, prioritizing practical communication and emotional expression over purist concerns. Multilinguals favor the utility and emotional specificity of borrowed terms. Their experiences highlight a more fluid and adaptive approach to language use, reflecting how multilingualism reshapes linguistic ideologies by prioritizing function and connection over rigid linguistic norms.

Conclusion: The *ideology of naturalness* in the L2'

In this article, I examined how L1' French speakers perceive anglicisms in French and German after migrating to Germany. I have laid out three interrelated language ideologies—neutralization, elitism, ambivalence—, which, together, contribute to the *ideology of naturalness* in the L2'.

The findings first reveal that anglicisms are less accepted in French (L1') than in German (L2'), reflecting the *ideology of neutralization*. This discrepancy is partly due to anglicisms being more common and naturalized in German, while French speakers exhibit a protective reflex driven by emotional attachment and a sense of linguistic legitimacy, even years after the migration. Negative attitudes toward anglicisms are generally less common in German, suggesting a more accepting stance not only in German specifically but also in the L2'. While such discourses do exist in German-speaking contexts, criticism of anglicisms as intellectual laziness is predominantly a French phenomenon, highlighting broader cultural differences in how linguistic purity is valued. This observation is based on both the interviewees' perspectives and societal trends.

Second, the *ideology of linguistic elitism* views anglicisms as a marker of social status or a trend among elites. In French, the rejection of anglicisms can seem conservative, contrasting with participants' generally progressive views. Altogether, what characterizes the data is an *ideology of linguistic ambivalence*, marked by a tension between resisting and accepting borrowings in multilingual contexts. Multilinguals strive to preserve their linguistic repertoire while embracing global influences, avoiding outright rejection to maintain their multilingual identity.

Taken together, these three language ideologies highlight an ideology of naturalness specific to the L2'. A comparison of language ideologies regarding gender-inclusive language (Truan, 2024, 2025b) and anglicisms in French and German shows that while language ideologies may transfer between L1' and L2', it typically occurs in one direction:

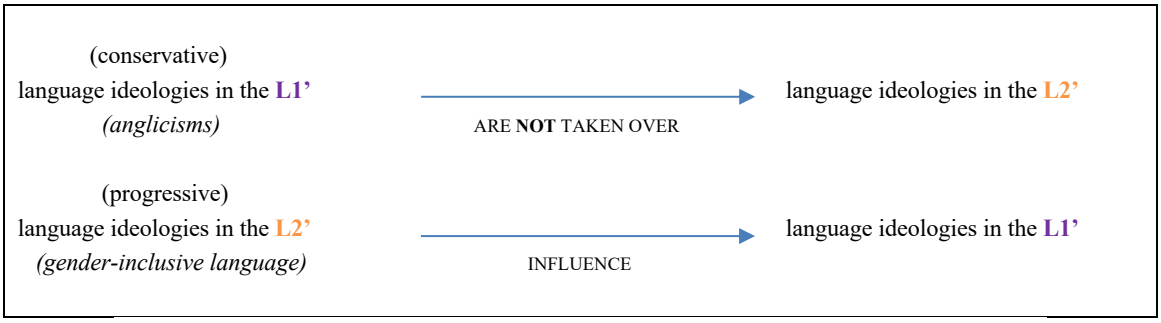

Figure 1. Transfers between language ideologies in multilingual settings

Interviewees are more open to language change in their L2' (German) than in their L1' (French), especially regarding gender-inclusive language, which is seen as a political act. Anglicisms, however, lack this symbolic significance and are viewed more conservatively, particularly in the L1'. While changes such as gender inclusivity are widely accepted in progressive circles, modifications to the L1' without such context are harder to embrace. Most interviewees support gender-inclusive language and see potential for transfer between German and French, but may still find anglicisms problematic in French. Overall, multilinguals show more acceptance of language change in their L2'.

An *ideology of naturalness* pervades the perception of anglicisms and gender-inclusive language in the L2'. In German, the integration of anglicisms and gender-inclusive language is often seen as a natural evolution, reflecting the language's adaptability and openness to global influences. This tolerance toward language change contrasts with the L1', where such changes are often resisted or viewed as less natural. This resistance is influenced by a stronger adherence to established linguistic norms conveyed in the formative years, and the desire to uphold to one's linguistic standards in the "mother tongue" in migration contexts.

This study emphasizes the urgent need for sociolinguistic research that delves into language ideologies within multilingual contexts, particularly as global migration continues to reshape linguistic landscapes. The distinct differences in how multilinguals respond to anglicisms in their various languages highlight the need to expand sociolinguistic research beyond monolingual perspectives, recognizing that language ideologies are not static but are continuously influenced by speakers' diverse linguistic backgrounds and experiences.

Transcription key

(( ))	contextual information (e.g., analyst note)
[…]	omissions in the transcript to shorten the extract
:	lengthening 0.2-0.5 seconds
::	lengthening 0.5-0.8 seconds
:::	lengthening 0.8-1.0 seconds
(.)	pause up to 0.2 seconds
(-)	pause of 0.2 to 0.5 seconds
(2.0)	pause of more than 0.5 seconds (here, 2 seconds)
-	pause of less than one second or hesitation
aCCent	emphasis put on a syllable

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